

# CALL TO ACTION

## AGAINST SOARING PRICES, RISING COST OF LIVING

**BOMBAY:** Preparations are in full swing here for the all-India conference of trade unions on increase in dearness allowance, minimum bonus and revision of consumer price index, convened by the All India Trade Union Congress.

The AITUC working committee is scheduled to meet here on December 12, while the general council will meet in the evening of December 12 and morning of 13. The conference will meet in the evening of December 13 and continue on 14 and 15.

IN an appeal to the entire working class of the country, S. A. DANGE, chairman, and S. G. PATKAR, general secretary of the reception committee of the conference, have detailed the background in which the conference has been convened.

The appeal sets forth the demands of the working class and asks all trade unions in the country to send delegates to the conference. It says that the basic problem of high prices and high taxes, of high cost of living and inadequate incomes, has aggravated with a further rise in prices.

The recent concessions made by the government to big business in the form of liberalisation of bank credit and cheap money are further revelation of the government policy. Instead of nationalising the banks and foreign trade in important commodities and thus breaking the back of speculative trade and hoarding, government now propose to finance it through

a policy of cheap money.

This building of the monopolies, and encouraging hoarding and speculative trade cannot but lead to a further rise in prices and worsening of the conditions of the working people.

While big business thus continues to make merry at the cost of the working people, the committees and commissions appointed to give speedy relief to the people, continue to deliberate and think and ponder and bring forth no relief.

Even the fair price shops promised by the standing committee on industrial truce, are not coming up on the promised scale.

The working class therefore now must again act in defence of its and the peoples interests—to bring about a change in the government policies.

Trade unions all over the country must come together and chalk out a common programme and a common line of action.

The All-India Trade Union Congress has taken initiative in this behalf and has convened the all-India conference of trade unions in Bombay on December 13 to 15, 1963 to consider concrete and practical steps to get:

★ Reduction in prices of essential goods immediately by 25 per cent at least;

★ Introduction of DA where it is not there as in industries under minimum wages act, and its linking up with the cost of living index where it is not at present so linked—as in state sector, government and semi-government services and other industries.

★ Correction of the fraudulent index and consequent raising of the dearness allowance.

★ A guaranteed minimum bonus in all industries. Equal bonus on industry-cum-region basis where wages and DA are standardised.

★ Nationalisation of banking industry beginning with those having intra-state ramifications, and banks whose anti-social behaviour is known.

## NEW AGE

★ COMMUNIST PARTY WEEKLY ★

Vol. XI No. 49, New Delhi, December 8, 1963 25nP

Copy - 1/1

★ Nationalisation of export-import trade in bulk commodities.

★ Introduction of state trading in wholesale trade in foodgrains from this season.

★ Taking over of sugar and textile and such other essential industries, whose monopolists are fleecing the people and defrauding the country.

★ Cheap and adequate credit to the needy sections of peasantry; supplies of essential goods to farmers; minimum wage and land to agricultural labourers, cancellation of extra and unjust levies on land.

★ Release of tax burdens on producing masses and democratisation of administration.

★ Release of detained trade union and working class leaders.

Though the AITUC has taken initiative in this regard it is aware that these demands can be realised only through the united action of the entire working class.

It has therefore invited all trade unions, irrespective of their trade union affiliation or political thought to join in the conference and help in chalking out a programme of action to win these demands.

The All India Trade Union Congress invites you, too, to join in this conference and help in formulating the programme. For, it is the workers' united will and action that is going to force the unwilling hand of the government. Unity and action brought forth some successes in September last, and it is only these that the workers can rely on even today, says the appeal in conclusion.

## Detenus' Health Deteriorating Fast

**CALCUTTA:** During the last week 12 detenus have been released. One of them SNEHANSU ACHARYA MLC has been released on review of his case. BE-NOY CHOWDHURY and CHARU MAZUMDAR have been released because they are candidates in the by-election.

The others released are NIRANJAN SEN, SUBODH CHOWDHURY and JIBAN DEY, MLAs, ABDUL HALIM MLC, SAILEN BOSE, NAKSHATRA BANNERJEE, NANDAGOPAL BHATTACHARYA, SACHI ROY, SAROJ ROY. They have been released on health grounds.

But they by no means exhaust the list of those who are seriously ill. KAMAL SARKAR, a member of the former Editorial Board of SWADHINATA is suffering from nerve disease and it is reported that he has been put into an iron belt. SAMAR GANGULY, secretary, Jalpaiguri Kisan Sabha is suffering from TB, it is feared. SAHEDULLA MLC of Burdwan is also suffering from nerve disease. BHADRA BAHADUR HAMAL MLC, trade union leader of Darjeeling is suffering from some acute disease of the throat. MONORANJAN ROY MLC, general secretary of BPTUC is suffering from disease of kidney and tram workers' leader KALI BANNERJEE of lever.

SUSHIL CHATTERJEE of Nadia, more than 70 years old, is also suffering from various ailments.

More alarming than this is the fact that most of the detenus are suffering from a peculiar nerve disease, particularly in the Dum Dum jail. Some part of the body gets completely numb and there is pain. Many, including JYOTI BASU, have been victim of this disease, it is reported.

It is also gathered that the medical officers of the jail are worried over the spread of this disease. Whether it is due to bad drinking water or any poisoning in the foods supplied to the detenus or what is the root cause of this disease is not known.

In this background a deputation on behalf of the Communist Party, consisting of POC secretary BHOWAN SEN, RANEN SEN MP, acting leader of the Communist Party in the Assembly Dr. NARAYAN ROY and POC member BISWANATH MUKHERJEE, met Chief Minister P. C. SEN to demand release of all political prisoners.

In spite of the Centre's direction to review the cases of the detenus, the Chief Minister could not give any assurance of early release of all the detenus. All he could say was that he was considering the cases of sick detenus and he would further examine the cases and if possible would release some more.

## Food Policy Fattens Profiteers WALKOUT IN LOK SABHA

Communist members walked out of the Lok Sabha on Wednesday at the end of the three-day discussion on the food situation in the country protesting against the evasive and unsatisfactory reply of Sardar SWARAN SINGH to the points raised in the discussion, particularly in regard to measures for stabilisation of prices.

THE walk-out, the constant interruptions by both Opposition and Congress members which dogged the Food Minister throughout his lengthy reply and the sharp reactions freely expressed in the lobbies spoke of the disgust and disappointment of a large number of MPs at the outcome of all their anxiety expressed during the discussion.

The unflappability of Swaran Singh and his cool unemotional talk might do him credit elsewhere, in a diplomatic talk round, but it is the worst sin for a Minister in the House to fail to reflect and to respond to the emotions and urgings in the minds of members who speak mostly with first-hand knowledge of the actual conditions among the people.

Swaran Singh was not only vague where specific assurances were required but he was close to creating dangerous disillusionment by his complacency about the sugar and foodgrains prospects for the country.

A. M. THOMAS had tried earlier to convey the same complacency when he initiated the discussion, but it had precisely the opposite effect on the House. Members' speeches, irrespective of party

distinctions showed a disquieting amount of gloom and frustration.

Before the walk-out, RENU CHAKRAVARTY had asked the Minister what he had to say about implementing the ASOKA MEHTA committee's recommendations for setting up a Price Stabilisation Board, price stabilisation organisation and price intelligence division—a point which was first emphasised by herself in her speech and which subsequently found support from many other speakers.

Swaran Singh who did not touch the subject at all in his reply told her that now that Asoka Mehta was "with us" he would take the earliest opportunity to discuss this with him. Communist members showed their irritation at the Minister's reply and walked out.

Before Swaran Singh started his reply, MAHAVIR TYAGI from the Congress benches had made a short but forceful plea for a uniform minimum price of Rs. 2 per maund for sugarcane. As Tyagi told the Minister this House was almost unanimous on this point and he said that it should be taken as a kind of mandate from the House. Members on all sides thump-

ed the tables expressing their support for the demand.

As Swaran Singh in his reply did not meet the point, Tyagi was again on his feet as soon as the Minister sat down asking him whether he was going to concede this demand or should the House take a formal motion for it. All he got however was some kind of an assurance that the demand would be considered before long.

The more important points that emerged from the discussion were that government's price policy was trader-oriented and not peasant-oriented, that the government had failed to protect the consumers from hoarders and profiteers, that price stabilisation was not taken seriously and that the complacency in the Treasury Benches would spell ruin.

The food bungling in West Bengal and the problem of high prices constantly agitating the people there came to the fore in the discussion and attracted special attention.

★ ON BACK PAGE

ARTICLE FROM

KOMMUNIST

No 15 OKTBRP No 15

See Page 12

# IN PARLIAMENT Failure to Check Growth of Monopolies Highlighted

Government's failure to check the growth of monopolies and malpractices in the private sector was sharply posed by Communist speakers in both Houses of Parliament last week during an examination of the working of the Companies Act. In the Lok Sabha the occasion was provided by the discussion on the new Companies (Amendment) Bill before it was referred to a Select Committee. In the Rajya Sabha BHUPESH GUPTA had moved for consideration of the report on the working of the Companies Act during the year 1961-62.

AN aspect on which the Communist members laid much stress was that the government was not alive to the danger of monopoly growth even though it is admitted in speeches now and then and that even the powers that Parliament gave to the government were not properly used to curb this growth. R. UMANATH speaking on the Companies (Amendment) Bill in the Lok Sabha called for a change in government's policy and approach to the concentration of wealth in the private sector.

Finance Minister T. T. KRISHNAMACHARI in his reply to the debate admitted that the background to the new Bill was the VIVIAN BOSE Commission's report on the DALMA-JAIN concerns. "The motive power behind this effort of the government is undoubtedly the revelations made by the Vivian Bose Commission's report and also the subsequent opinions expressed on that report by the DAPHTARY SHASTRY Committee," he said. But the point made by the Communist member was that the Bill was a disappointment; measure against such a background.

One of the objects of the Bill is to facilitate quick action against persons involved in cases of fraud, misfeasance and other malpractices and irregularities in the management of companies by appointing a Tribunal whose findings will enable the central government to remove such persons from positions of managerial authority in any company. Another important object of the Bill is to enable government to convert loans advanced to companies into equity capital.

Umanath welcomed the Bill in so far as its provisions went to ensure proper functioning of the companies but held that in the context of the revelations made by the Vivian Bose Commission's report, the "rich experience gathered from the working of the company Law Administration and the Prime Minister's statement at Jaipur about the growth of monopolies," the Bill was "most disappointing." It is only an administrative measure and it just tinkers with the problem. The source of malpractices and frauds in the private sector is not touched.

Without any upper limit on the number of trust units, which an individual can purchase, it is bound to become a beehive for monopolists sooner or later. And when this happens, its management by state executives will be of little consequence.

The Bill to tighten up the Reserve Bank's supervision over commercial banks is also no more than a palliative. It is in fact a mockery of enlightened public opinion, which is being increasingly reflected even inside the ruling party. The Uttar Pradesh Congress Committee's resolution, demanding banks nationalisation, and widespread support which a Congress member's resolution on the subject received in the Lok Sabha earlier had indicated the country's preparedness to accept nationalisation of banks as a natural development.

TTK's bill is thus in the nature of an anti-climax, in spite of its adverse reception in the big business press.

Indian banks command huge resources (Rs. 2,200 crores according to official estimates), ten times the amount they had twenty years back. Through an increasing fusion of banking and industrial capital, they have been able to have not one but many fingers in every industrial and commercial field.

The erstwhile Department of Company Law Administration had laid bare the net-work of their ramifications to point out that they posed a danger to society and the state. It is to deal with such a situation that TTK has thought it fit to incorporate in the new bill a clause which will have the effect of reducing the voting rights of an individual shareholder from five to one per cent. He could however not be oblivious that the individuals or groups, to be so affected, will be able to circumvent this regulation by diversifying their holdings among friends, relatives and other interests.

Umanath quoted from a study made by the Company Law Administration of seven managing agencies, viz. Duncan Brothers, Jardine Hendersons, Gillanders Arbuthnots, Killick Industries, McLeods, Shaw Wallace and W.H. Brady & Co. The net profits of these agencies in 1956 was Rs. 89.79 lakhs. In 1957 it was 84.25 lakhs, in 1958 it increased to 91.10 lakhs, in 1959 to 110.11 lakhs and in 1960 to 125.04 lakhs. Similarly their reserves during the same period had increased from Rs. 3.94 crores to Rs. 5.66 crores.

Again, if the proportion of directors appointed to posts carrying salaries of Rs. 1,000 and above is taken, it is found that it has increased from 17.5 per cent in 1959-60 to 31.6 per cent in 1960-61 and 35 per cent in 1961-62.

Raising the question why this happened, Umanath pointed out that in 1961-62 the number of fresh and pending applications before government for renewal of managing agencies was 107, out of which 65 were approved and only 18 rejected and the remaining 23 were still pending. He therefore contended that the government had actually used its power in favour of reviving managing agencies.

Another point he made was that big companies got liberal loans from the Industrial Finance Corporation whereas medium and small scale industries did not receive adequate encouragement. He said

that last year in the case of seven big companies 38 per cent of their project cost was borne by the IFC and in one case the percentage of project cost borne by the IFC was as high as 66.7.

He said that one of the sources of fraud and corruption was the practice of companies making contribution to political funds. It is laid down that unless authorised by the memorandum of association, a company cannot make political contribution. But the member cited the case of Digvijay Woollen Mills, who he maintained, had contributed Rs. 25,000 to the Gujarat Pradesh Congress Committee in violation of this rule.

The member also stated that the Visalakshi Mills in Madurai has taken power to make political contributions without being authorised by the memorandum of association and he alleged that the Managing Director was in violation of this rule.

Another indication is the starting of a Telugu weekly SAMATA (Equality) from Guntur, somewhat on the lines of H. D. MALAVIYA'S SOCIALIST CONGRESSMAN.

Of course, these small stirrings have to be assessed against the background of the continuing firm grip of the landed interests on the Congress and the government as well as the vast amount of ignorance and confusion in the Congress ranks.

This was in evidence in the continuing debate in the Assembly on the motion to withdraw the Additional Land Levy Bill.

Communist and other opposition MLAs made powerful speeches quoting from the speeches of Congress MLAs in earlier sessions where they had pleaded with the treasury benches not to push through the bill.

One of them had even gone so far as to call it the last straw on the camel's back. He appealed to Congressmen and MLAs to remember these speeches and to remember the people.

He again outlined the alternative sources of revenue: ending of wastage, scrapping of prohibition (at one time a memorandum recommending this had been signed by 130 Congress MLAs), revenue arrears, income-tax arrears which deprived the state of income also, scrapping of compensation to landlords many of whom adorned the Treasury benches. A graded tax structure was also called for.

He quoted extensively from official revenue records of Guntur to show the hardship that this bill would cause and offered to make further concrete proposals to more than compensate for the additional revenue likely to accrue from the implementation of the bill.

It was interesting that some Congress speakers, including the seconder of the resolution of the vote of thanks, also opposed the government's decision. They denounced it as the sale not so much of a mill as of national policies.

Sanjeeva Reddy said he had an open mind on the subject, but actually he is trying to rally his ranks to push the deal through. He called a meeting of Congress MLAs and a "unanimous" resolution was passed recommending the sale. Observers point out that only some 70 out of 210 MLAs attended this meeting and even among them many who opposed the measure must have been silenced by the Chief Minister's intimidatory tactics.

There has been, after all, some impact of the Jaipur debate. A Congress MLA is

moving a bill for a ceiling to be fixed on income and he has declared in the Assembly that this is a corollary to the desire expressed at the AICC meeting to put some teeth into Congress socialism.

Another indication is the starting of a Telugu weekly SAMATA (Equality) from Guntur, somewhat on the lines of H. D. MALAVIYA'S SOCIALIST CONGRESSMAN.

Of course, these small stirrings have to be assessed against the background of the continuing firm grip of the landed interests on the Congress and the government as well as the vast amount of ignorance and confusion in the Congress ranks.

# NATIONALISATION IN REVERSE ANDHRA PLOT

★ From MOHIT SEN

HYDERABAD: The Congress next door in Orissa adopts a resolution which is a veritable manifesto of radical reforms so essential to give meaning to the Jaipur debate on socialism. But here in Andhra the dominant Congress leadership seems to be more under the influence of SADOBA PATIL's thought and its yearning to make India in the image of neo-Nazi Bonn Germany.

FAR from expanding the public sector the Andhra Pradesh government is bent on a programme of denationalisation. Earlier governments had given to Sirpur, Sirkil and Albyons to the BIRLAS—all highly profitable plants and with large growth-potential. SANJEEVA REDDY and his Ministry seem bent upon perpetuating this evil tradition. The Rajahmundry Andhra Paper Mill is the latest offering to the private sector.

Weeks before the present Assembly session began the government announced its intention to give up this mill to the highest bidder. Smelling a good deal, some offers quickly came in, including one from the Birlas, it is reported.

Immediately the Communist Party, through a statement of secretary RAJSEKHAR REDDY, denounced this move and asked the people to put pressure on the government to prevent the selling away of the public sector. The APTUC also issued a similar call to the workers.

In the Assembly the issue figured prominently in the debate on the governor's address. The government put forward the arguments that the additional money required for this mill could be more profitably invested elsewhere and more employment opportunities created. The Swatantra spokesmen gave vociferous support to the government for its "wisdom".

Apart from the Communist spokesmen, TENNETI VISWANADHAN made a powerful indictment of this retrograde step. It was pointed out that much more than the money required could be found by collecting revenue arrears and scrapping prohibition. Indeed, not only could this mill be developed but there would be enough left over to help the smaller industrialists, on whose behalf the government was pleading.

It was interesting that some Congress speakers, including the seconder of the resolution of the vote of thanks, also opposed the government's decision. They denounced it as the sale not so much of a mill as of national policies.

This is atleast what SUBRAMANIAM has done. With his new-found love for "decontrol" he echoed AIMO's abhorrence for controls at the aforesaid meeting. He, however, expressed himself in favour of optimum control—a term too imprecise to bind him to any positive policy. And a negative policy can only result in a progressive erosion of the plan to suit the purposes of organisations like the AIMO.

—ESSEN

volunteers for a peaceful statewide satyagraha to compel the Congress ministry to see sense.

Another issue on which the government has been sharply assailed and warned is that of the banjar (waste) lands and their distribution to the landless poor and landless agriculturists.

The Communist spokesmen calling for the distribution of banjar lands produced evidence from revenue records to show that over 25 lakh acres of such land were available with the government, which had allowed landlords to occupy between five to six lakh acres.

Innumerable instances were cited of eviction of landless peasants to make room for so-called "political sufferers". As for the demobilised jawans there was enough land for them as well as for the landless, if the government shed a bit of its pro-landlord bias. The government majority defeated the motion but the moral-political victory went to the movers.

Mention must be made of the improvements effected by the amended Panchayats Bill. The provision of secret ballot, single member constituencies on an equal voting basis, the removal of the cooption clause, granting of greater

rights to panchayats, the calling of Gram Sabhas twice a year, the right to move no-confidence motion against the president—all these are welcome features.

Defects however remain: Nyaya panchayats are not directly elected; scope for officials' interference is considerable; a two-thirds majority is required for a no-confidence motion against the president to be passed; the financial resources remain meagre as the suggestion to

assign 30 per cent of the land revenue to the panchayats has not been accepted.

## ANDHRA PREPARES

A minimum of 80 delegates will go from Andhra to participate in the Bombay conference on DA, bonus and revision of price index on December 13 and 14.

In the background of preparations for this conference comes the good news that two major independent unions of Vishakapatnam—Sriram Sugar Mills and Harbour Workers—have now decided to affiliate to the AITUC.

The 11,000 strong State Road Transport Corporation Employees Union is also considering a similar step.

# FULL-FLEDGED DEMOCRATIC SET-UP DEMANDED IN DELHI

DELHI: The Delhi provincial executive committee of the Communist Party has rejected the proposed Metropolitan Council for Delhi and demanded a full-fledged democratic set-up for the whole of the Delhi union territory.

It has demanded the abolition of the nominated New Delhi Municipal Committee and the Delhi Development Authority and merger of these in a "unified civic administration."

A resolution adopted by the Delhi PEC at its meeting on November 27 says: Delhi provincial executive committee of the Communist Party of India has given consideration to the proposals of Home Ministry of the government of India (as reported in the press), concerning the reorganisation of Delhi set-up. It seems the core of the said proposals is a Metropolitan Council to take the place of the existing Municipal Corporation.

If the proposed scheme of a Metropolitan Council for Delhi is being offered as a substitute for a democratic set-up, then the Communist Party rejects it.

It is the legitimate right of the people of Delhi to have a legislature and a ministry. If other union territories smaller than Delhi in population, less developed and having much less financial resources, can have legislatures and ministries, there is no earthly reason to deny at least that much democratic set-up to Delhi.

Delhi PEC of the Communist Party of India has come to the conclusion that the government of India is guided by anti-democratic considerations in so far as the political rights of the people of Delhi are concerned. Too much weight is being given to the opinion of bureaucrats in this respect.

Further, the Communist Party would demand the continuation of elected committees in the corporation, enhancement of their powers and their better functioning. In a civic set-up, the committee system ensures participation of ordinary members in day to day work and is, therefore, a democratic procedure.

The provincial executive committee would also like the zonal committees of the corporation to get a statutory position, enjoying greater powers to administer civic affairs in their respective localities.

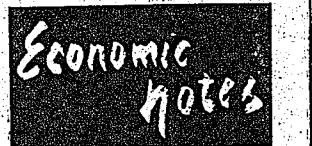
To bring about greater cohesion in the civic administration of Delhi, it is necessary to abolish the nominated New Delhi Municipal Committee, as well as the Delhi Development Authority and to merge them with a unified civic administration. A nominated NDMC is an anachronism in a free, democratic India.

Delhi provincial executive committee of the Communist Party of India appeals to all the democratic-minded sections of the people of Delhi to struggle unitedly to achieve their legitimate rights.

The provincial executive committee of the Communist Party supports the proposal to make the mayor the executive head in the civic set-up. It is a correct proposal and the Communist Party has always demanded such a change in the status of the mayor. The existing arrangement in which the commissioner is the executive head is wrong and, therefore, must go.

However, the Communist Party opposes the introduction of a cabinet system in the corporation, unless the proposed mayor-in-council is intended to function as a sort of coordinating committee, responsible to the corporation just like any other committee of the corporation.

## Covering Up Private Sector's Obnoxious Features



TTK's bunch of five bills, dealing with various aspects of fiscal and economic policies, have been made to appear as demagogic to the private sector by big business press. In truth, however, they are no more than mere palliatives, designed to cover up the most obnoxious features of the corporate sector, and at least one of them (the Unit Trust Bill) is positively directed at enlarging the sphere of this sector's hunt for resources.

OF the five, the Companies (Amendment) Bill is probably the most important. But it also raises too many issues to be dealt with in short notes.

The Unit Trust Bill, professedly directed at encouraging savings by various classes, and promoting the "growth and diversification of the country's economy," is essentially a measure to channelise into the private sector resources raised by a public sector institution. Expressions like "easy and unlimited facilities" to the general public for investment in a "balanced portfolio of securities and shares" are only a facade to ingratiate it with the legislators.

Without any upper limit on the number of trust units, which an individual can purchase, it is bound to become a beehive for monopolists sooner or later. And when this happens, its management by state executives will be of little consequence.

The Bill to tighten up the Reserve Bank's supervision over commercial banks is also no more than a palliative. It is in fact a mockery of enlightened public opinion, which is being increasingly reflected even inside the ruling party. The Uttar Pradesh Congress Committee's resolution, demanding banks nationalisation, and widespread support which a Congress member's resolution on the subject received in the Lok Sabha earlier had indicated the country's preparedness to accept nationalisation of banks as a natural development.

TTK's bill is thus in the nature of an anti-climax, in spite of its adverse reception in the big business press.

But not a trace of its realisation can be discerned in TTK's measure, else instead of tinkering with the problem, it would be directly taking the banks into the state's fold.

They Want the Plan Scuttled

THE short falls in industrial production and TTK's concern for the health of the private sector, have emboldened the All-India Manufacturers' Organisation to ask not merely for new incentives but for a virtual scrapping of planning itself. This is at least the impression one gets on perusing the resolutions of its Central Committee, which held a meeting over the week-end.

The AIMO does not want a mere "modification" of the super-profits tax, but its total abolition, because, as it says, the foreign collaborators are not so much against the rate of this tax as its very principle. We are, however, reminded of a similar ballyhoo, raised in the big business press, when a reluctant MORARJI had first made known his intention to impose the SPT. Wall Street, it was said, was dead set against it, but later it was found to be merely acting on our big business' prompting.

The AIMO is however, not bothered by such embarrassing facts, which may detract it from its big aim to scuttle the Plan itself.

This is atleast what SUBRAMANIAM has done. With his new-found love for "decontrol" he echoed AIMO's abhorrence for controls at the aforesaid meeting. He, however, expressed himself in favour of optimum control—a term too imprecise to bind him to any positive policy. And a negative policy can only result in a progressive erosion of the plan to suit the purposes of organisations like the AIMO.

READ HAYAT URDU WEEKLY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA 7/4 ASAF ALI ROAD NEW DELHI 1

# No Rice In The Shops!

★ FROM AJAY DASGUPTA

**CALCUTTA:** The second "gentlemen's agreement" between West Bengal Chief Minister and the wholesale rice dealers which came into force from December 2, was dead before it was born.

**T**HE agreement stipulated that new rice would be sold at 75 nP per Kg. from that date. But the President of the Calcutta Wholesale Rice Dealers Association in a statement has tried to justify non-availability of Bengal rice in the market by saying that due to rains during the month of Kartik at the time of Pujas, harvesting was late

and so the new rice would come in quantity only after 15 days or so. This would mean end of the second agreement, which is due to expire on December 21.

The first "gentlemen's agreement" which fixed all qualities of Bengal rice, except superfine variety, at Rs. 35 per maund has also become a dead letter. The

Statesman (December 2) carried a report by its staff reporter saying: "A random survey in the retail markets shows that only the coarsest type of rice, mostly considered unedible by the urban middle class is being sold at the minimum price of Rs. 35 per maund (93 nP per Kg). The only variety available is a superfine quality the price of which has not been fixed by the 'agreement' and for this fancy prices are being quoted from Rs. 1.12 to Rs. 1.20 per Kg.

"Curiously, this superfine rice is available in plenty, although almost all the other varieties of medium and fine rice that should have been available at Rs. 35 or less per maund have practically disappeared from the retail market."

While the wholesalers are generally in safe position the retailers and shopkeepers are in a quandary. They have to face the consumers who are unable to pay the high price and who force the shopkeepers to sell at reasonable rates. The retailers are now openly accusing the wholesalers of charging higher price than stipulated in the "gentlemen's agreement". The black money charged ranges from Rs. 1.50 to Rs. 2 per maund.

The South Calcutta Grocers' Association has issued a printed appeal to the public stating the above facts. They also suggested that the government should come into the picture and take the responsibility of supplying the grocers and retailers at reasonable price.

The government is sitting tight. It has said that the new food policy will be declared on December 22. But by that time the entire stock of this season's rice, reported to be bumper one, will have passed into the hands of the millers and the wholesalers. Government will be in no position then to buy rice and build up stocks for the lean months even if it wished.

This attitude of the state government has been criticised not only by the opposition parties. The Amrit Bazar Patrika in an editorial titled "Indecision" on December 2 said, "What has so far been done or not done, however, might create the impression that last October's experience has failed to make the government wiser than before. But available reports go to show that the state government has not yet even made up its mind to set up a procurement machinery. This vacillation is somewhat curious because even the Centre is supposed to be strongly inclined in favour of the West Bengal Government going in for procurement this year."

And everybody knows that the Amrit Bazar Patrika is the paper of State Industries Minister Taran Kanti Ghosh.

The same editorial further states, "It is by now an open secret that last October's crisis was caused not so much by shortage as by hoarding and profiteering by traders. And the initial resistance of traders to the price fixed for new aman crop also leaves no room for doubt about the shape of things to come during the lean season if matters are left to take their own course."

It is no use tinkering with the problem. Start with the ministers whose families have fattened during their term of office. Then alone will the declaration and homilies have any meaning.

Corruption stinks to the high heavens! The people demand that resolute action be taken to put an end to the stranglehold of the monopolies and the vested interests, which are the fountainhead of this corruption. The buying of men in high places has become a regular practice of the big business houses of the monopolists. The contributions to party funds have become another source of corruption.

The root lies in the policies which feed the monopolists and the vested interests. To wipe out corruption in its entirety, one must strike at the root.

(December 3, 1963)

Whispering Gallery

## PERFUMED PERFORMER

**I**F there can ever be a fashion parade of male members of Parliament, SATYA NARAYAN SINHA will walk away with the trophy. Not that he is handsome but he is the most well groomed, well dressed male with a fondness for perfume.

He is the Minister for Parliamentary Affairs and Chief Whip of the Congress Party. He is called MR. PARLIAMENT not because he is a parliamentarian—he is far from it—but because of his manipulative approach towards parliamentary affairs.

As Parliamentary Affairs Minister he seldom speaks and when he does exclusively on "next week's business", members like JAIPAL SINGH used to get a lot of entertainment. Nowadays he has been forced to speak more often thanks to his accidental landing another portfolio—Information and Broadcasting.

Last week I had an opportunity to watch his maiden performance as Minister for Information and Broadcasting. He was replying to a discussion raised by INDRAJIT GUPTA, of the Communist group in the Lok Sabha on the high-handed withdrawal of a newsreel on the massive people's demonstration held before Parliament on September 13.

I am not going into the points of discussion. But I was rather stunned to hear the perfumed performer quoting from a weekly called CURRENT to justify his ban on the film which was already on the circuit.

It is unlikely that the Information Minister was not informed about what his chief said about the Bombay weekly. May be, his double loyalty may have landed Satya Narayan Babu in the present difficulty.

Satya Narayan Sinha worships only two gods: DURGA and BIRLA. Even when he went to attend the recent AICC session at Jaipur he was the guest of the Birlas; he was accommodated at their palatial mansion in that pink city.

He makes no bones about his dubious connection with the Birlas. When he pronounces the name of GANSHYAM-DASJI the alphabet uses to so melt on his tongue so much so that the ultimate sound has a ring of utter reverence.

One of the Birla brothers, I imagine, is intimately connected with the Bombay journal. How could he then disbelieve the CURRENT? JAWAHARLAL must be talking through his hat!

I am sure that Satya Narayan Babu must have seen the clandestine circular containing a host of allegations against INDIRA GANDHI. It was secretly distributed among a select number of parliamentarians and foreign journalists. Among the allegations were that Prime Minister Nehru's daughter was buying lakhs worth of shares through a Calcutta broker, that she was using a 5-ton air conditioner and so on.

And strangely enough most of the information or misinformation contained in the circular had appeared in the CURRENT earlier. My question, therefore, is:

Will the Minister for Information and Broadcasting be pleased to state:

• whether he believes in this circular because its contents had appeared in the Bombay weekly, and

• whether he is contemplating any action against Indira Gandhi as he did in the case of the newsreel on the Great March?

—INSIDER

## MINE WORKERS OBSERVE DEMANDS WEEK

**RAJNANDGAON:** The mine workers under the Bhilai Steel-Project (BSP) observed a demands week on dearness allowance, revision of the consumer price index and minimum guaranteed bonus from November 18 to 25.

**T**HE demands week was observed on a call of the Samyukta Khadan Mazdoor Sangh.

The programme included poster-ing, distribution of handbills, camp meetings, street corner meetings, squad propaganda, wearing of badges and demonstrations and public meetings.

The workers in the BSP mines at Rajhara (iron ore), Nandini (limestone), Hirri (dolomite), Chandisongi (florite) and Bakoda (manganese) as also in the private sector mines of Tirodi and Balaghat observed the week on a big scale.

At the Rajhara iron ore mines, every day at least ten squads of twenty workers each could be found holding street corner and camp meetings.

On November 24 when the INTUC was holding a public meeting to abuse the AITUC with about a hundred people attending, four squads of three to four hundred workers each were moving around the four

The main demand voiced by the speakers was abolition of the contract system from the BSP mines.

# PARLIAMENT DISCUSSION ON WITHDRAWAL OF GREAT MARCH NEWSREEL ANTI-COMMUNIST RAG GETS BOOST

Minister for Information and Broadcasting SATYA NARAYAN SINHA quoted the Right-wing weekly CURRENT of Bombay against the leading newspapers of the capital to defend government action withdrawing the Films Division's newsreel on the Great March organised by the Communist Party before Parliament in September and said that the newsreel was withdrawn because it had a "propaganda slant" and that the government's estimate of the people who joined the March was not one lakh but only 30,000.

He was replying to a half-an-hour discussion raised by INDRAJIT GUPTA on Wednesday in the Lok Sabha.

**A** PART from this ministerial mathematics, the content of the Minister's reply amounted to a whole-hog obstinate defence of that action, the absurdity of which had been exposed by newspapers in the country and was further laid bare in a brilliant speech in the House by Indrajit Gupta. One felt that the Minister for Parliamentary Affairs and Information and Broadcasting was at pains to convince the CURRENT that he was not a Communist.

"On the front page," "the most important news they published" and "very big headlines" were some of the qualifications which the Minister gave to the CURRENT story. And he said that CURRENT had written this about his Ministry: "This ministry does not exist for the public; they exist for the Communists!"

Indrajit Gupta raised the discussion on points arising out of a written answer by the same Minister to a question in the Lok Sabha on the opening day of the current session of Parliament. Indrajit said that he would not have raised it if it was only a trivial matter, as some Members had suggested to him. As far as the Communist Party was concerned, it was not bothered about publicity for its Great March.

Indrajit said he would like to thank the Minister for giving more publicity for the event by the way in which he acted in the matter of this newsreel. In fact, by blacking it out, the government has helped the Party, and the people are eager to know what was in the newsreel which the government withdrew.

But the real question, Indrajit pointed out, was whether the government wanted to use its monopoly of making newsreels in this country to suppress news of the activities of opposition parties. The government had acted in the matter because of pressure tactics employed by some Congress Party members, among whom MAHAVIR TYAGI's name has been mentioned. Indrajit regretted that the Minister allowed himself to be thus "bulldozed."

Indrajit then read out from editorial comments on the incident which appeared in THE HINDUSTAN TIMES and THE TIMES OF INDIA, papers which could not be accused of being fellow-travelers of the Communist Party. These newspapers had put the thing in their right perspective, that the government's action was a dangerous sign of official management of news in the interests of the ruling party.

Indrajit took serious objection to the written reply by the Minister to the question on the subject in the Lok Sabha and said that it was the result of an afterthought, and the reply was "totally inconsistent, illogical and constituted an insult to the intelligence of the House." Asked about the principles governing the production of newsreels, the Minister's reply had stated:

"The weekly newsreel attempts to cover as many news-worthy events of the week as possible in different walks of life. The restrictions on it are that notice should not be taken of activities of such political parties as are not recognised as all-India parties, that they should not publicise the activities or programmes of political parties and that discretion should be exercised in covering demonstrations and processions etc. prejudicial to government."

But the organisational wing replied that the ministerial wing could not impose their nominee as president on them, much less dictate how and when election should be conducted.

When the Congress high command realised that both the groups were somewhat

Indrajit asked if the Communist Party was not an all-India party, which other party was an all-India party except the Congress Party? In this connection he also referred to the newsreels about Congress meetings, AICC sessions etc.

### WHOM TO BELIEVE?

Heard at the last press conference of the Prime Minister on October 9, 1963 in New Delhi:

Question: The Current of Bombay reports in its latest issue that you are bringing pressure on the Finance Minister to nationalise banks. Is that true?  
P.M.: May I advise you not to believe anything that the Current writes?

Indrajit said that the third restriction contained the most dangerous point. It means that in the absence of statutory regulations, the discretion vested in the government is being used to suppress news which is not to the liking of the ruling party.

Indrajit asked how was it that the Central Board of Film Censors

and the Film Advisory Committee of the Government of India could pass this newsreel and yet the government should think it necessary to withdraw it. He said that the question involved in government's action was not a party affair and wide sections of the press had criticised it.

RENU CHAKRAVARTY asked whether the Minister was aware that in England even anti-government demonstrations are filmed and shown not only in England but outside that country also. She said that the Great March was the biggest demonstration seen in Delhi.

Satyannarain Sinha in his reply said that Indrajit Gupta had tried "to raise a tempest in a tea pot." After hearing the Member, he was even more convinced that government's action was right. "My only regret is that it was exhibited for seven days", he said and he was "grateful" to the "gentlemen" who had brought the newsreel to his notice. He dismissed the suggestion that action was taken because they were Congressmen.

The Minister said that himself and the Home Minister had gone and seen the newsreel on the screen and both of them were convinced that it should be with-

drawn. "What we objected to was exaggerated propaganda", he said and gave the figure of 30,000 as government's estimation of the people in the Great March.

According to him the newsreel had a propaganda slant and he claimed that even Congress propaganda is not allowed in the preparation of newsreels. He conceded that the Communist Party is an all-India party.

As the Minister read out certain restrictions on newsreels—against creating communal disharmony, against creating disaffection against a friendly government etc.—which were not obviously from his earlier written reply, Indrajit Gupta remarked: "I think you are reading from the Preventive Detention Act." The House rocked with laughter.

In reply to a question from a Swatantra member, Satyanarain Sinha said that those in the Films Division who were responsible for producing this newsreel were being departmentally dealt with, that explanations had been called forth from them and these have been received and the government was going through them.

Asked about the Film Advisory Committee's okay to the newsreel, Satyanarain Sinha said: "It was a lapse on their part."

# KERALA CONGRESS CRISIS DEEPENS

★ From S. SHARMA

**TRIVANDRUM:** With the election of K. P. MADHAVAN NAIR as the president of the Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee, after a keen contest and a margin of only 17 votes over his rival M. C. CHACKO, the curtain has rung down on Act One of the developing drama of the Growing Crisis in Kerala Congress.

**T**HIS was the second time that the KPCC met to elect a president. The first meeting on October 6 had to be abandoned because of unruly scenes created by the ministerialists. Seven PCC members and two AICC members were suspended by the president, C. K. GOVINDAN NAIR for unruly behaviour.

At that time T. O. BAWA was the candidate sponsored by the organisational wing under the leadership of Govindan Nair. It was considered certain that Bawa would win the election and thus ensure the presidentship for the organisational wing during the crucial period preceding the Assembly elections in the state.

The ministerial wing under Chief Minister E. SHANKAR could not brook this prospect and sought the high command's intervention to postpone the election of the president. Their plea was that the president should be a man above the group rivalries so that the organisation could be best led during the election period.

But the organisational wing replied that the ministerial wing could not impose their nominee as president on them, much less dictate how and when election should be conducted.

When the Congress high command realised that both the groups were somewhat

the nine Congressmen were not enabled to participate in the PCC presidentship election by withdrawing the suspension measures, as many as 16 Congress MLAs would resign from the Congress and create a crisis for the government.

The threat had the desired effect. On November 25 the Congress president directed that all the nine suspended Congressmen be allowed to take part in the PCC president election.

Even before this directive came, the legislators among them were permitted to vote in the election of PCC members from the Legislature Party. Shankar, who was the returning officer, also permitted many legislators including Home Minister P. T. CHACKO who had not paid their dues to the organisation and therefore forfeited their right to vote, to participate and vote in the election of PCC members.

### Help To Ministerialists

The developments in the Kerala Congress were dramatic after D. SANJIVIAH acquiesced in to the wishes of the ministerial wing and permitted the suspended Congressmen to participate in the PCC presidentship election. The ministerial wing got success-drunk and decided that they could even challenge Shastri's nominee.

Though Madhavan Nair had been persuaded with great difficulty to stand for president-in-between his final contest and the initial proposal by Shastri, several times did he accept and then refuse to become the KPCC president—the ministerial wing put up M. C. Chacko, a confirmed MRA devotee, as their candidate.

Their expectation was that Madhavan Nair would not stand for an actual contest and their nominee could win against the organisational wing's candidate T. O. Bawa. When they found that Nair was actually contesting, they did not retreat, but went ahead and contested the election.

Meanwhile, Govindan Nair threw another bombshell. He announced that he had resigned from the Congress Working Committee in protest against the president's action in allowing the suspended Congressmen to take part in the presidentship election.

So has happened the strange spectacle in Kerala of the ministerial wing contesting against the compromise candidate proposed by the high command, suspended members taking part in the election, a Working Committee member resigning in protest against the president's action and finally, a victory for the organisational wing in the presidentship election.

Madhavan Nair's election as the KPCC president is not going to solve any of the problems facing the Kerala Congress. He is already being dubbed as a partisan of the organisational wing and biased against the ministerial wing. This attitude of the ministerialists is likely to push him more and more into the Govindan Nair group and keep up the tension between the two wings in the Kerala Congress.

Plagued with internal troubles, the Congress is finding difficult to face the people too. The double-dealing engaged in by the ruling party, of socialist professions and pro-capitalist and pro-landlord practice, is certainly not going to save it in Kerala.

# DELHI TEXTILE WORKERS DEMONSTRATE AGAINST CUTS

★ From Our Correspondent

DELHI: Five thousand textile workers of Delhi went in a mass deputation to the Chief Commissioner on November 28 to present a memorandum listing their grievances and main demands. The deputation was organised by the Kapra Mazdoor Ekta Union which represents the overwhelming majority of the 22 thousand textile workers in the Union Territory.

THOUGH the union had given prior intimation to the Chief Commissioner about the deputation, he was not present at his residence when the workers reached there. The angry workers squatted for three hours in front of the residence.

After three hours, the Chief Commissioner's secretary came out and took a copy of the memorandum from the representatives of the workers. A meeting between the Chief Commissioner and the representatives of the union to discuss the issues listed in the memorandum was also arranged.

The mass deputation was the first step towards an agitation which the Kapra Mazdoor Ekta Union has decided upon to realise the demands of the workers. Though the union sought their realisation through numerous communications to the managements

of the five major textile and silk units in Delhi, it was not successful.

Rather, the unjust and arbitrary actions of the employers have only increased. The workers have given an ultimatum to the employers about the impending breach of industrial peace unless speedy action was taken to remove the major causes of extreme labour unrest currently prevailing in the industry.

At a recent meeting of its general council, the union decided to terminate all previous agreements and awards between the managements and workmen, since in its opinion, the provisions of these agreements and awards are being observed by the employers more persistently in breach than in practice. The administration has totally failed to exercise a check on these

anti-labour activities of the employers.

The union has particularly taken objection to the unjust and illegal cut in the dearness allowance of the workers and demanded its immediate restoration. The cut was the result of the artificial link-up made by the labour bureau of the government of India of a 1960 based index with the 1944 based index on which the textile workers in Delhi were getting their dearness allowance.

The managements arbitrarily took the "estimated" index given by the labour bureau for computing the dearness allowance of the workers. The estimated index was found to be always lower than the real index and the workers' lost lakhs of rupees as a result. In a letter to the managements protesting against the arbitrary changeover, the union said:

"The management is very well aware that the payment of DA under the established scheme which is the product of regular awards of competent courts is based on the working class cost of living index (now called the consumer price index) numbers with 1944=100 as base. Under the scheme an increase or

decrease at 4.37 nP per day per point rise or fall of this 1944 index takes place. The calculation starts at index number 120 of the said index on which the amount of DA is fixed at Rs. 44.75.

"When therefore the publication of actual figures of 1944 index was substituted by 'estimated' figures, the management should have at least consulted the union before starting to compute the DA on the changed basis which was likely to affect the quantum of the DA till then paid to workmen.

"However, it is still not too late for the management to rectify this mistake and agree to reconsider the matter on the basis of facts and figures which we are citing in the following paragraphs.

"The estimated figures of the consumer price index with base 1944=100 as published by the labour bureau from December 1962 onwards have been arrived at by establishing an artificial relationship between the two series—the 1944 series and the new series with 1960=100. However, this artificial linking of the two series through a conversion factor worked out on the basis of mere arithmetical relationship between them in a particular year is bound to give distorted picture of the actual index figures of 1944.

"This is more than evident from a comparison of the real figures of 1944 with the estimated ones worked out by multiplying the 1960 series figures by the conversion factor established by the labour bureau. It is found that the estimated figures of 1944 index are almost invariably below the actual ones."

Giving the comparative table of the actual and estimated figures of index. (See

NEW AGE November 24) the letter said the figures went to prove that the workers "stand to suffer a substantial cut in their DA if computation there of is left to be made on the basis of the so-called estimated figures of 1944 index which have been unilaterally adopted by the managements for computing DA."

"It is evident that a worker stands to lose not less than Rs. 2.50 a month due to this unjust changeover from real figures to estimated figures", the letter points out. The gain to the employers is Rs. 6.6 lakhs a year.

"This manipulated deflation in consumer price index numbers has thoroughly incapacitated the workers to meet the onslaught of rising prices on their already poor standard of living, while enabling the employers to save lakhs of rupees at the expense of poor workers. Naturally, the workers feel intensely agitated on the issue and demand that this state of affairs be ended forthwith."

The union therefore demanded fresh calculation of DA to be made from January 1963—the "estimated" index was introduced in December 1962—on the basis of the real index which is four points higher than the estimated index every month. It also demanded immediate payment of arrears in DA to the workers on the basis of the real index figures.

The programme of action decided upon by the general council of the Kapra Mazdoor Ekta Union include meetings to be held during the next one month at mill gates and labour areas to explain the fraud of index and how the workers are being deprived of their just income.

## U. P. WORKERS MOBILISE FOR D. A., BONUS

★ From Ramesh Sinha

LUCKNOW: "Twentyfive per cent increase in dearness allowance", "minimum one month's bonus" and "sixtyfive rupees monthly minimum wage"—these have become the slogans of an intensive campaign among the workers of Uttar Pradesh.

IN view of the coming all-India struggle and protest strike on the DA and bonus issues early next year, extensive preparations have been set afoot in various parts of the state so that the workers of U.P. might also march hand in hand with the rest of the workers in the country in the common fight.

The call for the preparations was given by a meeting of the working committee of the U.P. Trade Union Congress held in September immediately after the Great March.

Since then regional conferences of different trade unions have been held at Meerut, Aligarh, Varanasi and Kanpur.

In the MEERUT conference, all the unions affiliated to the AITUC decided to launch a campaign in the textile, engineering (especially in Ghazabad) and sugar mills of the region on the above demands. It was decided to draw in the workers of the sugar mills also in this struggle. The sugar mill workers are mostly employed only seasonally, are paid most in-

adequately and enjoy very few benefits.

The conference further decided to lend full support to the struggle of the sugarcane producers of the region for minimum Rs. two per maund price for sugarcane and removal of restrictions on the manufacture of gur and khandasari. These restrictions have been imposed by the government, the conference felt, merely to help the sugar mill magnates to reap further profits at the cost of the kisans. The demand for Rs. two per maund for sugarcane has since been met by the government in the western districts of the state.

In the ALIGARH conference of trade unions, it was decided to prepare a memorandum of demands of the workers of the area and to hold meetings and demonstrations in support of these demands. The memorandum would include local demands, also besides the three basic demands on DA, bonus and minimum wage.

The conference was held in

★ ON PAGE EIGHT  
DECEMBER 8, 1963

# Continuance Of Kairon Helping Reaction—Punjab Communist Council

JULLUNDUR: A four-day session of the Punjab state council of the Communist Party of India ended here on November 25 after fully endorsing all the reports and proposals of the state executive placed before it by AVTAR SINGH MALHOTRA, secretary of the state council.

The council unanimously adopted the panchayat election manifesto and decided to fight these elections on a non-partisan basis in order to unite all progressive elements standing for village development, social justice and progress and to defeat all anti-social and anti-people elements.

The draft political report of the executive committee was endorsed by the council after a thorough discussion in which 40 members participated. No one voted against the report.

Placing the executive's draft before the council, Malhotra said: "since the last meeting of the council, the international and national situation has become more favourable. The national progressive forces have begun to assert themselves more and more and Right Reaction has suffered setbacks."

He said in Punjab the situation has been complex. "The reactionary frontal assault on national policies and the anti-NEHRU campaign inspired and led by Right Reaction did not get the wide response expected by the so-called opposition united front. On the other hand, the Communist Party achieved big successes in its campaigns in the state."

Eleven lakh people signed its People's Petition and participants from Punjab alone in the historic Delhi March before Parliament exceeded the total number of demonstrators organised by all the Rightist parties together. The Amritsar Peace Congress in defence of non-alignment, anti-colonialism and peace has been a tremendous success, a powerful demonstration of patriotic forces against imperialism and its reactionary supporters. Also in this period, workers, kisans, employees and students have launched many campaigns and struggles in defence of their rights and interests.

Malhotra said the assault on RAM PIARA, the continuance of PRATAP SINGH KAIRON as chief minister even after the judgment of the Supreme Court in the Dr. PRATAP SINGH case and the refusal of Prime Minister Nehru to remove him have only provided grist to the reactionary mill. "The so-called opposition united front has sought to turn the widespread anti-Kairon sentiment in the state into anti-NEHRU channels and thus develop a flank attack on his nationally accepted policies."

The Communist Party has continually exposed and opposed this manoeuvre of Reaction. At the same time, it has carried forward its struggle against the anti-people policies and misdeeds of the Kairon ministry. It was in line with this policy that the Party called for the removal of Kairon from chief ministership and tabled the motion of

no-confidence in the Kairon ministry.

"Our party welcomed the appointment of the DAS COMMISSION but expressed its opinion that all the charges levelled against the Chief Minister should be brought within the purview of the enquiry", he said, adding:

"The executive considered that the Party must act with still greater vigour and intervene in the situation independently, having no truck with the Right Reactionary parties. The sudden spurt in the prices of foodgrains, sugar, gur and other necessities of life has added to the hardships of the masses. The failure of the government to tackle the problem has added to mass suffering and discontent."

The council also adopted a resolution mourning the tragic and sudden death of five generals as a serious loss to the nation. It sent its heartfelt sympathies and condolences to the bereaved families of all who met their tragic end in the accident.

The Fanchayat election manifesto adopted by the council noted that Panchayati Raj organs have assumed significant role in the life of the villages and therefore the Party paid serious attention to the panchayat elections.

In order to democratise these organs and to enhance their powers the manifesto states that the Party would fight to liquidate the powers enjoyed by the Director of Panchayats to arbitrarily suspend Panches, Sarpanches and the panchayats, the hostile attitude of the police and revenue officials towards panchayats, the advance of no more than a paltry ten per cent of revenue to panchayats.

The Party would intervene

and discipline. It decided to organise Marxist study classes on the widest scale for all sections, to increase the sales of Party papers and to collect Rs. 50 thousand by the end of February next to strengthen the Party press and organisation.

At the beginning of the council session, Malhotra welcomed the 42 Communist deputies released recently, most of whom are members of the council. He said this will help to strengthen the struggle the Communist Party is waging to unite all progressive forces against the machinations of the Right Reaction, against the anti-people policies of the government and for defending the interests of the working people.

"Our success in securing the release of all Communist detainees in the state will help to strengthen the Communist Party and united efforts of all will help to strengthen the mass campaigns and struggles that devolve on the Party in the service of the working people and the nation", he said.

The council also adopted a resolution mourning the tragic and sudden death of five generals as a serious loss to the nation. It sent its heartfelt sympathies and condolences to the bereaved families of all who met their tragic end in the accident.

The Fanchayat election manifesto adopted by the council noted that Panchayati Raj organs have assumed significant role in the life of the villages and therefore the Party paid serious attention to the panchayat elections.

The Party would intervene

in the panchayat elections not from any narrow selfish angle. It would participate in the election by organising a broad people's front in the village which would unite all those elements who stand for village development, peoples' welfare and unity irrespective of their political and ideological affiliations.

This broad People's Front would oppose all the anti-people elements enumerated above. In forging such a People's Front the Communists would make special efforts to champion the just demand of the scheduled castes and other oppressed sections of the people.

The manifesto sets out the tasks facing the Party in this field in a comprehensive democratic programme. The Party would fight for making the panchayats as the main organs of development. It demands that half of land revenue be left with the panchayats and the other half with the Samities and the Parishads.

The manifesto further demands that the work of Patwaris, the Gram-Sewaks and such departments as development, education, health and sanitation in the village be conducted under panchayats' supervision. The Party would especially champion the demands of scheduled castes and women.

The Party has appealed to the rural people of Punjab to unite around this programme of people's welfare to defeat the anti-people elements and lay the basis of democratic life in the rural areas.

## NO RISE IN EARNINGS FOR SUGAR WORKERS!

★ By Our Staff Correspondent

NEW DELHI: The sugar industry belt running through the three states of Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Punjab is in ferment. There is serious unrest among the sugar mill workers over the unjust deprivation of an increase in their dearness allowance.

THE wage board for sugar industry had recommended that sugar workers should be entitled to a rise in dearness allowance if there is a rise of ten points, on an average, in the all-India consumer price index during the twelve month period from July 1 to June 30. Workers drawing basic wage upto Rs. 100 should get 55 nP and those getting over Rs. 100 should get 65 nP per point of increase.

Since 1961 when the index stood at 123, the index number has gone up by 14 points. The September 1963 figure for consumer price index is 137. But despite this, the two lakh sugar workers would not get any DA because of the peculiar wording of the wage board award.

The award had said that adjustments in DA shall be made only on ten-point slabs though when adjustments are made it would be for every point of rise or fall. Also,

though the adjustment would be automatic, it shall be made only once a year, to be effective from October 1 of every year on the basis of the preceding July to June period.

While there is an apparent 14 point rise in the index, the July 1962 to June 1963 average works out to only 132 points, that is only nine points higher than the 123 points of 1961. This means that the sugar workers would not get any increase in their DA because the rise is one point less than the stipulated 10 point slab in the wage award.

The workers will have to wait till October 1964 to get any rise in their dearness allowance. The gainers are, of course, the mill magnates, who would by then have reaped an unjust profit of one crore of rupees at the expense of the workers. The 14-point increase in index should normally have entitled the workers to an increase of five to six rupees in their DA.

This has created suspicion in the minds of the workers, not only in sugar industry but in all the major industries where DA is linked to the consumer price index, that the fall in index numbers was manipulated to rob the workers of their hard-earned money.

The sugar mill magnates have reaped rich profits even otherwise. The price of sugar has gone up by 40 per cent during the last one year. The gains accruing to them from the fraud of index at the cost of the workers, is besides these.

The sugar workers are now getting ready for a massive agitation to realise their rightful increase in DA. With the crushing season on, there is intensive activity around the sugar mills.



### Paramount necessity for the formation of health

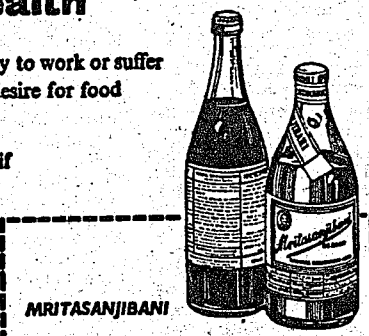
You feel tired to work... do not get energy to work or suffer from colds... or perhaps you have not a desire for food or what you take does not digest even.

Then it would rapidly improve your health if you take two spoonful of Mritasanjibani mixed with four spoonful of Mahadraksharista (6 years old).

SADHANA AUSADHALAYA—DACC  
36, Sadhana Ausadhalaya Road  
Sadhana Nagar, Calcutta 48



Adhyaksha Dr. Jages Chandra Ghose,  
M.A. Ayurved-Sastri, F.C.S. (London)  
M.C.S. (America) Formerly Professor  
of Chemistry, Bhagalpur College.



MRITASANJIBANI  
MAHADRAKSHARISTA  
(6 years old)

Calcutta Centre: Dr. Nares Chandra Ghose,  
M.B.B.S. (Cal.) Ayurvedacharya.

NEW AGE

**FOCUS** was on T. T. KRISHNAMACHARI last week who introduced a series of five Bills in the Lok Sabha intimately connected with economic and industrial activity in the country. By a coincidence, T.T.K. presented his Bills to Parliament on the same day that the mid-term Plan appraisal was also submitted to Parliament.

With the Plan having run into difficulties, one would have expected the new Finance Minister to show in this plentiful legislation a more vigorous and realistic approach to the financial and economic problems which have been spotlighted in the mid-term appraisal. But T.T.K. has kept peace with the private sector, and newspaper comments show that the latter is neither apprehensive nor very critical of what the Finance Minister is trying to do. Where there is difference, it is expressed in feeble tones and never too harsh to frighten T.T.K.

Particular notice has been taken of T.T.K.'s two Bills, the Companies (Amendment) Bill and the Banking Laws (Miscellaneous Provisions) Bill. THE INDIAN EXPRESS (his favourite?) wrote on the Banking Laws Bill that it is good in parts. Further it said:

There will be wholehearted support for the Banking Laws Bill introduced by the Union Finance Minister, Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, in the Lok Sabha on Tuesday to the extent that it brings within the compass of the Reserve Banks' authority the deposit-accepting non-banking firms and institutions and also what is known as the unorganised banking sector.

THE INDIAN EXPRESS says that "equally unexceptionable" is the provision prohibiting a banking company from writing off any loan due from a director or anyone in whom he is interested without the approval of the Reserve Bank. But then,

"Many eyebrows will, however, be raised, and not wholly without justification either, at the sweeping authority being assumed by the government, through the agency of the central monetary authority, to remove any person associated with a banking company, appoint in his place a person of its choice, nominate additional directors on the board of a bank who may number as many as five, and limit the term of office of a person, managing the affairs of a bank to five years. This may seem tantamount to nationalisation or worse."

THE INDIAN EXPRESS reminds that "decisions taken must not only be correct but must also appear to be so." A way out is to provide for appeal, not to the highest tribunal of law, but perhaps to the President, to whom the decision-taking authority will have to justify its action if challenged.

THE STATESMAN has said that the trend in all the Bills introduced by T.T.K. is towards greater control of economic and financial institutions. "However, it is in respect of banks and companies that the trend towards increased regulation will be intensified most; both have been the subjects of some controversy in Parliament in recent months during which doctrinaire demands have been pressed on the government, for nationalisation of banks and close supervision of corporate managements."

So the paper thinks that the proposed legislation of T.T.K. will give some political advantages to the Congress after "the polemics in Jaipur which will be carried over to Bhubaneswar." THE STATESMAN also feels that the right of the Reserve Bank to remove a bank director is too wide, even though its exercise will be subject to the grant of a reasonable opportunity to show cause against such action and reasons for removal will have to be recorded in writing.

This differs from the corre-

sponding provision proposed for other companies which includes a reference of such matters to a Tribunal and an appeal to the High Court on its findings, whether the nature of a banking company justifies a radically different treatment requires further consideration.

But THE STATESMAN's parting advice to the banks is: "Banks may well ponder on the price they are required to pay for averting nationalization."

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES has a more sullen look on its face. It headlines its editorial 'Strait-jacket' and complains that in their sum, the changes introduced in banking and company laws constitute a formidable accretion of power to the executive, whose good sense cannot always be taken for granted.

On the provision regarding the removal of bank directors, the paper says: "It is no answer at all to say that the Reserve

## TTK'S BILLS

## TYPES

Bank is hardly likely to abuse this provision. Every legal sanction for arbitrary action can be plausibly defended on this ground. The corresponding provision for non-banking companies introduced in the companion bill is more surely rooted in liberal jurisprudence. And considering the antecedents of that amendment, it is amazing that banks rather than non-banking companies should have been chosen as objects of the harsher procedure.

On the Companies (Amendment) Bill, THE HINDUSTAN TIMES says: "The least defensible of the innovations is the power given to the government to convert its loans to companies into equity capital on terms it considers reasonable. This is sought to be defended on grounds of 'progressive thinking' about the superior virtues of

government assistance taking the form of equity rather than loan."

In contrast to these is the reaction of PATRIOT which is unsparing in its criticism of the Finance Minister for his failure to see the obvious—the need for nationalisation of banks in this critical juncture of Plan implementation. PATRIOT wrote:

"Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari's bill to tighten up the Reserve Bank's supervision over commercial banks seems draconian on its surface, but in substance all it purports to do is to provide certain palliatives for the most obnoxious of banking malpractices. Public opinion is far ahead of the government and the demand for nationalization of banks has ceased to be merely a 'doctrinaire' leftist cry."

Further it points out that "Indian banks today are leviathans, commanding huge resour-

ces (Rs. 2,000 crores according to official figures), ten times the figures they had two decades back. They play a key role too almost in every department of the economy. The question of their ownership and management has become all-important, because whoever controls them can hold the economy to ransom."

Planned development presupposes assignment of definite roles and targets to all segments and levers of the economy. In our planning banking has been left free to manage its own affairs. Various Finance Ministers have tried to "reform" this situation, but without adequate understanding of the banks' role....Mr. Krishnamachari has also chosen to follow in their footsteps, although the malady in his time has become the most glaring.

## Press Takes A Look At Itself

THE press takes a look at itself in the context of the Press Council Bill introduced in the Rajya Sabha last week. And the reaction is mixed. On the utility of the Press Council and its proposed powers, the opinions expressed show wariness and some amount of skepticism.

The NATIONAL HERALD wrote: "The Press Council Bill, supposedly in its final form, has been introduced in Parliament at a time when the press has been least interested in self-regulation. It is the government, more than the press, that are now enthusiastic about the Press Council, in the hope that it will be a solution to all problems, at least to those problems which are referred to the government or which come up before them."

The paper points out that in the matter of taking action against monopolistic trends and against evils like sensationalism, vulgarity and scurrility and other excesses, the government have now come to believe that the Press Council will save them from responsibility and transfer it to the press itself. "The press also knows that if it cannot regulate itself, it will invite regulation, which is not desirable."

The unfortunate thing is that the press, whether as a profession or as an industry, has shown itself incapable of self-regulation, and while nobody now thinks of regulation, especially by the government, the Press Council by itself cannot ensure self-regulation, however carefully it is composed. There should be no exaggerated ideas about its usefulness.

Commenting on the inclusion of the 'lay element' in the Press Council, the paper pointed out that while this was desirable and justified, it may not be entirely in favour of press freedom always. The representatives of the profession and the industry have, therefore, to be wary of their role and responsibilities.

THE TIMES OF INDIA said: "The composition of the Council ensures that a journalist will largely be judged by his own peers and the manner of selection of the chairman and remaining 25 members of the Council that they

will be independent people and not creatures of the government. This is an important safeguard. Yet it must be wondered whether a statutory Council of this kind, with judicial powers and from which there is no appeal, is likely to be useful."

According to the paper THE FEAR OF 'CONCENTRATION' and 'MONOPOLY' is based on unproven political assumptions and has become a convenient bogey with which to dismiss unwelcome, even if well founded, criticism. It also said: "A code of conduct can seldom be happily or completely defined; which is good enough reason to place continuing reliance on the unwritten code that has generally guided the Indian Press."

THE STATESMAN was more critical. Its editorial, entitled 'Press Council Gaffe', said: "There

may be divergent views about the need or desirability of a Press Council in India; there can only be resentment at some of the phrasing of the government Bill to establish one."

The paper takes particular objection to the object of the Bill where it says: "In particular to prevent the use of any information obtained by journalists for purposes of blackmail." Commenting on this the paper wrote:

"This illustrates the disdain with which far too many politico-bureaucrats of New Delhi regard the Indian Press and the damage they are prepared to do to it in the eyes of the world. While conceding that cases of blackmail occur among unscrupulous operators of a gutter press, the paper

however points out that 'the suggestion that they are so prevalent in Indian journalism as to demand the special attention of the Press Council could only arise from a painful ignorance or the wish for an excuse to encroach on the independence of the Press'. The paper has also criticised the exemption to Council's decisions from being questioned in any court of law.

THE STATESMAN points out that the Bill does not say anything about safeguarding a journalist's sources, whereas the Council can summon and enforce the attendance of persons and examine them on oath and require the discovery and production of documents. The paper has called for drastic amendment of the Bill.

—SANJAYA

## U. P. WORKERS MOBILISE... ★ From Page 6

October. As the campaign developed, the workers felt the need of bringing all the trade unions of Allahgarh together on the same platform. Hence a meeting of the representatives of all local unions, irrespective of their affiliations, was convened in the office of the district trade union congress.

The conference, under the presidency of DEVDUTT BHARADWAJ, decided to hold a still bigger conference "to unite the working class force of the area" and to "work out a common programme of action for the redressal of the burning grievances of the workers". The preparations for this conference are continuing.

In AGRA, after many informal meetings and consultations spread over several weeks, the workers have decided to hold a "joint conference of all the trade unions of the region" to chalk out a common programme on the three demands of DA, bonus and minimum wage of Rs. 65 a month.

The conference will be attended by unions not affiliated to the AITUC also, along with the AITUC unions.

In VARANASI, 30 unions of the region met on November 23 and set up a preparatory

committee of 13 representatives to call a bigger conference of the unions at Varanasi, Jaunpur, Mirzapur, Allahabad, Azamgarh, Ghazipur and Ballia to give final shape to the struggle that is to be launched.

The initial meeting was presided over by SHIV DASS BHATTACHARYA, president of the Varanasi branch of the U.P. Bank Employees Union. RAM ASREY, general secretary of the UPTUC, was also present at this meeting.

A campaign of education on the basis of the three main demands of the workers has already begun in the region, which has recently become a major centre of various industries in the state.

In KANPUR, more than 40 trade unions of the city met together early in November and decided to call a conference in December to herald the campaign for the realisation of the workers' demands on DA, bonus and minimum wage in a big way, befitting the politically conscious and heroic workers of Kanpur.

A campaign to educate and prepare the workers for the forthcoming battle has already started in the mills, factories, workshops and chals. Numerous meetings are

being held everywhere in the city, led by B. S. YUSUF, HARBANS SINGH and SHIV VARMA and other leaders. In LUCKNOW, a meeting of all the trade unions in the city is to be convened shortly to take decisions on how to organise the struggle here.

Along with these preparations, delegates are being chosen to go to Bombay for the all-India conference on DA and bonus. It is expected that a good contingent, representing the various industries in the state, will attend the Bombay conference from U.P.

An important feature of these preparations for the coming struggle is that the workers have been encouraged to render full support to the battle of the sugarcane producers for getting fair price for their produce and for bringing to an end the unust bans clamped down on them with regard to the manufacture of gur and khandsari.

Thus, not only a general alliance of the workers and peasants, but specially active alliance of the sugar mill workers and sugarcane producers has been built up during this campaign. This development has great possibilities for the future.

# Day of Solidarity with S. Vietnam

## DECEMBER 20

NEW DELHI: The All India Trade Union Congress is preparing to observe December 20 as the International Day of Solidarity with the Workers and People of South Vietnam.

A CALL to observe the day was given by the constituent conference of the International Trade Union Committee for Solidarity with the Workers and People of South Vietnam, held in Hanoi from October 20 to 23 on the initiative of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

The meeting was attended by representatives of trade union organisations with different international affiliations as also autonomous unions from 31 countries of all continents, as well as representatives of the WFTU.

### Conference Sponsored By WFTU

It was a fine demonstration of international trade union solidarity with the legitimate struggle of the workers and people of South Vietnam against the undeclared war waged by American imperialists in South Vietnam and for the loyal application of the 1954 Geneva Agreements as well as for the reunification of the country.

The latest events in South Vietnam, bringing about the downfall of the Diem clique and its replacement by another anti-people clique have increased the need for broader and more thorough international workers' solidarity with the people of South Vietnam.

The Hanoi conference elected a seven-member secretariat composed of representatives of the WFTU, the Association of Workers for Liberation of South Vietnam, the Federation of Trade Unions of Vietnam, the National Union of Mali Workers, the Revolutionary CTC of Cuba, the SOBSI of Indonesia and the French CGT.

On behalf of the AITUC, MAHENDRA SEN attended the conference and conveyed the feelings of solidarity of the Indian working class with the people and workers of South Vietnam. He said: "My organisation (AITUC) has

deputed me to convey its warmest and sincerest greetings to the representatives of the Association of Workers for the Liberation of South Vietnam and through them to all the heroic workers and people of South Vietnam fighting for their just rights and independence against the puppet reactionary regime of American puppets."

"The All India Trade Union Congress also wishes to convey its fraternal greetings to all the participants in the conference and to the World Federation of Trade Unions which has sponsored this conference in the noble cause of the South Vietnamese workers and people."

"We also support the suggestion for celebrating the third anniversary of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam on December 20, as the Day of International Solidarity with the Workers and People of South Vietnam."

"We have full confidence in the heroic resistance and might of the workers and people of South Vietnam and the day is not far off when they will win victory and reunite with their brothers of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and join hands with them in carrying forward the building of socialism and a life of peace, happiness, prosperity and progress for the whole re-united country."

"The success of their struggle will be a tremendous contribution to the cause of peace in Asia and the whole world and to the struggle for the final eradication of imperialism and colonialism from the face of the earth."

Mahendra Sen concluded: "We have full confidence in the success of their struggle and war of aggression being waged on them and for winning their independence and peaceful reunification of their country."

★ FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

CALCUTTA: The Indian Mine Workers Federation and the All India Trade Union Congress have demanded a flat uniform increase of Rs. 30 in the monthly salary as interim relief for iron mine workers all over India, including those working in mines belonging to the Hindustan Steel, Tisco and Iisco.

THE demand was made by representatives of the mine workers, KALYAN ROY, general secretary of the IMWF, S. MUKHERJI, vice-president of the Samyukt, Khadan Mazdoor Sangh, D. C. MOHANTY and H. BERA, of the Keonjhar Forest and Mineral Workers Union, NAKUL GUHA of the United Mines and Mineral Workers Union and MUNESWAR PRASAD of the Singhpur Mine Mazdoor Union, before the central wage board for the iron mining industry.

The board held a sitting at Calcutta under the chairmanship of L. P. DAVE in the third week of November.

The AITUC representatives pointed out to the wage board that wages in iron ore industry vary from place to place, region to region, mine to mine and even in the same mine. This anarchic wage condition is being perpetuated by mineowners for exploiting the workers and preventing the growth of trade union movement.

Living in jungle areas, without any quarters or even drinking water, these workers are at the mercy of merchants who charge exorbitant price for all the essential goods. While the workers pay the highest prices they get the lowest wages. In some places they get rice at a concessional rate.

Barring the permanently employed iron ore workers of the Bhilai steel project in the Rajhara mines, the average total daily wages of male iron ore workers vary between one rupee and Rs. 1.25. Female workers get much



"We are of the view that this conference is a timely step taken and it will play a great role in increasing the strength and effectiveness of the solidarity campaign all over the world aimed at contributing towards the success of the patriotic struggle of the Vietnamese workers and people for ending the repressive rule of the American-Diem-clique in South Vietnam and for defeating the American imperialist intervention and war of aggression being waged on them and for winning their independence and peaceful reunification of their country."

Mahendra Sen concluded: "We have full confidence in the success of their struggle and war of aggression being waged on them and for winning their independence and peaceful reunification of their country."

## MINE WORKERS DEMAND INTERIM RELIEF

The anarchic and uneven wage structure has led to ruthless exploitation of workers and adversely affected the bargaining power of the workers, particularly in big mines. These workers never in their history had a general wage revision. They are generally not given any bonus, leave, dearness allowances, sick allowance etc., and are compelled to live in primitive conditions at the mercy of mineowners and contractors.

The real wages have sharply declined with the abnormal rise in prices of essential articles; it was pointed out to the wage board.

Already in the state sector, workers directly employed by the Hindustan Steel at the Nandini mines are getting Rs. 95 per month and limestone quarry workers covered by the cement wage board are receiving Rs. 95.50 a month. There is no reason why the rest of the workers should be paid less than that.

The representatives of the AITUC also demanded that specific provision should be made to include the workers under contractors under the purview of the dolomite and limestone wage board's award.

The AITUC spokesmen demanded same wage increase for male and female workers and abolition of the discrimination between them now existing in payment of wages.

The representatives requested the board to include all the workers in the industry, including those under contractors, under the purview of its award, as also to give the wage increase retrospective effect from the date the wage board was set up.

Kalyan Roy and S. Mukherji, appearing before the central wage board for Dolomite and Lime Stone Mines, which also met in Calcutta and which has also L. P. Dave as its chairman, pleaded the same Rs. 30 interim wage increase for the dolomite and lime mine workers.

The demand was based on the grounds that the production in both industries is continually rising and productivity has increased considerably.

less, from 87 p.p. to Rs. 1.12 a day. Over half of the total labour employed in the industry is under contractors who are "above laws". Even the bulk of the workers of the Hindustan Steel, Tisco, Iisco, Bird and Co. etc., are under contractors.

Describing the demand for Rs. 30 as interim wage increase as "very modest", the representatives pointed out that mineowners make a heavy profit even at the price given by the State Trading Corporation. While the cost of production is Rs. 4.84 on the average in the Rajhara mines, the price of iron ore per ton is from Rs. 7 to Rs. 8 leaving a wide margin to the mineowners.

The AITUC spokesmen demanded same wage increase for male and female workers and abolition of the discrimination between them now existing in payment of wages.

The representatives requested the board to include all the workers in the industry, including those under contractors, under the purview of its award, as also to give the wage increase retrospective effect from the date the wage board was set up.

Kalyan Roy and S. Mukherji, appearing before the central wage board for Dolomite and Lime Stone Mines, which also met in Calcutta and which has also L. P. Dave as its chairman, pleaded the same Rs. 30 interim wage increase for the dolomite and lime mine workers.

The demand was based on the grounds that the production in both industries is continually rising and productivity has increased considerably.

**NEW AGE**

Subscription Rates

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

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

Managerial Office  
7/4 Asaf Ali Road,  
New Delhi  
Phone: 271002 & 271784

# IS FBI HAND-IN-GLOVE WITH KENNEDY MURDERERS?

## all-out effort to cover up assassins' trails

★ From MASOOD ALI KHAN

MOSCOW, December 2: The world prestige of the United States has reached an all time low after the assassination of President Kennedy and the killing of Oswald and the shocking intrigues of the ultra reactionaries to hide the real perpetrators of the crime.

NEWSPAPERS in the United States continue to report in detail the zig zags of the American justice and investigation mechanism working under the threats of the criminal underworld linked with the worst racists and extreme Rightwing reactionaries of the South.

TASS correspondent from New York reports that one Pauline Bates, a stenographer who once worked for Oswald, has broken to shreds the claims of Dallas police that Oswald was a Communist or a Communist sympathiser. In an interview to a local paper called Press she said that the man accused of murdering the President had been busy writing an anti-Soviet book.

Lee Oswald used to bring her handwritten pages of his book to be typed. Oswald wrote of his stay in the Soviet Union in a hostile manner. Not only that, Oswald gave her to understand that he worked as a secret American agent.

The last time he visited Pauline Bates, Oswald was very nervous and seemed to be scared of something. He took

The press points out here that nothing has been proved against Oswald and when he was to have given valuable information, he was killed in broad daylight with the help of the Dallas police.

The General Secretary of the French Socialist Party, Guy Mollet was quoted by Pravda correspondent as saying: "Some people in the USA have found a 'valuable' murderer—he is a Communist and Marxist and also pro-Castro. This is too good to be true. These people have a limitless imagination. Hitler did the same in his time. All this reminds one too much of the Reichstag".

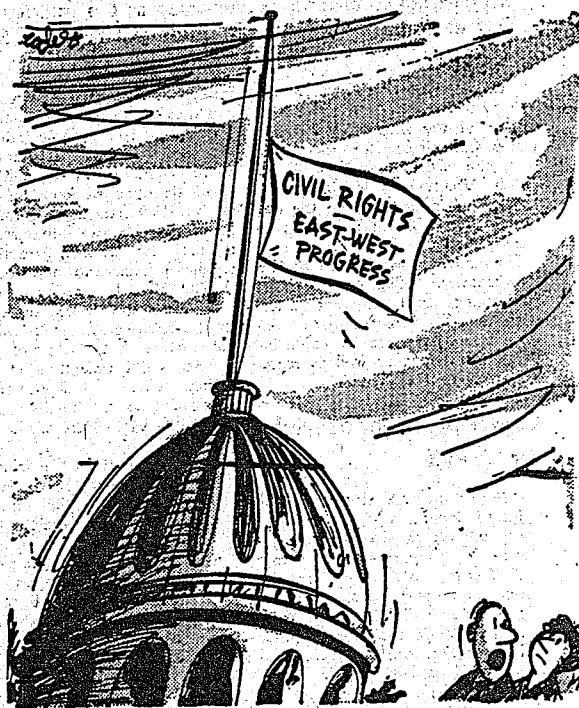
The Soviet press reported extensively the reactions of the world press suggesting that probably there were more assassins than one. It has now been established by films of the moment of shooting at the President that three shots were fired within five seconds. The reported rifle which is now said to be of Italian make and earlier was said to be German could not have fired so fast and the time to find the target again in the telescopic sight itself would be much longer as each time the used cartridge had to be thrown out and a new one brought into position by hand. Papers report that even Olympic shooting champions in

away the typed pages each time he came and even the carbons. His manuscript was sharply anti-Soviet in character, she said.

This confirms the earlier reports that the FBI knew Oswald and were in regular contact with him. One would be surprised if they were not knowing his past visit to the Soviet Union.

An American press correspondent who met Lee Oswald in 1959 in Moscow's Metropole Hotel and had a seven hour talk with him said in the paper Christian Science Monitor that he (Oswald) seemed to know nothing about Marxism and did not mention Cuba even once.

Oswald wanted to take up Soviet citizenship at that time but his application was rejected "for lack of sufficient reasons". During his stay here he kept in contact with the American Embassy. He worked for some time in Minsk where he married and in 1962 left the Soviet Union with his wife and child. In this he was helped by the US Embassy who gave him his passport and passage home.



"The question now is whether they are going to pull it up or down" —Daily Worker, London

Italy failed to fire so fast by the same type of rifle when they tried.

It is also reported that while the police were very prompt establishing the alleged crime of Oswald, everything is now being done to delay the investigation of Ruby or Rubinstein, his murderer.

People who can give evidence against Ruby are being threatened by phone calls as liable to be also shot.

The Soviet people have been shocked to see this spectacle of American democracy, justice and rule of law even when the assassination of the US President is involved.

## anti-communist slant a dastardly diversion

★ From P. K. KUNHANANDAN

BERLIN, Nov. 25: Although American authorities have promptly denied any foreign complicity in President KENNEDY's murder, the ultras in USA and Nato revanchists in Europe are hoping to snap Kennedy's hot line with KHRUSHCHOV and whip up anti-Soviet and anti-Cuban hysteria in order to reverse Kennedy's strategy of peace foreign policy and wreck the Moscow test ban treaty.

AND with the assassination of LEE HARVEY OSWALD who denied he had anything to do with the Kennedy murder, the ultra-revolutionary segregationary underworld in the United States has sought to cover up evidence that would reveal the criminal plot of Negro baiters in Dallas.

The murder of Oswald right in the Dallas police station looks as though it was carried out with official permission. The man who shot the man held for suspicion, JACK RUBY is a notorious underworld operator and striptease girls' boss and is reported to be a police agent in Texas.

Eyewitness DAILY EXPRESS correspondent reports from Dallas: "He is believed to have been invited along by police friends to see the fun", as Oswald was being taken away. He pushed through 40 policemen and shot the man held by two police men!

With this dramatic turn in Kennedy's murder the whole Europe is convinced now that the author of the crime should have been sought only among the extremists of racism and fascism in the South and FIDEL CASTRO and Communists had nothing to do with the tragedy.

The disgrace of Dallas is complete now, one can say. The Dallas police headed by Arch-Negro baiting whites, who often defied Washington orders, have been criticised for their lack of precautions in Kennedy shooting. Now they have let the man be shot down in their custody whose firm denial of any knowledge of Kennedy murder would have brought out altogether new factors in the crime, inconvenient to Texas authorities.

Moreover there are piles of other evidences to show segregationist white ultras were plotting against Kennedy. According to press reports:

★ Governor JOHN CONNALLY of Texas who was wounded when President Kennedy was assassinated, had flown to Washington to try to persuade the President not to visit Texas saying unpleasant incidents might happen.

★ When Kennedy arrived in Texas, DALLAS MORNING NEWS, an ultra newspaper, carried a large mourning band round one page on which was written "Welcome to the city which rejected your philosophy and policy in 1960 and which will reject them even more forcefully again."

★ It was in the city of Dallas that American Ambassador in the UN, ADLAI STEVENSON was physically attacked some time ago.

★ Kennedy was assassinated in the same South whose authorities refuse to bother to book the murderers of Negro leader MEDGAR EVERS (see NEW AGE, June 23) and a white integration supporter who was stopped while on a protest walk against segregation a few months ago.

As BIRMINGHAM POST says: "Assassination is plainly a weapon for colour bar advocates, a weapon which colour bar advocates in the South are ready and determined to use".

According to Reuter's reports, before the ultras invented the Communist story to distract attention, "many in Washington forthrightly blamed the Birchites—members of ultra Rightwing John Birch Society".

Representative Boggs, Democratic Party whip, declared to reporters: "Those Birchite bastards ought to be happy; they pulled the trigger."

Chief Justice of US, EARL WARREN said, "President has suffered martyrdom as a re-

sult of hatred and bitterness that has been injected into the life of the nation by bigots."

Now every one knows the plan of the extreme Rightwing in the imperialist camp. Even the conservative YORK-SHIRE POST was forced to admit that they "might use this tragic event as an opportunity to try to reverse the President's work for better East and West relations. This must not be allowed to happen. If the Americans remain true to the principles that the President preached they will not allow it to happen."

And DAILY MIRROR added in its editorial: "The last thing President Kennedy would have wanted is that his death by the assassin's

## links between U. S., w. german rightists

BERLIN, Dec. 1: World-wide protest and indignation against Rightist ultras who murdered KENNEDY, warm feeling of sympathy for American people in their most difficult time expressed by the peoples and governments of socialist countries, swift diplomatic moves of Premier KHRUSHCHOV, MIKOYAN's cordial conversations with LYNDON JOHNSON and the new President's declaration that the main lines of Kennedy's foreign policy would be continued by him—these all have, utterly disappointed Bonn ultras who hoped for stepping up East-West cold-war in the wake of insinuations clearly planted that Kennedy assassin was connected with Communists and subsequent anti-Communist hysteria worked up by extreme Right reaction.

The dangerous tide has turned. Now the vast majority of the world press connects Kennedy assassination with the racial tyranny in the United States and feels convinced that Castro and communism had nothing to do with it.

Now almost all leading statesmen of the world—with the exception of those in Peking, Bonn and Paris—wish that Kennedy's death should not affect the Moscow Test Ban Treaty, Moscow-Washington hot line and the continuous search for better East-West relations.

These are great victories for the forces of peace and progress throughout the world. But it is different with the West German revanchists who had open quarrels with Kennedy on the Berlin policy, were happy that the youthful President who advocated a sane line was done away with. The organs of West German ultras rejoiced at the murder of Kennedy. Undisguised joy in his assassination was voiced in the Munich newspaper, Deutsche Nationalzeitung und Soldatenzeitung, an influential mouthpiece of West German extremists. Last Wednesday the paper appeared with this banner headline: "Kennedy's Death did not come as a surprise—Great changes are ahead."

This extremist organ marking time for revenge, published an interview with the notorious American General WALKER who formerly was stationed with American occupation forces in West Germany and was called back by the Kennedy administration for his Birchite propaganda in the U.S. army and his fascist machinations. In this interview General Walker expressed his visible satisfaction

with the murder and demanded that Kennedy's policies should be altered now.

For these words from this notorious crook the West German ultras contacted General Walker living in the USA on the Trans-Atlantic telephone. In his wireless interview the General stated: "Kennedy's death did not come as a surprise as it is being expressed now. Plenty of inflammable matter had accumulated even before. The new President should draw lessons from the mistakes, pursue a strong policy and demand the same from the free world too!"

### Walker is hero

The fascist elements whose policy Walker had thus communicated to their West German allies the same night staged a demonstration in front of the White House in Washington. Without any police intervention, the provocateurs, mostly members of Nazi Party of GEORGE LINCOLN ROCKWELL, raised the slogan for an immediate US military aggression on Cuba and carried posters: "Occupy Cuba now!"

Two hours before the shooting of Kennedy's alleged assassin, Oswald, in the Dallas police station, FBI headquarters in Washington had received a telephone call that Oswald would be killed. The FBI had informed Dallas police of this anonymous warning!

The West German ultras hated Kennedy as a well-known and an old story. It may be described in brief as follows:

On August 13, 1961, when the GDR closed its open frontier with West Berlin and put up the anti-fascist wall of defence, Chancellor ADENAUER and Mayor WILLY BRANDT sent an SOS to President Kennedy pleading with him for immediate military intervention for forcible removal of the wall. In West Berlin Brandt waited for 48 hours in his office expecting a reply from Kennedy.

Kennedy refused to use US occupation forces for an open invasion against the wall at that stage. Adenauer and Brandt in utter disappointment raged at Kennedy.

Like emancipator President ABRAHAM LINCOLN who was murdered by the ultras for freeing the slaves in 1865, President Kennedy's death in 1963 at the hands of the same reactionary elements would only galvanise the unfinished Negro revolution in the United States.

As for the rest of the world, humanity's wisdom should prevent the American Rightwing taking upper hand to spoil the fruits of Moscow test ban treaty, the spirit of East-West rapprochement.

In Europe every one is anxious what LYNDON JOHNSON would do. Public opinion is growing that he should carry forward the policy of understanding with the socialist camp and dismiss all inventions of anti-Communist provocateurs.

that very evening Kennedy strongly rebuked him and said the United States would continue talks with the Soviet Union on the West Berlin question irrespective of West German government's objections.

Kennedy sharply criticised Franco-German pact and Adenauer's complicity with DE GAULLE in blocking British entry into the European Common Market last January. Americans conceded the Franco-German pact only after Adenauer was forced to put a ratification preamble to it declaring fidelity to the NATO.

When the US-Soviet negotiations for 'wheat for gold' deal were progressing, Chancellor Adenauer criticised Kennedy's policy and demanded that the wheat deal should be agreed to only on condition that the Soviet Union agreed to remove the anti-fascist Berlin defence wall. Kennedy turned down the West German demand.

When the West Germans, in league with the GOLDWATER gang tried in the EEC to impose a ban on credit guarantees for trade with socialist countries, a few days before his death Kennedy wrote a letter to the Senate passionately urging it to reject the ban on credit guarantees to the socialist world market.

There was a whole series of sharp conflicts between the West German ultras and the Kennedy administration on several other vital questions—on NATO, Common Market, development aid, attitude to South Africa and so on. The main point of difference between Kennedy and the West German ultras were this: Kennedy stood for negotiating a German and Berlin settlement with the Soviet Union and actually resumed the talks; Kennedy accepted the Oder-Neisse frontier as final.

The West Germans stood for rejection of any talks with the USSR and the GDR, for annexation of the GDR, for revision of the results of the Second World War and pushing the German frontiers deep into Poland and Czechoslovakia and the USSR.

Chancellor ERHARD, who attended Kennedy's funeral, was understood to have been convinced in his brief meeting with President Johnson and senior administration officials that there won't be any deviation from Kennedy's European policy. This is certainly bad news for West German ultras who rejoiced at Kennedy's murder.

What is less to be expected soon from Washington is vigorous new initiative to execute Kennedy's foreign policy.

In a swift reply to Adenauer

## LET US WATCH OUR OWN ULTRAS

GOING through the numerous dispatches on the assassination of President Kennedy, I came across this striking passage about the American ultras whose campaign had led to the perpetration of this most foul murder:

"The ultra-Right ideologists carry on a continuous, day-to-day campaign of 'psychopathic hatred', publishing books whose titles often speak for themselves: 'Theory of Hybrid Race', 'Race and Reason', 'Our Great Race' etc.

"The John Birch Society has its own publishing house and a network of libraries and reading rooms. It brings out the journal 'American Mercury' which does not give instructions to the society members (this job is done by local fuhrers). The magazine only 'educates'.

"The leader of this society, Welch, believes in making as little noise as possible. To avoid publicity is his rule. But recently he was more active publicly and made several speeches. In his speeches he preached the ideals of true Americanism. Senator McCarran was held out by him as the example of a great American and champion of true American culture because he was never tired of fighting the 'Reds'.

"According to the Birch society ideologists, 'the policy of Washington has been dictated by the Communists since 1941; President Roosevelt dragged America into a war against Hitler'.

"At meetings of the society everytime the name of Roosevelt or Kennedy was mentioned there was booring, but when the name of McCarran or McCarthy was uttered it was followed by spontaneous applause."



How well does this description fit in the case of our own ultras in India, whose tribe is on the increase and who, if anything, are becoming bolder with the passage of time! I was strongly reminded of them on reading the above.

Here the same complex of hate and arrogance is sought, to be inculcated in the name of a reactionary 'Hindu Rashtra' concept. (The concept is reactionary because in the name of upholding the 'great patriotic heritage' it only rejects the best that has been evolved in the periods of history.) It upholds such decrepit old values as the four caste (Varna) society. It seeks to rouse the basest sentiments by its occupation with a psychopathic hate campaign against the religious minorities. "Our Great Race" in this case has a sharp edge on the numerically weak who have not owned Hinduism (conceived as a replica of white racism in America) as the be all and end all.

Secondly, anti-Communism is the forte of our ultras also. Thirdly, they carry the same kind of violent hate-propaganda here with Nehru or Menon, or anyone else who would vouch even in words for a socialist society, as the butt. They boo and hoot them on every occasion. "Anti-national" or "traitor" is their pet epithet for those who favour socialism of any variety.

Fourthly, they also insinuate that Nehru policies are dictated by 'Reds'.

Fifthly, they too have a supreme, or guru, who pleads against publicity-hunting.

Even a cursory look at their organs of propaganda can convince one of the truth of the above words. Here are a few samples culled from the two latest issues of their English weekly in the capital:

A two-page essay has been published with the central thesis that the appointment of a Musliman, M. C. Chagla, as the Education Minister of India ill serves the 'national interest'. The essay says, inter alia:

"It is clear why a Muslim has been placed in charge of education, and from the point of view of nationalist opinion (I) it is of no consequence who that Muslim is, whether it be Mr. Chagla or anyone else. In fact, we would even welcome loan of a distinguished Pakistani citizen to function as our Education Minister in perpetuity. The country does not matter to Mr. Nehru." (ORGANISER, December 2).

When Dr. Zakir Hussain was elected Vice-President there were complaints in similar vein in this section of the press.

Violent hate-propaganda Against Nehru and Menon: A front-page write-up with double-column headline, "Menon shooed in Saharanpur", was published. It said:

"Not a wee-bit wiser for his experience at Kanpur, Allahabad and Ghaziabad (events in these places also were reported with complimentary emphasis on the violence and hooliganism demonstrated there—G.) Comrade (I) Menon came to Saharanpur last week. Menon's car was greeted with black flags and the slogans 'Menon Go Back', 'Chinese Agent Go Back'. In the melee that followed he is believed to have received a couple of slaps." (ORGANISER, November 25).

About the government at Delhi being Communist dictated: In a commentary ("Mr. Nehru Misses the Bus") on why the Indian Prime Minister could not reach Washington to attend President Kennedy's funeral, it has been hinted: "Until it became known that Mr. Khrushchov was sending Mr. Mikoyan and had himself gone to the American Embassy in Moscow to sign the book of condolence, thinking was somewhat palsied..." (ORGANISER, December 2).

These are specimens taken from only the two latest issues of our ultras in India. But these I am sure will be enough to open everybody's eyes. An ominous caravan is on the march which needs careful watching.

—Garuda

**NATION IN MOURNING FOR MARTYRED LEADER**

**Midweek The Worker**

The Search for the Assassins is Not Over

Dallas Coverup but U.S. Wants Real Probe

Front Page of the first regular midweek edition of the Worker that came out after the assassination. The Worker organ of CPUSA had come out with a special issue within hours of the tragedy.

# DEFEAT CHINESE ATTEMPT TO DISORGANISE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

KOMMUNIST, the theoretical organ of the Central Committee of the CPSU, has published another devastating critique of the Chinese Communist Party leaders' general line and of the methods being employed by them in their effort to impose it on the world Communist movement.

THE article entitled "Marxism-Leninism: The Basis of the Communist Movement's Unity" which appeared in the October issue of the *Kommunist* has now been published here as a 48-page pamphlet in English.

The gravity of the situation in the world Communist movement is underlined when it is stated in the introduction:

Vast damage is being done to the socialist cause, to the entire revolutionary movement, and every Communist—in whatever country he may live and in whatever conditions he may fight for his ideals—should fulfil his internationalist duty and do everything to stop events from developing in the direction Peking wants them to take. If this is not done in time, the consequences for the entire Communist movement may prove to be very grave.

What is the essence, in bare outline, of Peking's "special platform"? *Kommunist* sums it up thus:

In the Sphere of Theory—renunciation of the Marxist-Leninist principle of concretely analyzing a given situation, subjectivism in the elucidation of urgent problems of social development and juggling at will with quotations from the classics of Marxism-Leninism to justify themselves; distortion of the principles of Marxism-Leninism for the sake of adapting it to national conditions (in this case "Sinification" of Marxism-Leninism).

In the Country's Socio-Political Life—a personality cult regime, efforts to make use of the devotion of the broad working masses to the socialist cause to impose arbitrary schemes for the solution of internal and international issues.

In the Sphere of Foreign Policy—maintenance of international tension which is regarded as a favourable medium for carrying out hegemonic plans camouflaged by the slogan of "world revolution". As for the world thermo-nuclear war which may be provoked by following the line of Peking, it is claimed that it would be a blessing to the revolution rather than a hindrance.

In the Sphere of Relations with the Socialist Countries—rejection of the principle of regarding the socialist camp as the main force of contemporary world development, as this implies due regard for the general laws governing the application of this force to ensure the victory of socialism on a world-wide scale. Membership in the socialist community obliges the states concerned to consolidate this community in Leninist fashion through all-round economic development, to multiply successes in all the spheres of life, and thus make socialist society more attractive for the

peoples of the non-socialist world.

The laws governing the development of the socialist camp now "do not suit" the Chinese leaders. That is why they are curtailing economic, scientific, cultural and other ties within this camp; and undermining its unity. They are against the all-round co-operation of the socialist countries, against the inter-national socialist division of labour, and favour the establishment of exclusive national economies, justifying all this by references to "equality."

This arbitrary approach to relations among the socialist countries becomes especially evident if we recall that only a few years ago Peking propounded a theory of "equality" that is diametrically opposed to the present. It was then claimed that it was the duty of those socialist countries which were more advanced economically to "wait" for those lagging behind and to give them everything the advanced countries had created.

This parasitical interpretation of the principles of proletarian internationalism as applied to relations among the socialist countries was fundamentally contrary to Leninism, notably to the Leninist principle of material incentive and could harm the socialist cause no less than the present reduction of these principles to formal "equality" in its bourgeois interpretation, while actually being just as nationalistic.

Since with such views and aims it is hopeless to seek support from the socialist camp as a whole and from the international working class, the Chinese leaders are trying to assume leadership in the national-liberation movement zone in order to be able to act on its behalf in the international arena and to use it to further their own interests.

Hence, the various demagogic theories about a "zone of revolutionary storms," about the contradiction between imperialism and the national-liberation movement being the decisive contradiction, the claim that the working class will be saved from capitalism by this movement and not by itself, etc.

Hence also the racialist notes in Chinese propaganda and actions in the international arena.

Hence the unfolding of the plan to disorganise the world Communist movement and in its place, to create some new movement under their aegis. A short cut to this they think lies through discrediting the CPSU.

Abandonment of Marxism-Leninism has brought them to the path blazed long ago by anti-communism.

Discrediting the 20th Congress occupies a special place in Chinese plans.

Asserting that "the period marked by the implementation of the Leninist line" of the

20th CPSU Congress is a period of the Soviet Union's full-scale revolutionary offensive against imperialism all along the front," *Kommunist* sums up the achievements of the past decade thus:

Firstly, it has been proved in practice that the socialist Soviet Union can and will economically outpace the leading capitalist country, the United States, and will in the near future become the greatest industrial power in the world.

Secondly, the achievements of the Soviet Union have exerted enormous influence on all contemporary revolutionary movements, promoting their development, consolidating the position of world socialism and stimulating the national-liberation revolutions.

Thirdly, it is first and foremost due to the Soviet Union's successes in industry, science

and technology, as well as in the consolidation of its defence potential, that the past decade has become the turning point in the correlation of forces in the international arena in favour of the forces of socialism and peace and to the detriment of the forces of imperialism and war. It is precisely in these years that the leaders of imperialism have been forced to admit that it is now impossible to defeat the USSR and socialism by armed force.

All this means that the line of the 20th CPSU Congress, strengthened and developed in the decisions of the 22nd Congress, has fully stood the test as the only correct, genuinely Leninist line which strengthens the position of the world socialism and makes it possible to wage a powerful offensive against the imperialist positions.

## Theory Of Socialist Revolution

Exposing the slanderous accusations of "betraying the revolution", etc., *Kommunist* proceeds to deal in a profound way with some aspects of the theory of the socialist revolution and how it is to be applied today in the new epoch. *Kommunist* declares:

Highly fallacious in the stand taken by the theoreticians of the Communist Party of China is their counterposing of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems to the historic mission of the proletariat, of the socialist revolution. Actually, the question lies in an absolutely different plane: must the world revolutionary process develop through war or can it, and does it, in effect, develop in peaceful conditions? In their 1960 Statement, the Communist Parties resolutely stressed that the revolutionary process could develop in conditions of peaceful

coexistence. They completely repudiated the idea of prompting the revolution from without by armed force.

In Peking there is a profound lack of confidence in the forces of world socialism, in their capacity to influence world development in the interests of the revolution. It is not accidental that they openly revise the Statement thesis that the "centres of victorious socialism would influence the development of world revolution chiefly by their economic construction."

Chinese propaganda limits itself merely to proclaiming self-confidently such well-known Marxist truths as the need of socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat; it diverts attention from the vital task of implementing these very important

Such statements could be multiplied, but they would show us only one thing: Peking has created and is propagandizing a line of revolution only through civil war—and armed uprising in all conditions and in all countries.

Marxists never considered the way to socialism through civil war as their ideal. Here is what Lenin wrote on this score: "We must clearly realize what calamities civil war brings a country. The more civilized the country the greater the calamities. Imagine a country with machines and railways in a civil war which severs communications between the different regions. Imagine the position of these regions which have for decades been accustomed to exchanging industrial goods with each other, and you will understand that a civil war brings in its wake new terrible calamities which have been

# CPSU'S CALL TO COMMUNISTS ALL OVER THE WORLD

Marxist-Leninist principles. Now that the advantages of socialism have been proved by the experience of countries of different types—industrially developed, agrarian-industrial, agrarian and former colonies and semi-colonies—the most important thing for the fraternal Parties is to concentrate their efforts, as Lenin wrote, on "seeking the forms of transition or approach to the proletarian revolution" (*Works*, Vol. 31, p. 73).

Chinese propaganda falsifies the stand of the CPSU and other fraternal Parties, claiming that they are making an absolute of the peaceful path. Actually, if it comes to that, it is the Chinese theoreticians who are making an absolute of only one, viz., the armed way, by fully rejecting the appropriate theses of the Declaration and the Statement.

In this connection one cannot help recalling Comrade Mao Tse-tung's statements which are still propagandized in China: "The central task of the revolution and its highest form are the seizure of power by force of arms; i.e., the solution of the question by means of war. This revolutionary Marxist-Leninist principle is valid everywhere; it is undoubtedly valid both in China and in other countries" (*War and Questions of Strategy*, *Works*, Vol. 2, p. 379).

And here is another statement by Comrade Mao Tse-tung: "The world can be rebuilt only with the aid of the rifle" (*Works*, Vol. 2, p. 383). It is easy to see here that the concrete experience of the Chinese revolution is turned into a universal law. Characteristic in this respect is the following assertion by the *Jenmin Jihpao*: "The people can achieve its ultimate aim—the overthrow of the reactionaries—only after it has gone through a whole series of concrete armed battles, scoring a victory in each case.

foreseen by the greatest Socialists" (*Works*, Vol. 27, p. 425).

Taking all these circumstances into consideration, Communists prefer a transition to socialism without civil war.

It would be wrong to think that in the past there was only a non-peaceful way to socialism, and that now the possibility and even inevitability of a peaceful way has appeared. Only the correlation of these possibilities has changed: the second has increased, although the first cannot disappear while armed imperialism exists.

That is why the proletariat must always be ready for both. A warning to this effect was given by the 20th CPSU Congress, it was stressed in the Declaration and the Statement. Our Party firmly adheres to this stand.

The difference between peaceful and non-peaceful transition to socialism is the difference not between evolution and revolution, as the opportunists of all types allege, but merely between two forms of revolution.

And revolution is always the highest stage of class struggle; it arises from a revolutionary situation and is never imposed against the will of the masses, either from without or within. This is not an item of "export", but the result of the growing contradictions of bourgeois society.

So the main issue of both peaceful and non-peaceful revolution is the issue of power. And it is resolved by the activity of the millions of workers. If an uprising is an art, then the peaceful victory of socialism is a no less important and difficult art.

The main prerequisite for the success of the revolution, particularly in peaceful form, is the creation of a decisive superiority of forces, the win-

ning over to the revolution of the majority of the people, and the unity of this majority in the struggle against the monopoly bourgeoisie for the final victory over it.

DEALING with Peking's stand on the role of the national liberation movement *Kommunist* says:

The talk about a "special place" of the national liberation movement can no longer deceive anyone. These are merely attempts to gain, with the help of flattery, cheap popularity among the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, to establish hegemony over them and use them for egoistic, great-power purposes. The peoples of the national liberation zone are thus actually advised to leave the road leading to unity with the socialist countries, and the international working-class movement, the road of rallying these great anti-imperialist forces to the struggle against the common enemy, imperialism.

Attempts are being undertaken to impose upon the national liberation movement ideas, schemes and dogmas contradicting its objective role in the world revolutionary process, its real needs and historical tasks—in other words, its vital interests. But that would be a road of defeat for the young national states, for the entire national liberation struggle of the peoples.

At present, the majority of newly-free countries are faced with new tasks: to develop and carry through to the end the anti-imperialist revolution; win economic independence; oust the foreign monopolies; develop the national industry; effect radical agrarian reforms; raise the living standards of the people; democratise public life.

Did the "theoreticians" of the all-saving role of the rifle ponder on how Indonesia, for instance, is to use methods of armed struggle so as to ensure economic growth and rid herself of economic dependence? Or, on how the peoples of Burma, Ghana, Guinea, Mali and a number of other newly-free countries can use these methods to solve such problems? Peking's position in the India-China conflict directly furthers the imperialists' designs to draw India into aggressive blocs. The advocates of this position have played into the hands of the imperialists and the reactionary forces in India. The India-China conflict has done colossal damage to the cause of peace and socialism, to the development of the national liberation movement.

Complete disregard for the destinies of the national liberation struggle and for the prospects of its development also permeates Peking's attempts to discredit the Soviet Union's economic assistance to the young national states. Today, when the economic arena becomes the main scene of the battle of the peoples of newly-free countries against imperialism and colonialism, to belittle the importance of economic assistance to the young national states in their complicated and strenuous struggle against the domination of imperialist monopolies, to come out against this assistance means to turn one's back on the needs of the peoples, to help the neo-colonialists.

## Trotskyism Regenerated

In many respects this concept of the "world revolution" coincides with what Trotsky and his associates said back in the twenties, when they attacked the general line of our Party and of the Comintern, trying to impose their pernicious course upon the Communist movement.

In words, the Trotskyites clamoured for the "speeding-up" of the world revolution. In deeds, by taking up arms against the Leninist general line, they were undermining socialist construction in the country, weakening the struggle of the world proletariat.

Describing Chinese splitting activities in various Communist Parties *Kommunist* says:

The Chinese leaders have appropriated the right to interfere unceremoniously in the internal affairs of fraternal Parties, stubbornly imposing their views and tactics upon them. Articles directed against the Communist Parties of France, Italy, India and the United States fling mud

capitalist path of development for backward countries, set forth by Lenin, is of tremendous importance for the peoples who have cast off the colonialist yoke. Only by going over to the non-capitalist path of development can the newly-free countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America break away from the system of international capitalist division of labour, the mechanism of which perpetuates the position of former colonies as unequal, agrarian raw-material appendages of the imperialist powers.

The USSR is doing everything possible to help the peoples enter upon this path. This is regarded by the CPSU as one of the most important tasks of the world socialist system.

The Chinese theoreticians, who call Lenin's theory of non-capitalist development of underdeveloped countries "empty talk" and thereby deprive hundreds of millions of people of the prospect of rapid social revival, discredit the working people of the newly-free countries and assist, in fact, not in their advance along the road of social progress, but in the consolidation of capitalism there.

Communist sums up Peking's "strategic precepts" and "tactical principles" thus:

First, orientation towards a world war as an instrument of the revolution. Hence adventurist tactics in international relations;

Second, the course of alienating the national liberation movement from the international working-class movement and the socialist countries. Hence, the tactics of splitting and discrediting the world working-class and Communist movements and the attempts to establish a new movement under the Chinese aegis;

Third, the course of "prodding on" the revolution, in fact, of "exposing" the revolution; absolutisation of only one, the armed form of struggle. Hence sectarian, pseudo-revolutionary propaganda and tactics.

## Trotskyism Regenerated

In many respects this concept of the "world revolution" coincides with what Trotsky and his associates said back in the twenties, when they attacked the general line of our Party and of the Comintern, trying to impose their pernicious course upon the Communist movement.

In words, the Trotskyites clamoured for the "speeding-up" of the world revolution. In deeds, by taking up arms against the Leninist general line, they were undermining socialist construction in the country, weakening the struggle of the world proletariat.

Describing Chinese splitting activities in various Communist Parties *Kommunist* says:

The Chinese leaders have appropriated the right to interfere unceremoniously in the internal affairs of fraternal Parties, stubbornly imposing their views and tactics upon them. Articles directed against the Communist Parties of France, Italy, India and the United States fling mud

at the leaders of these and other fraternal Parties. The authors of the articles appraisal in an arbitrary, subjectivist way the activities of the fraternal Parties, orient Communists towards actions for which the conditions are not yet ripe, and disparage the programmatic documents of the Parties.

# PERNICIOUS PLOT AGAINST NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT

from Peking to the Communist movement. Peking is obviously trying to knock together an international bloc of breakaway groups and grouplets, consisting mostly of people expelled from Communist Parties, all kinds of unprincipled and degenerate elements. Chinese representatives are no longer ashamed to admit that they support and will continue to support these peoples, whom they call "true revolutionaries"—in other words, that they will openly counterpose them to the world Communist movement. They are already gathering under their aegis all these breakaways, regarding them as their agents in the struggle against Marxist-Leninist cadres tried and tested in class battles against imperialism.

Posing as champions of the equality of the Communist Parties, the Chinese leaders are, in reality, rudely trampling underfoot their rights and interests; they slanderously present the fraternal Parties, which independently work out and pursue their policy, as an obedient crowd which allegedly keeps "turning" left and right as ordered by the "baton of Moscow." At the same time attempts are made to issue directives

In the struggle for the triumph of the revolutionary theory, says *Kommunist*, the CPSU has undeviatingly followed Lenin's direction. When, in 1956-57, Right-wing opportunism and revisionism came to the fore as the main danger in the communist movement, our Party was the first to rise to the struggle against these trends. The meeting of 1957 took place at the very height of the struggle. It was precisely the CPSU Central Committee that suggested including in the draft Declaration the proposition that revisionism, Right-wing opportunism presented the main danger.

At the same time the CPSU did not slacken vigilance against dogmatism. With the support of the delegations of

## What Liquidation Of Personality Cult Means And Why Peking Revives It Now

THE Chinese leaders, in their struggle against the communist movement, have unearthed and are again trying to put up for a general discussion the question of the cult of Stalin's personality.

The question of the personality cult, of everything that lies behind it is a question of principle to the world revolutionary movement. The Peking theoreticians permit themselves to assert now that the exposure of Stalin's personality cult was the cause of the spread of revisionism. This is a crude falsification.

Life has shown how correct the CPSU Central Committee, and Comrade N. S. Khrushchov were when they boldly, in Lenin's way, took the initiative and made a start, at the 20th Congress, on a new stage in the communist movement.

Imperialist propaganda and its revisionist yes-men have worked hard to present this turn as ideological chaos, as a "crisis of communism." Now the Chinese leaders are virtually repeating the same estimates.

In reality, it was a profound purifying process which stirred and rallied the entire international communist movement. The atmosphere was rapidly cleared up, and Communists, who had become still more tempered, who had once again tested the strength of their ranks, rose to a new height, having got rid of the oppressive encumbrance that had accumulated in the years of Stalin's personality cult.

The question of the personality cult is of fundamental importance for the entire international communist movement also in another respect. The Chinese leaders claim that to fight against the personality cult means to discredit the dictatorship of the proletariat. Evidently they conceive the dictatorship of the proletariat as a sum total of methods characteristic of the personality cult, i.e., precisely those pervasions of the dictatorship of the proletariat which were connected with Stalin's name.

The point at issue is neither more nor less than the forms and ways in which the new social system, commanding the

personality cult, although such a step could engender temporary difficulties and have some adverse effects—on which the Chinese leaders are shamelessly trying to speculate now. Were they to put the ideals of communism above all, they would not be boasting now that they have "always been against" the decisions of the 20th Congress of the CPSU. It is pointed out in the 1960 Statement that an indefeasible law of the activities of every Marxist Party is not to allow the personality cult, "which shackles creative thought and initiative of Communists."

Affixed to this document are the signatures of Chinese leaders as well. The question is: Why did they need to revive the ideology and practices of the personality cult now?

The thing is chiefly that the line of the 20th Congress of the CPSU, which has given such remarkable results for the entire world movement for liberation, undermines the domestic policy of the Chinese leaders, which is based on the preservation of the personality cult regime.

The thing is, furthermore, that the name of Stalin was needed for the struggle against the CPSU Central Committee and its Leninist policy, for an attempt to divert the international communist movement from the Marxist-Leninist path and subordinate it to the nationalist, dogmatic line of Peking.

At the same time, the Chinese leaders' opposition to the abolition of Stalin's personality cult is a campaign against collective leadership, it is an appeal to support the deification of Mao Tse-tung which Chinese propaganda is busily doing. In the course of several years this propaganda of the cult of Mao Tse-tung's personality has been actively conducted in the ranks of the Communist Party of China and among broadest sections of the Chinese people. It may be definitely said that the communist movement has been confronted with an attempt to replace Leninism with "Maoism."

## Everything Does Not Centre On Stalin's Personality

That is what is meant when the decisions of the 20th Congress, the criticism of the ideology and practices of the personality cult, are spoken about. Everything does not centre on Stalin's personality, and the CPC leadership should not strive to reduce everything to this. The crux of the matter is what political course should be followed by the socialist countries, and what socialism offers to other peoples when it calls upon them to rally to its banner.

The CPSU understood all this very well when, at its 20th Congress, it boldly crushed the ideology and practices of the

—KOMMUNIST

# Let Writers from East & West Meet on Indian Soil

The cold war, as everybody knows, has tended to split the ranks of the writers and artists throughout the world.

UNTIL the end of the last war, writers of the East and the West could meet and talk to each other, and, despite ideological differences, they could appreciate each other's genuine creative achievements.

Many important modern writers of India, and other Asian and African countries did not get due recognition in Europe and America; the reason then was the language barrier and ignorance and not ideological hatred, because great Soviet writers like GOREKY, ALEXEI TOLSTOY, SHOLOKHOV and MAYAKOVSKY were as popular in the West as SHAW, ROMAIN ROLLAND, THOMAS MANN or WALT WHITMAN. In fact, they were all world figures and universally hailed as great writers of the age—differences in their literary styles, approaches to reality, aesthetic outlook or political faith notwithstanding.

The picture, however, has changed since the advent of the cold war. This monstrous offshoot of the arms race has calculatedly worked for the establishment of a dictatorship in the sector of thinking, through monopolistic control of the mass media of communication—the press, radio, television and film—which employ a whole army of so-called writers and artists to manufacture hate propaganda and lies against all progressive movements of the people.

Several international agencies and organizations, subsidized by the arms manufacturing monopolies have been operating for over a decade with the obvious purpose of imposing a split on writers and artists by encouraging blind anti-Sovietism, cynicism towards freedom struggles of the Afro-Asian and Latin American people, disbelief in great social causes and movements of history or fear of peace being established in the world. For peace would inevitably mean accepting the possibility of coexistence between two antagonistic social systems—socialism and capitalism.

Although this split among writers and artists of the world has been engineered in the name of mobilizing writers in every country of the capitalist world for 'freedom of the writer and artist', what we have sadly witnessed is that writers and artists who have swallowed this bait, have shown callous disregard for the fate of those other writers and artists who have boldly stood up against undemocratic and oppressive policies of their governments in America and Western Europe. For instance, the writers and artists belonging to the Congress for Cultural Freedom have not shown any concern for the 'freedom' of the great Mexican artist David Alfaro Siqueiros, who is languishing in prison for the last four years on account of his independent views.

Similarly, not a little finger was raised against the McCarthyite witch-hunt, which per-

secuted or discriminated against every American writer who refused to mouth cold-war slogans or stood by the American people in their struggle for peace and civil rights. In fact these cold war agencies in the field of culture have sought to draw a cordon sanitaire around those writers and artists, who under the influence of hate propaganda have broken away from the mainstream of culture in various countries, that all dialogue or communication between the two groups has been snapped.

The misfortune is that in their blind hatred, these writers and artists consider this split as desirable and denounce all those who do not support this alienation of the writer from society or social and moral issues of the age.

We suffered a split among ourselves due to the winds of cold-war hate propaganda

that blew into our country from the West, although it can be definitely claimed that only a fraction of our writers have fallen for this hate mongering and they form a very small coterie in various languages of India.

Even so it is painful to see that writers and artists should let their creative talent be used for purposes which are inimical to the best interests of our people and country. What is worse is their isolation

through the modest media of a small press, inscriptions on the walls, singing squads or folk theatre.

It is significant and must be underlined that not a single instance can be pointed out when during the period of the cold war, writers and artists who have consciously jumped into its bandwagon with their souls in their boots, have shown any inclination or desire for unity with those who are op-

posed to cold war and want its liquidation. I do not want to accuse them of deliberate splitting activities, but it is not too much to expect that as men of culture, they would regret this split and mutual isolation. It appears that they are simply not concerned about it and even desire it to continue and widen.

On the contrary, it is also significant and noteworthy, that the writers and artists who are conscious of the dangers to which the arms race has exposed mankind and who desire that people every

where should live and develop

by SHIVDAN SINGH CHAUHAN

tion from the people as also from the main body of Indian writers and artists.

But the situation in America or Western Europe is that this class of writers and artists who have accepted the cold war noose round their necks with all its consequences are not a coterie but represent a considerable fraction, in some countries even a majority, because adherence to cold war policies has been made a condition of survival and only a few honest unbending souls dare to flout this condition and fight back political reaction by working

The Asian Writers' Conference at Delhi and the Afro-Asian Writers Conference at Tashkent, naturally formed a part of this great effort by the socially conscious writers who stand for peace and human progress to unite in one single organization all the significant writers of these two continents simply for the reason that many problems are common among ourselves. Similarly an organization called the Community of European Writers was formed with headquarters in Italy precisely

Reforms which he introduced facilitated the enlightenment of the economic life of the country and created prerequisites for the development of industry and agriculture. During the years Ataturk was in power the international authority of Turkey went up and the country began to play an important role in world politics.

\* ON FACING PAGE

## MAKE CULTURE WEAPON OF PEACE

### Amritsar Convention Appeal

WE Indian writers and artists assembled in the All-India Peace Congress, have a deep and abiding interest in peace.

Belonging to a country which was long under imperialist domination, we together with other sections of our people realise that only under conditions of enduring peace, ending of the arms race, complete disarmament, liquidation of the cold war and promotion of international amity, mutual respect and cooperation in accordance with the policy of coexistence would it be possible for our people to overcome centuries old misery and backwardness and bring economic security and social justice, joy and happiness, culture and refinement in their lives.

Men of goodwill in all ages—writers, artists, scientists, saints and philosophers—who create cultural and spiritual values and the toiling masses, who create all material values and who together enrich human life by building the edifice of culture and civilization; and give it meaning and purpose have looked upon war as an evil, as an instrument of death and destruction, as an enemy of culture, and truth. The problem of establishing peace and goodwill among men and nations has always been one of their primary concerns.

However, since the invention of atomic and thermonuclear weapons, the disastrous nature of war has multiplied million-fold, threatening the very existence of human race and human culture.

Therefore, in this decisive moment of history—when mankind stands at the crossroads—of either nuclear annihilation

or eternal peace and unbounded growth of culture and civilization, attainment of highest spiritual and material values—Indian writers, artists and other workers in cultural fields, all the more acutely realise that we have now a great moral duty to perform: We have to devote all our intellectual, literary and artistic abilities to strengthen the great movement of world peoples for all time and to achieve lasting peace.

#### THOSE WHO STAND IN THE WAY

We are fully aware that today certain reactionary circles in the Western countries, specially in the USA, stand in the way of the achievement of this great human objective—just as the Indian monopolist business houses and remnants of feudal reaction are doing their utmost to undermine the policy of nonalignment and peace pursued by the government of India and supported by the entire nation. But we also believe that the peace-loving peoples of the world, including our own people and the government of India are today in a position to defeat the forces of war and destruction in the international arena and of Right reaction in our own country.

The partial test ban treaty between the governments of the USA, Britain and the USSR is an evidence of the triumph of the forces of peace and we heartily welcome it. We believe that further strengthening of peace, through resolute and consistent struggle against imperialist warmongers and cold war hate propaganda, which only poisons men's minds and weakens their faith

in future, struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism, which seeks to re-establish imperialist economic domination over the newly independent countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, against all such remnants of barbarism as racialism and casteism which discriminate among men on the basis of colour, caste or creed and deprive large sections of the people of their democratic rights or deny them social justice and economic freedom—through all these struggles greater triumphs on the road to an enduring world peace and better relations among men can be achieved. The partial test ban treaty has helped to ease tensions in the world to some extent and in this new situation, we believe that Indian writers and artists, in collaboration with the writers and artists of other countries can play a decisive role in creating a climate of peace and goodwill in the world by making men aware of dehumanizing consequences of cold war hate propaganda.

In this connection, we deeply regret that the belligerent attitude and disruptive policies of the government and leaders of the Peoples' Republic of China as shown in their refusal to accept the Colombo proposals for normalizing relations with India through negotiations and in their refusal to sign the Moscow test ban treaty have only helped to exacerbate tensions and provide grist for reaction thus injuring the age-old friendship of the Indian and Chinese peoples on the one hand and the cause of world peace on the other. We sincerely hope they would soon revise their mistaken attitude.

We also deeply regret that as an inevitable consequence of the cold war a wide split has occurred in the ranks of the writers and artists dividing world culture into two blocs. We Indian writers and artists have always been opposed to the idea of making culture a weapon of war. We recall with pride how poet TAGORE poured his wrathful scorn on the Japanese poet NOGUCHI for lending his pen to serve the aggressive war aims of his fascist government. We still believe that genuine and honest writers and artists in all countries and belonging to both camps can and must be brought together in order that through dialogue and debate they may discover common points of agreement and may unitedly work for peace. We sincerely believe that world peace is not an issue on which genuine writers and artists of East or West can have any basic or insurmountable differences.

It is because of this faith that Indian writers took the initiative in organizing the Asian writers' conference in Delhi. It is because of this faith that we wholeheartedly support SHOLOKHOV's proposal for calling a Round Table Conference of world writers. It is because of this faith that we support JEAN PAUL SARTRE's call to disarm culture.

We appeal to the writers of the East and West to come together, and to work unitedly for the assertion and affirmation of human life and dignity, which enduring peace alone can ensure. Let nonaligned India be the venue of such a world conference of writers and artists. Let the makers of the cultures of East and West meet on Indian soil to discover the common purpose of peace and disarmament. Let culture be demobilised to serve the noble cause of peace.

DECEMBER 8, 1963

NEW AGE

PAGE FOURTEEN

The Republic of Turkey recently observed the 25th anniversary since the death of its founder and the father of modern Turkey, KEMAL PASHA ATATURK.

KAMAL Ataturk whose name is associated with a whole epoch in the struggle of the Turkish people for their national independence and for the national regeneration of Turkey was not only the national hero of Turkey but also one of the great inspirers of the struggle for national liberation among the peoples of Asia.

His victory in Turkey was one of the first major factors to shake the citadel of imperialism and produced powerful ripples throughout the colonial world. The way the Turkish revolution and the new awakening among the Arab peoples had inspired and influenced the Khilafat movement in India and strengthened our first national mass anti-imperialist movement are well-known.

Kemal Ataturk not only raised the Turkish people to a courageous struggle against imperialism and the feudal reaction which was in power in Turkey, but also took powerful steps to do away with the century old backwardness of Turkey. His fight against religious obscurantism and the power of the mullahs, for the spread of literacy and education among the people, for the emancipation of women and generally for modernisation of Turkey were all phenomenal.

Reforms which he introduced facilitated the enlightenment of the economic life of the country and created prerequisites for the development of industry and agriculture.

During the years Ataturk was in power the international authority of Turkey went up and the country began to play an important role in world politics.

In the field of foreign affairs the cornerstone of Ataturk's policy was the development and strengthening of friendly relations between Turkey and her great neighbour, the workers and peasants' state, the Soviet Union. The first foreign policy act of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey was its move to establish diploma-

tic relations with the USSR and seeking her aid for strengthening Turkey's struggle for independence.

This alliance with the Soviet Union played an important role in the establishment and development of the young independent Turkish state.

After the death of Ataturk, although the country was still run by the Republican Party, the party founded by him, Turkey lost its earlier dynamism and the limited democratic advance that had been made during Ataturk's lifetime was no longer able to resist the pressure of the conservative and reactionary forces and the Democratic Party of MENDERES and BAYAR came into power. The history of this period when Turkey abandoned her former foreign policy of anti-imperialism, cooperation with Arab nationalism and friendship with the Soviet Union, and became a part of the Western military alliance, joined the NATO and later the CENTO, etc., is well-known.

#### Reign of Reaction

During this period Turkey not only followed a reactionary policy abroad but a most repressive police state was established at home also and a corrupt regime mainly basing itself on the religious superstitions of the people and the general backwardness of the peasantry continued in power. Apart from the army and the police the government was supported only by its own partisans and the mullahs and the well-to-do peasantry in the countryside.

The government had lost the support of all sections of the intelligentsia, the students, the middle classes and even of the bourgeoisie. Then came the revolution of 1960 when in the familiar fashion of so many other countries in Western Asia the army moved in to end a repressive and corrupt regime and for a regeneration of the country. Since then a general election has taken place and

### Release Moroccan People's Leaders

MOSCOW: The unwarranted arrest of the leaders of the Moroccan Communist Party, ALI YATA, ABDEL SALAM BOURQUIA and ABDALLAH LAYACHI "has profoundly stirred Soviet opinion, all friends of the Moroccan people", reads an article by V. Biryuzov in Pravda, citing foreign reports on the condition of the arrested who have not yet been charged with any offence.

Early in November, Ali Yata, Abdel Salam Bourquia and Abdallah Layachi sent a telegram to King Hassan II of Morocco protesting against their unlawful arrest. However, after this protest their condition deteriorated con-

siderably. In particular, the condition of Ali Yata, whose health had been undermined by imprisonment under the French protectorate when he was arrested for active struggle for his country's independence, got much worse.

The arrested Moroccan communists are still deprived of their right to defend themselves through lawyers as envisaged by the law. The Moroccan authorities notified Joe Norman, the Secretary-General of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers, who expressed his readiness to defend the arrested, that the case of his clients had not been referred to the judicial agencies.

"Ali Yata, Abdel Salam Bourquia and Abdallah Layachi," V. Biryuzov writes, "are sincere patriots, active champions of their country's independence and of their people's fundamental interests. One is bewildered at the unwarranted arrests."

DECEMBER 8, 1963

# WINDS OF CHANGE OVER TURKEY

BY A CORRESPONDENT LATELY IN ISTANBUL

although the army general GURSEL, the head of the revolutionary committee, still continues as the head of the state, a civilian government headed by former colleague of Ataturk, Prime Minister INONU, heads the government, the expressed policy of which is to carry forward the incomplete revolution of Ataturk.

In Turkey among all sections of the people this is the most popular slogan today.

Although much remains to be desired by way of democratic liberties in the country there is considerable enthusiasm among most educated people that an end has been put to hated regime and a normal administration has been restored. Even though there is some censorship over the press and the ban on new political organisations continues (there is no legal Communist Party and there is still some repression of the Left) there is an atmosphere of great political discussion in Turkey today.

Your correspondent was recently able to travel quite extensively in Turkey and it was always possible to start political discussion with almost anybody without difficulty. About the recent trials of the members of the unsuccessful coup the general consensus of opinion seemed to be that these young army officers had attempted to bring about changes that were too advanced for today's development and it was obviously a mistake in as much as they did not enjoy the support of any considerable section of the people.

One thing that, even the most casual visitor to Turkey would notice today is the way in which the army participates in the day today affairs of the country and is in very close contact with the people. One frequently sees quite senior army officers engage in political discussion in a train or a cafe and others participate in it without any fear or restraint.

Most people, specially the young, would tend to say that the problem in Turkey today is not political (meaning party politics) but that of ensuring a rapid economic development. To this the government seems to be sufficiently alive and most of the impractical and wasteful "prestige" projects of the Menderes regime have been given up and serious efforts are being made for a beginning towards genuine industrialisation of the country.

One interesting fact about the Menderes regime is the way it sought to derive its support from the countryside by bribing a section of the upper and middle peasantry by maintaining price subsidies for some agricultural products. For a number of exportable cash crops the state paid more to the producer than it actually received from foreign trade.

Similarly costly sugar plants were built at state expense or with state loans in different parts of the country which had worked for a few months only in the year.

Together with encouraging and strengthening the religious hold of the mullahs over the backward sections of the peasantry, this way of bribing was the method of the regime to retain a certain support among the people. Unfortunately support for a new regime is still the least among this section in the countryside which the Justice Party, the rumpus of the old Democratic Party, now seek to exploit. Otherwise there seems to be very little support for the Justice Party in the towns.

It is perhaps too early to say anything definitely about future developments but certainly there are signs of new stirrings all over Turkey today. One perhaps not very significant but nevertheless very visible sign is the number of new statues of Ataturk, sayings of Ataturk on banners, plaques, tablets etc., as well as newspaper and streamers on current issues, that one finds recently put up in public

places all over the country. A very pleasant surprise was the very friendly feeling towards India that I found in many places in the country.

Although there is no major change in government policy yet, among the public there is considerable feeling for a move towards neutralism. Instead of the old persistent anti-communism and anti-Soviet propaganda of the old regime the new government has been seeking to normalise its relations with the Soviet Union. An interesting example was the recent request by the editor-in-chief of the most important newspaper in Turkey, the CUMHURİYET—founded by Ataturk—to Prime Minister Khrushchov for his views on Kemal Ataturk on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of his death.

All this may be a very small beginning but Turkey has perhaps already taken a new step towards the social and economic development of her people.

## Split Must Be Healed

\* FROM FACING PAGE

ly for the object of forging unity of the two cultures of the East and West. If this urge and awareness grows, as we hope it inevitably will, then sooner than expected, we can look forward to the emergence of a world community of writers as well as a world community of artists uniting within its fold all writers and artists of note and not merely writers and artists exclusively belonging to this or that particular ideological brand.

It is in the context of this great urge that Sholokhov, three years ago, appealed for the convening of a World Round Table Conference of Writers to which even some cold war veterans responded favourably.

It is in the context of this great urge that JEAN PAUL SARTRE called for the disarming of culture while initiating the discussion on Sholokhov's proposal at the Writers' Group meeting held at Moscow during the World Disarmament Congress in July 1962. Sartre rightly expressed his anguish at the split among writers, at the existence of two cultures—East and West—at the intolerable situation which had made communication between men of culture of the East and West impossible due to cold war, at the use of culture as a war weapon.

"We must disarm culture—make it a weapon of peace. Particularised cultures are raised everywhere as weapons of war... Open the doors of culture to all nations", Sartre appealed.

This is exactly what socially conscious men of culture have always been demanding and working for.

It is in the context of this great urge that about a hundred prominent Indian writers, representing our various languages, issued statements on the eve of the Moscow

Congress calling for complete disarmament and liquidation of cold war to save humanity from total destruction.

And finally it is in the context of this great urge that more than a hundred writers from different parts of India assembled on November 2, 1963 at Amritsar during the All-India Peace Congress to discuss how Indian writers could help to make culture an instrument of peace, how unity of all sections and groups of Indian writers and artists could be forged and how best we could contribute to the 'disarming' of culture and the meeting of East and West so that men of culture now divided in self-contained ideological blocs may meet, engage in serious dialogue, debate their ideological differences and thus help in finding a common language at least so far as the questions of disarmament and peace are concerned. For we still believe that these two purposes are common between us, even though we may hold divergent positions in the field of ideology.

Naturally many other urgent issues facing the country and the world also came up for discussion and were included in the 'Amritsar Appeal to Indian Writers and Artists' adopted at this convention, but the most significant part of this Appeal is the call for 'Cultural Demobilization' in Dr. MULK RAJ ANAND's words and a suggestion to the All-India Peace Council to explore the possibility of calling a World Writers' Meet in India.

India has always taken a lead in initiating such international efforts aimed at developing unity and cooperation and it would be another great contribution to world peace if India also takes initiative in calling the writers of the East and West to meet on her soil.

PAGE FIFTEEN

NEW AGE



# Peking's Crusade Against Leninism

★ FROM PAGE 13

other parties, the CPSU Central Committee proposed that a characterisation of dogmatism and sectarianism be included in the 1957 Declaration. Since the danger of dogmatism had grown seriously as a result of the activities of the Chinese and Albanian leaders, the 1960 Meeting resolutely denounced Leftist doctrinalism, and gave in its Statement a broader characterisation of dogmatism and sectarianism.

When petty-bourgeois nationalist revisionism, Leftist phrase-mongering and Left-wing opportunism are imposed upon a large Communist Party, especially one in power, they become a danger as great as revisionism, and not only to this party alone, but to the entire communist movement

as well.

Our Party has always been vigilant against the revisionist danger. But when, under the pretext of struggling against revisionism, when, as Lenin said, "...the fight against the Right-wingers is converted into a pastime... we must say: 'Enough! Otherwise the danger will become too serious!'" (Works, Russ. ed., Vol 32, p. 447). To the Chinese leaders, the stirring up of a fuss around "modern revisionism" is not even a pastime any longer, but a smoke-screen for engineering a split in our movement.

Defence of the creative spirit and ideological purity of the revolutionary theory and practice of Communists is impossible without a consistent struggle against the ideology

and all political consequences of the personality cult.

Peking is most vociferous about loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, but in reality it is trying to destroy its heart, its creative spirit, to undermine the ideological basis of the Communist movement, to deprive it of the ability to utilise favourable conditions for the struggle for the cause of socialism, for a real onslaught on imperialism. We are witnessing a crusade against the very foundations of Marxism-Leninism, unprecedented since the time of Trotskyism.

The Chinese leaders are assuming a great—perhaps, incomparably great—responsibility to the peoples of their country, to the peoples of the world socialist system and to the entire international movement for liberation—the

responsibility for having turned the education of the Chinese people onto an anti-Soviet path, the path of enmity and hostility towards the peoples of the socialist community.

But also great is the responsibility of the entire communist movement, which alone is capable of stopping the Chinese leaders from sliding further downhill before their pernicious ideas have taken too deep a hold among the masses of the Chinese people.

## Everything was Done To Heal the Breach

The Central Committee of the CPSU, concerned as it is with the unity of the ranks of the international communist movement, with the cohesion of the world socialist system, has done everything possible to restore relations with the leadership of the CPC on the correct, Marxist-Leninist basis.

Soon after the existence of serious differences became apparent and after the CPC leaders rejected criticism of their positions on the part of the representatives of 50 Communist and Workers' Parties at the Bucharest meeting in the summer of 1960, the CPSU Central Committee took the initiative in organising bilateral talks with the Central Committee of the CPC.

These talks were held in Moscow in September of the same year. The CPSU delegation strove to come to agreement with the Chinese comrades on fundamental issues of today. But the delegation of the CPC frustrated, in effect, the attempts of the CPSU to come to agreement, piling up a host of other questions, mostly of secondary importance.

During the preparations, for the November meeting of 1960, in the period of the work of the drafting commission, the CPSU delegation acted with the utmost tact, striving to do everything to create an atmosphere of comradeship and friendship at the Meeting and promote the consolidation of unity on the principled basis of Marxism-Leninism.

At the meeting itself, our delegation headed by Comrade N. S. Khrushchov, representatives of all fraternal Parties—respected, most prominent leaders of the international Communist movement who have had a good revolutionary schooling—patiently and persistently explained to the Chinese delegation Marxist-Leninist views on the main problems of world development.

Among the 81 delegations at the Moscow meeting, the Albanians alone supported the erroneous propositions advanced by the representatives of the CPC. The majority of the meeting participants criticised these propositions in a completely way, from Marxist-Leninist positions. But the CPC leaders showed already at that time that they did not visualise methods of settling the differences, other than those of diktat, of imposing, by any means, their views upon other parties.

They were openly told this from the rostrum of the meeting by many leaders of the international communist movement. "The speech of the Chinese delegate," Comrade

Dolores Ibarruri said, "is more like an impermissible ultimatum than a statement of differences... It is a great thing to belong to a country having 650 million inhabitants. We regard this demographic fact as one of great importance for the socialist camp. But it cannot be used as a means of bringing pressure to bear upon the international communist movement, which is threatened with a split."

The position adopted by the representatives of the CPC Central Committee, their actions were resolutely criticised by Comrades Rodney Arismendi, Haled Bagdash, Tim Buck, Gilberto Vieira, John Gollan, Ajoy Ghosh, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, Wladislaw Gomułka, Todor Zhivkov, Janos Kadar, Kostas Kollanits, Johann Koplenig, Luigi Longo, Antonin Novotny, Ezekias Papaioannu, Ville Pessi, Carlos Prestes, Max Reimann, Maurice Thorez, Walter Ulbricht, Hilding Hagberg, Yum-zhagya Tsendenbal, Nicolas Chauvi, and other leaders of the Communist Parties who took part in the meeting.

It is on record that the Chinese delegation to the meeting, fearing complete isolation, felt compelled to sign the Statement, i.e., to agree at least formally with the opinion of the Communists of the world. The Central Committee of the CPSU believed that the Chinese comrades would respect this opinion of the international Communist movement and proceed in the common ranks along the road outlined by the meeting.

This attitude to the problem, permeated with Leninist concern for the unity of the international communist movement, is characterised by the following example. When N. S. Khrushchov addressed, on January 6, 1961, a general meeting of the Party organisations of the Higher Party School, the Academy of Social Sciences and the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CPSU Central Committee with the report "For New Victories of the World Communist movement", he was asked who had won at the meeting. Comrade N. S. Khrushchov replied: "Comrades, let us not talk about who won and who was defeated at the meeting. We should talk about the unity of the international Communist movement."

The CPSU Central Committee time and again took steps to eliminate the differences. At the end of 1962, seeing off China's Ambassador Liu Hsiao, N. S. Khrushchov said that the best thing to do in our relations with the fraternal Party of China and the Chinese people would be to turn a new, clean page so as to have such relations as existed before 1958. Comrade N. S. Khrushchov advanced definite proposals.

But the Chinese leaders did not heed the voice of reason this time either. Far from discontinuing their subversive work against the CPSU and other Communist Parties, the Chinese leaders launched it on such a scale and lent it such a nature, that now it is already hard to distinguish—unless one knows the address—where there is imperialist anti-communism and anti-Sovietism and where there is great-power, demagogic propaganda and activities from Peking.

# DALLAS: DEN OF ULTRAS

Love Field is the paradoxical welcome mat that greets most airborne visitors to Dallas. Here President JOHN F. KENNEDY landed on the fateful day of his gruesome assassination. Yet this vast airport with its modernistic terminal has always seemed to be oddly inappropriately named, even before that awful day; for 'love' is not the sentiment most likely to impress Dallas visitors.



It is an efficient and affluent city. Glittering with the oil riches that have built it, Dallas has attracted more than other cities the get-rich-quick elements that have swelled its metropolitan population to over one million.

Dallas is booming. Its skyscrapers are booming high above the prairie. Its downtown district is booming with strip tease joints, fake fancy nightclubs and ornately vulgar restaurants. Its banks are booming with neon signs.

And its Rightist groups are booming with oil money and the boisterousness of the newly rich. "Love" is hardly the watchword of this crowd.

Of all those regions of the South where the Rightists are strongest—Southwest Georgia, the Birmingham, Alabama area, the Mississippi delta, Louisiana, the Texas panhandle—Dallas could easily elbow its way to the fore and claim supremacy.

Freedom Forums, John Birch Society chapters, Christian Anti-Communist Crusaders, Ku Klux Klan units, Citizens Councils, Minutemen, and the like abound in the city and in Fort Worth, its metropolitan sister-city.

The Southwest Regional Headquarters of the Ku Klux Klan are for example, located in Dallas (Post Office Box 9853). It is in Dallas that Klan officialdom plan activities for a tri-state area and govern the terroristic work of dozens of local conclaves.

Even more openly active than the Klan, at least in publicly held programmes, have been the Freedom Forum Committee tied to the Rightist propaganda centre in Searcy, Arkansas.

In the Tarrant County area alone these Freedom Forum Committees have been so prolific in involving civic and business groups in their anti-Communist programmes that the meeting, Comrade N. S. Khrushchov replied: "Comrades, let us not talk about who won and who was defeated at the meeting. We should talk about the unity of the international Communist movement."

The CPSU Central Committee time and again took steps to eliminate the differences. At the end of 1962, seeing off China's Ambassador Liu Hsiao, N. S. Khrushchov said that the best thing to do in our relations with the fraternal Party of China and the Chinese people would be to turn a new, clean page so as to have such relations as existed before 1958. Comrade N. S. Khrushchov advanced definite proposals.

The bookstore's 'patriotic' wares include such standbys of hate literature as 'How Red Is The National Council of Churches' (three for 25 c.), 'McCarthyism—The Fight For America' by JOSEPH MCCARTHY, 'Roosevelt's Road To Russia', 'Satan Goes To School' by VERNE P. KAUB, 'The Life Of John Birch' by ROBERT WELCH and the works of Dr. FRED SCHWARZ.

'Human Events' seminars of political action are also propagandized by the Teacher Publishing Company. One of the more recent of these seminars took place in the grand ballroom of the Texas Hotel where President Kennedy ironically stayed on his tragic visit to Fort Worth.

Besides this major propaganda centre, there are numerous lesser periodicals of the Right, both political and fundamentalist, some primarily segregationist and others containing thinly veiled anti-semitism, that are issued from the Dallas-Fort Worth area. Of these one might note 'The Kingdom Digest' (Box 13713, Dallas), 'The Seventh Trumpet' (Box 21011, Dallas), 'Truth' Inc. (1041 Isbell Road, Fort Worth) and the 'Dan Smoot Report'.

The 'Dan Smoot Report' deserves special mention. Smoot's weekly newsletter, though printed in Dallas, has a large national circulation said to be in the neighbourhood of 50 thousand. Thus it is one of the most important Rightist publications.

Its influence is enhanced by the fact that 'SMOOT', a former FBI agent, was administrative assistant to J. EDGAR HOOVER, in the FBI's national headquarters before resigning to devote himself to Rightist activities. For a time Smoot helped edit 'Facts Forum', the pro-McCarthy organ of oilman H. L. HUNT.

Smoot, in his strident propaganda has waged a relentless campaign against the martyred president Kennedy often implying that the president was just short of treasonous action for "moving step by step towards the surrender of American armed forces" to the United Nations. Kennedy's advisers, Smoot once wrote, "want the constitution abolished."

His own devotion to the U.S. constitution can be judged by his belief that the "contemporary ideal of democracy is evil" and that "democracy by majority rule is an evil that feeds on itself".

In spite of the verbal violence of Smoot's writings—or perhaps because of it—this former high-ranking FBI official has long been a favoured speaker at Rightist groups in Dallas.

Yet Smoot must take second place to a still more famous Rightist citizen of the Dallas area, General EDWIN WALKER.

General Walker whose arrival at Dallas Love Field was greeted with cheers and bouquets of flowers is the hero of the Right.



Kennedy was a marked man since he started "replacing the Monroe Doctrine with the spirit of Moscow"—for seeking accommodation with the USSR. Above he is seen at his meeting with the Soviet Premier in June 1961.

## AND ITS TARGET

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker just a year ago unleashed a vicious attack on the Kennedy administration for what he called a defence department programme "to crack down on anti-Communists in the US".

Walker

The ensuing session of the Maharashtra Legislature is going to discuss the report of the Commission of Inquiry appointed to enquire into the failure of the Panshet dam.

THE breach of the dam resulted in the release of water and as a result of that the Khadakwasla dam was also breached. The result was disastrous for the citizens of Poona and those who lived on the banks of the river on which the two dams stood.

As many as 4,421 houses in the city area and 632 in the rural area were damaged and badly affected. The number of persons who were affected by the floods in one way or the other was 88,239 in the city area and 6,337 in the rural area.

The Panshet dam that stood 22 miles from Poona, was breached at dawn on July 12, 1961. On July 24, 1961 government of Maharashtra appointed a one man Inquiry Commission of Justice R. S. BAVDEKAR. Justice Bavdekar

died on October 19, 1961. He threw himself down from the window of his residence.

It is freely said that he was not happy with the type of cooperation that was coming from the government and government officers and he feared that there was foul play. His attempt to end his life, it is said, was the result of his abovesaid fears.

After the death of Justice Bavdekar, Justice V. A. NAIK was appointed to hold the inquiry. Justice NAIK was to enquire into and report on the causes of the failure of the Panshet and Khadakwasla dams on July 12, 1961 and the circumstances in which such failure occurred.

● the adequacy of the action by the various authorities before, during and immediately after the disaster

to avert it or to mitigate the consequences thereof.

The Commission of Inquiry submitted its report to the government of Maharashtra on January 5, 1963. But the government's decision on the findings of the Commission was published through a government resolution as late as September 23, 1963.

The report of the Commission consisting of 758 pages is in two parts. Part I deals with the first term of reference and Part II deals with the second term of reference.

With regard to the first term of reference, that is the cause of the failure of the two dams and the circumstances in which such failure occurred, the Commission holds that the decision to construct an earthen dam at Panshet was sound.

● The dam was originally scheduled to be completed by June 1962, but the date for

## Spotlight On PANSHET

★ By G. D. Sane

completion of the dam was advanced by one year. The Commission holds that this decision was also correct, both by technical and practical accomplishments.

The Commission holds that it is possible to take the view that there was a case of revision of the time schedule of construction of the Panshet dam, in the months of April and May in the light of circumstances then prevailing and the state of incompleteness of the various items.

It further says that it would have been more prudent had the engineers decided to cry a halt but after all it was a difficult decision to take and it depended upon the assessment of the situation in which there is always an element of individual judgment.

The Commission clearly states that this is a case of difference in judgment, and stretched to its extremity can be regarded as an error of judgment. The government agrees with this view of the Commission. It even said that the breaches were due to the act of god.

It is interesting to note that the Commission examined 88 witnesses out of whom 34 were in connection with technical aspects. The total number of statements brought on record is 334. Yet in all this extensive and expensive enquiry not a single member of the cabinet nor the secretary of the department was examined.

The parties appearing before the Commission, the counsel for the Commission, advocates appearing on behalf of the officers and other parties never pressed the necessity of examining the members of the cabinet or the secretary of the department.

As to why the examination of the minister of the department or its secretary was not pressed, no explanation is to be found. It is probably this aspect of the enquiry that is likely to be hotly debated in the ensuing session of the Maharashtra legislature.

It might be remembered that when the breach of the dam at Panshet occurred, one of the charges made by the opposition was that the breach was a result of the ugly haste of the government to see that the dam was completed by June 1961. It was alleged that the general elections were approaching and the decision to advance the date of the completion of the dam smelt of party politics.

The Commission in its report says that the decision to advance the date of the completion of the dam "was in the nature of fixation of a target or an aim and there was no element of irrevocability about it". It also says that the decision was taken by the department on technical considerations.

This view again is likely to be hotly debated in the house as it is known that such an important decision as the impounding of water in the dam cannot be taken without the approval of the minister.

It is known that in the Mundhra affair enquiry, an effort was made to show that

the minister for finance was not responsible for Mundhra deal in any way, and that the blame if any squarely rested on the shoulders of H. M. PATEL, principal secretary of the Finance Ministry. This view was negated by Justice CHAGLA, who enquired into the matter. The Chagla Commission clearly stated that the constitutional responsibility rested with the minister.

So far as conclusions of the Commission in regard to the second part of the term of reference is concerned, there are several passages in the report that severely criticize the civil officers for their inefficient handling of the situation after the breach of the dam, and the floods resulting therefrom.

**Officials' Responsibility**

At places, he has charged the civil officers of not seriously applying their minds to the question. For instance, PRABHAKAR, the Collector of Poona, did not take any action till 4 p.m.

At places the Commission holds the view that certain statements made by the civil officers about the emergency control room being set up, in pursuance of the decision taken at the divisional commissioners' meeting was an afterthought. According to the Commission certain jottings in the record of the control room appear to be interpolated.

At one stage the Commission has said that the defence set up on behalf of the civil authorities is false and is sought to be bolstered up by false evidence. At another place the Commission has come to the conclusion that the endorsement in the margin of the copy of BRAGANZA's message sent to MOHITE was tampered with.

These findings of the Commission are serious enough. However government in its resolution says, that the strictures passed by the Commission are hypothetical, not conclusive and not proved. It has however said that action against government servants found to be responsible for any faults is contemplated.

It is clear that part of the findings of the Commission will not get the approval of the opposition members of the House.

Certain other conclusions of the Commission are already rejected by the Government. This is a strange prospect and from it follows yet another issue of principle, namely whether the findings of a judicial enquiry should be accepted as a matter of course.

It may be remembered that after the release of Nalk Commission's report the demand was made that whenever a Commission is appointed, its report should be accepted by the government.

Legal authorities expressed fear that if the findings of such Commissions were not accepted, there was a possibility that the judges would refuse to serve on such Commissions.

## UNITING FOR D.A., BONUS

AHMEDABAD: Since June this year, the Communist Party and Mill Kamdar Union (AITUC) had started concerted agitation against the compulsory deposit scheme and as a result over 50,000 workers had participated in the hartal on August 8, the Martyrs Day of the Maha Gujarat.

SOON after this the issues of correction of index number and increased dearness allowance and bonus were taken up, to which workers began to respond magnificently.

The INTUC Major Mahajan was actively working against all this thus inviting upon itself great contempt and opposition from the workers. The idea of forming a new, united, militant workers' organisation was taking shape, meanwhile.

And when on September 1, a meeting of leading workers was convened by INDULAL YAGNIK, president of the Janata Parishad and DINKAR MEHTA, secretary of the Gujarat state unit of CPI, the response surpassed all expectations.

Over a thousand worker leaders from 46 (out of 63) mills attended and many participated in the deliberations of the meeting presided over by Yagnik.

Dinkar Mehta, moving the resolution for the formation of the SAMYUKTA KAMDAR SANGRAM SAMITHI, called upon all the workers and employees of various industries and trades to join the organisation in thousands in order to fight for solving major issues like DA, bonus, better working and living conditions etc.

An ad hoc organising committee of 105 with workers from 45 mills was formed, with RATILAL SHAH and GORDHAN PATEL as the conveners.

The Mill Kamdar Union had already submitted last year a memorandum to the Bonus Commission, demanding twelve and a half per cent of the wages and dearness allowance as bonus, irrespective of the plea of loss on the part of the millowners.

The workers in Ahmedabad mills get very meagre bonus, as a result of an agreement entered into between S. R. VASAVADA of INTUC and the Ahmedabad Mill Owners' Association. Eighteen mills don't give any bonus at all, many of these belonging to magnate KASTURBHAI LALBHAI.

While the workers in Bombay received over Rs. 175 average as annual bonus, the Ahmedabad workers hardly received Rs. 22 average. This was due to Vasavada's policy

of no strike and surrender to the owners, which he describes as GANDHIJI'S legacy, concealing the very fact that Gandhiji had called a big strike of workers in 1918 before organising the Major Mahajan.

The Mill Kamdar Union submitted a memorandum to the experts committee on price index appointed by the Gujarat government and presented demands similar to those presented by the Bombay Girmi Kamgar Union.

It computed that every textile worker was losing every month Rs. 30 to Rs. 35 at least due to the fraudulent and outdated mode of calculating the DA and demanded a minimum increase of Rs. 25 per month in DA. Taking Rs. 25 as the minimum monthly loss, it pointed out that every worker lost Rs. 300 annually, or the one lakh and fifty thousand workers lost Rs. 45 crores every year.

Numerous meetings were held by the Sangram Samiti before the mill gates. Yagnik and Dinkar Mehta addressed most of these meetings along with HANUMAN SINGH, NALINI MEHTA and ABDUL RAZAK with the result that the newly formed Sangram Samiti has already 40,000 members, enrolled during October and November.

On November 6, the committee of the Sangram Samiti gave a call for a workers' conference of the entire Gujarat state and called upon the workers to enrol one lakh members. On November 24, a big meeting of the representatives of the enrolled workers, it was decided to convene the conference on January 4 and 5 and to invite S. A. DANGE to inaugurate it.

The working class of Ahmedabad are throbbing with a new awakening and a new life. They say, the day of the Major Mahajan is fast setting and that of the Sangram Samiti is rising.

Vasavada and others of the INTUC are greatly worried and unnerved. They have lost over 30,000 members, abusing the Communist and Yagnik. They also now try to hold meetings at mill gates, but none waits to listen to their falsehoods and slanders.



The Sixth Congress of the FDGB (Free German Trade Unions) held recently in Berlin

## WORLD TRADE UNIONISTS DISCUSS GROWTH OF MONOPOLIES

REPRESENTATIVES of militant organisations of international working class studied with great concern the alarming growth of monopolies throughout the capitalist world and chalked out organisational measures to fight effectively its economic and social consequences in a conference that concluded in Leipzig on November 28. The conference was sponsored by the World Federation of Trade Unions.

This plenary session of World Trade Union Committee for Consultation and Unity of Action Against Monopolies was attended by 81 delegates from 43 countries representing trade union organisations of most varied outlooks, trade unions affiliated both to the WFTU and the ICFU, as well as autonomous organisations.

Large delegations came from Africa and Latin America and Asia. Outstanding trade union leaders like RENATO BIROSSI, LOUIS SAILLANT, HERBERT WARNEKE were among members of the Presidium elected by the conference.

The WFTU General Secretary told your correspondent the conference was an important milestone in the development of unity of trade unionists and working

class against monopolies. The All-India Trade Union Congress was represented by MAHENDRA SEN Secretary of International Transport Workers Federation. SATISH CHATTERJEE was a member of the Presidium of conference.

The conference decided to constitute a temporary commission consisting of representatives of 19 big trade union organisations. The AITUC is one of these. This commission is a very broad one and of an interim character.

Its work is to prepare draft organisational regulations and lay down general tasks of the world trade unions for united action against monopolies. It will not interfere with the national centres of trade unions leading struggles against monopolies in their national conditions.

This draft is to be submitted to every trade union organisation which took part in this conference as also to those which may join it later. This temporary commission will have organisational powers until next plenary session of the consultative conference for necessary deliberations on the exchange of experience, and unity of action of trade unions in the struggle against monopolies.

**WORLD TRADE**

The conference also discussed the problems of development of international trade and decided to convene a World Trade Union Conference for the Development of Foreign Trade, Against Monopolistic Discrimination. This trade conference of trade unions may be held before the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development scheduled to be held in Geneva from March to June 1964.

The Leipzig conference said that imperialist blockade of Cuba and embargo on trading ships are a grave threat to free world trade and it is the supreme task of the working class in all countries to fight vigorously against it.

Sallant's report on workers' struggles and unity of trade

union action against monopolies is a 45-page document, a chronicle of last one year's working class actions and strike movements against imperialism and monopoly capitalism throughout the world. He gave a penetrating analysis of the nature of monopolies, characteristic features of its attack on working people, characteristics of the counter-offensive of the working class and main tasks in the struggle against monopoly capitalism.

The conference also made a preliminary study of certain aspects of problems of expansion in international trade. The role of the working class in the struggle for the development of world trade against discriminatory practices of monopolies was profoundly analysed in this document.

Speeches made by delegates from several capitalist countries revealed sordid picture of wage labour and colonial exploitation gave graphic picture of the nature of monopolies expansion, inter-relationships and contradictions of private and state monopoly capitalism, their attack on civil liberties and institutions of parliamentary democracy, how they organise military coups against governments which they do not like, how they export counter-revolution, and how monopolies are a menace to national independence and economic development of Afro-Asian and Latin American countries.

These speeches also showed that a powerful working class movement relentlessly fighting back all attacks of monopoly capitalism is steadily growing in all countries of the world in which all sections of the people are being drawn.

The Chinese delegate in his speech in this conference agreed with all political and organisational proposals in Sallant's report. But he stipulated several peculiarly Chinese tasks for every one of the proposals, tasks so dogmatic and rigid that they would immediately create political difference and inter-state and inter-TRU conflicts threatening to split the unity of action against monopolies, so urgently needed today.

—Kunhanandan

## CORPORATE SECTOR FRAUD AND MALPRACTICES

\* FROM PAGE TWO

Director of this firm was in charge of housing AICC members during the Madurai AICC Session. He demanded that companies should be barred from making contribution to political funds.

The member criticised the practice of retired IAS and ICS officers joining private firms and said that the secretary of a state government's Labour Department had, immediately after he retired, become the Secretary of the South Indian Millowners' Association. Umanath said that enabling powers of government alone will not help to prevent malpractices.

In 1961-62 the government appointed only two inspectors to go into the affairs of two companies despite so many things happening in hundreds of companies. In 1962-63 only one inspector was appointed. As regards fines, on an average throughout the country per prosecution it was only Rs. 125.

Commenting on the provisions in the Bill, the member suggested that once the Tribunal had found a person guilty of fraud and malpractices, after he had been given an opportunity to defend himself, it was not necessary to give him another opportunity to show why he should not be removed.

He welcomed the provision to convert loans into equity capital and recalled the Rs. 10 crores of interest-free loan given to TISCO and IISCO. As regards the conception of public interest, he wanted to know whether violation of labour laws and manipulation of prices to the detriment of the consumer would also be considered as contrary to public interest.

In the Rajya Sabha, discussing the 6th annual report of the Company Law Administration, BHUPESH GUPTA questioned the propriety of the recent government decision to abolish this department and transfer its functions to the Finance Ministry. Bhupesh said that this decision has been taken without the slightest reference to the Minister in charge of Company Law Administration or to the CIA itself. "The report is that our Finance Minister came to the conclusion that this arrangement was not good and he approached the Prime Minister and Prime Minister okayed the scheme proposed to him by the Finance Minister," Bhupesh said that the Prime Minister should not suffer from an "inferiority complex." In matters of finance I must say that whenever the Finance Minister Mr. Krishnamachari approaches him, he thinks that is the last law in finance and therefore it is to be supported." Bhupesh criticised the

decision taken without consulting Parliament.

Commenting on the appointment of inspectors under the Company Law, he referred to the appointment of S. P. CHOPRA as inspector to investigate the affairs of the Dalmia-Jain concerns. He wanted to know when is Chopra's report coming. He wanted to know why the usual practice of giving fees was abandoned in the case of S. P. Chopra and he was retained on a salary of Rs. 3,500 per month and a daily allowance of Rs. 180 which is more than what a gazetted officer of the highest rank gets.

Bhupesh asked why Chopra was allowed to go abroad on private business when he was appointed here to conduct investigations. He said that he was in possession of a document which contained a whole number of charges against Chopra, that he had made several defalcations and a number of companies are mentioned in the document. He wanted to know whether the Special Police Establishment had gone into these charges, since copies of the document had been sent to the Prime Minister and the Finance Minister also.

Bhupesh said that old malpractices were still continuing in the private sector. Referring to the report, he said that 105 special resolutions were passed by 503 companies for regularising appointments of directors and their relations to offices of profit and 32 per cent of those appointed were in the category of Rs. 1000 and above.

### Five Thousand Violations

As regards cases for violation of the Company Law, 4,579 cases had resulted in conviction and the aggregate fine realised was Rs. 3,13,745. In West Bengal which had the highest number of convictions, the average fine collected was only Rs. 47.

Another complaint voiced by Bhupesh Gupta was that adequate attention was not being given to the need for removing regional disparity in industrial development. "We want to know how the various parts of the country are coming up, how states that are relatively backward in the matter of industries are coming up and here again we do not get any satisfactory light from the Company Law Administration report."

Bhupesh then made another sensational disclosure of alleged defalcation by TARAPOREWALA, Secretary of the Nizam's Charitable Funds about whom he had spoken in the House in the past also. He recalled that on March 13, 1963 he

had brought into the House the Taraporewala case in regard to TELCO shares and the central government had then to order prosecution against Taraporewala. He welcomed the government action, but wanted to know what the Company Law Administration was doing in such matters?

"Here again, I am back to the files. I have got plenty of papers. Here is the report of Ferguson Co., Chartered Accountants, Bombay and Delhi, dated 29 October 1960. This report points out another case of defalcation by Mr. Taraporewala, Secretary of the Nizam's Charitable Funds, which amount to Rs. five crores and the alleged misappropriation is to the tune of Rs. 7 lakhs: Rs. 6 lakhs from the National Engineering Co. and Rs. one lakh from the Jagjit Cotton Mills Ltd. The complete information is there, everything is there, the whole thing is there. Now, will the government study it?" he asked. He said that the chartered accountants were appointed under orders from the Supreme Court. He wanted to know whether the government was going to start another prosecution.

Another point made by Bhupesh Gupta was that attempt was being made to control the profits of private companies. In 1962 Hindustan Lever had declared a profit, after taxes of 26 per cent, Dunlop Rubber had given 20 per cent, Philips India Ltd. 21 per cent and Metal Box 25 per cent. Different arrangements are made by big businessmen through prerequisites and other means to take away the funds of companies and enrich themselves.

Planning Minister B. R. BHAGAT who intervened in the discussion did not reply to the question about alleged misappropriation by Taraporewala. "I am sorry I do not have the details and I cannot touch that question," he said. The Minister defended the decision to transfer the functions of the Company Law Department to the Finance Ministry saying that this will not weaken the department and that there was no need to draw any adverse conclusions from what has been done. The CIA was originally under the Finance Ministry, he said.

As regards, S. P. Chopra, he said that the charges against him are not so serious that they should be brought into the House. His going abroad was permissible and he was given only a 'P' form and no foreign exchange. The Minister defended the salary paid to Chopra and said that Chopra had wanted Rs. 250 per hour. "As a compromise he was persuaded to agree to Rs. 3,500."



Victor Grishin (Right) of Soviet Trade Unions presents a banner to FDGB. Walter Ulbricht applauds as H. Warnke (centre) raises Slogans.

# Killers' Chargesheet

**HAVE** a good look at this full-page, black-bordered ad. that appeared in DALLAS MORNING NEWS on that fateful morning—November 22—when John F. Kennedy was to land at Love Field Airport. It is, as it were, the charge-sheet against the President, presented to him before he was executed. It is at the same time the manifesto of the US ultra-Right, the biggest menace to world peace and human existence that ever existed. The fictitious 'American Fact-Finding Committee' which took out the ad. never was. Bernard Weissmann, a 26-year old salesman, when questioned refused to give any information. And the latest is that he has absconded and is nowhere to be traced!

After such happenings, people all over the world are impelled to ask: Are the US authorities serious about tracking the real murderers of the late President?

## Questions Remain Unanswered—PRAVDA

★ FROM MASOOD ALI KHAN

MOSCOW, December 3: According to reports reaching here the editorial offices of newspapers, the White House and the Department of Justice are daily receiving thousands of letters which contain one and the same demand: Expose and punish the plotters who killed President Kennedy.

The above questions were posed by the New York Times correspondent. Oswald's mother has also raised a number of questions. Margaret Oswald insists on knowing why, if her son was considered "a traitor, deserter and a turncoat", wasn't he kept under strict observation, although in connection with the President's arrival in Dallas strict precautionary measures were supposed to have been taken?

IT is now becoming clearer to the overwhelming majority of Americans day-by-day where the criminals are to be found. The New York Times, said on December 1 that the entire world and the whole of America were far from convinced that there was no conspiracy in Dallas.

TASS reported from New York that during the last few days there were no official statements on the progress of the investigations. Many American papers in this connection have raised innumerable questions about the "crime of the century."

—Did Ruby kill Oswald to silence him?

—If Ruby was such a patriot that he could not contain his fury, why did he not join the crowds that gathered to greet Kennedy in Dallas?

—How was it that police found in Oswald's last flat 150 dollars, while he could not support his family and received unemployment dole?

"I want to ask another question", Mrs. Oswald said, "why a man with a known criminal record was allowed to come within a few feet of the prisoner—to any prisoner for that matter—while I could not see my own son?"

Margaret Oswald also revealed that 17 hours before the murder of her son, an FBI agent came to her with some other person who was probably also an agent, showing her a man's photograph. He asked her whether she had seen him anywhere before. Mrs. Oswald replied in the negative. Later, from newspaper photographs she recognised that the man they were asking her about was Jack Ruby.

"I cannot make a mistake, I shall never forget that photograph, I shall never forget that face. I insist that they show me that photo again." She said that probably the FBI knew that Ruby was preparing to kill her son.

According to the New York Times, "the FBI refused to

## WELCOME MR. KENNEDY TO DALLAS...

... A CITY is depressed by a recent Liberal press campaign that its citizens have not studied how more Conservatively American its public officials...

... A CITY that is an economic "boom town", not because of Federal handouts, but through conservative economic and business practices...

... A CITY that will continue to grow and prosper despite efforts by you and your administration to punish it for its responsibility to "New Frontiersmen"...

... A CITY that respects your philosophy and policies in 1962 and will do so again in 1963—more emphatically than before.

**MR. KENNEDY**, despite contentions on the part of your administration, the State Department, the Mayor of Dallas, the Dallas City Council, and members of your party, we free-thinking and America-thinking citizens of Dallas still have, through a Constitution largely ignored by you, the right to address our grievances, to question you, to disagree with you, and to criticize you.

In asserting this constitutional right, we wish to ask you publicly the following questions—indeed, questions of paramount importance and interest to all free peoples everywhere—which we trust you will answer... in public, without sophistry. These questions are:

**WHY** is Latin America turning either anti-American or Communist, or both, despite increased U.S. foreign aid, State Department policy, and your own hy-Tower pronouncements?

**WHY** do you say we have built a "wall of freedom" around Cuba when there is no freedom in Cuba today? Because of your policy, thousands of Cubans have been imprisoned, are starving and being persecuted—with thousands already murdered and thousands more awaiting execution and, in addition, the entire population of almost 7,000,000 Cubans are living in slavery.

**WHY** have you approved the sale of wheat and corn to our enemies when you know the Communist American soldiers "travel on their stomachs" just as ours do? Communist soldiers are daily wounding and/or killing American soldiers in South Viet Nam.

**WHY** did you host, salute and entertain Tito—Moscow's Trojan Horse—just a short time after our sworn enemy, Khrushchev, embraced the Yugoslav dictator as a great hero and leader of Communism?

**WHY** have you urged greater aid, comfort, recognition, and understanding for Yugoslavia, Poland, Hungary, and other Communist countries, while turning your back on the plea of Hungarian, East German, Cuban and other anti-Communist freedom fighters?

**WHY** did Cambodia kick the U.S. out of its country after we poured nearly 400 Million Dollars of aid into its ultra-leftist government?

**WHY** has Gus Hall, head of the U.S. Communist Party praised almost every one of your policies and announced that the party will endorse and support your re-election in 1964?

**WHY** have you banned the showing of U.S. military bases of the film "Operation Abolition"—the movie by the House Committee on Un-American Activities exposing Communism in America?

**WHY** have you ordered or permitted your brother Bobby the Attorney General, to go soft on Communists, fellow-travelers, and ultra-leftists in America, while permitting him to persecute loyal Americans who criticize you, your administration, and your leadership?

**WHY** are you in favor of the U.S. continuing to give economic aid to Argentina, in spite of that fact that Argentina has just seized almost 400 Million Dollars of American private property?

**WHY** has the Foreign Policy of the United States degenerated to the point that the C.I.A. is arranging coups and having staunch Anti-Communist Allies of the U.S. bloodily exterminated.

**WHY** have you scrapped the Monroe Doctrine in favor of the "Spirit of Moscow"?

MR. KENNEDY, as citizens of these United States of America, we DEMAND answers to these questions, and we want them NOW.

### THE AMERICAN FACT-FINDING COMMITTEE

"An unaffiliated and non-partisan group of citizens who wish truth"

BERNARD WEISSMAN  
Chairman

P.O. Box 1792—Dallas 21, Texas

officially comment on the accusation of Mrs. Oswald." As for Ruby Pravda's New York correspondent quotes the Chief Superintendent of prison who evidently guesses Ruby's role in the attempt on the President. The Superintendent told the correspondents that Ruby often repeated that his friends would not leave him in the lurch and he (the superintendent) was afraid that RUBY MIGHT BE POISONED BEFORE THE TRIAL.

## FOOD POLICY UNDER FIRE

★ FROM FRONT PAGE

A powerful indictment of government's price policy on the food front was Renu Chakravarty's speech on the first day of the discussion.

Renu Chakravarty complained that statistics are always given in the House for November-March which is a period of harvest when prices generally decline. But the House is never told why prices go up subsequently in March-November, or why even after a record production the price index remains high.

The all-India index for rice in 1962 remained higher than in 1961 and yet 1960-61 was supposed to be a year of record production. In February 1963 the index was 108 in comparison to 102 in the same period in 1962.

So whether it is a year of record production or bad production, prices constantly rise

and nowhere has the government explained why this is so. She said that "the government has been consistently and deliberately following a policy whereby it is not the peasant who is getting the benefit of the price rise, but it is really the traders and the hoarders".

Renu Chakravarty said that in West Bengal food prices has become a chronic problem and every year, record production or not, people there passed through a state of agony during March-November. She recalled how price of rice in West Bengal rose to Rs. 50-55 per maund this year in October.

The people took action and in Dum Dum they forced 200 maunds to be disgorged and sold at Rs. 35 per maund. When people had brought down price from Rs. 53 to Rs. 35, the Chief Minister instead of reducing the price further entered

into a "gentleman's agreement" with the traders and stabilised the price at Rs. 35.

Now the harvest has already started coming into the market and it is a good harvest. Even so the Chief Minister says that price is going to be Rs. 30! And retailers have started saying that they cannot sell at Rs. 30. So nobody knows whether price is going to be held at Rs. 30 or not.

In this connection Renu Chakravarty also pointed out that forward trading has already started taking place and the peasantry is getting a very low price because of this. If the peasant could get at least Rs. 15 it should be possible to sell to the consumer at Rs. 22 or 23. But he is not getting even that.

Another point made by her was about the contradiction in the statement of the West Bengal Chief Minister, that his state's shortage was 22 lakh tons when the Central Minister was claiming that the shortage for the

whole of India is only 20 or 22 lakh tons.

"Mr. Patil is no longer here but we have heard his 'pragmatic approach' repeated by Mr. Thomas, which was a shield to stop all controls and allow the hoarder and the profiteer to do what they wanted. What is this buffer stock which has been talked about for the last one year?"

"What has happened to that? In spite of imports, have the prices been established? Do not tell us that it is because of developmental expenditure. If you say that, then why do we have planning?"

The malady on the food front was further emphasised by SARJU PANDE also from the Communist benches. He pointed out that the continued food problem should be tackled as a national problem and he stressed that production cannot improve without implementing land reforms, without making the tiller the owner of the land he tills.

Regarding sugar crisis, he urged a uniform minimum price of Rs. 2 for sugar cane and also pointed out that the restrictions on interstate movement of gur had only led to corruption and fall in price in gur producing areas. Sarju Pande explained that there was no shortage of sugar but the government was being guided by the cooked-up figures of the sugar millowners.

CONTRIBUTE LIBERALLY

ON

### ARMED FORCES FLAG DAY

(DECEMBER 7)

FOR THE WELFARE OF EX-SERVICEMEN AND THEIR FAMILIES