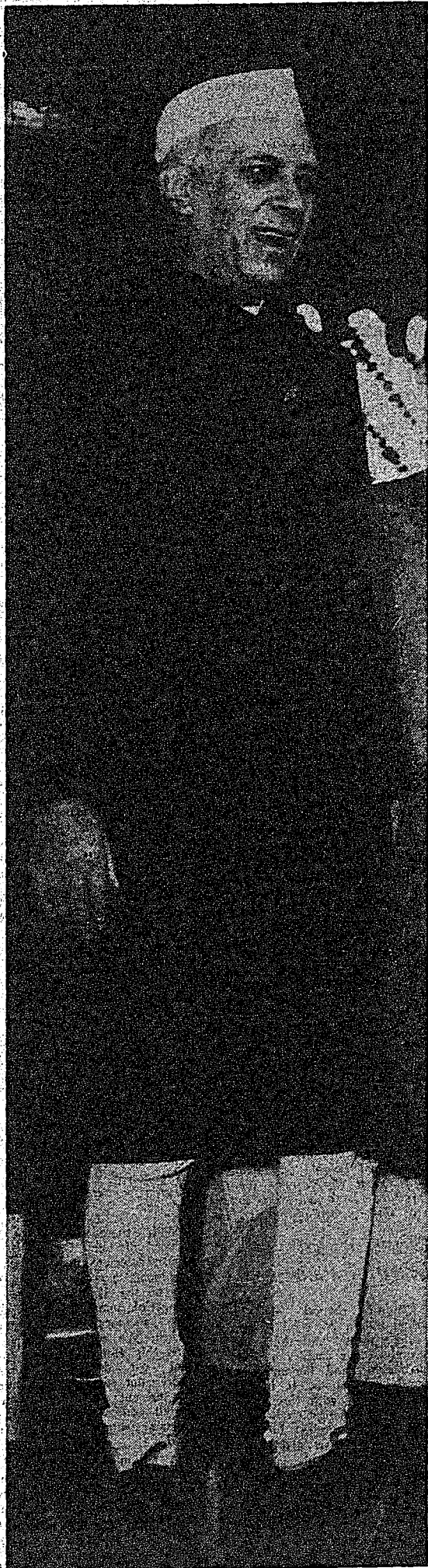


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NEHRU LIVES . . .



IF THE UNITED WILL OF HUNDREDS OF MILLIONS COULD HAVE HAD ITS WAY, JAWAHARLAL NEHRU WOULD HAVE BEEN BROUGHT BACK FROM THE DEAD. THE TEARS AND THE ANGUISH WERE WITHOUT PARALLEL, AS THE ARCHITECT OF INDEPENDENT INDIA RODE OUT ON HIS LAST TRIUMPHAL MARCH, SURROUNDED BY THE LOVE OF NOT ONLY HIS OWN PEOPLE, BUT THE PEOPLES OF THE WHOLE WORLD.

AS the vast throngs of men, women and children poured out their hearts to the silent warrior on the gun carriage of the funeral procession, as they wept and they shouted their blessings . . . it was as if the soul of Nehru had come to life again in these millions of weeping eyes, parched throats, hands raised in reverence . . .

Little greedy men plotted their conspiracies for power in their dark corners, plotted treachery to the nation . . . But the Indian people were out in the open blazing sun, pledging themselves to carry to their completion the unfinished tasks to which the Nehru whom they adored, had dedicated himself through the years.

The cries and slogans which declared determinedly that Nehru is immortal, were solemn oaths to continue and strengthen the positive policies and principles for which the departed leader stood.

No, the millions had not forgotten that the years since independence had

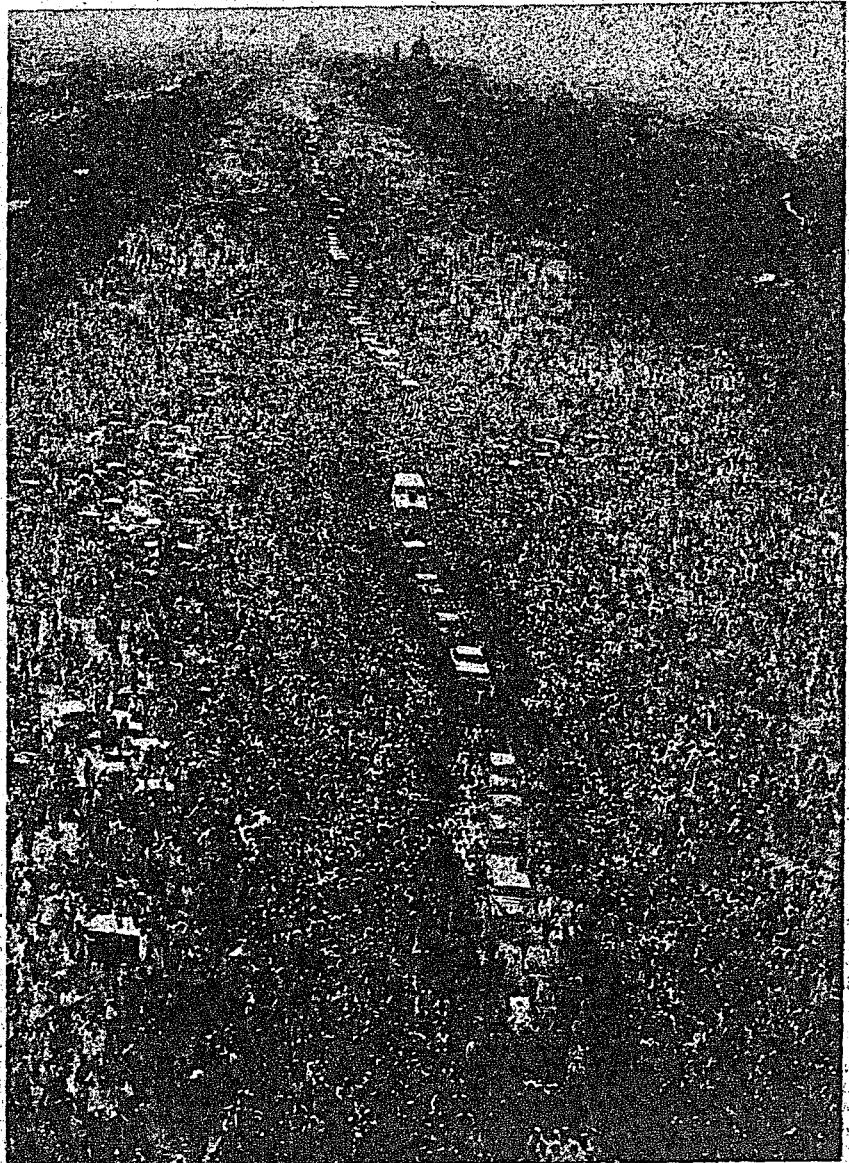
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"... WE HAVE TO LABOUR AND TO WORK HARD, TO GIVE REALITY TO OUR DREAMS. THOSE DREAMS ARE FOR INDIA, BUT THEY ARE ALSO FOR THE WORLD..."

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU
AUGUST 14, 1947

NEW AGE
* COMMUNIST PARTY WEEKLY *

Vol. XII No. 22 New Delhi May 31, 1964 25 nP.



COMMUNIST MPs

By HIREN MUKHERJEE

On behalf of my Party in Parliament and on my own behalf, I join in trying to give expression to our sorrow which is truly inexpressible, at the passing away of Jawaharlal Nehru.

DEATH, the necessary end, will come when it will come. Yet the void that has now descended upon us will never be filled. This Parliament, and our country, is a bleak and desolate place today without Jawaharlalji. And the loss of so many of us who loved him dearly cannot bear speaking about. I fear it will take us some time to collect ourselves.

I need not refer to the story of his life—his magnificent role in our fight for freedom, when he was the idol of India's youth, his unique grip on world perspectives, which made him realise the link between our fight and the fight of oppressed peoples in Asia, Africa and elsewhere; his dedication to secularism and democracy and people's wellbeing which drew him strongly towards socialism, economic planning and world peace. All this, and more, is a matter of record—an open book, which was his life, and in which, whatever our differences, we in India have all gloried.

A very human and fallible but an invariably noble and incessantly active life has

SOVIET PEOPLE'S DEEP SORROW

From MASOOD ALI KHAN

MOSCOW: Moscow was shocked at the sudden and tragic news of death of Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, when Moscow Radio interrupted its regular programme to announce the sad news.

PRIME Minister Nehru was well-known and respected by the people as a great statesman and sincere friend of Soviet Union.

The people's sorrow found spontaneous expression. People stopped Indians on the streets

to express their sympathy and grief.



Two great fighters for world peace

Soviet Ministers told Humayun Kabir that they shared India's loss and grief. "We are with you and we will stand by India," they said.

As soon as the news came, Indians started gathering at the Indian Embassy. The flag at the Embassy flew at half mast.

At four p.m. Premier Khrushchev

came to an end. He was too often lonely, but no man in politics has perhaps ever been so beloved, India had clasped him to her heart, where his place for all time is secure.

He had the quality of charity in the sense that St. Paul explained it to the Corinthians. He had something of the compassion which the Buddha had spoken of. These are qualities which are rarest anywhere and at any time.

There have been and are formidable people in world politics—most of them perhaps big in bulk rather than in essence. Jawaharlal was different and of a finer grain. The architect of free India, if one man can be so called, he achieved many positive things for his country and for the world. But his tenure of unchallenged power has not been a mere success story. He leaves crucial tasks undone and difficult problems unsolved. But he has fought, as no one man has done in his time, for sensibility and neighbourliness at home and abroad, qualities without which a distracted world

cannot go ahead—qualities which I hope we shall always cherish.

Who but a Jawaharlal could say indelible things with a beautiful simplicity that none could match? Who but he could say, as he did some

Lok Sabha

time back regarding the twin evils of poverty and war that the tears of mankind today could fill the seven oceans? Who but Jawaharlal carried in his mind and heart that

TRIBUTE TO NEHRU

By BHUPESH GUPTA

Yesterday with the whole nation weeping, we consigned to the flames the mortal remains of the immortal man—our beloved Jawaharlal Nehru. But the name of Jawaharlal Nehru neither flames nor time can consume. That name shall live so long as human race lives on this planet.

PANDITJI was an apostle of Indian freedom, an architect of modern India, a passionate champion of the cause of world peace. Free India of today would be unthinkable without his great leadership, broad vision, and dedicated service. Life and work of that noble son of India encompassed a whole epoch which has seen not only the political emancipation of our nation but also the assertion of our national personality.

Once again I express our deep condolence and sympathies and I would request you to convey the same to the members of the family of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

The genius and greatness of Pandit Jawaharlal's leadership lay in his unbounded love for his country, in his matchless courage to fight for its cause; above all in his unshakable faith in the destiny of our people. He was a sensitive upholder of the noble heritage of our hoary past but he disdained all that was stultifying and retrograde.

Always Looking Ahead

Jawaharlal Nehru knew how to move with the changing time and he always looked forward. He understood more than any leader in power and authority, the essential impulses of human progress. He gave our nation an orientation so that it could manfully meet the challenge of poverty, backwardness, social injustice, casteism and communalism at home and of the forces of war in the world at large.

It is true we have still a long way to go before we can end social injustice and poverty and achieve our goal. But this is a task which we can fulfil only by carrying forward the fighting traditions of Nehru and not by halting where he has left us today, much less by turning our backs on his positive contributions. Only by moving forward in unflinching steps can

sense of ache which made him as a true Indian should be, the world's kin.

Work was the only worship he cared for, and he has died, as he wished to, in harness. He is gone, but life flows on, and his spirit calls on us to shed mere sentiment and sloth. Let all people of good will join to give effect to the best in his legacy—the struggle for a new India, rid of the blight of poverty and superstition and the vulgarising taint of Big Money, happy in unity and the pride of achievement, and active in tasks of world peace and well being.

Let us pledge that if revivalism and reaction tries to exploit his no longer being at the helm, we shall spare no effort to defeat it. His successors have a difficult task, for his sceptre was the bow of

(May 29)

Olysses which cannot be drawn by a weaker hand. But we will all help if Shri Nanda and his colleagues implement policies for which Jawaharlalji had an unceasing passion—advance towards socialism, dynamic nonalignment, friendship with countries that have suffered like ourselves, so that India could find her rightful place in a world without war.

We have lost a gem of a man, a man who never stooped to pettiness, who brought more than a breath of poetry and of historic vision to tasks of politics, a lover of children, of animals, of light and laughter—gentle colossus who strides the Indian scene no longer. Jawaharlal is dead, but he will live as long as our India endures.

TRIBUTE TO NEHRU

words, fully conscious of the vastness and depth of the character of Pandit Nehru, Jawaharlal Nehru is a part of our history and I have no presumptions to assess his all pervasive character.

I would however like to have a word or two as we have known him in this House for over a decade. This has been the rare privilege of some of us. As in other fields of our national life, the vacuum he has created in Parliament will also be diffi-

Rajya Sabha

cult to fill. For a man of his learning, intellectual accomplishment and experience, it is not difficult to be an able parliamentarian.

But what made his part in this House and in the other House unrivalled and unique was his frankness, honesty, capacity to both give and take, his sense of humour and above all his regard for parliamentary democracy and his attitude towards us of the Opposition. We from this side of the House looked upon him as something immensely more than the leader of the ruling Party.

Most Shining Jewel

This Indian Parliament has lost its most shining jewel and we can now strive to make up the loss only by our greater collective efforts to defend and enrich democratic principles. It gives me no little pain even to think that here we shall now sit without that loving, fascinating voice—voice of reason, understanding and tolerance.

With these words, Sir, I on behalf of our Group in this House associate myself with the sentiments expressed by the leader of the House and pay our respectful homage to the deathless memory of Jawaharlal Nehru. We solemnly pledge before this House and the nation that we shall spare neither effort nor sacrifice to overcome the present sense of loss in the united endeavours for the good of our nation and for all mankind.

A nation can go forward not in sorrow and in a sense of frustration. It can go forward only in the faith in its future, and in its resolve and struggle to make it.

(May 29)

Bastion of World Peace

Panditji shaped our great nation into a powerful bastion of world peace and that indeed has given our country a place of distinction and honour in the comity of nations. It has fallen to us—now with the architect no more amongst us—to build upon the principles he held so dear to his heart and the foundations he so nobly laid. India's firm adherence and unflinching service to the cause of world peace and of national freedom will be henceforth our token of respect and love for the departed leader.

I have ventured to say these

HOMAGE TO NEHRU

The helmsman of Independent India and best son of Mother India is no more. The Communists in India solemnly join the national mourning and add their own pledge to the determination of our patriotic countrymen to carry forward the heritage which Jawaharlal Nehru, the master-builder of modern India has left behind.

THE Father of the Nation, Mahatma Gandhi recognised the great merit of his courageous comrade-in-arms and devoted disciple who had the boldness and vision to differ with his acknowledged leader on vital issues and designated him as his heir. The leadership of Independent India and the mantle of the first Prime Minister of our country naturally fell on Jawaharlal Nehru.

terms of the failures of the third plan and the targets and aims of the fourth plan.

No other national leader was more interested in world affairs than Nehru. He succeeded in making the Indian national movement recognise that it was a part of the

by

P. C. JOSHI

Nothing was more dear to Nehru than our ancient nation and he devoted all his energy tirelessly to the great task of consolidating India's national independence, against all odds, external imperialist pressure as also internal reactionary subversion. He succeeded where any other smaller man would have faltered and failed. In every crisis, he took the people into confidence, rallied mass support and won.

Nothing was more hated by Nehru than casteism, communalism and separatism. He built the edifice of national unity on the sound basis of secularism. The last wound that caused him the deepest anguish was the round of communal riots this year.

Nothing upset his optimistic spirit more than the display of vulgarity and pettiness, factional intrigues and underhand plots in our public life. With hawk-like vision, he saw that India can and must be led to its greater destiny through the democratic process. Hence he devoted his amazing gifts as a wise and tolerant politician to make the Indian parliamentary democracy, based on adult franchise, respond to the mood of the masses and keep track of their needs and demands.

For Upliftment Of People

Nothing troubled his sensitive and generous heart more than the hunger and misery of our people and the colonial legacy of backwardness. He made bold and valiant efforts through the successive Five-Year Plans to lead India towards economic independence and the people towards a better and happier life.

The selfish and greedy men of monopoly in land and capital sought to appropriate the gains of development for themselves and frustrated the promise held out by the plans to the people. Nehru became helpless, drifted and acquiesced when duty demanded the use of the big stick against the evil and rapacious exploiters. We Communists, felt compelled to criticise him in sharp words.

This was one of the last major problems Nehru's keen mind was grappling with in

worldwide front against imperialism. He became the inevitable choice as the Foreign Minister when the day came for India to formulate and carry out its independent foreign policy.

Under the Nehru leadership India actively supported the human cause of world peace and contributed all its strength against a third world war threatening to transform our world into cinders and the human beings into sub-human creatures.

Against Colonialism

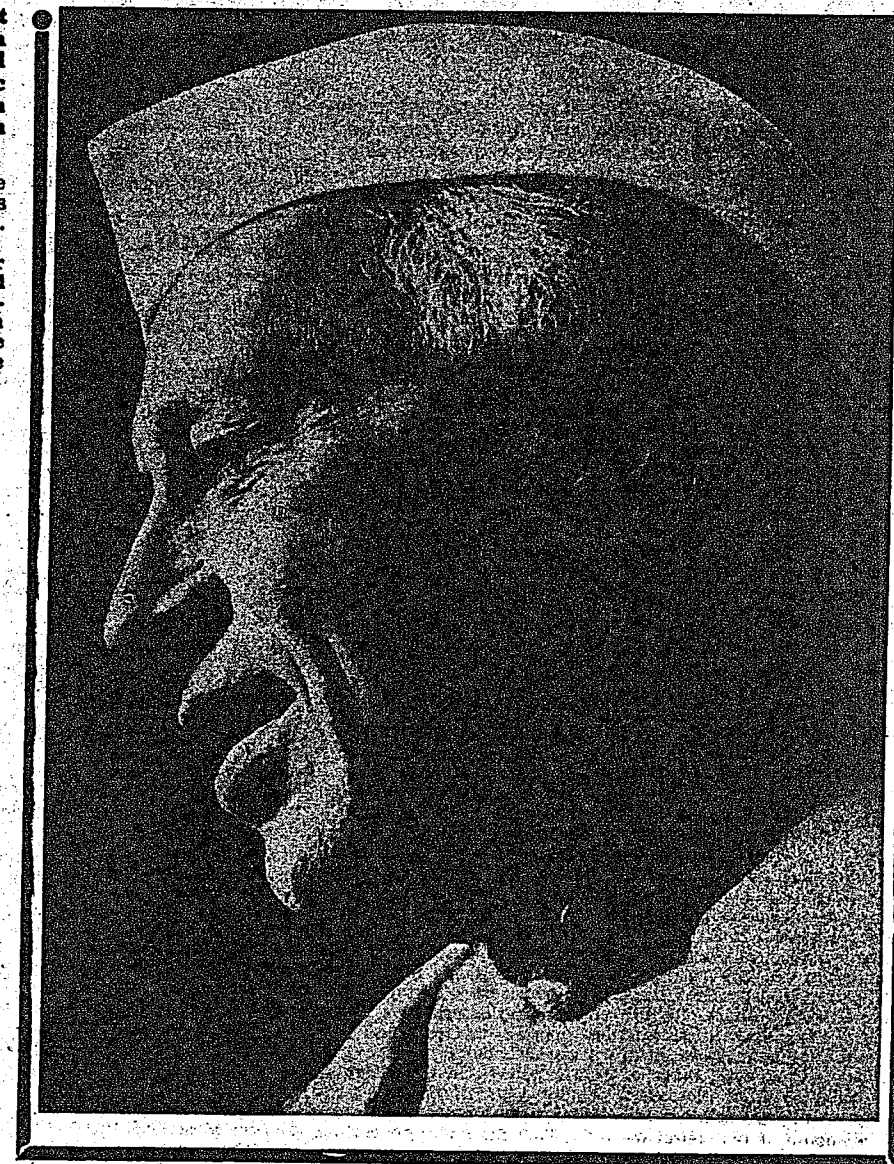
Under his wise guidance, this land of Buddha and Gandhi repeatedly and successfully supplied the healing touch to reduce international tension and activate international cooperation.

Under Nehru's captaincy India pitted its weight against the continued existence of colonialism, lent support to the various liberation movements and helped organise the newly liberated Afro-Asian states in solidarity.

Rebuffing internal reactionary, as also external Western imperialist pressure, Nehru established the policy of co-operation with the USSR and other socialist countries. It paid rich national dividend in helping to isolate the Chinese aggressors on the one hand and weaken the blackmail of the Western "aiders" on the other. This was also the national policy pursued by other newly liberated countries. It set ablaze a new historic phenomenon.

It led to the emergence of a vast peace zone, comprising the countries of the socialist camp in unison with resurgent Afro-Asian states as also other peace-loving states. This isolated world imperialism as never before, reduced its capacity to launch wars successfully and weakened its strength to save colonialist or neo-colonialist regimes.

Nehru's foreign policy won India the love and gratitude of the peace-hungry freedom-loving world and gave the country a sense of world mission. Its very success provoked the pro-imperialist reaction-



every elements to challenge it even in his life time.

We, Indian Communists, remember Nehru with particular tenderness. There was no other national leader to whom we felt closer. We recall with gratitude the days of the Meerut Conspiracy case when in anti-imperialist solidarity he donned his Barrister's gown to appear as our Defence Counsel and under the leadership of his noble father helped organise the Defence Committee. Even in the days of our sharpest differences, he was always approachable and willing to help to the extent he could. He had a big and tolerant heart that added lustre to the grand image of a truly national leader.

His confidence was undying that India's good fight will go on, even after and without him. Let us remain true to his trust and legacy.

(May 29)

On this sad and solemn occasion, we Communists appeal for national solidarity, to preserve the Nehru heritage as a national duty. Reaction is on the prowl ready to attack and subvert the progressive Nehru policies all along the line. We also appeal for ever closer solidarity and deeper understanding to carry forward the heritage to newer heights and step by step clear the hurdles on the way of

India's march to socialism, the noble aim to which the great departed leader pledged the nation and has left the task to us, his heirs to be completed.

(May 29)

CPI CHAIRMAN'S CONDOLENCES

THE death of Pandit Nehru is a great blow to our nation, said Chairman S. A. Dange on hearing the news. He stated further:

A staunch anti-imperialist fighter, he brought the world outlook to our freedom movement and built up our country's new life. With his passing, one most significant phase of our national history is over; it marks the end of an epoch in the development of our people. It also begins a new epoch in which, I hope, our people will remain united, the parliamentary and civil liberties of the people will be guarded and we shall march forward to progress as planned by all progressive forces in the country.

SECULARISM AND NEHRU

In this hour of our grief and gratefulness when we sit sorrowing over our incalculable loss and recounting all the precious and priceless legacies bequeathed us by the man who was our captain for the last three decades, one of the noblest and most prized we find is the idea and ideals of secularism.

THE idea that the Indian people, whatever the diverse faiths their various religious groups might profess, are one has been a running thread of India's struggle before as well as after independence, and between them

compromised on the principle. The partition of what was India till 1947 did not mean the end of the fight for secularism; it only gave that fight a new context. The fight had to go on. And it has been on all along.

abroad. Jawaharlal Nehru was the foremost mobiliser and fighter against the repeated reactionary, imperialist-inspired onslaught. He

By ZIAUL HAQ

became in the process his people's biggest defence too against this onslaught.

The legacy of this fight that he has left us will stand us in good stead in the days ahead. For the dangers that loom ahead are too obvious to need any spelling out. The battle will soon be joined and the fight for secularism will have

AITUC MOURNS

The secretariat of the AITUC has issued the following statement:

The All-India Trade Union Congress mourns the death of Jawaharlal Nehru.

He was one of the first leaders inside the national movement who saw that the working class should be united in its own organisation. He became President of the AITUC in its early days.

His name will be ever cherished for his role in the great national struggle for Indian liberation. He was a staunch anti-imperialist.

He was the architect of India's policy of non-alignment and peaceful coexistence. His counsel in a ten-storied world was always a counsel of peace.

He laid the foundations in India of planned economy and, in particular, the public sector, without which no industrial advance was possible in our backward economy.

In him, not only the Indian people but the whole mankind has lost a great leader. The void which he leaves can indeed never be filled.

to be waged anew, with the image of the biggest captain of the fight inspiring all those conscious elements who, regardless of differences on may

be very crucial issues, are united in awareness of the importance of India's independence and survival.

NEHRU'S FAITH IN PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY

By K. U. WARIER

It was without any premonition of the calamity that was so soon to overtake the nation that members of Parliament gathered in New Delhi on May 27 for a special session. But before they could earnestly begin their deliberations on the issues before Parliament, the blow had fallen.

THE greatest parliamentarian of them all, India's beloved Prime Minister had breathed his last. Jawaharlal Nehru who was the guiding spirit behind Parliament's activities all these years, moulding and nurturing our nascent democracy has at last departed from the scene, leaving a void the same as in many other spheres of national life that his departure has created—a void which it will be difficult to fill for many years to come.

In the death of Prime Minister Nehru, Parliament truly has been rendered forlorn and comfortless. For it was not merely the loss of a leader. Nehru while he lived was the supreme symbol of the nation's faith in progress through parliamentary democracy.

And during the many stresses and strains through which this country passed in the years of his captaincy, he saw to it that the ship of democracy was not lost on the submerged reefs of reaction and frustration.

His great love of parliamentary democracy became, under his influence, an abiding faith with the Indian masses who instinctively took to it when independence came.

It was one of his great achievements that in a period when democratic institutions were being toppled in a number of neighbouring Asian countries, India under Nehru could maintain her parliamentary system of government and embark upon big changes in the socio-economic life of her people.

Indian Democracy

Nehru himself used to point to this, not as a credit for himself but as evidence of the stability and course of development of our nation, when he faced despairing critics.

Way back from the days before independence, Jawaharlal Nehru had opposed fascism and

dictatorship and helped to condition the minds of the Indian people to the fight against reactionary forces which try to take advantage of people's discontent and destroy democracy.

He lent his wholehearted support to the people of Spain in their heroic war against fascism and he championed the cause of democracy and socialism for all peoples.

He understood and warned against the danger of Nazi Germany dragging Europe into the second World War.

All these had naturally made him additionally conscious of the importance of parliamentary democracy in shaping the destiny of free India. And so whenever there was a sign of challenge from reaction against the young Indian democracy, Nehru showed himself alive to the danger. It is fit to recall here an incident which happened not very long ago and which left its lesson at that time.

On September 2, 1959 when Acharya Kripalani and his associates tried through an adjournment motion in the Lok Sabha to raise the question of resignation of the then Chief of Staff of the Army and sought to find fault with the Defence Ministry for certain promotions in the services, Nehru took upon himself the task of replying.

He not only explained the facts and firmly dealt with the situation, but also emphasised the supremacy of the civil authority, an aspect which, he said, "must always be borne in mind". He told Parliament then: "Under our Constitution and our practice, the civil authority is, and must, remain supreme."

He had no doubt at any time in the innate qualities of his people to govern themselves

and decide their own affairs through their elected representatives.

Adult franchise, the system of elections to the legislatures were all essential to his outlook of building up a modern, industrialised and advanced India which will be able to play her role effectively in the world of today.

It was also therefore important for him to emphasise on the education of the masses and to equip them to fight ignorance and evil in social life.

For him parliamentary democracy did not mean mere debates in the legislature halls. It was a way of life and necessary to bring about social changes. He therefore often laid stress on the economic content of democracy, on the need to remove inequality and oppression from the life of the people.

No Love for "Free World"

He had no fascination for the so-called "free world". In fact he distrusted it and ridiculed it, knowing that the "free world" was not free at all.

In Parliament itself, where he made most of his important pronouncements since independence, his attitude was one of great respect for the institution and a correct behaviour at all times. He was decent in debate, seldom angry when he was criticised and always ready with a handsome apology when he made a mistake.

He was always mindful of upholding the dignity of Parliament and never resorted to cheap tactics to disconcert an adversary. Equally firm was he when it came to principles which guided his policies as the Prime Minister of the country.

It was a joy to hear him on world affairs and the course of contemporary history in which he wanted India to play her useful role as a peace-loving nation. His keen sense of history and his deep humanism were a balm to the troubled minds of his listeners.

He never allowed himself to despair but always held out hope. Above all, he brought a world outlook to Indian problems and events. There was nothing parochial, sectarian or dogmatic in his thinking.

CALCUTTA: Despite the claims of the West Bengal Chief Minister and bourgeois press to the contrary, the statewide hartal and general strike on May 20 was a big success.

West Bengal

From JNAN BIKASH MOITRA

Government Claim Belied : Seven Parties' Joint Statement On General Strike

ACCORDING to P. C. Sen, the strike "was not successful". THE STATESMAN asserted that "the leftist parties' call for a hartal went almost unheeded". And the West Bengal INTUC issued a statement congratulating the people for "ignoring" the strike call.

But what were the facts? Despite all the efforts by official machinery to break the strike, life in Greater Calcutta was dislocated as a result of the strike and hartal.

All bazaars and shops remained closed. Only a few pan and bri shops and small establishments were open. All educational institutions which had not yet closed for the summer vacation, shut their doors.

Except in the jute mills, there was complete strike in almost all big factories and other industrial enterprises in and around Calcutta. Even in jute mills, workers did not turn up in many places. And if should be noted that stoppage of work in all the jute mills had never been a feature of general strikes in the past.

The Dalhousie Square area, where most of the banking, insurance, mercantile and other offices are situated, wore a deserted look. The overall attendance was not more than five per cent despite the hostile attitude taken by the employers' organisations.

(It is interesting to note in this connection that the Chief Minister claimed 50 per cent attendance in the offices, while the Bengal Chamber of

Commerce could claim only 30 per cent attendance!) Transport services in the city, mainly trams and state buses, start functioning from 4 a.m. On the strike day no transport was on the streets till 8 a.m. Even then only 50 out of 886 state buses and 12 out of 450 tram cars could be brought out.

While these buses and trams ply on limited routes, many of them unscheduled, an insignificant number of rikshaws, taxis and private cars were also on the streets. The transport services carried very few passengers even where they were running.

And yet, the state government has claimed that the strike was a failure. It is true that normal life was not completely paralysed and the picture was not the same as on similar occasions in the past. But it has to be viewed in the face of the challenge thrown by the government and the repressive measures taken by it.

Since 1958 the government had been pursuing a policy of "benevolent neutrality" in regard to statewide general strikes. On this occasion, however, the government deemed it fit to reverse the policy and attempt to thwart the mass protest action by a show of its "matted fist".

An organised campaign, which can only be charac-

terised as a campaign of slander and intimidation was let loose against the proposed strike. The entire police force was mobilised almost on a war footing. Even contingents of armed police, which had been drafted from Andhra, Orissa and Uttar Pradesh to meet the communal riots in January last, were pressed into service. The police were ordered to open fire on those who would "interfere" with the train services.

It is intriguing to note that the state government failed to display any of this concern for the "normal life" of the people when only four months ago communal and anti-social elements in Calcutta and elsewhere in West Bengal indulged in loot, arson and killing for days together.

The government also made shameful use of sections 30 and 41 of the Defence of India Rules to arrest leading workers of the seven left parties who had given the call for the general strike, trade union leaders and others.

It has now become clear that these arrests were not merely "preventive" because even after the strike, those detained under Section 30

have not been released and most of those arrested under Section 41 have not been set free or allowed bail.

The leaders of the seven left parties have issued a statement pointing out that "in Calcutta, Howrah, 24 Parganas, Hooghly, Burdwan and other places the working class and the people have responded magnificently to the call for general strike and hartal".

The leaders congratulated the people for the successful protest action and the exemplary discipline and order maintained by them in the face of provocations and show of force. They condemned the arrests, lathicharges and tear-gassings by the police on the day.

The statement called upon the government to settle honourably the strike at the Jay Engineering Works and to provide food and other essential commodities to the people at reasonable prices.

"If even now the government continues the anti-people policies, the left parties will have no other alternative than to call upon the people to adopt other direct methods to unearth boards and to bring down prices," the statement said.

Arrest After General Strike

That the government is planning something sinister is further clear from the fact that on May 23, three days after the general strike, two leading political workers, one belonging to the Communist Party and the other to the RSP, have been detained under the DIB.

On the day of the strike itself a huge police force was deployed on the streets of Calcutta. Policemen went round shops and bazaars openly intimidating shop-owners and stallholders and forcing them to keep their establishments open. Congressmen were seen going round in cars, ostensibly with the purpose of acting as blacklegs.

The success of the strike has to be seen in this background. How objective is the assessment of the officialdom about the strike was seen when the AIR broadcast the "news" as early as 8 a.m. that the city was "near normal."

Settle Jay Strike

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Settle Jay Strike

ACUTE FOOD CRISIS IN WEST BENGAL

AN acute food crisis has gripped West Bengal. The prices of rice, the staple food of the people, have been steadily spiralling upwards.

They are now 25 to 30 per cent higher than during the corresponding period last year, and the "lean months" are yet to come. No variety of rice now sells at less than 76 nP a kilo. Medium rice costs anything between 85 nP to 95 nP and the finer varieties Rs. 1.12 to Rs. 1.25 a kilogram. Even at these prices, it is difficult to procure rice in the open market.

The state government's statistical bureau showed that of the families which had five members including an earning member, 27 per cent had a daily income of 42 nP (Rs. 12.60 a month), 38 per cent a daily income of 84 nP (Rs. 25.20 a month) and 22 per cent about 100 nP (Rs. 30 a month).

Government's Responsibility

The entire responsibility for the food crisis has to be placed squarely on the shoulders of the state government. When the new rice crop started coming in in January last, the left parties and mass organisations had repeatedly urged the government to build up adequate stocks by direct procurement and a 50 per cent levy on the mills.

The government paid no heed to these suggestions and gave a free hand to the hoarders and profiteers. The latter easily cornered the bulk of the new crop and within two months began to force the prices up by creating an artificial scarcity. Even then, the government refused to move. It started taking some measures only when rice prices suddenly jumped up in the last week of April and the people began to voice strong resentment.

The government has now started seizing paddy stocks

in the rural areas. But big jotedars, who are the real hoarders of huge quantities of paddy in the countryside, are not touched. It is the poor and middle peasants who are being fleeced.

The police are daily raiding rice godowns and shops in different parts of Calcutta. Some rice dealers have been arrested, a few have been convicted.

In spite of all these measures, no appreciable stocks of paddy or rice have come into the hands of the government. The reason is simple: the real culprits are being allowed to escape.

Not that the government does not know who the hoarders and profiteers are and where huge hoards are lying. But the government would never touch them because they have powerful pulls on certain ministers and influential congressmen.

The same story is repeated in the case of fish. Though there is no decrease in the normal supply of fish from other states, Calcutta is experiencing a scarcity of fish.

A major part of the fish supply is cornered by the cold storage owners, thus causing an artificial scarcity.

The government is daily threatening the fish wholesalers with dire consequences, but it is refusing to take the natural course of action, namely, controlling the cold storages. And so, nothing happens as far as the fish scarcity is concerned.

Misled Members Come Back To Party

From K. GOPALAN

PATNA: The splitters game is up in Bihar: those who have been misled by them are now coming back to the Party fold and denouncing their nefarious activities.

FOUR members of the Patna district council of the CPI, who had attended the Arrah conference of the splitters, have now expressed regrets for doing so and announced that they stood within the Communist Party. Two of these were members of the nine-member shadow committee set up by the Arrah conference.

In their written undertaking given to the Patna district council, these four members have said that they have broken all relations with the splitters as well as their shadow committee.

The Patna council meeting, at which they gave this undertaking, unanimously endorsed the decisions of the National Council and condemned the 32 members who had walked out of its last meeting and issued a statement calling on Party members to repudiate the National Council.

The four-day session of the district council ended on May 20. As many as 37 out of 41 members attended the meeting. All its decisions were unanimous.

Indradeep Sinha, secretary of the Bihar state council of

the CPI, reported on the National Council meeting. The discussion which followed was thorough and lively. Thirty members took part in the 33-hour discussion.

The council thereafter passed a resolution condemning the splitting activities of the leftists and on the so-called "Dange letters." The resolution said that on the information before it, the council was fully convinced that S. A. Dange was never a British agent, and that the so-called "Dange letters" were not the reason for the present crisis inside the Party.

With Patna included, twelve district councils of the CPI in Bihar have so far endorsed the decisions of the National Council. The remaining two are expected to do so within a week. In ten districts, the resolution endorsing the NC decisions was adopted unanimously. In Dhanbad, it was opposed by a sole member; in Muzaffarpur it was passed by 29 votes against 13.

The discussions in the district councils have amply proved that the splitters are in a negligible minority in Bihar and do not have any backing from the Party ranks.



Nehru at the National Integration Conference 1961

the two main architects of modern India, Gandhi and Nehru, have done the most to make it so. It is an idea that is at the very base and foundation of the struggle for a free, independent, forward-looking India. While Gandhi laid down his life to uphold that idea, Jawaharlal Nehru devoted every fibre of his being till the very last moments of his conscious life to safeguard and strengthen it.

It has been on against heavy odds. For, on one side, the two-nation theory now assumed the form of a state, practising openly within its territory a policy of eviction and persecution and discrimination and externally a policy of hostility towards the sister state as a basic principle of state policy. On the other, it assumed the form of a ferocious fascist movement inciting frenzy and organising killings at every opportunity. Both sought and received support from the former foreign rulers as well as from the newly arrived aspirants, the imperialists of the United States. Between themselves, they have all along sought to overwhelm India's secularism and thus her very independence itself.

Jawaharlal Nehru's vision, sighting the twin danger and the common inspiration, steered the ship of the Indian state internally and externally so as to meet both. The fight for secularism at home expanded into the fight for non-alignment

It will remain to the eternal glory of Gandhi and Nehru that while as realists they were forced to accept compromises, they never



VIPs watch the funeral pyre being lit

PUNJAB SPLITTERS' NEW TACTICS

From OUR CORRESPONDENT

JULLUNDUR: The splitters in Punjab have added another "revolutionary" tactic to their arsenal of falsehood and slander. It is to "expel" Party members for which they have no constitutional or organisational authority.

For example, a parallel meeting of a splitter group in Gurdaspur district announced the "expulsion" of Teja Singh Swatantra. Swatantra is a member of the state council; is not a member of any district council, and hence no unit lower than that of the state council can take any action against him.

Similarly, Chhaju Mal, secretary of the Gurdaspur district unit and a member of the state executive committee, has been "expelled" by the same splitter group which has claimed itself to be the district council.

The splitters have also spread a false report that the Hoshiarpur district council has passed a resolution condemning Teja Singh Swatantra and Master Hari Singh.

TWO MEMBERS EXPELLED IN AGRA

From OUR CORRESPONDENT

AGRA: A meeting of the Agra district council of the Communist Party of India was held on May 17 at Firozabad. Thirteen out of the 21 available members attended the meeting.

The district council unanimously decided to expel B.P. Shukla and Gurdal Singh from the Party and to suspend Ram Singh from membership on charges of issuing an anti-Party statement to the press and organising a parallel unit.

Shukla had tried to hold a parallel meeting of the district council at Firozabad on May 16, but finding no response to his call had to abandon the effort.

Afterwards along with four others he issued a statement denouncing the present leadership of the Party. They claimed that M. N. Tandon was not the secretary of the district council.

Among those who signed the statement was Kailash Chand who had resigned from the Party in November 1962.

The district council has contradicted this statement of the splitters categorically and

affirmed that Tandon is the duly elected secretary of the district council.

Through another resolution the district council extended firm support to the National Council and the Uttar Pradesh state council resolutions on the so-called Dange Letters. It expressed complete confidence in the enquiry commission set up by the national council.

H. P. COMMITTEE ENDORSES NATIONAL COUNCIL DECISION

From OUR CORRESPONDENT

SIMLA: The Himachal Pradesh Committee of the Communist Party of India has endorsed the resolutions adopted by the National Council.

Out of seven members, six who attended the meeting on May 2-3 unanimously voted for the above decision.

INTERESTING however is the method adopted by the splitters who are out to form a parallel organisation. The seventh member Tara Chand did not attend this meeting. He did not even acknowledge the letters sent to him and personal messages delivered to him asking him to attend the Committee meeting. He instead called a "state-level conference" at his home place and there in the presence of nine participants, announced the formation of an "Organising Committee of Communist Party in Himachal Pradesh."

The fact that two out of three District Councils, namely Simla and Mahasu, had sup-

ported the National Council was ignored. The fact that Tara Chand as secretary refused to call a meeting of the Mandi District Council was also brushed aside.

At a press conference, Tara Chand claimed the support of the "majority" of members in Himachal Pradesh and explained his strange behaviour by saying that he cannot "accept" Congress stooges as Communists. This name-calling and foul abuse is however deceiving none. The splitters are getting a resolute rebuff from the members and following of the Communist Party in Himachal Pradesh.

of the meeting along with two members of the Tehsil committee who agreed with him and his two nominees. The committee continued its meeting.

"It appears on the next day Chamak and his confederates decided to announce dissolution of the committee which action is totally unauthorised and unconditional. The state secretariat has conveyed to the tehsil and district units that his action is null and void and the old Malerkotla committee with Bhan Singh Bhaura MLA as elected secretary will continue to function.

Maihotra said: "This so-called dissolution of the tehsil committee is totally unconstitutional, invalid and disruptive. It is within my knowledge, having been in the district recently, that no proper meeting of the district council has been held, but only a group meeting of the so-called leftists.

"The secretary of the tehsil committee was never informed of any meeting, nor other members of the tehsil committee who are also members of the district council.

"The tehsil committee held a meeting on May 15 in which I was present along with Harnam Singh Chamak, district secretary. The meeting endorsed the decisions of the National Council. It is because of this political stand of the committee that the dominant district leadership has been trying to reorganise the tehsil committee.

One Attempt Foiled

"One such attempt was foiled on May 15 when Chamak tried to force the committee to throw out one of its old members and to add two new members to it, the two being nominated by the district executive, against all constitutional norms.

"I had gone there in response to the appeal of the tehsil committee and when upholding the constitutional position, I pointed out that new members could not be co-opted from above in this manner. Chamak walked out

"The state council in its ensuing meeting on June 1 to 3 will consider the whole question and take suitable measures.

"The secretariat has warned the district leadership to desist from such unconstitutional and disruptive actions. It has also warned Party ranks not to be misled by such misleading news, announcements and claims.

"The splitters who have been rebuffed by the overwhelming majority of Party members are now in their desperation resorting to such crude strategies", concluded Maihotra.

CHEMBUR BRANCH EXPELS TWO MEMBERS

From OUR CORRESPONDENT

BOMBAY: A general body meeting of Party members in Chembur was held on May 13 with P. B. Vaidya, secretary of the Bombay council of the Communist Party of India, in the chair.

The meeting passed a resolution unanimously supporting the decisions of the National Council meeting held in April.

Through another resolution, it recommended to the Bombay council expulsion of Ratnakaran and Hariharan who had taken the haughty step of "dissociating" the Chembur branch from the Bombay branch.

They had done this by spreading the rumour and

misleading Party members that the Bombay council had decided to dissolve the Chembur branch.

The general body elected a new branch committee of 13 members with R. J. Dhupkar as the secretary.

It has been proved now beyond doubt that the majority of Party members in Chembur are solidly behind the National Council and support its policies and decisions.

BARMER COMMITTEE'S RESOLUTION

From OUR CORRESPONDENT

JODHPUR: The Barmer city committee of the Communist Party of India has unanimously endorsed the decisions of the National Council and the Rajasthan state council on the activities of the splitters and the so-called Dange letters.

A resolution passed by the committee says: "The Barmer unit of the CPI is in complete agreement with the decisions taken by the state council which met on May 8 and 9 at Beawar and which was attended by 21 members of the Rajasthan state council.

In a statement issued here by Hastimal, a member of the state council from Barmer, the disruptive activities of the splitters have been severely criticised. He has expressed his complete agreement with the decisions of the state council.

Hastimal had not been able to attend the meeting of the state council.

His statement is significant because Mohan Poonamia, chief of the splitters in Rajasthan, had claimed that all those who did not attend the Beawar meeting of the state council were on his side.

Hastimal's statement gives the lie to the tall claim made by Poonamia and shows up the splitters for what they are.

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SHILLONG: The only people who have hailed the recent government decision to allow the rice millowners to procure paddy in Assam, revising the earlier policy of procurement through the government appointed co-operative, are the rice millowners' association and the Chamber of Commerce. Both these organisations have hailed the decision of the government as a "realistic one"

MEANWHILE, the Chief Minister recently told a deputation of citizens of Shillong that the rise in prices of rice was partly the result of the large influx of refugees into the state from East Pakistan. He, however, admitted that the government procurement agency, the Apex Cooperative, failed to act upto the expectation and justified the decision to allow the ricemillers to procure paddy. According to him, the new policy of the government was expected to "improve" the situation from June.

But it is pointed out that the bulk of the paddy stock had already been covered by the speculators and from the coming month actually the lean period is likely to commence. As such the Chief Minister's optimism about the situation is not shared by many here.

While the large influx of refugees into the state and the consequent pressure on the supply position is admitted on all hands, it is pointed out that the food policy of the government itself is also responsible for considerable rise in prices. A Kisan Sabha leader of Karimgunj told NEW ACE a few days back that when the prevalent market price of rice there was Rs. 21 per maund, government fixed the price of rice supplied from fair price shops in that subdivision at Rs. 26.70 nP per maund in January last. This higher rate fixed by the government, he said,

resulted in a further rise in the open market price of rice.

He also pointed out that the price fixed by the government was not in any way related to the price fixed by the government for paddy. The paddy price was fixed by the government at Rs. 12.00 a maund. He asserted that 3 maunds of paddy yielded 2 maunds of rice. Thus the price per maund of rice works out at Rs. 18.00 a maund. Adding to it the milling charge @ 0.37 nP, a maund—though when paddy is husked in bulk in mill, the cost is said to be much lower—and carrying cost of 0.12 nP, a maund which also works out much lower than this when bulk is carried, the cost per maund of rice works out at Rs. 18.50 a maund. With the reasonable margin given for the traders and certain percentage of wastage, the Kisan Sabha leader maintained, the price per maund could not be more than Rs. 21.00. He would not dispute even Rs. 22 per maund. But he found absolutely no justification for Rs. 26.70 a maund that was fixed by the government.

He, therefore, maintained that the government faced the price in the interest of certain big traders and not that of the average consumer, and held the government responsible for the rise in prices. The present open market price of rice in Karimgunj is Rs. 34 per maund. The few fair price shops opened in Karimgunj, the Kisan

GOVT. FOOD POLICY HELPS MILLOWNERS

From MADHUSUDAN BHATTACHARYYA

Sabha leader said, were not very popular. First, the buyers from these shops are required to take wheat to the extent of 50 per cent of their quota. The people of the area are not accustomed to taking wheat. Besides, while rice can be taken with just a small amount of fish—fresh or dry; wheat, they say, cannot be taken except with some amount of dal or vegetables which are very costly. Most of the people also complain that it requires more fuel to cook wheat than to cook rice. And fuel is selling there at the rate of Rs. 3 per maund.

Secondly, it is said that in fair price shops the same price is charged for all qualities of

rice. It becomes a matter of luck whether one will get really good quality rice or bad quality which is often unfit for consumption.

But as reported earlier, the price in Karimgunj is not the highest. There are places in the State where the price has shot up to even Rs. 65.00 a maund. Again this has to be judged in the context of the general rise in the cost of living. Recently one daily newspaper gave an analysis of prices of different essential commodities, including house rent, which showed that compared with the relevant period last year the present cost of living in Shillong has risen by as much as 50 per cent.

SILK WORKERS ON STRIKE

SHILLONG: The workers of Assam Spun Silk Mill, a state sector industry at Jagroad in Nowgong, are on strike since May 18. The main demands of the workers, are enhancement of wages and adequate dearness allowance commensurate with the cost of living. Besides, they have demanded housing facilities, provident fund benefit and casual leave etc.

BIHAR KISAN CONFERENCE CHARTS SIX-POINT DEMAND

From OUR CORRESPONDENT

PATNA: The Bihar Kisan Sabha has decided to launch a powerful agitation against high prices and corruption in administration and in support of their other specific demands.

The decision to launch the agitation was taken at the 22nd conference of the

manufacture and sale of gur by the cane-growers.

The conference called upon the Kisan Sabha units in the sugarcane growing areas to mobilise kisans and keep them in readiness for a struggle on the eve of the crushing season for getting reasonable price for cane.

The conference also condemned the attitude of the state government towards the jute growers, who have been left to the mercy of the monopoly traders and mill-owners.

It demanded a base price of Rs. 45 per maund for jute. In order to guarantee the minimum price, the conference urged the government to enter into the jute market and make bulk purchase.

It was decided to mobilise the jute growers for a satyagraha movement in case the government refused to accept the demand for Rs. 45 as minimum price.

The conference supported the demands of the Khet Mazdoor Sabha for minimum wage and land for house construction.

Rise in Minimum Wages

In view of the rising prices, it demanded a corresponding rise in the minimum wages. While expressing grave concern over the widespread eviction of agricultural labour from homesteads, the conference urged the government to take effective steps to prevent further evictions and restore the land to those already evicted.

The conference elected the following office-bearers: president: Karyanand Sharma, vice-presidents: Deonandan Prasad Mahto, Umashankar Shukla and Mani Ram Singh; general secretary: Bhogendra Jha, joint secretaries: Ramavudh Shastri, Triveni Sharma Sudhakar and Ramanand Singh, treasurer: Lakhon Lal Singh.

Rajasthan OFFICIAL PROP TO BOOST INTUC CRACKS

From OUR CORRESPONDENT

JAIPUR: Two recent developments resulting in significant gains for the workers of the Electricity and Water Works Department, have amounted to a rebuff to the government's plans for artificially propping up the INTUC as the leader of these workers.

GOVERNMENT'S plans were not new. Two years back the government machinery was used to somehow give up fair and even shameless backing to the INTUC stooges in this department. In order to boost these disruptors who claimed to be the leaders of the federation of the employees of the Electricity and Water Works; the Registrar of Trade Unions went out of his way, exceeded his jurisdiction and cancelled the Registration of the real Federation of the workers which has been working for the last 15 years.

Having thus shamelessly and illegally deprived the federation of its registration, government then granted registration to the INTUC Federation and accorded it recognition.

Victimisation, transfers of union functionaries to far off places, denial of rights to the real representatives and promotions of INTUC workers—all these were resorted to on a large scale. The Minister for PWD, Maharaja Harishchandra, became the INTUC Labour leader, using official position and threats and intimidation to force the work-

ers to join and support the INTUC Federation.

So unashamed were these attempts that even though the real Federation had put up some demands years back and had been organising movement in their support and though a reference was made to the Industrial Tribunal in regard to the same demands, only the INTUC union was made a Party to the adjudication.

All these attempts were however resisted by the workers. They stood behind their real Federation.

Two Interesting Developments

Then these two things happened.

* The Industrial Tribunal after hearing pleaded the other Federation as a party to the proceedings.

* The second event was a decision of the District Judge to whom the federation had preferred an appeal against the decision of the Registrar cancelling its registration. The District Court in a judgment this month has held that the decision of the Registrar was without jurisdiction and ille-

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WHAT WILL CHAVAN GET FROM USA?

Defence Minister Y. B. Chavan's pilgrimage to Washington has been the subject of much speculation here. Will he come back empty-handed save for some vague promises of "aid" or will he be able to succeed where T. T. Krishnamachari had failed a year ago, that is, in bringing back some F-104s?

Nobody who has followed the vicissitudes of American "aid" would have any doubts about the outcome of the Chavan mission. Neither do have the monopoly press in this country. They are all agreed that Chavan would not get the F-104s, which have somehow become an obsession with the Indian military authorities.

HENCE, the monopoly press has taken considerable pains to play down the significance of the F-104s. In their opinion, such sophisticated planes are not needed for our defence and the "generous aid" which the United States is offering for India's "five-year defence build-up programme" should make everybody happy and content.

For example, **THE STATESMAN** wrote on May 24: "The flood of speculation about whether or not the USA will equip India with the F-104 fighter aircraft she wants threatens to obscure the main purpose of Mr. Chavan's visit to America, which is to obtain sustained support for India's five-year militarization plan for which there is ample evidence of helpful intention in Washington."

According to this paper, the defence programme "will not collapse if, instead of the F-104s, less sophisticated supersonic aircraft are obtained". What is more, "others will be much cheaper and will not absorb so large a proportion of the total sum likely to be made available" by the US.

"The apprehension that the USA is chary of arming India with this particular fighter because Pakistan would object is less valid now than when India attempted earlier to obtain supplies of this particular item of military hardware" because of Pakistan's "honeymoon with China" and the resultant US chagrin.

And, "if nevertheless Washington decides not to part with F-104s India should not allow disappointment to interfere with work on the general defence programme."

Statesman's Interest

Surprisingly, **THE STATESMAN** suddenly became interested in building up India's own defence potential. It said "it is unfortunate that lack of a clear policy has hampered India's efforts to become self-sufficient in the air" (was this lack of policy due to the government's decision to proceed with the MIGs project despite the Tata report against it?)

And it had a good word for the West in this connection too: "The Western Powers want to see India growing stronger in her own right; they do not want to see highly equipped armed forces

whose production bases are all the way back in the USA.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES was more political in its approach. Chavan's current mission "will depend for its success, largely if not wholly, on his bringing about affinity of views between New Delhi and Washington on the nature and magnitude of Communist China's threat to India", it said in its editorial on May 25.

The paper went on: "While there has seldom been, particularly in the last two years or so, any basic difference between the two about Peking's aggressive and expansionist aim and potentiality, they have not always seen eye to eye with regard to the best methods to combat it."

It was all praise for the work which Chavan has done. By his speech before the National Press Club in Washington, he "seems to have acquitted himself commendably", said the editorial.

Too Much Accent

And then, "there seems to have been a little too much accent on India's desire to acquire from the USA the F-104 supersonic fighters and the latter's hesitation to accede to it. Both look like being more political than necessary."

After declaring that "China's air strength is not as formidable as it was generally taken to be at one time", the paper gave this advice: "We could therefore easily make do with less sophisticated but nearly equally effective aircraft."

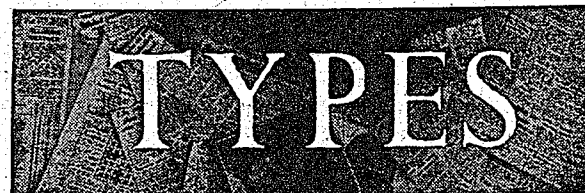
That India was not going to get the F-104s was made out in an editorial page article on May 25 in **THE TIMES OF INDIA** also. The writer "N.J.N.", known to be its editor N. J. Nanporia, however, made a scathing attack on the begging mission to Washington without any effort at understanding its implications nor why the US was reluctant to give us what we are asking for.

The article said that it was a coincidence that Laos should erupt just at the time when Chavan made the trip, but it "hardly follows that the unquestionable relationship between South East Asian developments and American military aid is equally coincidental."

"New Delhi had discovered early in the border conflict that its estimate of the military needs differed from that of the US; and

earlier missions failed to reduce the discrepancy", said the article, and added: "There is nothing to suggest that Mr. Chavan will succeed so long as New Delhi refuses to pay the price of such success".

N.J.N. said that recently the fact that "what is in question in current US-Indian relations is not military aid but



political needs" has come to "emerge from the murky background of misplaced hopes, misinterpretations and undefined objectives". He asked, "Are India's and American political needs complementary in South East Asia?"

Saying that US will wait till it hears an answer it wants from India (regarding the containment policy etc. the US wants India to play in SE Asia), the article explained:

"Much of the confusion in the United States, in India and between the two countries on the aid issue can be traced to a failure to distinguish between the 'crisis' of the border dispute and the 'crisis' in South East Asia. When India asks for aid in terms of the first Washington demurs and hints at a willingness to consider aid in terms of the second.

"Why has the United States been encouraged to assume that this line of policy might yield results? Firstly, the entire climate of goodwill for the United States created by Washington's generous aid to India during the crisis. Secondly, the belief, which New Delhi was rather ineffective in refuting, that nonalignment survived only in name. Thirdly, the joint air exercises which in substance were a form of restricted military agreement. Fourthly, the VOA deal which all but succeeded. Fifthly, New Delhi's failure to react critically to the proposal to enlarge the operational area of the seventh fleet. Collectively, they add up, from the American point of view, to a wide range of possibilities none of which can really be reconciled with nonalignment."

Chavan Taken To Task

N.J.N. took Chavan to task for saying that India would be "very sympathetic" to America's containment policy in South East Asia. "This is a statement almost explosive in its implications and if there is any reason for hesitation in accepting it at its face value it is the suspicion that the Defence Minister was unaware of what he was saying. Sympathetic?"

Detailing the policy of the US in the area (military alliances, propping up of autocratic and corrupt regimes etc.) the article said that everything that has happened "has confirmed the bankruptcy of its policy and therefore its complete inconsistency with all that is understood by nonalignment".

Washington's Concern

The article asked: "Does Mr. Chavan's manner of answering this question have New Delhi's complete approval? Is it a fact that India is, indeed, sympathetic and if

it is, what has happened to nonalignment?"

"Washington is concerned not with the Sino-Indian border dispute but with Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam and the only relevance of VOA and the seventh fleet was precisely to these issues. It is surely time that New Delhi's ministers realised the utter futility of attempting to deflect US policy by speaking of the possibility of another Chinese attack on India."

Asking the government to see the "effect of this unhappy drift (in the policy of nonalignment) on Afro-Asian opinion, of this inexplicable discrepancy between a declared nonalignment and a policy which seemingly connives at an increasing US military presence in South East Asia", the article said:

"It is painfully obvious that on a matter of such compelling importance, as Laos undoubtedly is, nonalignment cannot discharge its responsibility by saying that it is for the big powers to decide. Nonalignment, whatever its shortcomings in the past, was never so reticent. New Delhi did not hesitate to sponsor a resolution in the United Nations criticising British military action in Aden. In South East Asia, what does it criticise and what does it support?"

Unhappy Drift

The article concluded: "India's strength today, as in the past, lies not in the military power it manages to extract from those unwilling to give it, except on their impossible terms, but in its non-alignment."

"Yet by silence, by a negative endorsement of US policy, by a misinterpretation of the Chinese threat, by a seeming indifference to South East Asia and by an obsession with the hardware of military aid, this invaluable asset is being bartered away. A few F-104s which Washington may or may not release will not compensate for a loss that can never be repaired."

—PARAKAL

NEW AGE

LETTERS

Leftists' Perverted Interpretation

To what extent M. Basavapurniah can stoop down in uttering white lies is once more highlighted from the following facts.

In a publication "Dange Unmasked" put out by one Desraj Chadda from 4 Windsor Place, New Delhi, Basavapurniah in his Foreword says:

"The very learned apologists of Dange, Smt. Renu Chakravarti and Sri Homi Daji... tacitly admit that the May 24th letter is in Dange's handwriting" while "Dange and the Secretariat deny"; "Dange does not admit that he wrote even the May 24 letter for transfer to Bombay jails. And the Secretariat has rubberstamped this assertion of Dange's in its statement of March 13, 1964."

Now let us see what actually the Secretariat Statement of March 13, says:

"The contents of these fabrications... APART FROM AN INNOCUOUS ONE relating to a request for transfer from one jail to another, purport to show Comrade Dange as offering his services to the then British Government" (emphasis added).

Perhaps the very very learned Basavapurniah should refresh his English knowledge before he distorts the meaning of statements written in plain English.

New Delhi. RAJAN

Sheikh Singing The Tune

THE red carpet which was spread for Sheikh Abdullah in Rawalpindi should be an eye-opener for any sane person in this country. It shows that the Sheikh's mission is a really welcome one as far as Pakistan is concerned.

This is not because of what the Sheikh is saying about Indo-Pakistan amity, for, if there was a genuine desire on the part of the Pak rulers for such friendship, none of the outstanding issues between the two countries would have even arisen. India has only been far too generous in extending her hand of friendship to its neighbour. The real reason for the welcome given to the Sheikh is that he is championing something dear to the heart of the Pakistani rulers.

The Sheikh is reported to have claimed after the very first round of talks with President Ayub Khan that he has found "favourable response" to his mission. This is certainly reason for being doubly cautious about the "mission" itself. It is impossible to imagine that Ayub would have a change of heart by a three-hour tete-a-tete with the "Lion of Kashmir."

The Sheikh had been talking too much about the "honour" of the Kashmiri people. It would be interesting to see whether he would have anything to say about the honour of the Pakistani people, and their leader, the venerable Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan. Also, about the honour of the whole Pakistani people who have not yet had the occasion to express their own free will regarding their government.

May be, the Sheikh will be careful not to do anything of the sort, for, he too knows that the red carpet would slip from under his feet in case he did not sing the tune which he is expected to by his hosts.

Jullundur S. MOHAN SINGH

MAY 31, 1964

UNITY IN COMMUNIST MOVEMENT RESTS ON IDEOLOGICAL UNITY

The world-historic mission of the working class can be discharged only if the proletariat and its Marxist-Leninist Parties pool efforts internationally. Hence the tremendous importance attaching to the task of achieving cohesion in the world communist movement.

This task is especially important today, because never before have the Communists borne such a great responsibility for the destinies of peace, socialism and progress, for the destinies of mankind.

How can this unity be achieved, a unity which presupposes not only verbal declaration of solidarity, but also united, concerted action, constant mutual assistance, and the organic blend of the national and international tasks of each revolutionary detachment?

THE Communists have always regarded ideological unity based on Marxism-Leninism as the main pillar of their international solidarity. This unity expresses the community of purpose and agreement on the fundamental means and basic tactical principles of the struggle for these aims by all the revolutionary detachments of the international working class.

Even the Comintern, with its Rules that were obligatory for all Parties, could unite Communists in different countries only by relying on their ideological unity. The importance of the struggle for ideological unity is all the greater today, not only because in our days such an organisation as the Comintern no longer exists, and the forms of contacts between the Parties have changed. Of far greater importance are the changes that have resulted from the growth of the communist movement and all revolutionary forces.

VOLUNTARY ALLIANCE

It is quite clear that there are no relations of hierarchy, domination, and subordination in the world communist movement which as such consists of independent Parties enjoying equal rights, nor can there be any relations of that nature. Hence it follows that the only form of unity can and must be a voluntary alliance of like-minded people, which would guarantee the equal rights and independence of each Party and at the same time ensure the cohesion, unity and coordination of action and voluntary discipline, in pursuing the general line of the communist movement.

NEW WORLD SITUATION

An alliance of this kind can be achieved only on such an ideological and theoretical platform which, on the basis of a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the present epoch, provides the correct answers to the vital problems of today and takes into account the new phenomena and processes of reality. This is the platform of creative Marxism.

There cannot be any question that to be loyal to Marxism-Leninism means upholding the basic principles and propositions of the revolutionary theory of the working class and fighting against every attempt to revise it—whether made from the "right" or from the "left". It is also obvious that fidelity to Marxism-Leninism calls for the creative application and development of this teaching in accordance with the

changing historical conditions.

At the same time the creative development of theory itself must necessarily be the collective concern of all the Marxist-Leninist Parties.

Today theory can be developed only when all the Parties, the entire movement cooperates—and not so much by "armchair" reasoning but rather by practical activity, in the process of the struggle itself against imperialism, for socialism, and communism.

CREATIVE DEVELOPMENT

The international character of the Marxist-Leninist teaching inherently incorporates the obligatory demand for taking into account the national peculiarities and specific features in the concrete approach which each country makes in solving the common international task. The experience accumulated by all the detachments of the communist movement is of great importance for perfecting and enriching the theoretical weapons of the working class.

Every Party—big or small—takes an active part in the common cause of creatively developing the revolutionary theory and makes its own contribution to this effort.

Each party contributes to the common treasure chamber of Marxism. In so doing it proceeds, first of all, from its own experience. For instance, no one would know the problems of the working class struggle in the developed capitalist countries better than the Communist Parties of those countries.

The same can be said of the parties tackling the problems of the national liberation movement or of the building of socialism and communism. Proceeding from real life, all the Communist Parties take an active part in working out general theoretical principles that pertain to the Communist movement as a whole.

This nature of the creative process of the development of Marxism-Leninism cannot but be reflected in the very forms of the parties' theoretical work. Each new word of Marxism is not uttered peremptorily from the heights of a theoretical Olympus, but is verified in practice, is discussed at international forums of Communists, and becomes the wealth of the entire movement. A case in point is the work of the two Moscow Meetings and the programmatic documents of international communism that they drafted, i.e. the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement.

Adopted by the entire movement, the new theses have become the guide to action for all its detachments, by virtue of the vo-

PRAVDA, organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, published three editorials on May 10, 11 and 12 under the general heading Marxism-Leninism: International Teaching for Communists in All Countries. We publish here a slightly abridged version of the articles.

luntarily assumed pledge to abide by them and agree with the assessments recorded in joint documents.

As for the joint collective theoretical work of the parties, Marxism-Leninism develops, as is only natural, through discussion, disputes and controversies. Everything new is always born out of disputes and struggle. It will be like that in the future as well, because the development of Marxism-Leninism with its creative contributions to theory is a process that never stops.

NORMS OF DISCUSSION

This only makes it still more important strictly to adhere to the standards and principles of theoretical disputes and discussions that the movement has evolved: under no circumstances to use them as a method for factional struggle and for squaring accounts with other parties. Marxists-Leninists regard theoretical and political discussions among Communists as a means for achieving stronger unity, not as an instrument of dissension.

To prevent these discussions from playing into the hands of the enemies and to make them serve our cause, they must be carried on in a freindly, dignified form, conscientiously and to the point, with the common interests of communism being put before narrow nationalistic egotistical considerations.

In theoretical disputes between like-minded Communists, there must be no sectarian, fanatical intolerance of differences in views as that is characteristic only of medieval monks, not of Marxist-Leninists. The fact that the Communist Parties are working in different conditions, have arrived at different stages of the struggle and have accumulated varying experience, accounts for the many diverse shades of opinion on specific questions. This, naturally, cannot cause displeasure or alarm. Our Party has expressed its views on the score more than once, stressing the point that such differ-

ences must not cause quarrels and strife.

Real Communists take first everything that unites them with their brethren in the other countries, not what divides them, as they believe, that the questions upon which no common view has been established today, can be agreed upon tomorrow, after time and practice have best demonstrated who was right and who was wrong.

All these norms of the ideological activities of the Communist Parties, which in recent years have won general recognition in our movement, are now being grossly violated and rejected by the Chinese leaders.

Suffice it to read the polemical material published in Peking in the past few months to see that, far from treasuring the unity of the parties, they, on the contrary, have proclaimed constant schism, a sort of a law of normal development in the revolutionary movement.

PHILOSOPHY OF DISSENSION

That is exactly how the point is put in the article published in *Jenmin Jihpao* and *Hungchi* on February 4, 1964. "...In the international working-class movement", the article says, "as in anything else in the world, here is the process of the division of the whole." And further: "Unity, followed by struggle or even a split, then to be followed by new unity on a new basis represent the dialectics of the development of the international working-class movement."

It is clear to all that this "philosophy of dissension" is summoned not so much to explain the past as to augment the present activity of the Chinese leaders with its aim of undermining the ideological and political unity of the Communists.

Peking does not recognise collective work in the field of theory, though it makes a big fuss about the "equality" and "independence" of the different parties. Refusing to reckon the point that such differ-

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NEW AGE

MAY 31, 1964

MARXISM-LENINISM: INTERNATIONAL TEACHING

on with the general conclusions of the world communist movement, posing as supreme arbiters on questions of theory and politics, and "excommunicating" one fraternal party after another, from Marxism, the Chinese leaders have quite openly appropriated some special rights in the field of Marxist-Leninist theory.

However, the communist movement does not leave in "prophets" and "oracles," who think and decide for others—as Stalin attempted to do in his time. As far as the CPSU is concerned, it has made its views, with regard to this question, crystal clear.

The wealth of experience accumulated by the CPSU, and the services it has rendered the communist movement, gave rise to a tradition where our Party was given a special, leading position—a point that was recorded in the general documents of the communist movement. The Central Committee of our Party took the initiative to end this tradition, even in spite of the protest to the contrary made by a number

of other parties, among whom most active, paradoxically enough today, was the Communist Party of China, which demanded that the respective wording be introduced in the general documents of the Communist Parties.

The real reason for this position of the CPC leaders is now quite clear. Apparently, the Chinese leaders sought already at that time to establish the "office" of captain of the communist movement, with the aim of usurping it in time.

Our Party has resolutely opposed violations of equality in relations in the socialist camp and the communist movement that were typical of the time of the personality cult and have killed the very idea of one or another party enjoying "hegemony" in the communist movement. The Chinese leaders, on the other hand, are obviously eager to revive the idea, usurping the right to solve all by themselves theoretical and political questions that pertain to the entire movement.

What Chinese Leaders Are Trying To Impose Upon The Communist Movement In The Guise Of Marxism-Leninism

In their theoretical speculations, the Chinese leaders are revising the Marxist-Leninist teaching, distorting the views of Marx, Engels and Lenin, and repudiating one of the most important principles of Marxism-Leninism—the creative attitude to theory.

Peking denies the creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory, the new appraisals and conclusions drawn by the fraternal parties in their jointly adopted documents.

Indeed, in what have the CPC leaders seen the "revisionist sinning" of the Marxist-Leninist Parties? As they themselves explain, in the fact that these parties have adopted the "course of so-called peaceful coexistence," "peaceful competition," "peaceful transition," "the state of the whole people" and "the party of the whole people."

There is hardly any need to say that the general line of the Communist movement is by no means reduced to the above-mentioned propositions. This is generally known. Characteristic in this respect is something entirely different, notably, the very range of propositions selected for attack.

At stake are different things—the principles of the foreign policy of the socialist states and the character of the transition from socialism to communism, the roads of the socialist revolution and the social character of the party after the complete victory of socialism.

There is, however, one common aspect of all these diverse questions—in every case the points at issue are theoretical problems, in the elaboration of which the Communist Parties, in accordance with the demands of the epoch, have introduced particularly many new elements, over the past few years.

It is against this that the CPC leaders have directed their offensive first and foremost. They appraise all the propositions of creative Marxism advanced by the present generation of Marxists-Leninists from the point of whether they conform or not to what was written 100, 50 or 30 years ago. This approach is matched by their method of criticism, which completely ignores objective reality and boils down to the citing of individual quotations from the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin re-

fering to another epoch and another historical situation.

The Chinese theoreticians, judging by their own pronouncements, imagine that Marxism-Leninism is a set of hard-and-fast rules, principles and slogans valid for all time, which Communists have to follow strictly to the letter as churchmen follow the Old and the New Testaments.

APPROACH TO THEORY

Such an approach to theory was organically alien to Marx, Engels and Lenin. The founders of Marxism-Leninism saw their theoretical task as being that of not remaining loyal to the letter of books written earlier, but of being loyal to the spirit of the scientific world outlook of the working class, of carefully analysing changing reality, of generalising the new experience gained in the struggle, and of creatively solving the tasks that every new epoch puts on the agenda.

This too is the same approach that modern Marxists make to the teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin. In their eyes, Marxism-Leninism is not only the collected works of the classics, and not only the truths expressed by authorities decades ago but also the achievements of modern Marxist thought, which have stood the test of practice. That is the kind of Marxism we uphold.

Can one visualise the scientific theory of the working class today without the Declaration and Statement, without the conclusions drawn by the Parties in their programmatic documents, without the truths that have emerged from the revolutionary battles of the past few years?

The subtraction of all this from Marxism would infinitely impoverish it, deprive it of that very thing which bears the imprint of the epoch and which is particularly important for the struggle of the working people. Our generation of Marxists-Leninists would be unworthy of their brilliant teachers, were they not doing their duty by the working class in the field of theory.

This is precisely the premise the Marxist-Leninist Parties proceeded from in working out the general line for the present.

The Chinese leaders have met at dagger-point the scientific generalisation of the new phenomena of reality and the great creative work done by the Communist Parties, to implement the principles of Marxism-Leninism. Having

accused the fraternal Parties of "revisionism," they, contrary to the general line of the communist movement presented in the 1957 Declaration and 1960 Statement, have put forward their own "proposals with regard to the general line" in their letter of June 14, 1963.

It is noteworthy that in the interpretation of the Chinese leaders, only the most general principles of the Declaration and Statement, such as "the union of the proletarians of all countries," "the struggle against imperialism and the reactionary forces," "the gradual attainment of full victory in the world proletarian revolution," etc., are associated with the general line. "This is, in our opinion," the letter pointed out, "the general line of the international communist movement at the present stage."

One may well ask the Peking theoreticians: Where does that PRESENT enter the picture here? Although all the theses that they have advanced are important, they have to do with every epoch and call for concretisation at each specific stage in history, namely how to bring about a union of the proletarians of all countries at the present stage, how to wage a most effective struggle against the imperialists in the given conditions, and how to struggle for the full victory of the world proletarian revolution nowadays.

The Marxist-Leninist Parties deemed it their main task to answer these concrete questions. Their answers constitute the political line of the communist movement, its strategy and tactics. But under the cover of general declarations repeating universally known truths, the Chinese leaders, reject every new thing that has been added to revolutionary theory by the collective experience of the fraternal Parties.

GUIDE TO ACTION

Meanwhile the new evaluations and conclusions are more than just "pure" theory. They are a guide to action, a generalisation of the new forms of the struggle of the working class movement, an argumentation of the new methods for waging an onslaught against the positions of imperialism. Rejection of the new conclusions not only reveals theoretical stagnation but also leads to idle talk and inactivity in policy, to rejection of the new powerful levers that exist for the revolutionary transformation of the world.

★ For the first time in the history of our movement

has the Communist Party of the Soviet Union been faced with the task of all-out communist construction. Naturally, the Party had to answer a number of new questions put forward by this stage, in particular, those pertaining to the historical destinies of the state and the Party on the approaches to Communism. The Chinese leaders, who did not bother even to analyse the essence of the problems touched upon, hastened to anaesthetize the new theses advanced by our Party.

★ After the war the Communist Parties of the developed capitalist countries found themselves confronted with new conditions for the struggle, conditions, which were brought to life by the aggravation of general crisis of the capitalist system, by the defeats it had sustained in the peaceful competition with socialism, by the growth of state-monopoly trends, by the upsurge of the working class and democratic movements. It is only natural that these Parties paid particular attention to evolving new tactical lines in order to make more effective use of the new possibilities to defend the interests of the working people, fight the monopolies and bring the masses nearer to the socialist revolution.

WRONG ANALOGY

Indeed, what was it in the Second International's activities that Lenin so ruthlessly fought? Along what basic lines did the ideological and political struggle proceed between the communists and social-reformists?

Lenin formulated the law of the uneven economic and political development of imperialism and drew up the major conclusion as to the possibility of a break in the imperialist chain in one country. Adopting doctrinaire, dogmatic positions, the leaders of Second International accused Lenin of departing from Marxism. They tried to use antiquated quotations against Lenin.

NEW PROBLEMS, OLD SOLUTIONS

Again the Chinese leadership preferred to close its eyes to the problems posed by life,—which is particularly evident from the article published in *Hungchi* and *Jenmin Jihpao* on March 31, this year. They preferred to cling dogmatically to quotations true of a different epoch and different conditions, taken out of context and presented in a distorted light.

★ Nor did they wish to see the new tasks that had come to face the national liberation movement and the peoples that had won political independence—the tasks of struggling for economic independence, overcoming century-old backwardness, of embarking on non-capitalist development. The Chinese leaders keep on reiterating that these peoples have, as before, to follow only the one road of further armed struggle, though the Chinese leaders themselves fail to explain against whom this struggle should be waged today in such countries as Algeria, Mali, Ghana, and Burma among others.

★ Many general problems, among them the problem of war and peace, have today risen up in a new light before the world communist movement. Again the Chinese leadership preferred to resort to

old quotations, in posing as the "champion" of Marxism-Leninism, and launched an attack against the concerted stand of the fraternal Parties.

The CPC leaders try to cover up their break with Marxism-Leninism by referring to the history of the communist movement; they draw parallels between the struggle Lenin and the Bolsheviks waged against the opportunists of the Second International, and their own splitting activities in the world Communist movement. But again the Chinese leaders are treading on thin ice.

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Lenin and the Bolshevik Party led the people to socialism after the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The thesis as to the possibility of achieving a complete victory of socialism in one country, has become the historic gain of revolutionary thought. These conclusions of Lenin's were also dogmatically and persistently opposed by the leaders of the Second International.

Lenin's analysis of imperialism and its contradictions, his plan for the building of socialism and all his tremendous contribution to the treasury of Marxist thought, was viewed by leaders of the Second International as an encroachment on Marxism.

Actually, it was exactly the struggle against the fossilisation of theory, for a creative Marxism constantly enriched by revolutionary practice, that lay at the pivot of the bitterest ideological battles which Lenin waged against Bernstein, Kautsky and other leaders of the Second International.

★ Hence, if one is, indeed, to look for an analogy between the present struggle that the Chinese leadership has engaged in within the ranks of the Communist movement, and Lenin's

struggle against the "orthodox-minded" of the Second International, we shall see that this analogy is by no means favourable for the CPC leaders. They resemble Lenin by no means.

On the contrary, they are aping the spiritual fathers of the Right-wing Socialists of today. Because like these men, they, too, are through the necrosis of Marxism regressing to its distortion, to attempts to substitute for it home-baked "theories" that undermine the development of the revolutionary process.

A closer examination of the theoretical concepts advocated by the Chinese leaders, a thoughtful analysis of their ideological evolution of late will inevitably lead to the conclusion that the path the Chinese leadership is following is one of flagrant distortion of Marxism-Leninism and revision of its bedrock principles.

ROLE OF PROLETARIAT

The revisionist essence of the positions adopted by the Chinese leaders leaps into particularly bold relief in their reestimation of that vital point of Marxist-Leninist theory, notably, the question of the historic mission of the proletariat and its place in the world-wide emancipatory process.

The CPC leaders are, in effect, discarding the Marxist-Leninist thesis as to the world-historic role that the working class plays in the revolutionary transformation of the world, a thesis that has stood the acid test of decades of class struggle. Though the Chinese leaders are attacking this paramount conclusion of the revolutionary theory from different quarters, they are doing this with the one and only aim of proving that hegemony in the world revolutionary process is shifting, or has already shifted, from the working class to the social strata comprising the mass at the foundation of the national-liberation movement, namely, the peasantry, the radical intelligentsia and the national bourgeoisie.

Now Marxists-Leninists greatly value the revolutionary potentiality of the peasantry. It was the peasantry, who after they started making history, became the staunch ally of the international labour movement in its struggle against imperialism. However, the Chinese leaders are not talking of this obvious fact, but are preaching a regrouping of revolutionary forces, which dispenses with the vanguard role of the international working class.

★ This is precisely the purpose of Peking's "concept" alleging that the zone of the na-

tional-liberation movement, upon which the destinies of the world socialist revolution now wholly depend presumably, has become the No. 1 knot of all world contradictions.

The Chinese would-be theoreticians are trying to borrow Lenin's authority to back up this point. But actually they are going against Lenin's ideas. Because when Lenin spoke of the great significance of the national-liberation movement, far from counterposing it to the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat, he, on the contrary spoke of the unbreakable alliance between these two forces, placing particular emphasis on the role and importance of the labour movement in all revolutionary processes.

But what is Peking doing? It is peddling the claim that today the peasantry has supposedly become the most consistent revolutionary force. While, as for the world working class, in the opinion of the theoreticians acting as apologists for the Chinese leadership, it has been "infected" with social-reformism and has thus relinquished its revolutionary birth-right.

Now though such talk may flatter the egotism of certain immature, nationally-minded, petty-bourgeois politicians, what can it have in common with Marxism-Leninism?

The Peking leaders are shouting from the house-tops not only about the "special" role which national liberation plays in the world-proletarian revolution. At the same time

they are trying high and low to minimise the revolutionary role of the world working class and its offspring, the socialist system.

Such is the big idea behind all the talk about it being impermissible to attach decisive significance to the competition between world socialism and world capitalism as such an attitude is allegedly nothing but "revisionism." Such also is the big idea behind the charges of "social reformism" proffered against the Communist Parties of the developed capitalist countries. The Chinese leaders actually discount the working-class movement in these countries and refuse to recognise its revolutionary force, its revolutionary potentialities.

A rather odd picture that: to see people denying the revolutionary potentialities and world-historic mission of the working class dominating the togs of sole defenders of the revolutionary theory of that class!

Just how far the new-fangled "orthodoxists" go in their revision of Marxism is shown by the fact that the Chinese leaders are not stopping short of distorting the ultimate goal of the revolutionary struggle of the working class, its socialist ideal.

The pronouncements of the CPC leaders and their political activities give us a notion of the type of society they are striving for—a society which though passed off as a paragon of socialism, actually contradicts the basic principles of Marxist-Leninist theory and the proletarian character of socialism.

They in Peking do not think a high level of industrial development an inalienable feature of socialism. Improvement of the living standards of the working people is declared unnecessary, even dangerous, as it allegedly entails "bourgeois degeneration."

The principles of socialist democracy are constantly neglected in both theory and practice. The very notion of socialist democracy is, in effect, absent in the wordy materials Peking publishes. But then the Chinese leaders make a fetish of violence in every way and cultivate the personality cult which is alien to the very nature of the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism.

They are carrying out the "militarisation" of every aspect of life and look upon the masses as a "blank sheet of paper" (as Mao Tse-tung put it) on which the leader may "write" what he wills.

No matter what the Chinese leaders may say, no matter how they may extol themselves, the real facts repudiate their claims to the role of law-givers in Marxism. These facts convincingly testify to something that is quite the opposite: the Chinese version of Marxism-Leninism which underlines the ideological and theoretical platforms of the Chinese leadership, is nothing but betrayal of the basic principles of the international revolutionary theory espoused by Communists in all countries, betrayal of the great teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

Political Purpose Of Chinese Leadership's Theoretical Concepts

In an analysis of the concepts of so-called "Sinoified Marxism", the first thing that strikes the eye is the contradictory character, the state of being at sixes and sevens, the rather fanciful tangle of dyed-in-the-wool dogmatism and out-and-out revisionism, the utter inconsistency with which views are expressed, and finally—this being the main point—the yawning gulf between the revolutionary bombast and the actual doings of the CPC leadership.

★ At first they announced the "great leap" and told the whole world of the sensational plans they were making to pro-

duce iron and steel and coal, in the endeavour to tackle in one swoop all the tasks of building up a modern industry. But, after a ruinous fiasco, they proclaimed agriculture the "basis of economy!"

★ At first they considered the people's commune a ready-made "staircase to paradise", a form of achieving a direct transition to communism, totally oblivious of the fact that the appropriate material facilities and productive forces were first necessary to effect such a transition. Then they started peddling the claim that one could not talk of building communism in general, until the complete demise of imperialism!

The constant swing around in positions, the ideological and political scurrying to and fro of the Chinese leadership, distinctly reveal the petty-bourgeois nature of their outlook. Presented in bold relief in the utterances

of the Peking ideologists is lack of principles elevated to the status of a principle, a preparedness to put forward, take up the cudgels for, and subscribe to, any thesis, provided it accords with the political directives of the CPC leadership.

The entire development of the polemics in the communist movement has shown that the Chinese leaders are, in fact, not pre-occupied in the slightest with questions of Marxist-Leninist theory or with an endeavour to find the truth by honestly comparing positions and putting them to the test of practical activity. They have allocated to the polemics dealing with problems of theory the merely subsidiary role of camouflaging and vindicating their own particular political aims, just the role of

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AUXILIARY ROLE OF THEORETICAL JUGGLING

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a tool in the struggle for these aims.

So what is the political trend of the CPC leadership's theoretical concepts?

It is crystal-clear today that the main purpose of their claim of being the only true modern Marxists-Leninists is to assert their own hegemony in the communist movement and in the entire movement for national liberation.

The Chinese leaders are attempting to create the impression that they started the polemics in the communist movement and launched a political drive against the fraternal parties only because they are concerned most with the interests of the revolution and are the most relentless, staunchest fighters against imperialism.

But whom can these claims deceive?

In this case too, as in every other case, we must go by what is done, not by what is said. What the Chinese leaders are doing shows that in their person, we are dealing not with "impatient" revolutionaries or inordinately ardent fighters against imperialism. The characteristic thing is that by raising a hue and cry around the "defence" of the dictatorship of the proletariat, they are "defending" it from the CPSU, that Party which first established and developed the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Chinese leaders, in effect, arrive at the very same political position which was adopted by the leaders of the Second International who flatly denied the Marxist-Leninist theory of proletarian dictatorship.

While the Peking leaders simply love to fight their own inventions and views that they slanderously attribute to the fraternal Parties, they are least of all concerned with the successes of the world socialist revolution and the anti-imperialist struggle. They do more than objectively disrupt and weaken the anti-imperialist revolutionary front in the face of the class enemy. Their subjective intentions, the aims they are setting themselves, are also arousing increasingly serious doubts.

Recent developments have shown the Peking leaders to be slanderously and most bitterly assailing the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. It is now perfectly clear that the Chinese leaders have spear-headed their ideological attack not against imperialism and colonialism, but against the world communist

movement, primarily the CPSU. Peking propaganda has accused our Party of each and every mortal sin. Moreover, it is not only all the norms of relations between fraternal Parties that are being trampled underfoot. Even elementary common sense is being defied.

The writers of the Peking articles are looking for simpletons who would believe them when they allege that the CPSU leadership is "coordinating its actions with imperialism," seeking cooperation with the United States "to dominate the world," and is "regarding American imperialism its most loyal friend," when they allege that the CPSU leadership has "...given the capitalist forces a free reign in the Soviet Union."

Such ways of conducting "theoretical" polemics will hardly bring the Chinese leaders any laurels.

But in the case in question we are interested, not in the moral side, but in the political aspect of the matter. It is perfectly obvious that such base slander can pursue the one and only purpose of discrediting and defaming the CPSU, which the Peking splitters view the main obstacle to the accomplishment of their hegemonistic plans.

Their attempts, by hook or by crook, to dominate this movement, in total defiance of the real interests of the international revolutionary movement, and to subordinate it to its own egoistic interests have brought the Chinese leaders into conflict with the Marxist-Leninist Parties, the real vanguard of the revolutionary forces. The hegemonistic plans of the CPC leaders have come up against an insurmountable barrier. The overwhelming majority of Communist Parties have emphatically condemned this course.

Checked, the Chinese leaders are seeking other methods to achieve their hegemonistic ends. They are now staking their all on splitting the communist movement, and establishing under their own aegis a special international bloc that would stand in opposition to the world communist movement.

Never probably, in the entire history of the working class movement have such cynical attempts been made to hide in talk about defending the purity of the great teaching of Marx and Lenin, aims so alien to its ideals.

The auxiliary role of the theoretical juggling of the Peking splitters plays in the furtherance of political ends, is distinctly revealed also in their approach to problems of the national liberation movement. Again pseudo-revolutionary slogans and pseudo-theoretical postulates are needed merely to conceal narrow nationalistic political aims.

The claim the Peking theoreticians make that the "hub" of all present-day contradictions has shifted to the "zone of the three A's"—Asia, Africa and Latin America—pursues quite definite political aims. Speculating with this proposition the Chinese splitters are trying to win the sympathy of the peoples of the young national states, usurp the leadership of the national liberation movement and place it in opposition to the socialist countries and the international proletariat.

When considerations of a nationalistic policy demand it, the Chinese leaders, without blurring an eyelid, cast to all four winds both their revolution

ary phrasemongering and the theoretical conceits. Thus they started a frontier conflict with India, a state pursuing a nonaligned policy, accusing it of aggression and of collaboration with US imperialism, and at once, without pausing for respite, began to tout their friendship with Pakistan, a state that is a member of the aggressive imperialist SEATO and CENTO blocs.

Absolutely clear, in the light of the Chinese leadership's latest practical moves on the world scene, is the real political purpose of their theory about the so-called "intermediary zone" between the socialist countries and the United States, which is summoned to argue for the Chinese leadership's line of extending cooperation with such imperialist countries as France, Japan, West Germany and Britain.

Our Party has no intentions of giving the Chinese leaders tit for tat when they try to qualify improving Soviet relations with the capitalist states as "collusion with the imperialists" and "a departure from the class struggle." The CPSU views improving economic and other relations between the socialist and capitalist states as something that is quite normal, as the practical embodiment of the principles of peaceful co-existence.

BECOMING PAWN IN OTHERS' GAME

The entire point, however, is that the PRC is establishing closer contacts with a number of imperialist powers not along the lines of a general policy of peaceful co-existence but in conditions when China is cooperating less and less with the socialist countries, in conditions when the Chinese leaders are isolating themselves from the socialist camp, in the conditions of the ideological and political war that the Peking splitters have declared on the communist movement.

In a situation like that, instead of taking advantage of the contradictions between the imperialists to promote the interests of socialism, the CPC leadership is itself becoming a pawn in the political game and manoeuvres that the imperialist powers engage in to weaken the communist movement and the positions of socialism.

So what is the net result? An analysis of Peking's theoretical concepts and—the main thing—the drawing of a comparison between these concepts and the doings of the Chinese leaders leaves not the slightest doubt that this is an artificially constructed platform devised specially to serve definite political purposes. Peking's theoretical concepts are called upon to "argue" for and "justify" the great-power nationalistic policy of the Chinese leadership, to promote their claims to hegemony, to split the world liberation movement, and to bring under the aegis of Peking definite circles, both inside and outside the communist movement.

The special theoretical platform that the Chinese leaders have put forward bears the obvious stamp of these unsavoury aims that are inimical to the interests of the working class and the cause of communism.

To recruit a following they orient their theoretical concepts on the Left-Wing adventurist elements of the liberation movement, on incorrigible doctrinaires upon whom the cleansing spirit of the 20th CPSU Congress has

had no effect and who nostalgically yearn for past methods of leadership characteristic of the time of the personality cult, and finally, on the chauvinistic, and even racist, moods of strata to whom the ideals of proletarian internationalism are alien.

Hence the eclecticism of the Chinese leadership's theoretical platform. And hence too, the divorce between theory and practice, the inconsistent and contradictory character of their outlook.

It is not fortuitous, of course, for the Chinese splitters to have slithered into Left-wing opportunism. There was very much that paved the way, including the pressure of petty-bourgeois anarchy, an inadequate proletarian ideological and political schooling, certain traditions and certain peculiar historical features.

However, one cannot fail to see that in the choice of a position convenient for attacking the world communist movement, the CPC leaders preferred Left-wing opportunism also because they were aware of the complete ideological insolvency of Right-wing opportunism. They believed "Leftist" pseudo-revolutionary phrasemongering a more reliable means of justifying the failures of their domestic social-economic experiments. This "Leftist" pseudo-revolutionary phrasemongering is devised also to recruit to their egoistic policy sections of the working folk who rise up to revolutionary struggle on the crest of the wave of the great historical developments of today, but who have still not become ideologically and politically quite mature.

In the person of the Chinese leaders the international communist movement is faced with a particular trend that is petty-bourgeois in social roots, nationalistic in political aims and Left-wing opportunistic—with a goodly dose of Trotskyism added—in ideology.

RESOLUTE STRUGGLE CALLED FOR

The leaders of the CPC, who are trying by every means to thrust on the communist movement their own erroneous views and attitudes that are leading towards a split in this movement and have themselves produced a situation in which a resolute struggle against their ideological and political platform has become the way to unity.

The explanation of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and of the general line of the communist movement and the exposure of theoretical distortions, demagoguery and slander comprise a vital and integral element of the task of defending creative Marxism and, consequently, of the struggle for the ideological unity of our movement.

At the same time Marxists-Leninists proceed from the premise that it is social practice, above all, that tells us which theory is right and which is wrong.

The editorial *Jenmin Jihpao* and *Hungchit* carried on March 31 last ends with a chapter entitled "Our Hopes." What do the Chinese leaders hope for? It appears they hope for the unconditional ideological capitulation of all who fail to share their views, for success in imposing their policy on other parties by blackmail, slander and threats. The Marxist-Leninist Parties

have a different view as to the prospects and upshot of the differences in our movement. They are not going to compete with the Chinese leaders, in blackmail, slander and yelling and are not demanding ideological capitulation.

Our confidence in ultimate restoration and consolidation, on the principled basis of Marxism-Leninism of the unity of the communist movements rests elsewhere.

PATH OF RESTORATION OF UNITY

In the consistent pursuit of their general line, the Communist Parties are demonstrating its validity and correctness. They are demonstrating this by scoring success after success in building socialism and communism, developing the economy and culture of the new society, improving democracy and the welfare of the working people, and enhancing the might of the world socialist system.

They are demonstrating this by winning new victories in the struggle of the working class and all the working people in the capitalist countries are waging against the monopolies, to achieve democracy and pave the way for the revolutionary transition to socialism. They are demonstrating this by organising the victorious struggle of the oppressed peoples for freedom and independence and helping them to find the best paths to economic and social progress. They are demonstrating this by successfully struggling for peace and peaceful co-existence. They are demonstrating this by developing international relations of solidarity, equality and comradely assistance between all detachments of the world communist and liberation movement.

Every success achieved and every victory won along this road is one more contribution to the struggle for unity in the communist movement, which includes also ideological unity, for the triumph of creative Marxism-Leninism. Social practice, the actual course of developments, will denude to an increasing extent the ideological poverty of the splitters, and the subjective and adventurist character of their policy. As for all who have been deluded, because of immaturity and inexperience, to take the wrong attitude, all that the Communist Parties achieve in practice in carrying forward the Leninist general line will best serve to bring them back to the correct path.

The communist movement rejects the position of the Chinese leaders, who have spearheaded their struggle not against imperialism but against the fraternal parties, that do not subscribe to their views and fail to yield to their exhortations.

The Marxist-Leninist Parties are well aware that the main task history has placed on the Communists is to struggle against imperialism, for peace, national independence and democracy, for socialism. It is in the crucial interests of this struggle to have inviolable unity between the socialist countries, and all Communists in the world. Holding high the banner of creative Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism the world communist movement will spike the designs of the splitters and rally all revolutionary forces still more firmly together.

Follownig is the translation of an article by Jean Kanapa that appeared in the French Party Daily L'HUMANITE on April 29.

For several years and especially since the Sino-Indian border conflict for which the Chinese carry a heavy responsibility, the Communist Party of India has had to face subversive and splitting activities inspired by certain elements calling themselves "leftists".

These activities have entered into a new and especially grave stage: At the meeting of the National Council of the Communist Party of India which was held in New Delhi from April 9 to April 15, 32 Council members ostentatiously left the session of this supreme body of the Party, published an anti-party manifesto and announced their decision to convene a pseudo-all-India Congress. (It should be noted that, according to their own admission, this decision had actually been taken at a meeting of their faction on the eve of the National Council meeting.)

FOOD PRICES ARE SHOOTING UP

★ From H. K. VYAS

JAIPUR: Indications are that Rajasthan is on the brink of a serious food situation. The prices of foodgrains have again started showing an ominous upward trend. In the last one week the price of wheat in Jaipur has gone up by Rs. two per maund. The worst seems to be in the offing.

UNDENIABLY the main responsibility for this state of affairs rests on the state government and its policy of abject surrender to the foodgrains dealers.

It may be recalled that in March when the prices had shot up very high and there were huge demonstrations including the historic March 26 demonstration before the Assembly organised by the Communist Party, the state government was forced to take some steps.

Export of wheat was banned from the state. The Foodgrain Licencing Order was enforced with provision for showing sales in particular areas by wholesaler to retailer and for submission of proper returns. The traders started a movement against it and in the month of April the ding dong battle went on.

At that time, of course, the state government was declaring its intention to start purchasing grains and selling it through its own or cooperative agency. At that time it declared its firmness on the policy of control. It declared a minimum price of Rs. 15 to Rs. 17 per maund for wheat and assured that the wheat thus purchased will be sold at a rate of not more than Rs. 2.50 more than the purchase price. As far as declarations were concerned it made a show of determination and seriousness.

As events have unfolded themselves it has become clear that all these declarations of the government were just sham, not one of them has been implemented. It has not purchased a single quintal of foodgrain. It has not stuck to its policy of control. It has not announced any ceiling price for wheat or other foodgrains.

And in a most shameless manner it had given all the concessions to the traders. Movement from one part of the state to another has been permitted, wholesaler has been permitted to sell to another wholesaler, even sale on "arat" basis, that is commission agency basis, has been permitted. All this has made the Licencing Order a virtual scrap of paper.

Concession To Traders

adopted a resolution on these question (April 15) stating that one cannot understand the activity of this sectarian leftist group unless one regards it in its international context, i.e., not as an isolated phenomenon, not as a coincidence, but as essential part of an attempt, made on a world scale, to divide and break up as many Communist Parties as possible.

It is, in fact, conspicuous that the activities and the conduct of the dogmatic and sectarian group within the Party became apparent simultaneously with the attacks launched against the Communist Party of India by the leaders of the Communist

the big business there is utter mismanagement and callousness in the state government's handling of the problem of supply of essentials.

The quota for sugar for Rajasthan has been fixed absolutely low, the quota being half per head as compared to some of the other states. The state government has not been able to do anything about it. Now come reports that due to sheer bungling, the quota for the state for the months of April and May has been permitted to lapse.

Who is responsible for this criminal neglect, nobody owns up. But the fact is that even the meagre quota allotted has been permitted to lapse. For a whole month people of Jaipur have had no supply of sugar from the controlled shops.

As far as other places are concerned the situation is no better. They have been allowed on a rooted basis a quota of half a kilo per head as compared to one kilo per head which was the stipulated supply so far. The most ridiculous and objectionable thing is the way the government is treating the rural areas in this matter. The quota for the rural areas is a bare one chatak per head per month.

It is a shameless and utterly ridiculous discrimination and deserves to be condemned. People complain that even this meagre quota does not reach them; the reason is that the machinery moves so slowly and slovenly that quotas are permitted to lapse.

Such a policy of abject surrender to the traders and the big business and such incompetence by the authorities have combined to create the present serious situation in the state.

Voices of protest are rising from all parts against this state of affairs. The people are again on the move and the state government, if it continues its present policies, would have to face a very big united resistance movement.

Apart from such surrender to

CPI National Council's Resolution Lauded

French Party's Stand On Splitting Activities

Party of China and the Communist Party of Indonesia.

What are the pretences the splitters put forward for their anti-Party attacks? They pretend that at the Sixth Congress of the Party (1961) an opportunist line had been adopted, a line recommending "the alliance of the Communist Party with the Congress Party" (the ruling party led by Nehru).

In fact, the resolution of the National Council emphasises, the Sixth Congress never proclaimed a line of that kind. Its policy, as defined by it, aims at forming a democratic national front, realising the union of the democratic elements within and outside the Congress Party on the basis of common aims, against reaction and against the anti-democratic measures of the Congress Party, whereas it is the sectarian line of the splitters that leads them to enter into unprincipled alliances with the most reactionary elements, as for instance the Muslim League, the Swatantra Party, etc.

As for the methods applied by the splitters they tell their own tale: clandestine distribution of anti-party documents, factional meetings, public attacks against the Party. In preparation of the Party's Congress, a commission had been elected including several leaders of the leftist group. Now these elements have boycotted the meetings of this commission, just as they walked out of the recent National Council meeting, in order to avoid an explanation in front of the majority standing loyally by the Party. In fact they would be satisfied only if the majority agreed to behave as if they were the minority, and if the minority could dictate their conditions.

Since the National Council evidently refuses to accept a demand so blatantly contrary to the principles of Party organisation, the splitters' group reproaches the Party leadership with being "anti-democratic" and with resorting to methods of "disciplinary vengeance". This is a barefaced lie, says the resolution. The only sanction adopted so far by the National Council has been the public censure, in October last year, of Gopalan. What the National Council can, in fact, be charged with, is showing excessive leniency that allowed the splitters to continue their subversive activity.

Provocation Against Dange

Knowing that they could not justify their oppositional line, (there are, incidentally, according to their own admission, serious differences of opinion among the members of this group) they have now staged a provocation against comrade Dange. They are brandishing a so-called correspondence between Dange and

the English authorities from the time of the colonial rule, using it as a smoke-screen to cover their activities. There is, however, not the slightest evidence, so far, of the authenticity of these letters. And it is significant that a committee of inquiry had been appointed. Yet the columnists preferred to leave the meeting of the National Council in order to avoid having to produce their "evidence".

Anxious to give these elements a last chance to become aware of their responsibilities, the Communist Party of India has decided to suspend rather than expel the 32 members of the leftist group, among them Gopalan, Basu, Namboodiripad, etc., and to relieve them of all leading positions. Their conduct will be examined at a coming National Council meeting, pending the Party congress which will be held in September 1964.

Party's Resolution

"It has to be emphasised", the resolution says, "that these desperate anti-Party activities have been resorted to in the background of a rising wave of mass struggles in India on economic and democratic issues, a wave in which the Party has been playing a glorious and most prominent role."

"For the first time in the history of our Party, an all-India mass movement has been unleashed against the monopolists and the anti-people forces of the Congress government. This movement which began with the Great Petition campaign and the Great September March, is entering the next stage of preparations for an all-India general strike. It is precisely at this moment that the seceders have come out with their open split"... thereby bringing "grist to the mill of the reactionaries and the vested interests—internal as well as foreign. Such a crime cannot be forgiven".

The Communist Party of India embodying the hopes of millions of working people in India and for which tens of thousands of heroes have died, will remain united and continue its struggle at the head of the democratic working masses of India.

Another resolution of the National Council finally reaffirms the desire of the Communist Party of India for a world conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties to be convened "as soon as possible". A conference of that kind, the resolution adds, "is necessary in order to maintain the unity of the international Communist movement and to secure the victory of the great ideas of the 1957 and 1960 Moscow conferences which have advanced the cause of peace, democracy, national independence and socialism."

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Arab - Soviet Unity Against Imperialism

From OUR CORRESPONDENT

CAIRO: The massive, enthusiastic and spontaneous reception which Premier Khrushchov received in the UAR has reminded one of the reception he got during his first visit to India.

THE streets of Cairo looked like red gardens with banners, flags and flowers. More than one million people turned out on the streets of Cairo when Khrushchov and the Soviet delegation arrived. Such enthusiastic and warm reception for a visiting dignitary was witnessed perhaps for the first time in Egypt's history.

In Alexandria too, the Soviet delegation was welcomed enthusiastically. Ten thousand Soviet and UAR flags were hoisted side by side on the route of the cavalcade, spanned by fifty illumined arches.

Not only was Premier Khrushchov and his party received by President Nasser on their arrival, they accompanied each other to all places visited. No other foreign visitor has been given such an honour so far.

This enthusiasm is reflective of the growing friendship between the Soviet Union and the Arab countries, particularly the UAR and Algeria. And it is of great significance for the future development of Africa and the Middle East.

This development is the result of the consistent anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist policy of the Soviet

Union. As President Ben Bella in Algeria earlier and President Nasser in the UAR now have emphasised, it is the result of the policy of peaceful coexistence and peace pursued by the Soviet Union.

TESTED FRIENDSHIP

The mettle of this friendship was first tested when Britain, France and Israel mounted an armed aggression against the UAR on the issue of the Suez canal and later when the imperialists tried to strangle the UAR economically, threw an economic blockade and sought to scuttle the plan for building the Aswan Dam.

It was again tested and found good during the struggle of the Algerian people for freedom. It is standing in good stead now when France and other imperialist powers are planning an economic comeback in Algeria.

Again, it has been proved in the struggle for safeguarding the revolution in Yemen.

Today the Arab world is entering a new stage, a stage of liquidating finally the remnants of imperialism and

colonialism from the soil of Algeria, Libya, Palestine, Aden and the Arab South.

The two biggest countries of the Arab world, the UAR and Algeria, have taken the path of building an independent, non-capitalist economy leading to socialism.

President Ben Bella, during his recent visit to the Soviet Union, declared "scientific socialism" as his goal.

The UAR has taken many steps towards achieving its own "socialism". All the banks and industries have been nationalised. Land reforms have been introduced; steps are being taken towards cooperative farming. A parliament has been elected with a majority of workers and peasants in it and all the political detenus have been released.

It was again tested and found good during the struggle of the Algerian people for freedom. It is standing in good stead now when France and other imperialist powers are planning an economic comeback in Algeria.

Today the Arab world is entering a new stage, a stage of liquidating finally the remnants of imperialism and

A united front of all the Arab forces is taking shape for the final liquidation of colonialism and feudalism from the Arab soil. Imperialists are trying to halt this march through their stooges like Israel and the reactionary feudal elements and by direct military aggression as in the Arab South.

In this struggle and in the struggle for building independent national economy, the Arab people have found in the Soviet Union the most reliable and trusted friend. The visit of Premier Khrushchov has further cemented this friendship.

The Arab people are confident that this mighty help and support from such a reliable friend as the Soviet Union is a sure guarantee of the success of the Arab people in their noble objectives. And this aspect has been emphasised again and again by Khrushchov and Nasser.

This development will not only change the whole face of the Middle East and North Africa, it will shake the foundations of imperialism and neo-colonialism in Africa and so, one should not be surprised by the warmth of the reception

accorded to the Soviet Premier by the Arab people. While the policy of anti-imperialism and peaceful coexistence is achieving such victories in the Arab world, some people are still refusing to learn. The leaders of the People's Republic of China have suddenly become very active in developing their "friendship" with Syria.

SYRIA'S ROLE

The rulers of Syria belong to the same fascist Ba'ath Party which has close links with the imperialists, who massacred thousands in Iraq, enforced a most brutal government in Syria. Of course, they are against the UAR and against Arab unity.

During the recent meeting of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Council in Algiers and the preparatory meeting of the women's conference, the Chinese delegation while asking for the removal of South Africa, Mozambique, India, Yemen, etc., from the panel for the subcommittee, proposed the name of Syria along with Pakistan.

Both, it must be said, are very "anti-imperialist" by Chinese standards!

Under Uncle Sam's Umbrella

The Face of CIA

THE Central Intelligence Agency of Uncle Sam is well-known: its ramifications extend to all parts of the world. The CIA bosses are enamoured so much with their intrigues and coup d'etats that they do not care whether government policy, be it a new frontier policy or otherwise, is jeopardised by their adventures.

The notorious incident of U2 espionage mission is one example of the CIA plots which Ike had to own up later to save US prestige (?). There were many instances. A latest revelation shows that the CIA had planned to go ahead with the Cuban invasion at the Bay of Pigs even if the President had been opposed to it.

This disclosure is contained in a book published recently, the author of which is a Washington reporter, Haynes Johnson. Johnson mentions in his book that the CIA had given the Cuban emigres clearly to understand that even if the President called off the invasion, they must go on and the CIA would provide them with all that they might need.

This conspiracy was hatched when Allen Dulles, the former chief of the CIA was in power. Johnson's appraisal of events concerning the invasion and the evidence he has put forward, establish the fact that the CIA has become a government above the government of the US, with the power to develop its own foreign and domestic policy and to carry out actions, independent of and even in defiance of the will of the Presidency and Congress.

The Ceylon weekly TRIBUNE has made some significant contribution in unearthing the CIA activities. In one of its recent issues, it exposes the CIA work in India and other countries. Concerning India, it says:

"In India, the CIA tries to operate more subtly so as not to antagonise the public. However, the American agents are very active in this country as well. The Swamitra and Jan Sangh leaders maintain close contacts with the Americans. In actual fact, they have placed their parties under the control of US intelligence which uses them as it sees fit against Nehru and his supporters."

"In recent time the CIA representatives in India, operating through their trusted agents, have been bringing pressure to bear on official spokesmen who took part in the Indian-American negotiations. Such pressure was exerted in the course of the talks on setting up a branch of the VOICE OF AMERICA in India and on US arms deliveries to India in connection with the Sino-Indian border conflict."

"The CIA helped a number of influential Indian businessmen to illegally amass considerable reserves of foreign currency. The CIA representatives resorted to this step hoping to bring over to their side part of the wealthiest Indian businessmen who enjoy considerable influence both in central government and the governments of Indian states."

"One can understand how difficult it is for the Indian security service which is trying to neutralise the activities of the CIA. It is perfectly obvious that the forces are unequal although the Indian authorities manage to expose American agents. Thus, a whole group of US Embassy employees in India unexpect-

edly left the country in 1962. It turned out that these officials were not diplomats. They were intelligence officers who were actively interfering in the country's election campaign. Fearing complete exposure they hurried to leave India."

"The espionage activities of the CIA in India are of a specific nature. The Americans make wide use of the intelligence network of their military bloc allies for espionage in India. This is specially true of Pakistan. The CIA has set up a network of special training centres on the border between Assam and East Pakistan. These centres provide special training course for Pakistani citizens who are then sent into Indian territory."

"Last autumn two instances were registered when Pakistani agents were caught red-handed by the Indian authorities. And both times the arrested agents turned out to be Pakistani "diplomats". There is nothing surprising in the fact that the Pakistani diplomatic service and the intelligence bodies which use it as a cover blindly copy the methods adopted by the US Central Intelligence Agency."

TAILPIECE: Small monopoly, big monopoly and finally Uncle's monopoly; that's the secret of Uncle's business. Take for example the telephone services in British Columbia (Canada): The telephones there are controlled by Anglo Canadian Telephone Co., which is owned by Associated Telephone and Telegraph, which is in turn owned by US giant, General Telephone and Electronics. The result: exorbitant telephone rates and B. C. Telephones showed a profit of \$10.9 million, a 15 per cent gain over 1962.

—CHARVAK

We are happy to publish below an article by R. K. Prabhu about Dange-Ashleigh meeting. The meeting was referred to by S. A. Dange in his article and later corroborated by R. K. Prabhu in an interview. In this article R. K. Prabhu narrates some further details.

—Editor

In the NEW AGE of May 17 S. A. Dange in his report on the meeting between him and Charles Ashleigh in the office of the BOMBAY CHRONICLE in 1922 has referred to the part played by me on that occasion. Permit me to throw a little more light on the incident for the benefit of the readers.

MARMADUKE Pickthall and Syed Abdulla Brelvi were joint editors of the journal at that time and I was senior assistant editor. I had a room of my own adjoining theirs. About midday one day a middle-aged "white" gentleman was ushered into my room and he handed over to me an envelope addressed to me.

After I had seated him, opposite to me across the table, I tore open the envelope and found in it a piece of paper on which Brelvi, who was then residing at the Taj Mahal hotel, had scribbled a note informing me that the bearer of the note, who had just arrived in Bombay from abroad, had been ordered by the police to be shipped back by the next day's steamer and that he was anxious before he

left the city to meet the editor of THE SOCIALIST. Brelvi added that if I knew where Dange resided I should send for him and let the gentleman meet him.

Having met Dange a number of times at the residence of Lotwala, "the millionaire Communist", and having been an admirer of his writings in THE SOCIALIST and knowing him to be a Leftist, I wanted to make sure that the visitor was not a British spy and meant no harm to Dange. So I enquired of the visitor why the police objected to his stay in Bombay.

He then confided to me that he was a member of an international working class organisation and had come from America to establish contacts with Indian labour leaders. He was putting up

SOME DETAILS OF DANGE-ASHLEIGH MEETING

By R. K. PRABHU

at the Taj Mahal hotel, and after being served with the order of immediate deportation, he had met Brelvi at the Taj and requested him to arrange for a meeting with the editor of THE SOCIALIST and that he had managed to slip out of the hotel without the knowledge of the police.

He earnestly pleaded with me to arrange for a meeting with the editor of THE SOCIALIST as early as possible as the matter was urgent and he had little time at his disposal.

I then immediately sent a cycle-peon to the Thakurdwar residence of Dange with a letter informing him that an American gentleman connected with the international working class organisation, who was under police orders of deportation by the next

day's steamer, wanted to meet him urgently and was waiting in my office for him, and I requested Dange to come immediately.

After the peon had left, I wanted still further to test the bona fides of the visitor. So I engaged him in conversation about the progress of the labour movement in the United States and casually put him the question whether he knew Eugene Debs, the foremost labour leader and war-resister, who had been jailed for his pacifist propaganda. When the visitor told me that he knew Debs well I asked him whether he knew of any good biography of Debs.

I put this question to him because the previous day I had read in the LITERARY DIGEST, the wellknown American journal, a review of a recently published biography of Debs and I had kept this review in the righthand drawer of my office table.

The visitor told me that a good biography of Debs had been recently published in America and he gave me the name of the publishing firm.

Placing in the visitor's hands some freshly received foreign illustrated journals and while he was absorbed in reading the same, I quietly pulled out the drawer of my table and getting hold of the DIGEST I sought the page containing the review of Debs' biography and to my surprise I discovered that the name of the publishers of the book in the DIGEST was the very one named by the visitor. My suspicions regarding the visitor were completely dispelled as a result of this test.

Meeting In My Room

Half an hour later Dange turned up and I made him and the visitor sit on chairs in a corner of my room, only a few paces removed from me. They then engaged themselves in low-toned conversation, which lasted for about 15 or 20 minutes after which I saw, without any intention or effort on my part to spy on them, the visitor pressing Dange to accept something which the former held in his hand and Dange reluctant to accept the same. Then the visitor said something to Dange and the latter accepted what was pressed into his hand. The two then parted company.

A few days later I had occasion to go to the residence of Lotwala to interview the veteran Indian leader Vithal-bhai Patel, on behalf of my journal. I happened to relate to both Patel and Lotwala how a strange meeting had taken place in my room in the CHRONICLE office between Dange and an American revolutionary.

When I met Dange some days later, I asked him who

the American gentleman was and what he was pressing him (Dange) to accept and the latter hesitating to do so, Dange told me that the visitor had offered him some pounds in currency notes and he had declined to accept them.

But the visitor had then told him that the pounds were not offered as any financial aid but merely as a token of goodwill and of the successful establishment of links between Indian workers and foreign branches of the international working class organisation and that he was going to report the fact to his American compeers. Dange had then accepted the friendly gift without any demur.

Surprising Development

Some six months after this, a surprising development occurred. Pickthall, editor of the CHRONICLE, received a letter from the Commissioner of Police, Bombay, informing him that he (the Police Commissioner) had come to know that a "dangerous foreign revolutionary" had met an Indian labour leader in the office of the BOMBAY CHRONICLE and the Commissioner wanted editor Pickthall to give him the fullest information about the meeting.

Pickthall not knowing anything about the matter, circulated the Commissioner's letter among the members of the editorial staff, with a note of his own in which he asked the members if they knew of the meeting.

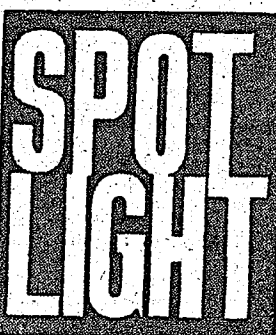
Brelvi who was joint editor merely put his initials on Pickthall's note, without revealing the fact that he had taken the initiative in arranging the meeting between Ashleigh and Dange. Noting this, I followed suit with a mere remark "seen", followed by my signature.

The other members of the editorial staff, who were in total ignorance of the meeting, truthfully wrote: "we know nothing about the matter."

And so Pickthall was obliged to write to the Commissioner of Police that none of the staff of his journal knew anything of the meeting referred to in the Commissioner's letter.

I was immensely amused to find that it took the Bombay police six months to discover that a meeting had taken place in broad daylight in an open office like that of the BOMBAY CHRONICLE between a "dangerous foreign revolutionary" and his counterpart in Bombay. Muzaffar Ahmad's charge that Dange had arranged for the arrest of Ashleigh by the Bombay police must appear entirely baseless and preposterous to every unbiased reader of the account given by me above from my personal knowledge.

Akali Retaliation



THE capital witnessed the other day the sight of ten thousand shouting, gesticulating Akali Sikhs besieging the office of a pro-Jan Sangh Urdu daily. The building was barricaded with strong three-tiered iron railings to keep the angry demonstrators away. Five hundred policemen formed a protective cordon round the premises. The Delhi administration was faced with a serious law and order situation. It is said that but for the strong precautionary steps, Pratap Bhavan might have been burnt down.

That the Akalis were reacting to a serious provocation is now admitted by everyone concerned. The daily had grossly insulted the Sikh community in an editorial saying that "the Sikhs think that in politics it is enough to have education and study of the standard of Guru Nanak." It had further described them as a community of gulls!

It would seem amazing how such scurrilous stuff could be editorially penned. But those who follow the Sanghite press, particularly in the languages, know that such performance on the part of its scribes is not at all extraordinary.

Scurrilous attacks is just part of their being because they pander to the basest instincts of the people and try to thrive on them.

One has only to read the kind of remarks they are making these days against Nehru, to take one instance, to realise the depths to which they can descend.

The PANCHJANYA of Lucknow wrote on May

18: "Why is the infirm and doddering Nehru sticking to office? Because of senility. At the same time he is not getting an advocate who could draft a will for him, bequeathing the Prime Ministership to Indira. He will not quit office for the country but only for his daughter."

This kind of commentary is the running theme of the journal. In the case of the PRATAP too, the mud was slung by sheer force of habit, without thinking of its consequences. When they heard of the indignant reaction to their performance, the editor and his cronies began shaking in their shoes.

Apology

A boxed apology appeared on the front page of the paper and it was repeated in subsequent issues. Further, on the day of the demonstration, the whole city was plastered with posters carrying long texts, repenting the "grave mistake." These posters were issued by the local Jan Sangh luminaries as well as the paper itself.

These surely went a long way to assuage the Akalis, and together with the measures taken by the police, helped to ward off untoward incidents. The provocation did not lead to any violent outbursts of communal disturbances.

For the Sangh leaders and their scribes, it must have been a nerve-racking experience to be faced with an inflamed mob of Akalis, but they emerged out of the ordeal without anything more serious than blackened faces.

But will they learn anything from this experience?

I doubt it. For, the malady lies deeper, in their anti-patriotic, communalist upbringing, which makes them see everything from the perverted communal angle. From baiting the Muslims and Christians to aiming their poisoned shafts at the Sikhs is but the logical next step. In both cases, the game is the same, that is, to disrupt the solidarity of the people and sow communal discord.

Although never so bad as in the case of the Muslims, the Sangh propaganda against the Sikhs has been vicious enough. Issues of the ORGANISER bear evidence to this. But the exigencies of reactionary politics make strange bed-fellows and we find a Sangh-Akali marriage.

A little before the last general elections the Sangh recognised in the Akalis, specially those led by Master Tara Singh, useful allies. The tirade against the Sikhs was halted and the two began to have a comparatively peaceful existence. Recently, the Sangh had made some profit out of this arrangement too.

But old habits die hard. It is obvious that the PRATAP only suffered a stroke of atavism. For this, it has suffered a loss of face and been exposed to ridicule.

—Garuda

British Occupation of Basutoland

By BERTA BRAGANZA

Basutoland is second in size among the three British "protectorates" in Southern Africa. It measures 30,000 square kilometres and has a population of about 800,000. It is like an island in the midst of the sea of apartheid, with South Africa all round it, Natal province in the east and north-east, Orange Free State in the west and north-west and Cape Colony in the south and south-east.

BASUTOLAND has a proud past history and had its frontiers before the colonial period extending to far beyond the present ones. When the Boers arrived following them the British first arrived, the whole of what is now the Orange Free State of the Republic of South Africa was an integral part of Lesotho, the Basutoland of the precolonial days.

At that time Basutoland was ruled by a wise man called Moshoeshoe and was a prosperous, free and happy land with a society based on democratic principles, where the natural resources of the country and all land were national wealth, which could only be used but not owned individually.

When in 1838 the Boers, defeated in Cape Colony by the British and unwilling to be subjugated by their rivals, fled northwards they were on request allowed by the peace-loving ruler of Basutoland to temporarily remain in the country and graze their cattle in a certain area—the part that has now been transformed by the British into the Orange Free State.

The Boers however proved unworthy of the generosity of Moshoeshoe. They began robbing cattle and even capturing people to make them slaves.

It was at this stage that the British got a chance to come on the scene in the guise of "protectors." But long before the mask fell and the British colonialists installed themselves in Basutoland as masters.

Then started the British-Boer conspiracy, which has not yet ended, against the people of Lesotho, reducing that African nation to its present minute size and its people to the immense misery that is today their lot.

In 1868, the super-civilisers who have degraded the people of Basutoland to the condition of chattels, destroying their national democratic tradition and culture in an effort to efface their national identity, proclaimed the territory a British "protectorate."

Forcible Occupation

Then in 1886 that part of the territory on which Moshoeshoe had allowed the intruders to live was separated and formed into the Orange Free State. In 1909 it was unceremoniously made a part of the Union of South Africa and as such it is now part of the Republic of South Africa.

The greatest fear of the people of Basutoland is that the British might also make over what remains of their country to the racialists of South Africa.

In fact, it is only the constant vigilance of the people of Basutoland that has perhaps deterred Britain till now from submitting to the continuous pressure of the racialists for incorporation of the "protectorate."

And that Britain is only bidding its time may be gauged by

the conditions it is creating in the country for it.

The civil services including the courts of law are filled with settlers from South Africa, who seem to bring with them in their knapsacks the outrageous practices current in that haven of tyranny.

The regime of racial discrimination under which the people of Basutoland live is but a replica of what prevails in South Africa: the same segregation, the same control of movement, the same deprivation of land and means of subsistence, discrimination in salaries and oppression, the same humiliation and affront to human dignity at every step.

Basutoland even in its reduced state has all the wealth necessary to provide for the welfare and happiness of its people: fertile soil, abundant water—it has several big rivers and all the rivers that flow through South Africa have their source in Basutoland—and valuable mineral resources. But imperialism and racialism have reduced the people to destitution, starvation and slavery.

Agricultural Produce

The basic economy is agrarian and stock-breeding is the people's main occupation. There is land in plenty and it is fertile. It produces maize, which is the staple food of the people, besides wheat, peas and beans.

But the people have no land to cultivate and on which to raise the cattle. The major part of it, and the most arable, is in the hands of British and South African farmers.

Land-hunger and unemployment have forced about 200,000 people to abandon their country in search of means of subsistence at the farms and mines and industrial concerns in South Africa, subjecting themselves to the inhuman laws prevailing there, earning slave wages and dying a slow death.

This mass exodus helped the racialists to reduce the African vote in the 1960 elections. As much as 43 per cent of the Africans figuring on the electoral rolls are away in South Africa.

At home the peasant is forced to sell his maize and wheat, peas and beans as well as his animals at ridiculously low rates to white traders.

The trader exports the food-grains with a large margin of profit and then reimports the same to resell to the same peasant for his consumption at an exorbitant price, thus making a further profit.

Even if they are qualified and competent, Africans have no chance of holding any office of a higher rank. There are different salary scales for Africans and Europeans and the Africans are made to serve as subordinates even when the white boss holds an inferior qualification.

The general low wages are sought to be justified on the plea

that all Africans have land to cultivate, and so they needed only lower wages. But the fact is that there are about 11,700 families who have no land at all.

Development schemes, whether of irrigation or prospecting and exploitation of the country's rich mineral resources, are deliberately neglected. The purpose is to justify the theory that the country is poor, unable to be self-sufficient and so incorporation with South Africa is indispensable for its economic existence.

Self-Sustained Economy

In reality, however, even as undeveloped as it is, Basutoland does not at all depend on either Britain or South Africa. Its economy has been strong enough. Out of its surplus balances it has made loans and gifts to Britain herself. Its finances amply show that it is more than self-sufficient even in face of the monstrous exploitation and deliberate retardation of the development of its natural resources.

Low as it is, its agricultural production is sufficient. It has good pasture lands to raise cattle, horses, sheep, Angora goats, mules and donkeys.

As it is, wool and mohair earn an income of £1,000,000 per year and most of the wool and mohair which South Africa exports to Europe and bags fabulous profits come from Basutoland.

It has rich deposits of coal, iron, gold and diamonds. But no prospecting is allowed and the theory is spread that their existence in Basutoland is a myth.

The exploitation of the mineral resources has been reserved for the monopolists operating in South Africa. In 1953 licence for prospecting for diamonds was refused to an African but the same licence was later conceded

This is the second instalment of a series of three articles on the three British Protectorates in Southern Africa.

—Editor.

to one Jacob Scott, a director of the General Mining and Finance Corporation.

Though the licence was only for prospecting, the privileged gentleman was actually found to be mining diamonds. Investigations brought to light that he extracted 1,000,000 carats of diamonds per month which brought him £24,000,000 per year while he paid the Basutoland Government as royalties the paltry sum of £200 per month.

In order to benefit such monopolists attempts were made to change the traditional system of land tenure in Basutoland by finishing with collective ownership of land by the whole society and transforming it into private property.

For the same reason, it was also sought to transform Basutoland's status of "protectorate" into that of a colony.

Racial Discrimination

In the field of education, good care is taken to keep the Africans as backward as possible. Racial discrimination makes for separate schools for "blacks" and "whites". There are very few schools and illiteracy is high. There are no technical schools at all.

As regards medical assistance, there are nine hospitals in the whole country with one doctor for each. There is one doctor for 21,295 Africans and one bed in the hospitals for every 691 Africans.

The consequences of racial discrimination have been disastrous for the health of the people. Malnutrition has made goitre an endemic disease, the birth rate is fast decreasing and the death rate increasing. Child mortality is 116 and more per 1,000.

The appalling conditions of suffering and wretchedness to which the colonialists and racialists have reduced them

have inspired the people of Basutoland to revolt from the very onset of the British intrusion in their country.

Several armed uprisings took place in the past and though they came to naught, the struggle for freedom continues and is growing in intensity.

There are several political groups but among them only the Basutoland Congress Party and the National Party are of any consequence. And between these two, the Basutoland Congress Party, under its leadership of Ntsu Mokhele is the foremost national organisation, militant and progressive, commanding country-wide support.

The labour movement is part of the national movement and the labour forces play a dominant role in the battle for freedom.

In 1960 a strike by the government and commercial employees for higher salaries paralysed Maseru, the capital. The police opened fire and over 600 people were imprisoned.

In 1961, the threat of deportation of a refugee from South Africa sparked off a huge agitation, which was suppressed with gun-fire and the usual police brutalities. Numerous men, women and children were injured.

Mass arrests followed. Among those taken into custody were several leading members of the Basutoland Congress Party, who were kept detained without trial for months. They were finally sentenced to four to ten years imprisonment. One of them was a woman of 70.

In the face of the struggle, the British colonialists have put forth all sorts of sham commissions and constitutions which have only added more fuel to the fire.

The people are determined to reach their goal. They can no longer be fooled by the imperialists and no intimidation and colonialist savagery can hold them back. They are marching to freedom with the rest of Africa.

Planning India's Prosperity

"The idea of planning and a planned society is accepted now in varying degrees by almost everyone", the late Prime Minister Nehru wrote once.

has today become a way of life for us. And the man responsible for this is none else than Jawaharlal Nehru.

Way back in 1938 when the Congress formed governments in the stages, it was at his instance that the Congress constituted a National Planning Committee. Jawaharlal Nehru was its chairman.

This committee had drawn up a ten-year programme of development, but it could not proceed further because soon after many of its members found themselves in prisons, including Nehru.

But the idea of a planned economy for Independent India took root. As Nehru said, "it was obvious also that any comprehensive planning could only take place under a free national government, strong enough and popular enough to be in a position to introduce fundamental changes in the social and economic structure". (DISCOVERY OF INDIA)

In 1946 when the interim government was formed Nehru followed up the idea of planning and set up a planning advisory board. However this board also could not undertake any serious work because of the travails of partition.

In 1950 the Planning Commission was set up and Prime Minister Nehru became its chairman. In 1952 December, India's first Five-Year Plan was presented to Parliament. Since then two more Five-Year Plans have been presented. The next is now being drawn up.

Nehru was not only the chairman of the Planning Commission; he was its soul and moving spirit. Under his inspired leadership, planning has achieved a new meaning. Its objective, as stated in the

First Five-Year Plan, is to initiate "a process of development which will raise the living standards and open out to the people new opportunities for a richer and more varied life."

For this, Jawaharlal Nehru realised, new vistas have to be opened up: "An attempt to preserve old established and vested interests cuts at the very

PAULY V. PARAKAL

root of planning. Real planning must recognise that no such special interests can be allowed to come in the way of any scheme designed to further the well-being of the community as a whole."

He was also sure that planning was not for the benefit of the industrialists: "If planning is largely controlled by big industrialists it will be naturally envisaged within the framework of the system they are used to and will be essentially based on the profit motive of an acquisitive society."

Nehru's vision of a planned economy was something entirely different. It should guarantee an independent economy for the country; it should be not only self-sustaining but also self-generating; the cornerstone of planning should be the public sector; and there should be equitable distribution to bring prosperity to the masses.

Writing on the National Planning Committee of 1938 he said: "The very essence of this planning was a large measure of regulation and coordination. Thus, while free enterprise was not ruled out as such, its scope was severely restricted. In regard to defence industries it was decided that they must be owned and controlled by the

state. Regarding other key industries, the majority (in the committee) were of opinion that they should be state-owned...."

"Agricultural land, mines, quarries, rivers and forests are forms of national wealth, ownership of which must vest absolutely in the people of India collectively. The cooperative principle should be applied to the exploitation of land by developing collective and cooperative farms...."

"We, or some of us at any rate, hoped to evolve a socialised system of credit. If banks, insurance, etc., were not to be nationalised they should at least be under the control of the state, thus leading to a state regulation of capital and credit. It was also desirable to control the export and import trade." (DISCOVERY OF INDIA).

Nehru had even replied to the critics of planning: "Planning though inevitably bringing about a great deal of control and coordination and interfer-

ing in some measure with individual freedom, would as a matter of fact, in the context of India today, lead to a vast increase in freedom."

Here was a leader who asserted that economic freedom of the masses was the basis for political freedom. Without economic freedom, political free-

dom became meaningless. The plans that have been implemented have not brought the people much nearer the goal set forth. But it cannot be denied that Jawaharlal Nehru was the man most responsible for the plans themselves and whatever limited success they have achieved.



An African girl weeps at the funeral

NEHRU LIVES...

* FROM FRONT PAGE

seen the continuing hunger and poverty of the masses, while the rich grew richer and more powerful. They had not forgotten that many of the pledges of the national movement had been betrayed, that the interests of the working masses had been again and again sacrificed to meet the avaricious demands of the vested interests.

All this they remembered, all this they knew in the pits of their stomach. And that is why they mourned all the more, they yearned all the more. For if the great and the good man lying there with his face lifted to the heavens and his eyes closed, had to bend and compromise so often when the onslaughts of reaction were at their highest, what of lesser men than he?

Through the film of their tears, the millions saw once again the Nehru who had given a new dimension to the freedom struggle, linked up the Indian democratic movement with the progressive ideas sweeping the world, carved the image of the India of every toiler's dreams—dedicated to peace, peaceful coexistence, disarmament and to the struggle against imperialism and colonialism, to secularism, to democracy, to socialism.

It was that vision of the crusading knight battling against evil, against the vested interests, against reaction, against the might of the imperialists which the millions saw again, during that last ride to the stars.

Yes, Nehru lives in the hearts of the toilers as the painter of the image of an India, from which oppression and hunger and misery are banished. It did not matter to them at this hour of gloom, if he had failed to bring it about, if at moments he had seemed to turn away from the road to that goal.

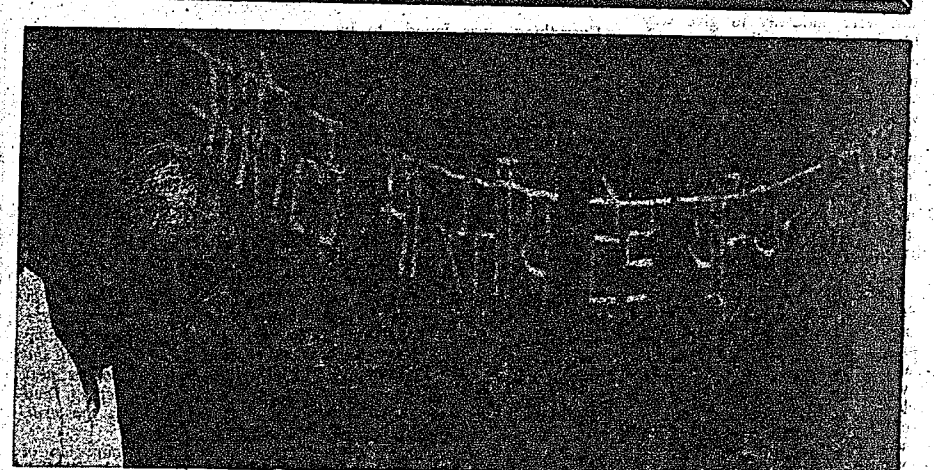
Nehru lives in the battles we have to wage to complete the unfinished revolution, the uncompleted tasks which we know we have to fulfil.

The tears must come together to become a united, solid mighty iceberg, which can break apart the conspiracies of the imperialists and the Right reactionary agents of the monopolists... the iceberg which can carry India forward to the cherished goal.

Yes, then we shall be able to say truly,

NEHRU LIVES...

—ROMESH CHANDRA
(May 29)



SHAKIR ALI KHAN Went on hunger strike before Parliament House on May 25 in support of the demands of Bhopal Heavy Electricals Workers. He ended his fast immediately on knowing about Nehru's death.

Beawar Textile Workers' Significant Victory

The textile workers of Beawar have won an important demand. After a period of long struggle, they have been able to secure the restoration of wage cut imposed by the mill owners on 700 workers and the payment of arrears.

SINCE the end of February there was a new trend in the textile workers' movement. While the AITUC Union had for some months been campaigning and agitating for the major demands of the workers like dearness allowance, rise of Rs. 5 per month in wages, restoration of wage cut etc. the response among the workers was great. There was a great urge for unity and in the third week of February a joint action committee of the two unions, the AITUC and the INTUC unions, was formed. Since then the movement became a united movement. At the initiative of the unions there was a complete one-day strike on February 20. The call of the AITUC Union for demonstration on March 7 was

supported by the INTUC union and a mammoth demonstration was held that day. This united movement had its impact on the owners and the government. The Labour Minister had to call a joint meeting of the unions and the millowners on May 11 at Jaipur. The demands of the workers were discussed in that meeting. On behalf of the Textile Labour Union (AITUC) Kesrimal and H. K. Vyas attended. The INTUC was represented by Vidyadhar. Discussions on demands remained inconclusive. However, one of the demands, namely the demand for the restoration of the wage cut and payment of arrears was finally accepted and an agreement to

that effect was arrived at and signed by both the parties.

It may be recalled that as a result of the strike of the workers called by the AITUC Unions on May 20 1960, the management of the mills discontinued the services of 700 workmen and started treating them as new employees and thus reduced their wages imposing a wage cut of about Rs. 8 to Rs. 20 per worker per month. This has been going on all these years. The demand was for the restoration of this wage cut and payment of the arrears.

It has now been agreed that the wage cut will be restored with effect from May 1964 and the arrears will also be paid. The exact mode of payment and the period of payment of the arrears has been left for joint decision by the parties within a week, failing which the matter shall be referred to the Labour Minister for his decision and the same shall be binding on all the parties.

CONDOLENCES

As soon as the news of Prime Minister Nehru's death was received the New Age Printing Press stopped all work and declared two days of mourning.

Workers and management held a meeting at the press and paid homage to the departed leader and sent condolences to the bereaved family.

The New Age Printing Press Workers Committee placed a wreath on the bier on the morning of May 28.

* * *

NEW AGE has received a condolence message from the Bureau of the World Federation of Democratic Youth, which said: "Grieved to hear about the sad demise of Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India. Kindly convey our condolences to his family, the youth and the people of India."

* * *

The National Federation of Metal and Engineering Workers of India expressed its deep sorrow at the death of Prime Minister Nehru. In a statement it said: "In him we have lost a great freedom fighter, a staunch anti-imperialist, a champion of world peace and coexistence, a democrat and an architect of modern India."

"At this hour of national tragedy we dip our banner and pledge to carry on the struggle

against all forces which seek to thwart our national advance.

"This is the best way in which we can pay tribute to his memory."

* * *

GDR's Grief

BERLIN: Grief enveloped Berlin as the GDR Radio announced the sad news of Prime Minister Nehru's sudden death. Radio Berlin paid homage to Nehru describing his death as a great loss to humanity.

The Indian community in Berlin mourned the death of Pandit Nehru in a condolence meeting on May 27.

GDR state council chairman Walter Ulbricht in a message to the President of India said that the GDR people shared the sorrow of the Indian people and the entire peace-loving humanity in Nehru's death.

He said that the GDR people and the state council would hold the memory of this great son of the Indian people in permanent honour.

MAGNIFICENT FEAT OF SOVIET SCIENCE

Combined Effort of Men, Machine & Resources
Avert Possible Major Catastrophe

From MASOOD ALI KAAN

MOSCOW: At a press-conference on May 21 Academician E. K. Fyodorov told journalists of the recent unprecedented natural catastrophe in Soviet Central Asia where the half of a big mountain suddenly fell over into the valley of the Zarafshan river forming a huge natural dam across the river; and how with Soviet organisation, machines and modern technique, and, above all, by the self-sacrifice, enthusiasm and all-out devotion of thousands of ordinary Soviet people a major calamity was averted in the nick of time.

On April 24, about a hundred kilometres from Dushanbe, the capital of Tajikistan, a little lower down the spot where the Fan Darya river joins the Zarafshan, a big portion of the mountain Dorivarz, which had been standing firmly on its feet for millions of years, suddenly came crashing down into the valley, and the dam it formed within seconds was of colossal dimensions—as high as a ten-storey building and 600 metres wide. Suddenly the river, which had been flowing normally for centuries found its way blocked by a high mountain, and water started accumulating at a dangerous rate.

The level of the new lake rose fast as the big river could find no outlet. On April 26 it was already 67 metres high, and its volume 9 million cubic metres. Next day it reached 72 metres, and in volume 14 million cubic metres. April 28, level 77 metres, volume 19 million cubic metres. By May 1 it had reached 88 metres and 35 million cubic metres... and it was rising all the time.

The Zarafshan river (as its name suggests) really spreads gold over thousands of hectares of land in Tajikistan and Uzbekistan. For its waters irrigate a huge fertile area, and it is a river which does not fall into the sea or any other river, all its water, till the very last drop, is used up for agriculture. Now the question was what was to happen to the countless collective farms, villages, irrigation canals etc.

ACCUMULATION OF WATER

Water was accumulating at the rate of about five or six million cubic metres per day. If the dam were suddenly to give way this ominous wall of water would sweep everything away from its path. The town of Samarkand itself 150 km down, was not in any danger, as it is situated on high ground. But all round the area, the towns of Penjikent, Bukhara and many villages certainly would have suffered, and imagination staggers at the catastrophe that would have followed.

The first question was how strong the dam was and how long it could hold out. It was found to be strong enough to last at least a few weeks. But even then, by the tenth or eleventh of May, water would reach the top of the barrier and overflowing it start washing it away. Now a chain reaction would set in. The more the earth is washed away from top the more water would flow, and the more it would wash away

the dam, till the huge lake, which would by then contain millions of tons of water, would sweep down the valley.

GRAVE DANGER

A grave danger threatened the whole area. The time was limited and work had to be started at once. And it was started immediately, the first experts reached the far-away spot the same day. A joint staff of government commissions was formed and reached the site, experts rushed to the place and studied the whole problem. And it was decided to dig a canal about one kilometre in length, starting from the lake and cutting right through the dam upto 30 metres in depth and join it to the river below. A tremendous amount of work had to be done. About 250,000 cubic metres of earth had to be shifted within seven to eight days.

Work went on at breakneck speed. It was a feat of courage and endurance to bring the bulldozers and other machines up the narrow mountain path in a hurry. Two thousand collective farmers from the area gathered to help. Everyone worked fifteen, twenty hours a day, during the crucial days.

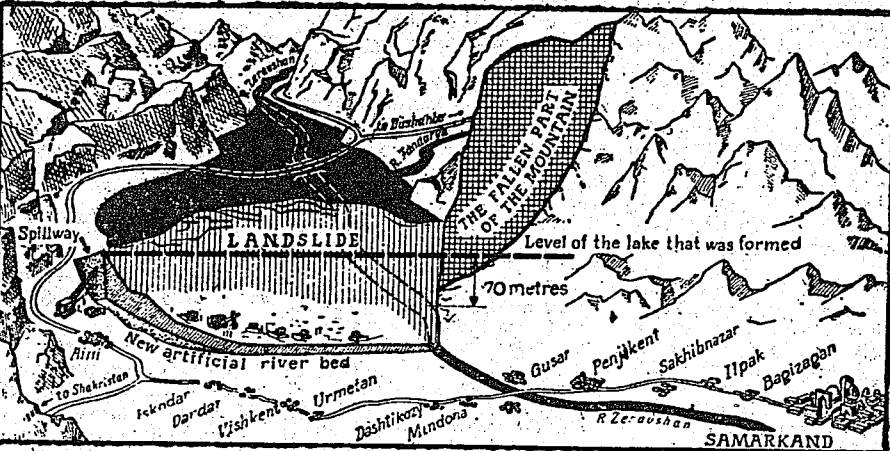
But no amount of digging even with the help of bulldozers, would have succeeded in making the artificial bed for the river in time. And it was decided to do part of the work by means of explosives. For this purpose the rest of the mountain and the valley had to be studied for firmness, for there could be further landslides as a result of the explosions.

Everything was found to be in order. And on the first May a tremendous explosion shook the mountains all around, a hundred thousand cubic metres of earth flew up in the air. It was a grand May Day salute and the thousands who had worked rejoiced, for as the earth settled it was found that a big part of the canal had been dug. The bulldozers went in to deepen and lengthen it further. Then it was deepened by more explosions, which were so managed that the sides of the already dug canal should not fall in. Then again bulldozers took over...

And all down the valley and the irrigation network, thousands of others worked day and night to strengthen dams and walls, to build preventive structures to meet the flood, in case the tremendous waters were to suddenly

ly break through the mountain barrier.

But the heroic builders, engineers, collective farmers made it in time. On the sixth another explosion opened the way to the waters of Zarafshan through the new canal. The river was freed from the grip of the mountain.



FANTASTIC SKIN VISION

FASCINATING STORY OF A SOVIET GIRL

SOME months ago I wrote about the strange phenomenon of "skin vision." Two or three girls were found to be able to see with the help of their finger tips. Now there is more to add which makes the story even more fascinating.

The newspaper SELSKAYA ZHIZN on May 19 carried a photo and an article about an 11-year old schoolgirl, Vera Petrova, from Novochernomshansk, Ulyanovsk province, who was found to possess amazing powers of perception. By closing her eyes and with the help of her fingers she can see through the human body. She can see the heart, liver and other organs functioning, the blood circulating etc., and describes these processes correctly.

The skin of all her body is sensitive in this way. She can distinguish colours, identify photographs and drawings, even when these objects are placed under two three books or the carpet, by using her elbow, feet, shoulder etc.

SEEING THROUGH THE WALL

Once lying on the sofa in the room, she remarked: "Papa, why is auntie weeping in the next room." And she was right, the woman next door was really weeping, and the girl saw through the wall.

At Ulyanovsk a commission of experts was appointed, including professors of psychiatry and medicine, who confirmed Vera's strange phenomenal powers. She

To prevent too much water from rushing down and causing floods the canal was calculated in such a way that the flow of water was to gradually increase as the river itself slowly widened her way through. Within two days there was more water going out of the lake than coming in, and the canal was letting through 800 cubic metres per second.

This is how by cool mind, calm courage, planning, full mobilisation of available resources, mighty technique and heroism of the people the grave calamity which hung over a big area was averted. There was no catastrophe, as the Western press continued to forecast; no one was killed during the construction work. And luckily no one died under the great mountain landslide. Only one lonely tree found itself planted a kilometre away from its place of birth due to

the sudden cataclysm of rock and earth.

POSSIBLE IN SOCIALISM

What would have happened if this calamity in a remote area had come earlier, before the October Revolution which transformed Central Asia? Posing the question is answering it.

What about the future of the dam? Could it not be used for some useful purpose? After all such huge dams are not made easily, and here nature has done the work within seconds. What about building an hydroelectric station there? Well, the whole problem is being studied. It all depends on how strong the natural dam is, and whether it would be economically worthwhile to build an artificial reservoir and power station at that spot.

THE APPEAL

WE join millions of our countrymen in reiterating that Kashmir is an integral part of India and that the accession of Kashmir to India is full, final and irrevocable. Our Constitution has given to accession perpetuity, which no one can take away either in the present or in the future.

We firmly oppose any attempt by interested sections anywhere for turning Kashmir into a cold war issue. As a determined people we shall oppose all such forces that might threaten the sovereignty, integrity and security of India.

We declare once more in these anxious times that our faith in secularism stands as high as ever. We believe that a State which is not based on secular concept cannot make in modern times any social progress. We therefore condemn all those evil elements and forces which for their selfish ends and through narrow-mindedness foment communal violence and thereby tarnish the image of our secular state, disrupt our economic progress and development and sabotage the policy of national integration. We believe that such evil forces, if allowed to function, will discredit India in the eyes of world public opinion.

Any power inside or outside which wants the question of Kashmir to be reopened serves only the cause taken up by the reactionary and imperialist forces which once dominated the continents of Africa and Asia. Equally strongly do we believe that the vested interest or similar forces which encourage communal violence must be suppressed because they too do irreparable damage to all those good values that the nation wishes to build for its solidarity and homogeneity.

Our people have acted with determination on more than one occasion, and have demanded again and again "Hands Off Kashmir". We should not stop at this but go a step forward in disclosing how persistently some of the international forces and specially the imperialist Britain and the United States of America are complicating problems for us at the international level. Their attitude exposes us to new dangers more especially at a critical stage when Pakistan bartered away a part of our territory to China. We also note with regret how dangerous moves are being initiated by some reactionary politicians of India. We declare that we shall oppose all such reactionary suggestions as will compromise in any manner our fundamentals of national or international policies.

We feel that it is time for more concerted and consolidated action. We appeal to all who value the independence of our country to rise to the occasion, organise vigorous public opinion and foil the game of the imperialist powers to endanger our national integrity.

With this end in view, a Convention sponsored by several organisations will take place on May 31 and June 1, 1964 at the Constitution Club, Curzon Road, New Delhi.

We appeal to all individuals and organisations irrespective of their opinions to support and join this Convention, to raise their powerful voice and organise more and more actions.

SOUTH AFRICAN FREEDOM FIGHTERS ARE COMING

On Sunday May 31 will arrive in the capital two of the most outstanding leaders of the South African freedom movement for a three-week tour as guests of the Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity.

Dr. Yusuf Dadoo is known for many years to millions in our country. He was closely associated with the national movement in our country and with Mahatma Gandhi personally, and his courageous struggle against the racist regime in South Africa has made him a world-renowned personality. J. E. Marks is one of the veteran leaders of the African National Congress, whose sacrifices and relentless battle against apartheid have made his name a terror to the racist monsters who rule South Africa today.

The two leaders will be meeting leaders of the nation, of the political parties, of the mass organisations, and will address mass meet-

ings and conferences in U. P., Bihar, West Bengal, Orissa, Assam, Tamilnad, Andhra Pradesh, Mysore, Maharashtra and Goa.

A vast national campaign against colonialism and racism will be launched by the Afro-Asian solidarity movement during their visit. It is hoped that the contacts they make will help to create the conditions for the establishment in India of an office of the South African freedom movement. The Afro-Asian solidarity movement has started the collection of funds to be able to assist in the functioning of such an office and also to be able to send material help to the fighters against apartheid, led by the African National Congress.

NATIONAL CONVENTION ON KASHMIR AND SECULARISM

A National Convention on Kashmir and Secularism takes place in Delhi on May 31 and June 1. A Convening Committee of over 150 personalities, Members of Parliament, eminent figures in the fields of politics, literature, law, science, journalism and the arts and representatives of trade unions, women's and youth organisations has been formed. The All India Peace Council, the Kashmir Committee, the Committee against Communalism and other organisations are taking a leading part in organising the Convention.

K. D. MALAVIYA, former Oil Minister, is Chairman of the Convening Committee. Secretaries include Mir Mushtaq Ahmad (President of the Delhi Pradesh Congress Committee), C. N. Malviya (General Secretary of the All India Peace Council) and Gopal Shastri (Secretary of the Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity).

Among those who are expected to address the open session of the Convention are former Ministers V. K. Krishna Menon and Jagjivan Ram, Communist Party Chairman S. A. Dange, Prime Minister G. M. Sadiq and others.

Addressing a press conference on May 28, K. D. Malviya said that "the purpose of the Convention is to reiterate once more that Kashmir is an inseparable part of India as any other, and further that the accession of Kashmir to India is full, final and irrevocable."

"The Convention" Malviya said "will also reiterate the view of the people of India

that under no circumstances is there any possibility of reopening the question of plebiscite or self-determination for any part of India including that of Kashmir."

Explaining the aims of the Convention further, Malviya said:

"We wish to give expression of resentment of the people and protest against the tactics of some western powers in so far as their support of a wrong cause is concerned. It will give expression also to the will of the people on the question of Kashmir and at the same time emphasise that secularism is a matter of fundamental faith with the people of India. It will call upon the people to desist from evil passions of communalism and stick to those values of nationalism and solidarity which were accepted by the people of India decades ago.

"The Convention will call upon the Indian people to be ready for every sacrifice for the sake of maintaining its secular character because we firmly believe that solidarity based on secularism is the sine-qua-non of a progressive nation. The Convention proposes once more to ask the western powers to keep their hands off Kashmir and to leave this matter entirely in the hands of India and Pakistan to be settled between themselves. We are of the view that Kashmir is not a third power which has to be brought into the problem of settlement as an independent unit. "We are also of the view that aggression of Kashmir committed by Pakistani forces has to be vacated because such a step alone could meet the end of international justice and create permanent understanding between India and Pakistan.

"The Convention is also greatly appreciative of the help and sympathy which India has received on the Kashmir question by most of the socialist countries particularly the USSR. The Convention will reflect the opinion of the people in expressing its gratitude to these foreign friends. "The Convention wishes to emphasise that certain reactionary politicians of India who seek to divert India's attention from its determined Kashmir policy are doing the greatest disservice to the nation, are actually helping Western powers in keeping Kashmir as a cold war issue."

DR. DADOO'S CLOSE CONTACT WITH INDIA

Born in Krugersdorp, South Africa, in 1909, Dr. Yusuf M. Dadoo received his school education in Krugersdorp and at Aligarh College in India where he matriculated. He studied medicine in Edinburgh and qualified in 1936.

On his return to South Africa, Dadoo entered wholeheartedly into the national liberation struggle. He was one of the founders and the first secretary of the Non-European United Front, formed in 1937, which paved the way for the subsequent co-operation between the South African Indian Congress and the African National Congress.

As leader of the nationalist bloc of the Transvaal Indian Congress, he campaigned against the many laws and practices discriminating against the Indian community, and at the same time led the rank-and-file rebellion against the sectional policy of the Indian Congress leaders at that time, demanding that it join forces with the African National Congress leaders at that time, demanding that it join forces with the African National Congress in a common struggle for equal rights and opportunities for all South Africans, irrespective of race or colour.

He was elected President of the Transvaal Indian Congress in 1946, and with Dr. Naicker, newly-elected President of the Natal Indian Congress and Dr. Xuma, President of the African National Congress, opened up a new political road by signing the Dadoo-



Xuma-Naicker Pact for co-operation between Indian and African political organisations in South Africa.

Dadoo was elected President of the South African Indian Congress in 1948 and held this office until 1952 when he was banned by the South African Government under the Suppression of Communism Act from all gatherings and forbidden to hold office in the South African Indian Congress and 40 other progressive organisations.

Convicted many times for political offences, Dadoo has suffered several terms of imprisonment. As early as 1929 he was arrested for participating in a demonstration against the Simon Commission on its return to London.

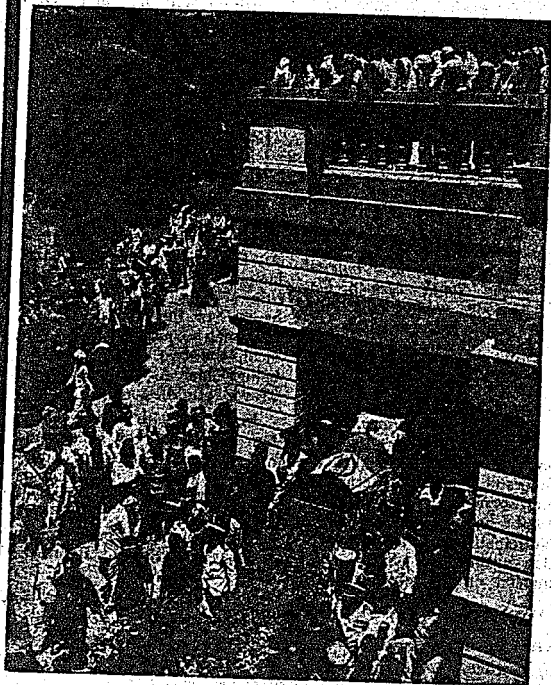
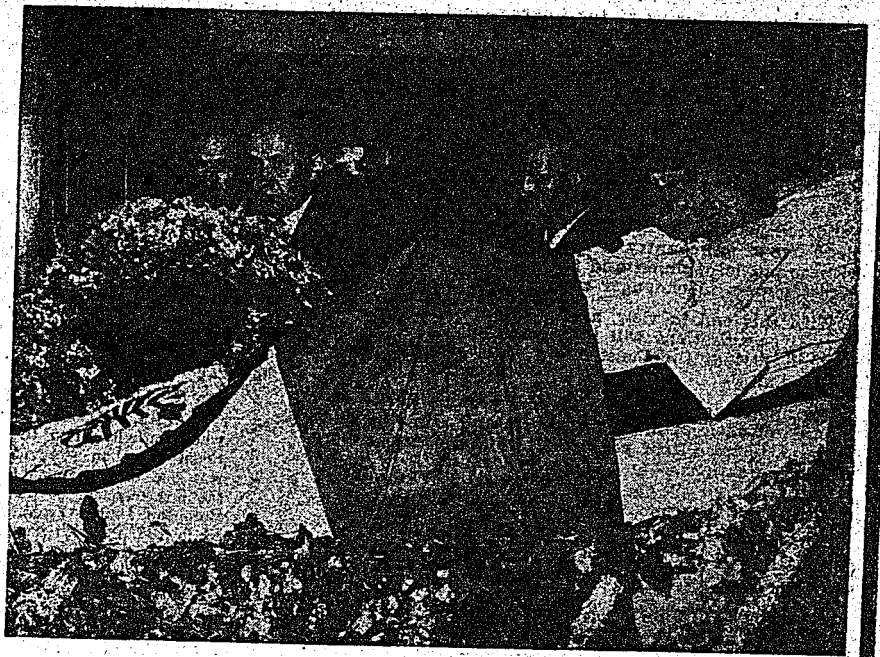
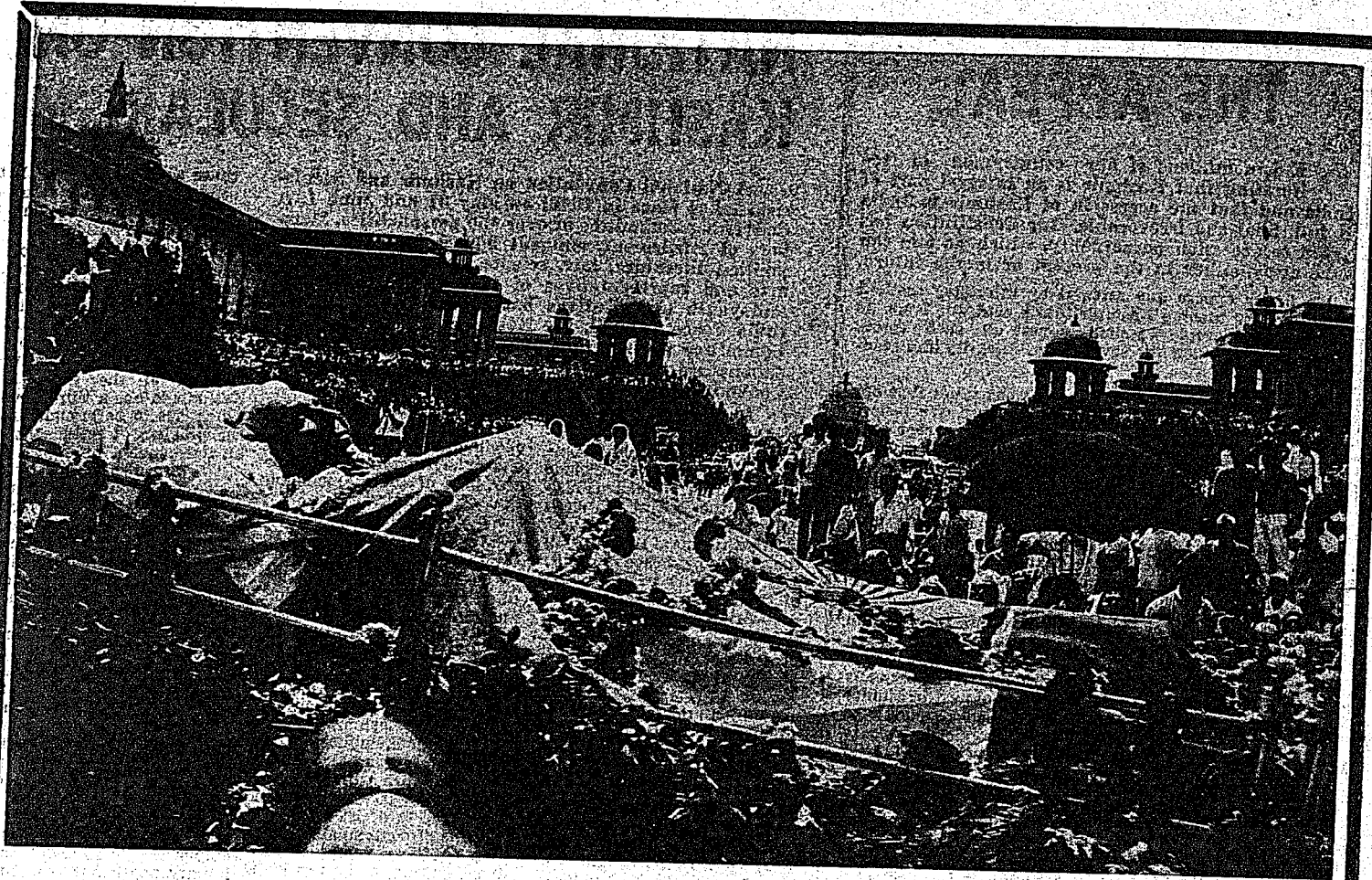
don from India.

In 1940 he served imprisonment with hard labour for having called upon non-Whites not to serve in the war unless they were guaranteed equality with Whites in salary scale and conditions of service; and as a result of his participation in the 1940 Passive Resistance Campaign by Indians against the so-called Ghetto Act of the South African Government, he suffered three separate terms of imprisonment, ranging from three to six months.

Since 1939 Dadoo was in close and constant touch with Mahatma Gandhi. In 1949 when he and Dr. Naicker attended the Asian Conference in Delhi, Mahatma Gandhi specially received them in Patna for discussions on the political struggle of the Indian community in South Africa, in which he had always shown an abiding personal interest.

At the Congress of the People in 1955 where the Freedom Charter was adopted, Dadoo was awarded the honour of "Isitwalandwe" (a title once bestowed upon heroes of the Xhosa for exceptional courage and service), the two other recipients being Chief A. J. Lutuli and Trevor Huddleston.

In 1960, with the Declaration of a State of Emergency and the mass arrest of opposition leaders, Dr. Dadoo escaped from South Africa at the request of the South African Indian Congress, to act as its Official Representative abroad.



Top: Jawaharlal Nehru's body at Vijay Chowk. Middle row (Left): Grief Stricken Indira with Srimavo Bandarnalke, (Right): Soviet First Deputy Prime Minister A. N. Kosygin and the Soviet Ambassador in India L. A. Benediktov placing the wreath. Bottom Row (Left): The beginning of the last journey, (Right): The mortal remains being consigned to fire by Jawaharlal Nehru's youngest grandson—Sanjay.
 (Photos on this page and other pages are taken by Virendra Kumar)

