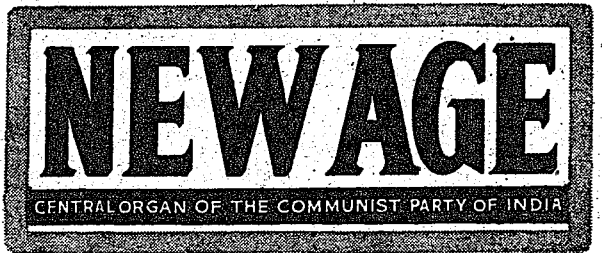


# A MAN NAMED MANUBHAI

## CONCERNING SPEECHES, DOLLARS & CONTRADICTIONS

By THE EDITOR



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**MANUBHAI SHAH'S SPEECH IN NEW YORK ON JUNE 26, AS REPORTED BY THE ASSOCIATED PRESS AND FLASHED IN THE HINDUSTAN TIMES, WAS SO EXPLOSIVE THAT DEPUTY MINISTER OF COMMERCE S. V. RAMASWAMY WAS DRAGOONED INTO ISSUING A "CONTRADICTION" THREE DAYS LATER.**

TURN to page five of this issue and you can have the choicest morsels from this report in A PATRIOT'S NOTEBOOK (written on June 27 and printed off before the "contradiction" was issued). Read what Manubhai was reported to have told the US tycoons of Nehru's policy being abandoned and all the rest. There never has been so servile, so treacherous a bunch of words as the AP report quoted Manubhai Shah as saying. And now a "contradiction" has been issued.

As a matter of fact, the NOTEBOOK anticipated just

such a "contradiction" as Ramaswamy made:

"I would be happy if the Minister with a long tongue issues a contradiction and says that the whole report is the concoction of the reporter's own brew.

"But whether a contradiction comes or not, I am demanding—and I expect every Indian patriot to join me in making this demand—an immediate enquiry into the antics of Manubhai in New York..."

If the government thinks it can whitewash the whole sordid tale by the kind of explanation offered by the Deputy Minister, it is totally mistaken.

In this very issue, ESSEN

in his Economic Notes (page 2) quotes from the PTI report of Manubhai's speech to show that even this report (which cannot be dismissed as the interested distortion of a foreign correspondent) indicates that the Commerce Minister gave the most fantastic definitions of socialism and an amazing picture of the next Plan.

### THE 'TENOR' BUSINESS

Ramaswamy in his "contradiction" says that "the AP report was contradictory to what Shri Manubhai Shah said and completely against the whole tenor of his

speech". Well, take a look at the PTI report. If that is the "tenor", then it is certainly along very similar lines to the AP report.

Again there are some rather odd aspects of this "contradiction".

★ Firstly, why did Ramaswamy have to "contradict" from New Delhi a speech made in New York by Manubhai Shah? Could Manubhai not contradict it himself? Was he so untraceable that he could not be asked to issue a contradiction himself?

★ Ramaswamy admits that the Commerce Minister's speech "was not made from a prepared text". Evidently there was no tape recording available and no shorthand reporter on hand. For, Ramaswamy quotes not a line from the speech and contents himself with saying that he is "quoting Indian official sources in New York".

It never happens that so important a speech by a minister is unrecorded. One has the right to demand the full

text from the tape record or the stenographic record. And if the Indian Embassy in the USA says it has no record available, one will be entitled to draw one's own conclusions from this supposed failure to carry out an elementary normal and routine duty.

★ It is also necessary to point out that at no point in his lengthy, laboured "contradiction" does Ramaswamy say categorically that Manubhai did not say what is attributed to him. There is lots of verbiage about "misrepresentation", about "the tenor" and what not. But one looks in vain for a simple statement indicating what Manubhai did not say and what he did say.

No one is satisfied with the "contradiction". The PTI report itself indicates that Manubhai's performance was not by any means as goody goody as Ramaswamy seeks to make out.

A minister needs the sack who defines socialism as

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### Force Government To Act

## CPI SECTT. CALLS FOR MASSIVE CAMPAIGN

### Form People's Food Committees, Hold Food Conferences

The central secretariat of the Communist Party of India has issued the following statement on the food situation in the country:

THE alarming deterioration in the food situation in the country calls for immediate and effective measures to save millions from starvation and acute distress. It was therefore expected that the Chief Ministers' conference would seriously devise ways and means to introduce state trading in foodgrains, ensure fair prices to the producers and the consumers and enforce penal measures against the hoarders and blackmarketeers.

This conference was in fact expected to give official sanction and concrete shape to a new national policy on food and deal with it as an emergency problem. Its results, how-

ever, have caused universal disappointment.

The policy issues have been deferred and neatly referred to the working committee. The decisions taken by the Chief Ministers go more than half-way to meet the demands of the wholesalers not to disturb the status quo and trust the food thieves themselves to feed the people.

The situation cries aloud for a countrywide mass mobilisation calling upon the government not to surrender to the hoarders and take emergent measures to meet the food crisis and ensure that food becomes available to the people, and the hoarders are dealt with

as anti-social criminals.

Communist Party members and units in several states have already begun to mobilise and unite the people in campaigns for reduction in prices and making cheap food available to the mass of people.

The central secretariat calls upon all Party members and units to organise on a broad united front basis people's food conferences demanding that the government immediately adopt state trading, assure fair prices and implement anti-hoarder measures.

They should also take the initiative to form representative people's food committees on a broad basis in order to develop united actions to unearth the hoards and compel the traders to sell the stocks at the controlled rates.

## BASIS OF UNITY

### CPI Sectt. Reiterates Stand, Discounts Inspired Reports

The following statement was issued by the Central Secretariat of the Communist Party of India on July 1:

A number of misleading and false reports have appeared recently in sections of the press regarding the efforts for Party unity being made by the Central Secretariat of the Communist Party of India, under the direction of the National Council.

SOME of the leaders of the secessionists have also thought it fit to issue their own press statements and make public speeches regarding the unity efforts. These statements, far from helping towards unity, have only reiterated the wrong and totally unacceptable positions taken by them earlier, such as the dissolution of the Secretariat, abolition of posts of Chairman and General Secretary, and the setting up of so-called "agreed" machinery, which in reality means giving the minority the right of veto, and would result in

paralysing the Party. The National Council has rejected these proposals.

In view of the necessity to clear the misunderstandings which may have arisen as a result of these reports and statements, the Central Secretariat considers it necessary to inform all concerned of the steps it has so far taken in pursuance of the decisions of the last meeting of the National Council.

Immediately after the National Council meeting ended the Secretariat sent a copy of

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Forward To Seventh Congress Of CPI

# AFRO-ASIA AND COMMONWEALTH

Two weeks ago, NEW AGE wrote editorially on the Commonwealth Conference, which opens next week in London. Listing the crimes of the British imperialists—the most recent of them—the editorial said: "It is high time for the anti-imperialist Afro-Asian governments attending the Commonwealth conference to make it clear that their countries will quit the Commonwealth if these crimes are not ended here and now."

THE latest news is that President Nkrumah of Ghana is seriously considering staying away from the conference. The British newspaper SUNDAY TELEGRAPH carried a report on June 28:

"President Nkrumah presumably does not feel that any business of great importance will be done at the conference. It has been noted that an attempt will be made at the conference to prevent full and frank discussion on the urgent need for African advancement in Southern Rhodesia."

Evidently at least one of the heads of government scheduled to attend the London conference has given thought to the problem, which must face all anti-imperialists.

Meanwhile Premier Cheddi Jagan of British Guiana has sent an appeal to Commonwealth leaders, insisting that the British Government's repression in British Guiana be discussed at the London conference, and steps taken to halt the imperialists from playing their diabolical game.

It is clear that the Tory Government will refuse to allow any discussion on these urgent questions. President Nkrumah's hesitation to go to London is thus the reaction of a firm anti-imperialist.

Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri's illness may mean his inability to attend the London conference himself. But whoever eventually represents India, what will be his brief?

In view of the large number of representations from the national movements in South Africa, Southern Rhodesia, British Guiana, Aden and Southern Arabia, directly to the participants in the London conference, it will be impossible to avoid taking up these questions... at least for India and other Afro-Asian anti-imperialist representatives. Sir Alec Douglas-Home and his supporters will refuse to discuss these issues. What then?

It is interesting to read a PTI despatch from New York, which tells of the British Government's great hopes of improving Indo-British relations, "which are now at a low ebb", through the personal meetings with the new Prime Minister during the London conference.

The report dated June 28 says: "According to observers, relations between India and Britain, strained since early this year because of Britain's posture on Kashmir, have worsened in the recent past because of India's stand at the UN on certain British colonial issues like Aden, Southern Rhodesia and British Guiana. "Along with other Afro-Asians, India co-sponsored in the colonialism commit-

## END OF KAIRON-RAJ

THE poet said:

This is the way the world ends... Not with a bang, but a whimper...

Kairon-raj had come to a close. Despite all the threats and all the blackmail, the group round Kairon which had made merry all these years have been compelled to accept one of their opponents as Chief Minister. The old gang has gone out with a whimper.

But the appointment of a new Chief Minister at the dictate of the High Command can only be the beginning. Kairon remains at the head of a powerful group of beneficiaries of his raj, among whom are a large number of MLAs, Congress bosses at all levels and officials at the head of districts and departments.

There is no response whatsoever to the demand made for the confiscation of the property and wealth acquired as a result of questionable practices and pressures. Again,

tee, resolutions critical of the British policy and failure to decolonise these territories, and deploring British action in Aden and British Guiana.

"The British have been very much upset by India's co-sponsoring of these resolutions, two of which came up before the committee during the last fortnight."

One feels good to know that the British imperialists are "upset" at our conduct in the UN. One would have felt better still if it had been our Prime Minister who had taken the lead, which President Nkrumah has evidently taken, in expressing Afro-Asian revisionist at British atrocities in its empire, by refusing to attend the Commonwealth conference himself.

## Misinterpreting Basic Policies

AFTER his successful innings at the Geneva Conference on Trade and Development (where he hosted a dinner which pulled off the conference's 'Final Act') Commerce Minister Manubhai Shah obviously decided to do one better in Washington. But in the process he tripped so badly that he had to lean on a politician's proverbial right to ascribe the responsibility for his misdemeanour to news agencies.

Manubhai's speech before the Far East American Council might have been misreported by the American news agency which, for obvious reasons, could be interested in exploiting Jawaharlal's demise to encourage a reversal of our basic policies.

But the version of his speech we have before us is the one given by the Press Trust of India which can surely not be interested in putting words into the minister's mouth. Unfortunately, even this version is not free from observations which should make every Indian sit up and ponder over.

According to this version Manubhai is credited with the remark that "the India of tomorrow would be far more promising than that of yesterday and foreign investments in the fields of petrochemicals, pharmaceuticals and consumer goods, within the broad outline of the national plans, would be doubly welcome."

All of us hope and strive for making our country's tomorrows better than its

yesterdays, but our yardstick to measure its advancement will not be the 'promise' it will offer for foreign tycoons, but the capacity it will develop to free itself of dependence on them.

Manubhai's yardstick is obviously different. It is one that will reckon the country's development in terms of its acceptability to foreign businessmen. The two are manifestly poles apart and no amount of casuistry on Manubhai's part can equate the one with the other.

Manubhai has, of course, referred to 'national plans' as the framework within which foreign investments would be welcome. But it is only a 'broad outline' of this framework he adheres to, and 'broadness' in the context of a series of liberties with the industrial policy resolution and other basic postulates of the plans is merely an euphemism for going against their spirit.

Manubhai is however by no means anxious to show loyalty to the plan's spirit. Socialism, which is our basic objective and which by its very nature involves the abolition of capitalism in economy, is to him "nothing more than peace between the capitalist classes on the one hand and the working classes and agriculturists on the other."

Elaborating this novel concept of socialism he said "India's policy of socialism only meant that through increased production, workers and agriculturists who had nothing now should get some portion of the country's wealth so that peace could be

# Comment

there is no indication that those found guilty by the Das Commission will be debarred from public office and will be expelled from the Congress.

It is these failures on the part of the government which result in continuing lack of confidence in the powers-that-be.

## CHAGLA SPEAKS UP

FOR the last two weeks, NEW AGE has been demanding that the new government should make its position clear regarding the Kashmir issue. Silence on this question had led to suspicions that some sort of unprincipled deal was being cooked under the auspices of the imperialists.

It is in this context that Education Minister Chagla's latest statement in Srinagar is more than welcome. The Minister told newsmen in the Kashmir capital on June 29 before leaving for Delhi: "Kashmir has been, and will always be an integral part of India."

This statement by a responsible member of the Cabinet on the eve of the Common-

wealth conference ought to put an end to the Rightwing clamour for a change of policy on Kashmir.

## RIGHT REACTION ON WAR-PATH

THE Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha has just concluded a meeting in which it has rallied to the cause of the hoarders and profiteers by opposing state trading in foodgrains, in the crudest possible manner.

Meanwhile, Rajaji addressing a public meeting in Bombay declared that the death of Pandit Nehru "has given us a great opportunity" to force the Congress government to change its policies. As if this was not sufficient, he added that "unfortunately we have to build our hopes on the death of a great man."

The Right reactionary forces are up in arms. To them the death of Jawaharlal Nehru is a "blessing".

They must be proved to be wrong. The people can and must ensure this.

(June 30)

—Ramesh Chandra

## Economic notes

with which the Swaminathan committee's recommendations were accepted they had no reason to fear that these would not be made in due course.

The US businessmen had even offered to collaborate with the public sector with a minority participation, although they had earlier frowned upon proposals which permitted the state to have a majority share. Manubhai must have really sounded trite to them when they knew from their experience that all he offered had already been provided to them by TTK.

This brings us to the crux of the problem. If Manubhai was only continuing a process initiated by TTK, how can we accuse him alone and not pay heed to the erosion of our policies towards foreign capital taking place right here in New Delhi?

Manubhai and others who arrogate to themselves the responsibility to interpret our policies while on business tours abroad only echo what they regard as the government's view point. This certainly is a dangerous trend, especially when the government, far from correcting their impression, continues to strengthen it by its action.

But then it should not forget that growing hatred between its actions and plan policies will also create a chasm between it and the people who, with all that they have come to regard as Jawaharlal's legacy, will not tolerate the conversion of our economy into a haven for foreign investors.

—ESSEN

## THE MEMORIAL FUND

### Editorial

PRESIDENT RADHA-KRISHNAN has appealed for contributions to the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund. The fund, it has been announced, will be "truly a fund of the people, drawing support from as wide a cross-section of the community as possible and providing equal opportunity to the rich and the poor alike to share in an united gesture of gratitude to the departed leader."

What will the fund be used for? The President says that it will "eschew in particular mere commemoration through cold and dead structures," it will aim at promoting the purposes dear to Jawaharlal's heart.

Among the purposes listed are: the establishment of accord among nations, peace and goodwill among the peoples, the promotion of science and reason in the service of an ample life, the care of children, the service of the oppressed and banishing ugliness from our villages and towns.

All this appears well worth supporting. And there is no doubt that millions will participate in making contributions according to their capacity, to the Memorial Fund.

It must however, be stated frankly that everything is not clear about this Fund. Is it to be administered purely by government and its agencies? There was a great deal of talk about a broad people's committee crossing party boundaries, which would be responsible for the national memorial to Jawaharlal. What has happened to that proposal?

Nehru was not just a government leader. He has become a symbol of the people's will for progress, for the nation's march forward to its cherished goals.

The Congress government and its bureaucratic machine may well turn the fund into yet another instrument for the exercise of authority—rather than make it the mighty ocean of love and willing contributions, which it can and must be.

The Swatantra leader Rajagopalachari has been quick to describe the fund as another unwelcome tax. He reflects the sentiments only of those who hated all that Nehru stood for. Nevertheless, it would be a mistake not to be vigilant against the ruling bureaucracy which knows only the method of coercion in the collection of any funds administered by government. The memory is fresh of the manner in which the National Defence Fund, which was launched with so much popular support, became in its later phase, often an object of dissatisfaction, because of the repressive manner in which certain bureaucrats sought to collect it.

It is essential to constitute a wide national memorial committee, composed of eminent personalities from all walks of life—who sincerely believe in carrying forward the positive policies pursued by Nehru. A wooden bureaucracy which has nothing in common with the dynamic personality whose memorial is to be built, can never create a worthy monument to the departed leader.

Again, the purposes for which the fund is to be used should be made clear. Too often funds to commemorate the great are utilised for the distribution of patronage and largesse to supporters of the ruling party and to friends and relations of the administering officials.

This must not happen in the case of the Nehru Memorial Fund. The people must insist on the establishment of popular committees at all levels both to collect and administer the Fund.

Then the hundreds of millions in our land will contribute with tremendous joy and gladness to the Fund, for then alone will it be a truly people's fund, then alone will it be a fitting memorial to Jawaharlal Nehru.

(July 1)

## DEFEND PUBLIC SECTOR, FIGHT FOR RIGHTS

### Declaration of Employees' National Conference

"This conference therefore declares that while continuing to support and defend the public sector, to fight for its further extension, the trade unions of public sector employees will also continue resolutely to defend, protect and secure the rights of the workers.

"There is no contradiction between these two aims because it is only on the basis of a satisfied, enthusiastic and conscious working class that the public sector can prosper, and grow and show results... National interests of the public sector have no conflict with the class interests of the workers; the two go hand in hand and any attempt to suppress one at the expense of the other would only do serious damage to the public sector as an instrument of democratic planning for progressive and independent economic development of the country.

"This conference appeals to all trade unions in the public sector, irrespective of their affiliations, to forge a mighty front in order to struggle for the achievement of these noble aims to march forward confidently with unity and organisation for a better future."

THIS is the concluding part of the declaration adopted at the first national conference of the public sector employees held in Bangalore from June 25 to 27, attended by 305 delegates representing 34 unions.

The conference gave a call to observe August 9 as the All-India Public Sector Employees' Demands Day and adopted a number of resolutions including one on the passing away of Jawaharlal Nehru and another on rising prices.

### Great Task

The conference was inaugurated by S. A. Dange, general secretary of the All-India Trade Union Congress. He called upon the employees of the public sector undertakings to realise their vital role and responsibilities in building up an economy in the country free from foreign domination.

He warned the employees against the danger of private capital gobbling up the public sector, by showing up its defects of mismanagement, inefficiency, corruption and bureaucratic administration. He characterised the conference as the first step towards consolidating the three-lakh workers in the public sector industries involving about Rs. 1,300 crores of investments.

He said that public sector employees were participating in the great task of building up socialism through proper working of the state sector. They must be properly rewarded for their efforts which were both creative and patriotic. The employees must organise themselves as employees and wrest their rights and privileges from the government, which should prove to be a model employer.

It is also the duty of the employees to ensure that the public sector grows for the benefit of the people. In this task the employees must have an effective role as regards management of the plants as otherwise the present management by bureaucrats will discredit the public sector. Socialism will have real meaning and content only when the public sector grows properly. There could not be a parallel and simultaneous

growth of both public and private sectors as this would curtail the growth of the public sector, Dange said.

The conference on the next day heard an address by V. K. Krishna Menon who declared that the commanding heights of national economy should go to the public sector so that the people are not held to ransom by private monopoly capital.

Krishna Menon said that for the newly-won political freedom to have meaning and content, it is necessary that economic freedom is guaranteed and guarded against economic imperialism and foreign equity capital.

He said that while there could be no question of recession from the prime position for the public sector, its expansion both in quantity and quality had become very important.

Speaking about the demand of the employees for participation in management, he urged them to think in terms of participating in the whole

process of production effectively.

Krishna Menon said that even the mid-term appraisal of the Third Plan had pointed out that the country's industrial advancement was only due to the public sector. If advance was to be made in a big way, it could be achieved only by the government, because the individuals had not got the necessary resources.

He felt that the public sector was not going so fast as it should. And whatever social transformation had to be achieved should be done only by peaceful means.

The conference was greeted among others, by Indrajit Gupta MP on behalf of the Port, Dock and Waterfront Workers' Federation of India, and G. Sundaram of the National Federation of Metal and Engineering Workers of India. M. C. Narasimhan, MLC, chairman of the reception committee welcomed the delegates and P. K. Kumaran MP read out the messages received by the conference, including one from the late Prime Minister.

The conference discussed a report presented by Satish Loomba, member of the Coordination Committee of the Trade Unions in Public Sector. Satish Loomba in his report outlined the policy which the trade unions should adopt vis-a-vis the public sector. He pointed out that as before the trade unions must continue to defend the public sector, strengthen it and fight for its extension.

At the same time the trade unions must continue to wage an intensive struggle against the malpractices, corruption, wastage and

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## RESOLUTION ON DEMANDS DAY

This National Conference of Trade Unions in the Public Sector expresses its grave dissatisfaction over the continued denial of elementary trade union and democratic rights to the employees of public sector enterprises, and various other grievances in almost all enterprises.

WHILE the employees and their unions have always defended the public sector and worked for strengthening it and extending it, they have also fought resolutely for their demands and in the defence of workers rights and interests, and will continue to do so.

However there is great necessity of coordinating their activities so that all unions and employees can raise their united voice to press their demands, mobilise public opinion all over the country, secure the support of all sections of our people and thus bring pressure on the government and managements to secure the demands and get the grievances redressed.

This conference there-

fore decides to observe an All-India Public Sector Employees Demands Day on August 9 and authorises the Coordination Committee of Trade Unions in Public Sector to take all steps necessary in this behalf.

It appeals to all public sector employees and their trade unions of all affiliation or of no affiliation to observe this day unitedly by holding meetings, demonstrations, wearing of badges and gate meetings. It appeals to all central trade union organisations and all federations of employees in the public sector to join in the observance of this day.

In unity lies our strength. Workers of Public Sector enterprises, unite!



# CPI NATIONAL COUNCIL STRIVES FOR UNITY

The death of Jawaharlal Nehru has brought about a new political situation in India. The forces of internal reaction strive to use this situation for strengthening their positions, make an attempt to change the country's national policy to suit their own interests.

All this greatly increases the responsibility of the democratic, progressive forces of India, which are alone capable of giving a rebuff to reaction. But though potentially big, these forces are divided at present, and there is no unity in their ranks. Unfortunately, there is also no unity in the ranks of the advanced guard of the Indian working people, the Communist Party of India, either.

The so-called "left" group has been active in the ranks of the Communist Party of India for a long time now. This group has openly declared its disagreement with the overwhelming majority of the National Council of the Party elected at the last, the 6th, Party Congress, and threatens the Party with a down-right split.

The struggle of this group against the National Council became particularly acute after the aggravation of the Sino-Indian frontier conflict in the Himalayan areas at the close of 1962, and after the open calls of the leadership of the Communist Party of China—in JENMIN JIHFAN issues in March 1963 and February 1964—for splitting the Communist Party of India and forming a new, "revolutionary," party in India.

Disagreements within the leadership of the Communist Party of India happened before. But prior to the downright instigation on the part of the CPC leadership these disagreements used to be solved within the Party and did not result in a split. Now the CPC leadership is trying hard to change the situation and egging on a part of the CPI cadres to a split and to setting up a parallel party.

At the plenary meeting of the National Council of the Communist Party of India, held last April, a part of the council members affiliated with the "left" group, as well as executive committee members, Namboodripad and Jyoti Basu, adhering to the so-called "centrist" positions (all in all, 32 people out of 100) ostentatiously left the plenary

meeting and issued their statement in which, apart from accusations and attacks of personal nature levelled at the Chairman of the National Council, Dange, they expressed their disagreement with the political line of the Council.

Their principal charge is that the National Council has, allegedly, departed from the line worked out at the 6th Party Congress and strives for a joint front with the ruling party, the Indian National Congress.

## UNFOUNDED CHARGES

The National Council has rejected these charges as unfounded and used as a pretext for a split. The resolution of the April plenary meeting of the National Council points out that the line of the National Council is in full accord with the political line of the 6th Party Congress, adopted despite the opposition of the "leftists" who tried to impose their own line on the Congress.

The resolution also stressed that those who started an open struggle against the National Council, accusing it of forgetting the interests of the masses, did it right at the moment when the masses, led by the Communist Party of India, launched a struggle for their economic and democratic demands. It was precisely under the leadership of the National Council that for the first time in the Party's history a mass movement, unprecedented for its scale, was launched against monopolies and anti-popular elements in the government.

The resolution mentioned, for example, the campaign, led by the Party, as a result of which more than 11,000,000 signatures were collected under a people's petition advancing the working people's demands to improve their poor living standards.

Rejecting accusations against the National Council and condemning the activity aimed at

splitting the Party the April plenary meeting of the National Council took a decision "suspending" thirty-two comrades from the Party. At the same time it appealed to those who left the plenary meeting to stop factionalist activities and to solve their disagreements with the National Council by inner-Party methods observing of Party Rules and norms of Party life.

On May 29, the Central Secretariat of the National Council of the CPI came out with fresh initiative aimed at the restoration of the Party unity. It addressed a letter to the thirty-two comrades "suspended" from the Party.

The letter points out that the question of the Party unity is always an important question, but in the new situation, which has arisen in the country after Nehru's death, this question acquires an added urgent importance.

Nehru's death, the letter further reads, will sharpen the contradictions in the ruling class and confront the country and the toiling masses with the problem of preserving whatever was progressive in Nehru's policy and defeating attempts of the Right forces to change the country's course in a reactionary direction.

The democratic forces in the country, including the democratic forces in the Indian National Congress, the letter reads, are capable enough to defeat reaction and take the country forward on the path to progress. But this calls for their unity, the unity of the entire Communist Party of India in the first place.

Not the Communists alone, but the masses in general feel, great anxiety over the fact that the Party is divided and is on the brink of a split. The Central Committee called upon the thirty-two "suspended" comrades to rise above the considerations of prestige and to take steps on their part towards the restoration of the Party's unity.

## ANXIETY FOR UNITY

"We of the Secretariat," the letter says, "are deeply anxious to be able to place before the coming meeting of the National Council a proposal that the suspension resolution against all of you, comrades, be immediately rescinded. But in order to be able to do this, we would earnestly appeal to you to take the obvious steps of dissolving the rival committees. You have set up, and declaring your willingness to abide by the decisions of the Party bodies at all levels.

"We believe that the urgent national situation demands such steps by you and by us." However, this appeal for unity was not heeded by those to whom it had been addressed. On May 31 the Central Secretariat received a reply to this letter signed by ten comrades out of the 32, including Comrades Namboodripad and Jyoti Basu. They put the blame for the situation that had arisen in the Party on the "policies and practices" of the National Council of the Communist Party of India, which allegedly "uses its majority" for suppressing the minority.

The letter called for dissolving the Central Secretariat till the Party congress and abolishing the posts of Chairman and General Secretary of the Party. It proposed instead that "all the jobs of political and organisational guidance of the Party

Following is an article that appeared in PRAVDA on June 23 written by its Delhi Correspondent on the splitting activities in the CPI and unity efforts made by the National Council of the Party. We are reproducing it in NEW AGE for information of Party members.

—Editor.

would have to be done by the Central Executive Committee through some mechanism evolved by agreement.

In response to this letter of the ten, the Central Secretariat replied in another letter, dated June 2, that it deeply regretted the fact that these comrades had rejected the earnest appeal for Party unity.

"It is amazing," the letter of the Secretariat reads, "that your reply has not one word to say about the problems facing our people today following the passing away of the late Prime Minister. It is evident that your attitude springs from a complete failure to see the new situation and to suppress old prejudices and factional interests in the light of this new situation, which calls not for a prolongation of polemics and mutual recriminations but for positive steps for Party unity."

The difficulties that have arisen in the Communist Party of India cause great rejoicing among the Indian reactionaries. At the same time, these difficulties and the threat of a split cause the serious alarm and anxiety not only of all the Indian Communists earnestly striving for preserving the unity of the Party, but also of the broad democratic circles of the country.

## HOPES BELIED

The letter of the Secretariat points out that the reply of the ten comrades "is one which has nothing in common with the desire for Party unity, which is the dominant reaction of thousands of members of our Party, irrespective of their views on other questions."

"The Secretariat," the letter reads on, "sincerely hoped that the new situation would awaken in you a sense of urgency and you would be prepared, as we were and are, to forget and put aside... the rigid position which had been adopted earlier."

The letter re-emphasises that the "dissolution of the rival committees" and the "abandonance by the decisions of the Party bodies" is an elementary step towards the restoration of Party unity. The letter of the Secretariat rejects the accusation contained in the reply of the ten that allegedly it was not the factional activities of some comrades that was the cause behind the split, but the "disciplinary actions of the National Council against those comrades."

"The setting up of rival committees," the letter points out, "the launching of rival journals, the setting up of rival candidates in the Rajya Sabha elections in Andhra Pradesh—all these were parts of a consistent line pursued by a certain group, with a view to establish a rival Party, with an ideological standpoint in complete contradiction to that of the Party and the international Communist movement."

The Secretariat's letter rejects the proposal of the ten concerning the dissolution of the Central Secretariat and the abolition of the posts of Chairman and General Secretary of the National Council till the Party Congress. This proposal, the letter says, means in fact the complete

scrapping of all Party bodies and offices. The letter stresses that the National Council was elected by the Party Congress and the proposal on its actual dissolution is "fantastic."

"We have again and again suggested," the letter of the Secretariat says, "united preparations for the Seventh Congress of the Party. We invited you to attend... the meetings of the Drafting Commission. But you have refused to do this. Again, let us repeat, it is not enough to talk of united preparations for the Party Congress; it is necessary to show by your actions your sincere desire for such united work."

The difficulties that have arisen in the Communist Party of India cause great rejoicing among the Indian reactionaries. At the same time, these difficulties and the threat of a split cause the serious alarm and anxiety not only of all the Indian Communists earnestly striving for preserving the unity of the Party, but also of the broad democratic circles of the country.

"They are well aware of the fact that the split in the Communist Party of India and as its inevitable consequence—the weakening of the positions of the Communist Party—would also mean the weakening of the positions of the entire democratic movement in India and the strengthening of the forces of reaction."

## NATIONAL COUNCIL MEETING

A regular plenary meeting of the National Council of the Communist Party of India was held in Delhi from June 7 to 17. The plenary meeting discussed and approved the draft CPI programme, a document on the ideological differences in the international Communist movement and other important documents in preparation for the forthcoming 7th Congress of the Party which is planned to be held in November this year.

At the plenary meeting of the National Council of the CPI again devoted much attention to the search for ways of achieving and strengthening the unity of the Party. It addressed a new appeal to the 32 comrades and to each one of them separately to end the factional activities, to return to the ranks of the Party and abide by its decisions.

Not only the Indian Communists, but also all the genuinely progressive and democratic forces in India are deeply concerned over the situation in the Communist Party and are interested in restoring the unity, strengthening the positions of the CPI, and enhancing its role in the political life of the country.

## CORRECTION

The eleventh paragraph of the National Council's resolution on the Seventh Party Congress (published in NEW AGE, June 28—Page 7) should read as under: "The Party membership of 1962 which closed on June 30, 1963 with additions in terms of the National Council resolution of January 17, 1964 but excluding such Party members who join the rival party organisations will form the basis of electing delegates to the Party Congress and Party conferences at various levels."

—Editor.

In sharp contrast to the bombast with which the announcement about the Chief Ministers conference to discuss the price rise was made, the conference itself ended in a whimper. The Chief Ministers did not show any inclination for strong words, let alone action; nor were they asked to do so by the Central leaders.

The main issue which the conference discussed was not the price spiral; it was the shortage in foodgrains, particularly rice and wheat. The shortage of rice and wheat is important by itself; but it forms only a part of the issue of rising prices.

The conference's preoccupation with the shortage of rice and wheat might have been due to the surmise that it was shortage which was pushing up the prices—a premise which is not borne out fully by facts.

It is true that shortage in rice and wheat is one of the reasons for the increase in their prices, but not the sole one. Even where there are only marginal deficits or no deficit at all, prices have gone up. And the rise in prices is for all the essential commodities, not just for those which are scarce. The increase in prices of sugar, mustard oil, vanaspathi, vegetables, fish, meat, clothing—in short everything that man needs to sustain life—is analogous to the rise in

## INSIGNIFICANT CHANGE ON THE FOOD FRONT

# FAILURE TO TAKE FIRM MEASURES

By Pauly V. Parakkal

prices of rice and wheat. Nobody can claim that these articles are also in short supply in the country.

Yet the Chief Ministers chose not to even notice this aspect of the problem. The conference busied itself with the "movement" of rice and "wheat, the zones" and the rest of it.

Ultimately no decision to check the prices of even rice

and wheat emerged. Only some zones were cancelled; some restrictions on movements removed—and it was piously hoped that all would end well.

Of course, there was the customary "warning" to the trade to "behave" itself, this time administered by no less a person than Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri. What if the trade did not "behave" was left as vague as possible.

Even Finance Minister T. T. Krishnamachari, who had only weeks before declared there was no way out of state trading in foodgrains, was satisfied with announcement of a cut in central government's expenditure by Rs. 70 crores, and an exhortation to the states to follow suit.

It was good as far as it went; for any reduction in non-productive expenditure is likely to reduce the inflationary pressure on the economy. But to expect that it would bring down the runaway prices is the height of naivete. Also, it remains to be seen how much reduction in governmental expenditure can actually be effected.

Half-hearted and touching only the fringe of the problem were the proposals made by Food Minister C. Subramaniam to set up a state trading corporation and a high-level technical agency on prices. But even these the conference has unceremoniously brushed aside.

The Food Minister had put much emphasis on the price agency. Instead, what emerged from the conference was that "a scientific study would be undertaken immediately with a view to fixing the maximum price of rice and wheat in different states."

So, till the study is "undertaken" and a decision on it (will such a decision be taken ever?) is also taken, the prices would continue to go up. "The government has no remedy to it at all."

## Only Promise

The only promise made in this regard was that the states will be given as much rice and wheat as they required "for the next two months" from the buffer stocks held by the Centre. The states were being supplied large quantities of both the grains from the buffer stocks for the last four months. That did not keep the price line in check. And what guarantee is there that it would do so in the future, especially when the traders know that if supplies from the United States did not come, there would be no stocks at all with the Centre?

Subramaniam's proposal to set up a foodgrains trading corporation "found support from many Chief Ministers", according to official sources.

The proposal itself was careful not to offend the food-grain dealers: it would not have disturbed the "normal channels of trade". In other

ON PAGE 14

## A PATRIOT'S NOTEBOOK

### ANTICS OF MANUBHAI

AN A.P. report from New York, dated June 26 has this to say:

"India's Minister of Commerce Manubhai Shah made clear today that his country has abandoned the late Prime Minister Nehru's policy of suspicion of private business and embarked on a favourable attitude towards foreign investment."

"He told about 75 US businessmen at a luncheon here: 'India is on the threshold of a new era with Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri, and more propitious circumstances now exist for foreign investment.'"

Just in case you have any doubt about what dear Manu meant, the report goes on to be more explicit: "Throughout his talk, Mr. Shah compared figures of 'the past two years'."

"It was apparent" he was listing the merits of the new men in India's leadership who began taking office after Nehru became ill..."

If, in order to cajole the US imperialists to part with their dollars, our ministers have to denounce Jawaharlal Nehru just one month after his death—we are assuredly on the threshold of really bad days for the country."

The antics of Manubhai are the writing on the wall. Are all the solemn pronouncements and broadcasts about preserving the Nehru line only meant to fool the Indian people? And are they to be put in cold storage the moment a minister starts lurching with a gang of US tycoons and blood-suckers?

I would be happy if the minister with the long tongue issues a contradiction and says that the whole report is the concoction of the reporter's own brew.

But whether a contradiction comes or not, I am demanding—and I expect every Indian patriot to join me in making this demand—an immediate enquiry into the antics of Manubhai in New York. And if he said what he is reported to have said, there better be a contradiction of his views by government—and marching orders for the dollar-worshipper.

I can't resist giving you the last gem of the report of Manubhai's treatise on "How to Win

### Dollars and Influence Tycoons

Asking the millionaires not to worry if there is a little delay sometimes in accepting their investment offers, the Minister said:

"Once you are there (i.e. entrenched in India), you will be for 200 or 300 years more, so what is a couple of months?"

Did I hear someone talking about Bhubaneswar? And SOCIALISM? Don't make us laugh! The generations to come, 200 to 300 years hence, will remember the gems which fell from Manu's lips...

### J.P.'s MESSAGE OF LOVE AND TRUST

JAYA PRAKASH NARAYAN has once again spoken up on the food situation. This is as it should be. All leaders, all contenders for places in the cabinet, must shed their tears dutifully and bemoan the food crisis.

But Jaya Prakash Narayan was once a socialist. And one would expect that the solutions he proposes have a whiff of socialist ideas in them, at least.

Jaya Prakash Narayan is a Sarvodaya leader. And Sarvodaya preaches equality. And so one would expect that when he speaks of the food crisis, he would identify himself with the masses, who suffer today at the hands of the hoarders and profiteers.

Now what does JP say? Well, he has said it again. In Madras on June 26, JP declared once more:

"I am against state trading." Each time he repeats this opposition I am sure the hoarders and profiteers whoop with delight. For what could be better than having the support of a one-time socialist, and a Sarvodaya knight-at-arms of today?

JP pleads that "if responsible traders and trade organisations were taken into confidence, and trust was reposed on them, at least the distribution muddle might be considerably eased." (PTI)

The message of love and trust is always so touching—especially when it is a plea to the hungry to "trust" the man eaters!

### HONOURABLE INDIAN M.P.s

WHEN I titled my notebook two weeks ago "Ten Honourable MPs,"

I never dreamt I would wake up to find their photograph frontpage in Birla's HINDUSTAN TIMES, standing under a banner on which these words are clearly written: "Welcome to Honourable Indian Parliamentarians."

The Ten, in this four-column splash picture, are to be seen at Taipei airport, and the caption below reads like a fanfare: "For the first time a delegation of Indian MPs is on a visit to Nationalist China. Members of the delegation pose for photographs with their Chinese hostesses at Taipei airport."

Hostesses? Oh yes, I forgot to describe the pretty picture to you. A row of the Ten MPs garlanded standing, and in front of them, squatting, a row of pretty hostesses.

Well I don't know whether it was the warmth of the welcome that went to his head, or if it was part of the pre-planned racket—but the "leader" of the "delegation"—Swatantra magnate Dahyabhai Patel openly declared, as he left the US-Chiang Kai-shek-held island, that "his mission's week-long visit in Formosa had paved the way for possible revival of good relations between India and Kuomintang China... he said he believed that re-establishing of diplomatic relations between the two countries was possible in future." (HINDUSTAN TIMES, June 25)

There is still complete silence on the part of the Government of India against this so-called "parliamentary delegation." Even this fantastic nonsense peddled by Dahyabhai Patel remains unanswered till today.

But I am glad my taking up this issue has already led to certain other democratic sections of the press also raising their voice of protest and demanding the government make it clear that it repudiates all the vile reactionary nonsense which has been uttered by "the Honourable Parliamentarians' delegation" in the Asian empire of the US imperialists.

—Ramesh Chandra (June 27)

## PRINCIPLED APPROACH

### \* FROM FRONT PAGE

resolution on Party Unity adopted by the National Council separately to each of the 32 suspended members with the resolution was also sent a covering letter signed by the Chairman of the Party, Comrade S. A. Dange, which said:

"We hope you will give due consideration to this resolution and find your way to responding to it in the spirit in which it has been adopted."

The Secretariat has not yet received a reply to this letter in writing from any of the 32 suspended members.

In the meanwhile, three members of the Secretariat have had talks with Comrade E. M. S. Namboodripad during his recent visit to Delhi. These talks with Comrade E. M. S. Namboodripad and with any other of the 32 suspended members who may express a desire to meet the Secretariat, are being conducted by the

Secretariat on the basis and within the terms of the National Council resolution.

The National Council had made it clear that "as soon as the 32 comrades or any of them intimate their willingness to return to the National Council, abide by the decisions of the National Council, dissolve or disassociate themselves from all parallel Party organisations set up at different levels, the suspension order against those who do so shall stand rescinded."

The National Council has categorically stated that once this step has been taken, "other points of difference can be discussed and resolved satisfactorily, thus enabling the Party to move unidivided to the Seventh Party Congress."

The Central Secretariat is working for Party unity strictly on the basis of the principled approach laid down by the National Council.



# IS THERE ANY ENTENTE BETWEEN CPI & CONGRESS ?

**Q.** Since the CPI so boldly declares that the Congress is not its main enemy, why does it not openly admit its friendship with the Congress? (S. N. Bannerjee, Ballygunge, Calcutta).

**A.** Whether boldly or not the CPI does, indeed, declare that the Congress as a whole is not its main enemy. Nor is this a declaration made today when the "pure revolutionary Marxist-Leninist" have left it and the "revisionists" are in full control. This was the declared policy of the CPI since the Palghat Party Congress of 1956.

True, there was a time when the CPI did consider the entire Congress as its main enemy and deemed it its duty to build an anti-Congress front as such. A full fledged thesis to this effect was worked out in the 1948 second Congress of CPI.

The main theoretical basis of this thesis was that the national bourgeoisie, whose representative the Congress was, had capitulated to imperialism, gone over to the imperialist-feudal combine. Later, this thesis was developed further to the formulation that the national bourgeois leadership of the Congress had become the spearhead of counter-revolution and that the main blow of the people's democratic revolution had to be delivered against it.

## EQUAL EVALUATION

It was further emphatically stated that there was no real difference between various Congress leaders, specifically between Nehru and Patel. They were all dubbed counter-revolutionary servitors of imperialism, feudalism and of the bourgeoisie which had surrendered.

Later, there was a small amendment to the effect that only the big bourgeoisie had gone over to imperialism and it was this capitulationist big bourgeoisie that the Nehru government and the Congress represented.

Building on this theoretical generalisation the CPI concluded that India was not independent, that no development of the economy could take place, that mass discontent would, therefore, mount by leaps and bounds and very soon a revolutionary crisis would develop and the capture of power by the people's

democratic front would be accomplished.

## NEW AND CORRECT ASSESSMENT

It was this understanding that was given up at Palghat in 1956 and the new understanding developed and carried forward at Amritsar in 1958 and Vijayawada in 1961. The excuse of the new understanding was that the national bourgeoisie had gone over to imperialism, that its contradictions with imperialism remained, that it continued its dual role of opposition and compromise with imperialism.

The national bourgeoisie aimed at building an independent capitalist India, without smashing the link with imperialism and the feudals but by placing the main burden of capitalist development on the people heaping misery and exploitation on them.

Therefore, the CPI resolved on a dual policy towards the national bourgeoisie and its political representative, the Congress. It placed before the people an alternative path of national democratic development and called on the people to struggle for it both against the compromising tendency of the national bourgeoisie vis-a-vis imperialism and feudalism as well as against its policy of capitalist development.

At the same time the CPI called upon the people to unite with the national bourgeoisie on such of its policies as oppose imperialism and feudalism as well as help independent national development.

It went further to state that the main division of the democratic forces was between the masses following the Congress and those following the democratic opposition. The healing of this division was put forward as the most important tactical task of the CPI.

Later the line was further developed at Amritsar and Vijayawada mainly in the direction of pointing to the growing differentiation in the

national bourgeoisie and the emergence of Right reaction, which included the Rightwing of the national bourgeoisie.

The CPI pointed out that the forces of Right reaction were not only to be found in the counter-revolutionary parties like the Swatantra, Jan Sangh, Akalis, Muslim League and so on. They were also powerfully entrenched in the Congress at all levels of the government and the organisation.

These forces of Right reaction were mobilising to shift the Congress and its government to the Right and to smash the national democratic forces within and outside the Congress as a prelude to establishing their extensive rule.

These Rightist forces taken together were the main enemy of the Indian people as they struggle to complete the national-democratic revolution. The CPI put forward a line of unity of all national democratic forces including the masses following the Congress as well as Congressmen and even sections of the Congress leadership, to counter this threat.

## UNDERSTANDING CONCRETISED

This understanding of the CPI was further concretised as reality developed with the resolution of the Central Executive Committee on the Bhubaneswar session of the Congress. It is of interest to recall that E. M. S. Namboodiripad and Jyoti Basu voted in favour of this resolution which was passed only some five months ago.

That resolution noted that while there had been no shift to the Left in the Congress, the Left within the Congress had shown great assertiveness and courage. It welcomed this development. Nowhere in that resolution was the Congress described as the main enemy.

Simultaneously, the Congress as a whole and as it was not and has not been described as the friend of the people, with whom the CPI should strive for a general united front. The strength of Right reaction in the Congress, i.e., of the main enemy of the people, was noted. It was further noted that the democratic forces in the Congress, including sections of its leadership, had not given up the policy of compromise and even alliance with Right reaction.

Hence, the CPI sternly warned against the deviation of looking upon the Congress as a whole and as it is as an anti-Right force with which a general united front should be built to combat the main enemy of the national-democratic revolution i.e., Right reaction.

The questioner obviously, is an adherent of the formal logical method, of the theory of either: or. Either the Congress as a whole is the main enemy of the people or it is as a whole the friend of the

people. But life has its own logic which does not always conform to the canons of formal logic, as Marx and Engels long ago told us. The Congress, unfortunately for the questioner contains both the main enemy as well as the friends of the people.

Furthermore, life is never still nor is the Congress. The developments in independent

of independent base of the Indian economy and the rise in the consciousness of the people and of their organisation, the national democratic forces also developed, including those in the Congress.

All this is a reflection of the objective contradictions engendered by independent capitalist development in In-

## YOUR QUESTIONS ANSWERED

India and in the world have their impact on the Congress.

With the growth of the concentration of economic power the strength of Right reaction increases.

But with the tilting of the balance of world forces in favour of socialism and democracy, with the growth

dia in the new epoch, when the world socialist system determines the main trend of world social development and when new possibilities emerge of national democratic non-capitalist development in the newly independent countries including India.

—MOHIT SEN

## MAHARASHTRA TUC's CALL TO UNIONS

### CONSIDER ANOTHER "BOMBAY BANDH"

**BOMBAY:** The Maharashtra Rajya Trade Union Committee of the AITUC has called upon all the trade unions in the city to consider another BOMBAY BANDH action to compel government to take effective measures against the rise in the prices of foodgrains.

In a statement issued on June 26, the MRTUC has expressed grave concern at the inordinate rise in prices of foodgrains and other essential commodities. The statement says:

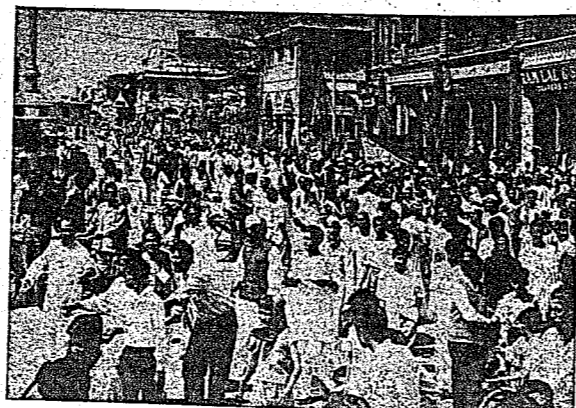
"It is now generally accepted, even by the spokesmen of the government that the present inordinate price-rise has been caused, mainly by the hoarding and profiteering activities of the unscrupulous trading class. But equally responsible factor, is the bankrupt policies of the government in this behalf and its corrupt administration.

"Instead of taking over the wholesale trade in foodgrains and nationalising the banking industry—the main source of credit for the hoarders and black-marketeers, the government is again and again entrusting the distribution to

the private traders and giving them all facilities.

"The working class and the people must now act to force the government to change their policies and to bring round the unscrupulous trading class. The only protest action that can be effective in this connection would be a BOMBAY BANDH action. The working class and the people of the city would come forth to support a call for such action, if the trade unions came forth unitedly to give such a call."

The MRTUC has requested all the trade unions to consider this action and to take a united decision in this regard. Meanwhile, the MRTUC has decided to organise on June 30 a protest demonstration before the office of the Wholesale Graindealers' Association at Mandvi.



The All India Peace Council has decided to launch a Nehru Memorial Peace Campaign which will last till November 14 next, the 75th birthday of the late Prime Minister. The campaign will take the form of collection of signatures on the Nehru Memorial Peace Pledge, conferences, seminars and meetings to be organised throughout the country.

**THE** Peace Pledge says: "We solemnly pledge ourselves to do all that lies within our power to uphold, continue and strengthen the policies of peace pursued by our beloved Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru—the policy of peaceful co-existence, nonalignment, disarmament and opposition to imperialism and colonialism."

The decision to launch the peace campaign was taken at a two-day emergency meeting of the Peace Council in New Delhi on June 27 and 28.

Delegates from ten states attended the meeting. Among the important leaders who took part in the deliberations of the council were Dewan Chaman Lal MP, Arjun Arora MP, Sangeet Samrat Pandit Omkarnath Thakur, Romesh Chandra and former MP Onkarnath.

V. K. Krishna Menon also addressed the Peace Council session and appealed for support and cooperation for the forthcoming world conference for international cooperation and peace.

The council later decided to give its full support to the conference sponsored by a broad preparatory committee and scheduled to be held on and from November 14 next.

It was decided that while conducting the peace campaign, greatest care should be taken to seek the cooperation of all sections of people to make it one of the widest supported movements ever seen in the country.

The Peace Council, in a condolence resolution on Jawaharlal Nehru, said that "struggling to achieve the objectives and ideals of Jawaharlal Nehru for world peace will be the most fitting memorial that we can build to our beloved leader."

In a letter to Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri, the council welcomed his broadcast to the nation and assured all cooperation in continuing the policy of peace enunciated by Jawaharlal Nehru.

It said: "It has been a matter of deep satisfaction to the All India Peace Council and

## LETTERS

### Communist Baiting Boomerangs

**C**OMMUNIST-baiting is a favourite pastime of the anti-Communist press. A recent instance of how, at least occasionally, this boomerangs on them was provided in a court case here.

Sixty maunds of contraband tobacco was seized from a house in village Rampur in Saran district. A Communist 'mukhya', Bijal Singh, was a witness to this. But when it was reported in the Hindi daily ARYAVARTA (October 24, 1960) it came out as if 60 maunds of contraband tobacco had been seized from the house of the Communist 'mukhya'.

Bijal Singh filed a defamation suit against the paper in the first class munsiff court at Copalganj. On June 16, the munsiff fined the editor of the paper, Sreekanth Thakur Vidyalankar, and its correspondent, Saryu Prasad Shastri, one thousand rupees each.

Gopalganj

DHARMDEO VERMA

## CATCH REAL CULPRITS

**R**ECENTLY the whole of India deplored the tragic fate of people in Vijayawada who had to suffer at the hands of hoodlums who set fire to their houses. Arson and incendiarism were committed with impunity.

The Brahmananda Reddy government has not yet been able to bring to book the culprits, though it is the elementary duty of any government to safeguard the life and property of people.

If the Ministry in power feels it difficult to discharge its elementary duties, it is better they step down and allow more efficient people to assume office. It

might be recalled that when our present Prime Minister was the Railways Minister, he resigned following a serious railway accident.

So, the Andhra government should take immediate steps to find out the real culprits in the Vijayawada fires and bring them to book. Also, immediate help should be rushed to the suffering people.

Nellore 19-6-64.

A. ANJANEYULU GUPTA

## WHY BRITISH LEGACY AS NEHRU MEMORIAL ?

**T**HE Government of India is reported to have decided to turn the bungalow at Teen Murti into a Nehru Memorial Museum where some of his personal effects as well as photographs and letters and such other materials on the late Prime Minister will be put up in a permanent exhibition.

Nobody could have thought of a worse memorial to Jawaharlal Nehru. The house at Teen Murti was only the official residence of Nehru as the Prime Minister of India. There is no personal attachment for Nehru to that house nor that house to Nehru. Then why this memorialising of this house built for the commander-in-chiefs of the British days?

If at all that house could have been turned into a memorial for Nehru it would have been by turning it into a hospital for children—children whom Nehru so loved and who in return loved him with all their heart. It could have been named the "November 14 Hospital" commemorating both Nehru and his love for children.

New Delhi K. S. RAJAN

## All-India Peace Council Initiates

# NEHRU MEMORIAL PEACE CAMPAIGN

By OUR STAFF CORRESPONDENT

indeed to the peace movements in every country of the world to hear and read your strong and determined pronouncements pledging yourself and your government to continue and strengthen this policy of peace."

## WARNING AGAINST RIGHT REACTION

However, the Peace Council warned that "during the last fateful month, when the architect of nonalignment is no more with us, the reactionary forces have again raised their voices for a reversal of the Nehru policies."

"The enemies of nonalignment hope that in the absence of the architect there will be certain weaknesses and vacillations which can be made the starting point for a change in direction desired by them.

"The All India Peace Council is confident that these hopes of the reactionary forces in the country will be frustrated as effectively as they have been all these years since we won our independence."

The letter concluded: "The council believes that united action by all who stand for the policy of peace can build the greatest memorial to Jawaharlal Nehru by continuing and strengthening the noble principles for which he lived and died. In the coming days, our movement will initiate a series of measures towards this end, in all of which we humbly seek your encouragement and cooperation."

The council decided to observe July 20, the tenth anniversary of the Geneva Agreements on Indo-China, as the "Day Against Brinkmanship in Asia", to mobilise Indian public opinion against the grave threat of war engineered by the American imperialists in South East Asia.

A resolution passed by the council called on "men and women who stand for peace in all the continents to raise their voices without delay against the dangerous, bellicose moves which threaten to extend the conflicts in Indo-China into a full-scale war."

It said the provocative threats uttered by US government mean "nothing but a return to the old, discredited and bankrupt policy of brinkmanship associated with the name of John Foster Dulles" and that the appointment of General Maxwell Taylor as the US Ambassador to South Vietnam as its "determination to seek only a military solution with all its consequences".

"The All India Peace Council demands that the

US armed forces are immediately removed from Laos and South Vietnam. Their presence constitutes a violation of the Geneva Agreements, aggravates tension and prevents peaceful solution."

The council urged upon the Government of India "to act with all other governments concerned to ensure the strict implementation of the 1954 Geneva Agreements". It supported the government's efforts to convene the fourteen-nation conference on Laos.

## MESSAGE TO GENEVA MEETING

The council also sent a message to the Geneva conference urging the governments meeting in the disarmament conference "to avoid further delay in taking positive and concrete steps for reaching an agreement on general and complete and controlled disarmament in the best interest of mankind".

Through a resolution the council welcomed the decision to hold the second conference of nonaligned nations in Cairo in October 1964 and called upon the people of India and of the world to extend their full support to the conference. "The council is confident that the conference will be a powerful contribution to the cause of world peace", the resolution said.

Through another resolution the Peace Council welcomed the "efforts to bring about a speedy termination of all existing disputes between India and Pakistan in a peaceful and friendly manner" but reiterated that "the accession of the state of Jammu and Kashmir to India is final and irrevocable".

Another resolution recalled

that "Jawaharlal Nehru's dream all his life was to build up an independent, united and socialist India" and resolved "to undertake to propagate and translate into action this aspect of Nehru's mission". The council pledged to oppose all forces of disruption in order to ensure national unity and world peace.

The council also passed resolutions demanding immediate independence of the Portuguese colonies, condemning the provocative and undemocratic actions of the British government in British Guiana, the white racist regimes' atrocities in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia.

A separate resolution was passed by the Peace Council demanding the release of the Rivonia patriots who have



been sentenced to life imprisonment by the hated, racist Verwoerd regime in South Africa in the cooked up Pretoria trials.

An interesting decision taken by the council was to organise a Shakespeare Peace Festival at the end of the year, where cultural workers from all over India and important cultural figures from abroad will give performances.

Pandit Omkarnath Thakur has been put in charge of organising the Shakespeare Peace Festival.

## Perambur Workers' Grand Performance

**T**HE workers of the Perambur Integral Coach Factory are today three times more efficient than they were when the manufacture of coaches began.

There has been a three-fold decrease since in the direct man-hours required for the manufacture of a railway coach shell and the manufacturing cost has come down to the record minimum—the lowest in the world.

Due to such magnificent performance of the

workers, the factory has been able to return to the exchequer five times the amount invested in the project. Against the capital investment of Rs. 7.35 crores, the factory's total saving in the case of shell manufacture alone is calculated at Rs. 36.12 crores.

In 1955, a shell for a third class compartment imported from abroad used to cost Rs 1.87 lakhs; today the Integral Coach Factory produces it at a cost of Rs. 81 thousand only.

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## PERSPECTIVES OF UNITED ACTION OF METAL AND ENGINEERING WORKERS

by M. Elias, MP

Report adopted at the Second Conference of the National Federation of Metal and Engineering Workers of India (Hyderabad, Feb. 1964)

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RAWALPINDI LETTER

# Anti-Indian Campaign Resumed In Pakistan

RAWALPINDI: The brief interlude following Jawaharlal Nehru's demise, when an atmosphere approaching a thaw in Indo-Pak relations prevailed, is at an end. This is amply reflected in the Pakistan press which has once again geared itself up for a full-blast of anti-Indian propaganda.

In the new outburst, the most biting attack comes on the arms aid received by India from friendly countries, United States and the Soviet Union included. Efforts were made by the Pakistan press to give a sinister meaning to Mikoyan's brief visit to India and his talks with Indian leaders.

While most of the Urdu dailies announce "Russia's promise to give large-scale arms aid to India" in screaming headlines, the PAKISTAN TIMES in a dispatch from its Special Correspondent put its

own interpretation on the event. The paper said "India's militant outlook persists even after Pandit Nehru's death and her new leaders are now in search of new sources of assistance for military build-up. It has brought Pakistan face to face with a most alarming situation where it can face the worst type of treachery by her allies".

Foreign Minister Bhutto's major speech in the National Assembly on June 22, hinting at a "review" of Pakistan's foreign policy—"liabilities they had undertaken and the

political and military commitments they had made"—is indicative of the Pakistan government's continuing attitude of hostility towards India.

While the threat contained in Bhutto's utterance of revising Pakistan's tie-up with Western military alliances is not taken seriously by competent sources here, it does indicate that the coming Shastri-Ayub talks in London will go through rough weather.

## Rough Weather Ahead

Another preoccupation of the press here is Sheikh Abdullah's cancellation of his visit to London and the cur-

rent tension along the cease-fire line.

Sheikh Abdullah's cancellation of his London visit has drawn immediate comment in Pakistan. Agreeing to the general consensus of opinion in the press in Pakistan that the Sheikh had cancelled his visit under Indian pressure, the "Imroze", prominent Urdu daily, has advised Sheikh Abdullah "not to cancel his visit but let the Government of India bar him from going to England".

It warned him that later on he can be asked not to go to Pakistan.

"Hurriyat", another well-known Urdu daily has reiterated its earlier "advice" to the Sheikh that he should make Pakistan the base of his "struggle for Kashmir's liberation".

## Clashes Along Cease-Fire Line

The clashes along the Kashmir cease-fire line on June 20 and 21 have been made the main topic in "Pakistan Times" in its issue of June 23 which has reported these under the banner heading:

"Indian troops suffer over 100 casualties".

Bhutto's remarks in the National Assembly that "Pakistan was not interested in any solution of Kashmir except the one based on the right of self-determination of Kashmir people" is taken by some observers as back-stepping from the earlier positions that a solution based on Indo-Pak amity was possible. Bhutto's remarks, highlighted in the Pak press, is being made the basis of the approach to the Kashmir issue.

The Pak press has so far not given indication of its mind on the dispute between Sheikh Abdullah and Maulvi Feroz but recent statements of the Sheikh have been consigned to inside pages of newspapers.

In line with the present anti-Indian campaign, Pakistani papers publish gleefully the "suffering" of East Pakistani Hindu refugees who migrated to India. They also publish provocative stories of "woes" of "Muslim evictees" from India. The PAKISTAN TIMES in a recent issue warned that "unless the influx of Muslims is stopped, it would be idle to nurse hopes of an Indo-Pak rapprochement."

—IPA

# THE FURTIVE WAR

THE FURTIVE WAR—The United States in Vietnam and Laos by Wilfred G. Burchett, International Publishers, New York, 1963, 224 pages, \$3.95.

BURCHETT, a veteran among journalists of the Left, has been reporting from the trouble spots in Asia for the last twenty years and more. He was the first to reach Hiroshima and write about the victims of the first A-Bomb. He was in Korea reporting that ghastly war.

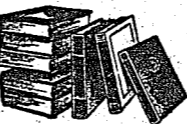
The present is the third among his books on the crucial Indochina states; North of the Seventeenth Parallel, was the first comprehensive account of Vietnam's fight for liberation against the French imperialists, of the victory at Dienbienphu, the beginnings of peaceful construction in North Vietnam and the situation following the Geneva Agreements of 1954.

After the second one, called Mekong Upstream, which appeared in 1959 and surveyed all the three Indochina states, the present one is a scathing exposure of USA's undeclared war against the people of South Vietnam and of US intrigues against the neutrality and independence of Laos.

The situation has changed much since the book appeared: Dien on whose regime so much praise used to be lavished by the Americans has had to be pulled down by the Americans themselves, and one coup has followed another in South Vietnam. All that has only confirmed what Burchett has to say in this book about the bloodthirsty nature of the regime, which has not changed with the removal of its successive figureheads.

"No peasants anywhere in the world had so many dollars per capita lavished on their extermination", says the author quoting the figures. He traces the systematic US sabotage of the Geneva Agreements and the gradual step-by-step enlargement of the furtive

war that started with the despatch of the first US combat units on December 11, 1961 technically classed as "advisers" and "instructors" now numbering over 25,000.



## BOOK REVIEW

Burchett, who since he wrote the present book, has visited the liberated areas of South Vietnam, describes here already how the National Liberation Front has taken shape and grown strong, and nothing that the Americans can do can even destroy it.

The book also traces the course of events in Laos from the first Geneva Conference to the second and further. It is a story dominated by US intrigue which frustrates all agreements arrived at among the indigenous Laotian groups by means of heavy bribery of the extreme Right-wing, by the assassination of key democratic figures—from that of Kou Voravong, minister of defence and head of the Democratic Party on September 18, 1954 to that of Quinim Pholsena, foreign minister and head of the "Peace and Neutrality" Party on April 1, 1963. Burchett has documented the heavy involvement of the CIA in Laos in making any agreement inoperative.

The book provides essential background to the current developments in the area which threaten to expand into a conflict of global dimensions.

—ZIA

July 5, 1964 will mark the second anniversary of Algerian independence. A few months later Algeria would also celebrate the tenth anniversary of the Algerian revolution which began on November 1, 1954. This has been the most momentous decade for all Afro-Asia; country after country has broken loose from imperialist bondage and achieved independent nationhood. In this proud history the chapter on Algeria is among the most heroic and inspiring.

D. R. Zakir Hussain, the Vice-President of India, on his state visit to Algeria has described it as a pilgrimage to a sacred land sanctified by the blood of its martyrs in their struggle for national independence.

A few months ago on the occasion of the sixth council meeting of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organisation, the leader of the Indian delegation, Dr. Tara Chand MP, had begun his main speech at the plenary session of the conference almost in the same words.

On his return to India, speaking at a reporting meeting in New Delhi, he had said that being in Algeria was like going back to the electrifying days in India when we achieved our own independence.

Such is the air in Algeria, the country that lost more than a million and a half of her brave sons and daughters in the course of her revolution. Perhaps no other people in modern history has had to sacrifice a higher proportion of its population in their struggle for liberation.

This country that has won its independence at such a high price and as a result of such universal popular participation stands pledged today to render aid in every manner possible for the liquidation of colonialism and imperialism from every corner of Africa, Asia and Latin America where it may still be in power.

No wonder then that this young state has in this short time already achieved such a position of pre-eminence and leadership both in Africa as well as in the Arab world.

What have been the achievements of the Algerian state in this period?

The OAS before it had finally to give up were bent on wholesale destruction and to bring about the collapse of the country's administrative apparatus. But it did not happen that way.

On the contrary, despite the departure of more than 800,000 French who represent 99 per cent of the country's cadres and personnel at the head of the most vital sectors,

within a reasonably short time a new administration was set up. Immediately it took up three campaigns as the main national tasks:

★ First and foremost was the "Operation Field Work". Thanks to this campaign, after seven years of war when much land had laid unworked for five or six years, when the 'fellahs' had lost all their livestock and every means of working the land, the greater part of the cultivable land was worked and there was a magnificent harvest.

★ The second campaign was for the reopening of the schools. All but 400 primary school teachers had left and an appeal had to be made for the return of all those who would be willing to teach under extremely difficult conditions.

★ The third campaign was the "Operation Reconstruction". A study conducted by the planning service revealed that if everything was to be rebuilt to undo the damage caused by destruction it would cost at least 700 million pounds sterling (nearly Rs. 1000 crores).

The FLN (the Algerian National Liberation Front) wanted to make a special point of its solidarity with the underprivileged, specially in the countryside.

The youth was mobilised and as a result of studies a style of housing evolved that will both be economic and meet other social requirements. This way hundreds of villages were rebuilt, not on hill tops as they were usually done due to the needs of security, but near highways and close to water supplies and electric and telephone wires.

Simultaneous with this was taken up the work of slum clearance. In Oran, the scene of largescale OAS killings and arson, an area containing 40,000 inhabitants was rebuilt with the help of progressive Frenchmen who had stood by the Algerian side in France during the liberation struggle and who now came forward to do remarkable work by modern methods with very slender resources. Such were the immediate

# FREE ALGERIA MARCHES FORWARD

By BAREN RAY

tasks that were undertaken by the FLN on the morrow of the revolution.

Within eight months of independence had come the March decrees which established a socialist sector of the economy and workers' management both in industry as well as in agriculture. In some ways the workers and 'fellahs' in the socialist sector have been given rights that are perhaps unique in the world.

In this connection it should be remembered that there was no classical bourgeoisie or landlords in Algeria. The ownership had all vested with the French and this has now been nationalised.

There were very large farms, sometimes of thousands of acres of fabulously rich soil. These have not been broken up; instead they are run as state farms with workers' self-management and last year they were able to give a good bonus to all their workers.

## PRIVATE OWNERSHIP

The same is true of all old industry which is almost totally nationalised. But then, in the words of President Ben Bella, there is a mental bourgeoisie in the country; people with privileges exist and the new administration has put a stop to their attempts to seize hold of everything taken from the former colonialists. In Algeria, socialism has meant first and foremost the correction of privileges.

Private ownership continued in smallscale farming, trade and shopkeeping. In many cases traditional artisans were organised into cooperatives.

But in certain essential light industries, including textiles for instance, which did not exist previously and the country depended entirely on imports from France, permission was given for these industries to be opened in the private sector as the socialist sector as yet did not generate enough capital as needed for these investments. This sector however is under strict state control and vigilance.

The Indian Vice-President visited one of the schools of the former shoeshine boys. The solution of this problem of the destitute children, children whose parents were killed in the battle for independence, has been a most remarkable achievement. The total number of such children ran to several hundred thousands and they have all been taken care of.

Algeria's achievements in the field of foreign policy are no less important. Her solidarity with Cuba, her fighting solidarity with the peoples of South Africa, Angola, Mozambique and other Portuguese colonies struggling against colonialism and racialism are well-known.

Algeria has put all her resources and the unique experience of her armed struggle against French imperialism at the service of the African peoples still engaged in the

struggle for independence. And at the Addis Ababa conference of the African heads of state, Algeria supported in the most powerful manner the proposals for African unity—"the supreme gauge of our total emancipation and enlightenment".

President Ben Bella's reporting to his people on the Addis Ababa conference said: "The African revolution is the common task of all our peoples. Colonial expansion spared no part of Africa: the corollary is that there cannot be a localised revolution."

The Afro-Asian People's Solidarity movement had found a most fitting venue for its conference in Algeria; that country is going to be the venue again of the conference for a denuclearised Mediterranean beginning on July 5, showing the clearness with which the Algerian leadership sees the indivisible relationship and the complementary nature of the two movements for national liberation and for world peace.

The last few years have seen the ugly head of division and disruption being raised in so many international conferences and the recent Algiers conference was no exception.

These agents of disruption had sought to divide the delegates at Algiers, but Algeria's M'hammed Yazid, the pres-

ident of the session, represented the common feelings of the two continents when he declared that Algiers is the capital of Afro-Asian solidarity and will never be the venue of its disruption.

Recently President Ben Bella visited the Soviet Union and he spoke of the unbreakable bonds of friendship and solidarity between the Soviet and the Algerian peoples and of the vital aid that the Algerian people had received from the USSR in their long and bitter struggle against imperialism.

No doubt, true to her heroic struggle, the Republic of Algeria is continuing her policy of opposing imperialism, for peace and freedom for the peoples of all the continents and is firmly on the path of a non-capitalist development at home for bringing prosperity to her own peoples.

The question is sometimes asked of the nature of the one-party system in Algeria and the state of its democracy. In a post-revolutionary situation and in the general situation obtaining in Africa the objective conditions do not exist for a multi-party system.

A revolution cannot permit the existence of parties hostile to the revolution and a multi-party system in underdeveloped countries also tends to divide the nation on tribal, communal or other ethnic lines rather than on the basis of class or political programme, which is naturally harmful for national development.

But the maximum democracy exists within the FLN and together with workers' self-management in industry and agriculture, in the words of President Ben Bella, Algeria is going to be one of the most democratic one-party states.

At present the FLN is functioning as a party of militants and the trade unions, the organisations of the 'fellahs', women, youth and students are the principal organisations through which the entire masses are brought into one or the other of the essential nation-building activities.

It is a good augury of Indo-Algerian relations that following the visit of Dr. Zakir Hussain, President Ben Bella has accepted our invitation to visit India in the near future. All India looks forward to receiving this great son of the African revolution.

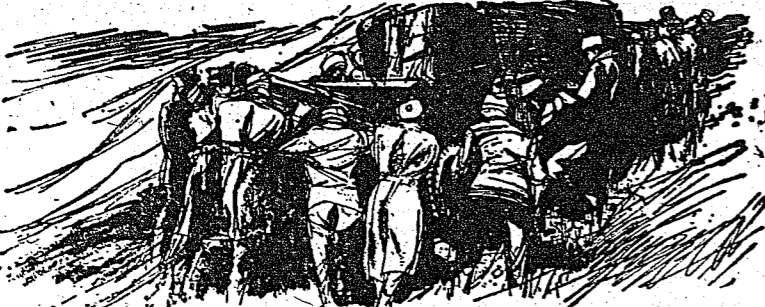


Ben Bella with Khrushchev

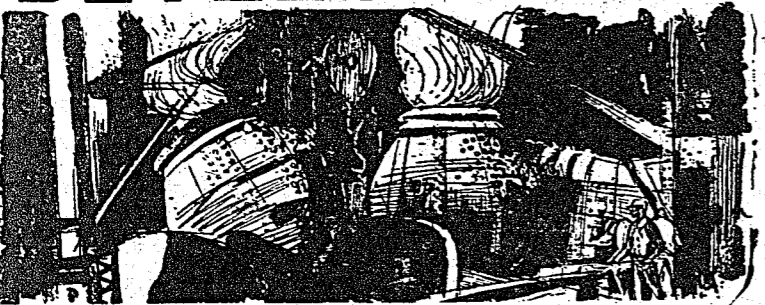


President Ben Bella Inspecting a Guard of Honour by FLN Troops

# DEFENCE and



# DEVELOPMENT



# GO TOGETHER

Slanted now for direct support of defence effort the steel industry has stepped up its production and modified the mill's rolling programmes. Motor vehicles for the armed forces have been standardised. The capacity of the engineering industry has been strengthened. Commissioning of power plants is being expedited. An emergency pool of generating sets is being set up. More wagons are rolling out of Railway Workshops and arterial and other roads are being modernized.

New priorities are building up the bedrock of the nation's defence power. Support this drive in every way you can by thought, word and deed.



ON WITH THE PLAN STRENGTHEN INDIA'S DEFENCES



# BESTIVE PEOPLE MOVE INTO ACTION

## FOOD CRISIS IN WEST BENGAL

**CALCUTTA:** Not a year passes without West Bengal facing a food crisis. But the present crisis has been the worst, and has assumed serious proportions beyond what was thought or apprehended at one time, says a FINANCIAL EXPRESS review of the food situation in this state.

**THE** review continued:

Rice and mustard oil disappeared at one time from the market and petty grocers hung notices in their shops announcing 'no rice and mustard oil'. Other essential items were also difficult to be obtained.

The food crisis in this state began to be felt in November last. Towards the end of October, rice prices reached a record high of Rs. 50, rising from Rs. 25 per maund. This was followed by a similar price-rise in other commodities like oil, pulses, sugar, fish and vegetables.

The rise was estimated at about 32 to 40 per cent. The entire population, both in the metropolis and in the districts, had to battle every day to procure the minimum supplies even by paying exorbitant prices. When public discontent took the form of the consumer resistance movement, the state government, after long hesitancy, persuaded traders to sell rice at Rs. 35 per maund.

### Calcutta Demonstration

**CALCUTTA:** An impressive demonstration was held in Calcutta on June 29 under the auspices of the Communist Party and six other Left parties to demand state trading in foodgrains, nationalisation of rice mills, building of government buffer stocks and fixation of prices of essential commodities.

Communist leaders Bhawanji Sen and Renu Chakravorty, while calling on all Party members to participate in the demonstration, said that it would be the beginning of a non-stop campaign for realising the above demands. They said the Chief Ministers' conference in Delhi had not taken any decision on price rise and food scarcity.

Two days earlier, the West Bengal branch of the National Federation of Indian Women had organised a similar demonstration. Several hundred women went in a mass deputation and submitted a memorandum to the Governor listing a series of measures to relieve the present food crisis.

The Chief Minister, P. C. Sen, at the same time, asked the people to take more wheat and less rice in view of rice shortage in the state.

This ultimately proved ineffective, as consumers failed to get rice at this price in the open market, and the situation continued to deteriorate.

Some time in February this year, the Chief Minister announced the government's food policy and assured the public that since there was a good harvest and also the possibility of supplies from other surplus states, there would be no difficulty for the people to get rice at fair prices.

According to the new policy, prices of rice and paddy were fixed at Rs. 24 to Rs. 30 per maund and Rs. 14 to Rs. 17 per maund respectively, depending on the qualities. It was felt that this arrangement would help stabilise rice prices, creating an impact on the rise in prices of other commodities. Contrary to expectations, this policy also proved a failure and the Chief Minister's announcement remained only on paper.

Rice stocks suddenly went underground in the open market

and consumers were forced to purchase the commodity in the black-market at much higher prices. Even supplies from fair-price shops under a modified rationing system in the Greater Calcutta area became extremely difficult because of the government's failure to meet the requirements of about 14 lakh card holders drawing ration from these shops.

The state government, however decided on June 14 to supply rice and wheat to 60 lakh people in the Greater Calcutta area through fair-price shops from June 22. The Greater Calcutta area consists of Howrah, Hooghly, Barrackpore, besides the area of the Calcutta Corporation.

According to this arrangement, as announced by the Chief Minister, one kg of rice would be supplied to every adult and 0.5 kg to every child a week against family identity cards, provided they lifted an equal quantity of wheat against the rice supplied.

The Chief Minister claimed that this would render imme-

Even assuming that these figures are correct, there cannot be any deficit because people have already increased their wheat consumption to the extent of 10 lakh tons.

Consumption is sure to go up this year and, in that event, there is nothing to remain as deficit. This apart, there are possibilities of supplies from Orissa and Andhra Pradesh. If that be the case, why are there so many crises on the food front?

### Government's Failure

All-round hoarding, profiteering by traders and the government's failure to tackle them have been the main reasons behind this crisis in the food situation. With the arrival of new crops in the market in January this year, traders made a heavy purchase of paddy and rice from growers even at higher prices and cornered their stocks in the hope of

## Near-Famine Condition In Rajasthan

**JAIPUR:** The Rajasthan government has declared about 6,500 villages in 93 tehsils as scarcity areas. It has also suspended realisation of land revenue to the tune of Rs. 1.32 crores.

These steps of the government themselves tell the tale of woe and misery of the people. Foodgrains are not generally available in the state, and whatever is available is charged exorbitant rates.

That the increase in prices should take place even at the time of the harvest and immediately after show that it is not scarcity which is the cause of the present rise in food prices.

Unscrupulous traders are boosting prices to fatten their purses. Even where there are no shortages, they are creating artificial scarcity so that they can raise the prices still farther.

But official circles are still shutting their eyes to this aspect of the problem. They still go on mouthing the alibi



Andhra Peasants Demonstrate.

getting a better return in the future.

Simultaneously, they had put pressure on the government to abandon its price fixation policy. Rice millers at first suspended rice production on the pretext that they had failed to get paddy at controlled prices for milling. This was followed by other non-co-operative measures to defeat the government's objective of preventing a price-rise.

Wholesalers pleaded that they also failed to get supplies from mills and other sources. So, it became difficult for them to meet the requirements of retailers for distribution to the public. But there is a ring in the foodgrains trade which actually dominates the food front. Most of the rice mills are themselves wholesalers in different names who maintain agents of their own to purchase paddy and rice on their behalf, wherever possible.

This particular ring in the trade has brought about an artificial scarcity in the market by hoarding stocks, but they, however, wanted to pass on the responsibility for this crisis to producers.

They all the time argued that there was no sufficient supply of paddy and rice and the prices fixed for them by the government

were also inadequate to provide any profit margin for mills and wholesalers. But inquiries showed that producers disposed of their stocks of paddy after the harvest and paddy stock-holders were their own agents.

Availability of rice in bulk quantities in the black-market had justified the above allegations. It is surprising that the state government, despite having sufficient power at its disposal under various legislations, has failed to touch even a fringe of unscrupulous traders. The action so far taken by it is only confined to petty and poor retailers.

In the circumstances, it is generally felt that no lopsided measure, however sound they may appear, will match the chronic food problem in the state. Already, there has been mounting demand from all sections of the people, including Congressmen, for the introduction of state trading in foodgrains and stringent control on retail distribution.

It is also suggested, in the meanwhile, that fair-price shops should be opened in rural areas throughout the state. The recent move to introduce state trading in foodgrains by the Union government has been regarded here as the only practical proposition to solve the current food crisis.

### Miserable Lot Of Poor

The miserable lot of the poor in the villages was truly reflected in a story published recently in a Jalgaon paper. The paper said that the people in Wakod in Jamnir taluk were living on whatever they could lay their hands on.

The zila parishad chief on a visit to the village found them eating dried mango seeds. Moved by the pitiable sight he collected some foodgrains and distributed it among the neediest of the villagers, the paper reported.

The grains which the zila parishad chief distributed could not have lasted the villagers for more than two or three days. It certainly did not help to solve the problem of scarcity in Jalgaon district.

This district is a permanent scarcity region. The prices would normally be high in such an area, but due to the activities of blackmarketeers, hoarders and profiteers they are doubly so.

The attitude of the government to the misery of the people has been most callous. It has not taken any tangible steps to ensure a steady supply of foodgrains. Even the few fair price shops opened in the district have not received any supplies.

The consumer cooperative stores in the district are not lagging behind the profiteers when it comes to making a quick profit. Their prices are only Rs. 5 to 6 less than the open market prices.

Many campaigns have been undertaken by various political parties and trade unions, both jointly and individually against the high prices and to bring to the notice of the government the acute scarcity conditions existing in the district.

Conferences and demonstrations have been held, satyagraha

## CAMPAIGN FOR CHEAP FOODGRAINS

**BOMBAY:** Maharashtra has been promised by the Centre a monthly quota of one lakh tons of rice. It has been made clear that this is excluding whatever Bombay is getting at present.

Due to the stiff resistance put up by Maharashtra and Gujarat Chief Ministers, the Centre has dropped the decision to allow free movement of rice from Madhya Pradesh to these states; only state to state transactions will take place in rice.

The number of wagons for foodgrains movement will be soon doubled from the present 60 to 120 a day; many other modes of transport including barges will be utilised to transport foodgrains.

These are some of the big announcements being made by the official spokesmen of the state government and they claim that most, if not all, of Maharashtra's food problems would now be solved on the basis of the above steps.

These, however, have not raised much hopes among the people in the state, especially in the rural areas. The scarcity conditions existing in the countryside of Maharashtra cannot be easily imagined by the officials sitting in the secretariat in Bombay.

### Hunger-Strike Against Rising Prices

**CUTTACK:** One more stage in the people's fight for food and against high prices concluded successfully with the three-day hunger strike undertaken by ten popular leaders of Cuttack.

The hungerstrike was organised by the Prices Resistance Committee on which is represented leaders and organisations with various shades of opinion. The hunger strikers were Lokanath Choudhry, Ashis Mahapatra, Kesabananda Das, Narahari Behera, Mohan Swain, Alakh Rana, Harulal Dasgupta, Prahlad Sharma, Sankar Mahanti and Dr. Phani Pal.

They began the hungerstrike on June 24 in the presence of a large crowd of people including D. C. Mohanty, convener of the Price Resistance Committee, and Gurucharan Patnaik, secretary of the Orissa state council of the Communist Party of India.

The demands of the hunger strikers, as per a resolution of the committee submitted to the government were:

- ★ State trading in foodgrains and their supply according to the needs of the consumers, through governmental agencies and various trade bodies.
- ★ Effective vigilance and punitive measures against profiteers in essential commodities.
- ★ Adequate supplies to retail shopkeepers and fair price shops at fixed prices.
- ★ Opening of fair price shops in industrial units and centres.
- ★ Supply of essential commodities to rural areas and opening of two fair price shops at least in each panchayat.
- ★ Fixing the prices of all commodities at least at the October 1952 level.

A serious situation has developed in Orissa due to the worsening food prices. Prices have skyrocketed. The government ordinance fixing the prices have failed miserably. Instead of checking the prices, it has sent the food into black market.

The demands put forward by the people are: immediate supply of enough quota of foodgrains to the district; top priority for foodgrains transport; permits for consumer societies to import foodgrains from Madhya Pradesh and Punjab; quota and card system for the families.

This is the situation existing in Jalgaon district today; it is also the situation in many other districts of Maharashtra.

The sooner the government wakes up to the situation, the better, for hungry people are capable of doing anything.

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The government notified to fix the prices of 14 food articles but actually fixed the prices of only six commodities. It did not arrange to maintain regular supply of food articles to the consumers, and even government sale centres failed to meet the needs of the people.

The blackmarketeers and hoarders have taken full advantage of the situation. Many food articles have gone completely underground, among them potatoes and onions. Whatever is available in the open market is quoted at fantastically high prices.

The government sponsored 'mahalla committee' has not been able to function. The suggestions of its members were turned down. A municipal councillor and member of the 'mahalla committee', Mandhara Rao was even assaulted by a dealer.

Mustard oil is today selling at Rs. 4 to 6 a kilo; sugar at

Rs. 2 to 2.50; misri at Rs. 3 to 4; potato at Re. 1 to Rs. 1.50; onions at Re. 0.50 and more.

The lack of regular supply has become a boon to blackmarketeers. They have created artificial scarcity in many commodities and sent out truckloads of them outside the state.

Even when the people in Sankarpur came forward to check the export of food articles and seized large quantities of potatoes meant to be exported, the culprits were let off by the authorities. Instead, the people were harassed and prosecuted by the police.

The Chief Ministers' conference has been taken here as having failed to meet the situation and the committee has therefore decided to continue the agitation for bringing down the prices of people's food.

It was regrettable to the committee that some of the PSP followers who were in the committee have withdrawn from it. Still the committee remains an all-party effort to give lead to the people in their effort to get relief from the burden of soaring prices.

## DEMONSTRATION IN BOMBAY

**BOMBAY:** Thousands demonstrated on June 30 before the offices of the Bombay Graindealers' Association and the Bombay Grain, Rice and Oilseeds Merchants' Association urging immediate reduction in food prices.

The demonstration was organised by the Maharashtra Rajya Trade Union Committee of the All India Trade Union Congress. The demonstrators marched through the streets in a procession which terminated at the traders' offices. One of the demands voiced by the demonstration was for state trading in foodgrains.

A deputation of the demonstrators including Bapurao Jagtap, vice-president of the MRTUC; G. V. Chitnis, secretary; Tara Reddy, corporator; Gulab-rah Gananacharya and D. S. Kulkarni, met the presidents of the two grain merchants' organisations and demanded immediate reduction in prices.

In an obvious bid to explain that the traders were not indulging in hoarding

and that the crisis was mainly due to the shortage of stocks, a spokesman of the merchants said there were only 60,000 bags of foodgrains in the city at present which would last for three weeks only.

He said the traders were prepared to reduce the price by Rs. 5 per bag. The MRTUC will organise another demonstration in front of the Maharashtra Assembly on July 20. It is also preparing for a general strike. (See earlier report on page 6.)

Meanwhile, Prabhakar Vaidya, secretary of the Bombay Council of the CPI has urged the Samyukta Socialist Party and the Peasants and Workers Party to join hands with the CPI for joint action to bring about a general strike to force down food prices.

Kar, municipal councillors Kant Panda and Choudhry Ramesh Mahapatra and many others.

Many street corner meetings were organised by the committee and two big meetings at Deulashahi and Sankarpur. The hungerstrike was planned to coincide with the Chief Ministers conference in Delhi to discuss the food prices issue. The response from the public to this agitation was tremendous.

On the evening of June 26, when the hunger strikers were to end their fast, thousands of people came to hear the leaders braving rains. A procession was also taken out from Chandni Chowk to the place of the meeting. The meeting was addressed by many leaders, including Satyabadi Misra, INTUC leader.

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Hunger strikers at Cuttack.



## Sino-Albanian Stand On Yugoslavia

# IS IT PRINCIPLED OR HONEST?

Exactly a year ago, on June 29, 1963, ZERI I POPULIT, organ of the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania, published a long editorial titled "Fifteen Years After the Issue of the Inform-Bureau Resolution 'On the Situation in the Yugoslav Communist Party'". Running into 43 closely printed pages of a booklet, the document bristles with the filthiest terms of abuse that have become the stock-in-trade of the dogmatists in the current debate in the international Communist movement. This, however, is not its most significant or relevant aspect.

MORE significant than all that runs through the document as a red thread. It is as follows: "Fifteen years of consistent counter-revolutionary activity by Tito's clique more than corroborated the correctness of the Resolution of the Inform-Bureau and of the other documents of the Communist and workers' movement on the situation in the Yugoslav Communist Party..."

"The view of the Party of Labour of Albania has been and continues to be that the conclusions arrived at by the Inform-Bureau and J. V. Stalin regarding the Yugoslav Communists have been correct and remain so to this day..."

"As concerns the position of the Party of Labour of Albania (APL) towards the Yugoslav revisionists, it has always been a position of principle, defined, firm and unalterable during these 18 (157) years..."

It is revealed in course of the document that the Albanian leadership had been opposed to any change in the attitude towards Yugoslavia even when all the other Communist Parties were agreed upon it. Hence it could only welcome the worsening of relations between the world Communist movement and the League of Yugoslav Communists (LYC) which followed the refusal of the latter to subscribe to the Moscow Declaration of 1957 and the publication of its own revisionist programme in opposition to that Declaration.

### One-Sided Interpretation

Being opposed in principle to any revival of attempts at rapprochement for all time to come and refusing to judge the situation on the basis of the concrete development of the situation, the Albanian leadership now insists on a one-sided interpretation of the stand on Yugoslavia embodied in the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement. It interprets these to mean a complete ban for all time on attempts at finding areas of agreement with the LYC, insisting that any such attempt in itself will mean contamination with germs of revisionism and a compromise with it.

As for the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party it does not claim a consistency of that high order in respect to Yugoslavia as the leaders of the APL do. They say in their third comment on the CPSU Open Letter ("Is Yugoslavia a Socialist Country?"):

"In 1954 when Khrushchov proposed to improve relations with Yugoslavia, we agreed to treat it as a fraternal socialist country for the purpose of winning it back to the path of socialism and watching how the Tito clique would develop..."

"We did not entertain much hope for the Tito clique even then..."

admit that they decided to go along the line of rapprochement at least temporarily, and for tactical reasons (to "further expose the hypocrisy of the Yugoslav leaders"). The leaders of the APL on the other hand claim to have preserved their purity absolutely unswayed by refusing to make even that much of a concession.

### Having Similar Plumes

Apart from this minor "difference", the Chinese leaders are at one with the Albanian leadership in claiming consistency and a principled stand in regard to Yugoslavia. Both of them in their pronouncements and practice reveal that they consider the Inform-Bureau resolutions on Yugoslavia to have been correct as also the methods of dealing with Yugoslavia that flowed from those resolutions.

So far as they (CPC and APL leaderships) are concerned they have reverted to those positions and methods; and they would like all the other Communist and Workers' Parties to do the same. It is the refusal on the part of the latter to do so that evokes their wrath. Along with denouncing the LYC in terms of the Inform-Bureau resolutions, they denounce the world Communist movement for refusing to do so.

How far the Chinese and Albanian Leaders' claims to consistency is correct and their demand for a return to the Inform-Bureau positions and methods is just can be seen from their own documents of 1955-58 period. The second session of the Eighth National Congress of the Communist Party of China, adopted a resolution on May 23, 1958 on the results of the Moscow meetings of the representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties (1957). In line with the Moscow Declaration that resolution adopted positions on world issues which are today alien and anathema to the Chinese leaders.

"On the issue of peace or war", it said, for instance, "the Soviet Union, Poland, the German Democratic Republic, Rumania and other brother countries have put forward a series of peace proposals. The Soviet Union has before others stopped the testing of nuclear weapons, the governments of the Korean Democratic People's Republic and of our own country jointly decided to withdraw the Chinese People's Volunteers from Korea. These facts demonstrate to people throughout the world the determination of the countries of the socialist camp to do all in their power to secure peace. Despite the desire for peace of the people of all countries, the aggressive bloc headed by US imperialists up to now persist in its refusal to stop nuclear tests, to end the cold war and to reduce armaments, to withdraw its troops from Korea, and it is doing all it can to delay the convening of a summit con-

ference." The resolution dealt extensively with the Programme adopted by the LYC, and this criticism of the Yugoslav Programme was in keeping with that in the Moscow Declaration. The CPC resolution too clearly disowned any intention of reverting to the attitudes and methods of the Inform-Bureau period when it specifically declared:

"The second resolution concerning the Yugoslav Communist Party adopted by the Inform-Bureau of the Communist and Workers' Parties in 1949 ('Communist Party of Yugoslavia in the Power of Assassins and Spies'—Ed. NA); however, was incorrect and it was later withdrawn by the Communist Parties which took part in the Inform-Bureau meeting..."

Evaluating the efforts at rapprochement with the LYC, the CPC resolution said: "Since 1954, the Central Committee of the CPSU headed by Comrade N. S. Khrushchov initiated improvement of relations with Yugoslavia and has adopted a

series of measures to this end. This was entirely necessary and correct. This initiative of the CPSU had the approval of all socialist countries. We also took similar steps to those of the Soviet Union and established relations between China and Yugoslavia and between the Chinese and Yugoslav Parties. Starting from the desire for unity, the CPSU and some other Communist Parties concerned made necessary self-criticism of past defects in their relations with Yugoslavia."

Nothing could be more specific: the steps to improve relations with Yugoslavia, the series of measures to this end, were all described as "entirely necessary and correct and as having 'the approval of all socialist countries' (including presumably Albania too). The self-criticism of past defects was also pronounced as necessary."

Nowhere in the whole resolution was it stated or even suggested that Yugoslavia, for all its mistakes, was not to be considered a socialist country. Nowhere was it stated that attempts to seek a rapprochement with the LYC should be abandoned for all time to come because of the revisionist theses embodied in the LYC Programme.

Even the People's Daily editorial of June 4, 1958 titled "Modern Revisionism must be Fought to the End" conceded: "The Programme of the LYC in many places shows that Yugoslavia supports peace. Although this does

not show that the Programme is Marxist yet so long as Yugoslavia is willing, we believe the socialist countries will continue to cooperate with it on the question of safeguarding peace..."

The Statement of 1960 also, despite the changed positions that had by then been adopted by the Chinese and Albanian leaders, did not go beyond the positions taken up by the CPC Eighth Congress, second session, quoted above. Nowhere did the Statement say that Yugoslavia had ceased to be a socialist country or that attempts at rapprochement with it should never be revived. Much less did it write off the "necessary self-criticism of past defects" in relations with Yugoslavia. Nor did it "withdraw the withdrawal" of the 'Assassins and Spies' resolution of the Inform-Bureau.

Who then has given the Chinese and Albanian leaders the right to unilaterally restore, as they do in all their propaganda, the spirit and even the letters of the 1949 Inform-Bureau resolution? Who gave them the permission to denounce the initiatives for improvement of relations with the Yugoslav League of Communists on the part of other Communist Parties as surrender to revisionism, as they now do, day after day and night after night?

Certainly there is no consistency or principledness or honesty about this campaign.

—ZIAUL HAQ

## Two Camps Take Two Sides Over South Africa

### Imperialist Gun-running & Chinese Trading Condemned

From P. KUNHANANDAN

BERLIN: South Africa continues to be in the centre of attention in Germany and other European capitals.

Anger and indignation against those countries still trading with South Africa, campaign for the release of Nelson Mandela and his comrades—are steadily growing.

WHILE the anti-Verwoerd campaign has assumed a mass character in GDR, in West Germany leading newspapers and government agencies have launched a calculated campaign glorifying the hated Verwoerd regime.

For example, a series of articles appeared this week in the biggest West German newspaper DIE WELT under the title "Nowhere else do the coloured live so good as in South Africa". Another leading paper FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU published similar praises for the apartheid regime.

Utter falsehood and fabricated stories woven into these articles were immediately denounced in GDR by the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee. The committee in a protest cable to editors of these papers said the articles completely ignored the worldwide indignation and protest against Rivonia sentences while spreading lies in the service of imperialism.

West German papers are hiding from the people the terrible facts that within the last ten years 3½ million Africans in South Africa have been sentenced for violating racial laws. They ignore that within the last four years alone 400 South African patriots were executed for their anti-apartheid actions, many other patriots sentenced to death are awaiting execution.

It was the world-wide protest raised by millions of people in actions of demonstrations and protest petitions and cables that saved the lives of Mandela and his seven comrades. Among the 260 millions

trade enterprises had long been instructed not to trade with any firms or institutions of South Africa and the instructions had been fully implemented.

"With this measure the GDR is manifesting its solidarity with the resolutions of the conference of heads of states and government of the African countries in Addis Ababa", Stoph continued. He drew attention to the declaration by the GDR to the 18th U.N. General Assembly on decolonisation.

He stressed that in this declaration the GDR had also condemned before the world public the colonial terror of Portugal and its allies against the population of Angola and Mozambique and ranged itself resolutely on the side of the patriots of these countries. All colonially suppressed peoples fighting for their liberation can be assured of the continued solidarity and aid of our workers and peasants' state, Stoph promised.

On the other hand, according to information given by the West German Ambassador in Pretoria, Dr. Werner Junker, West German imports from the South African Republic during the past five years have risen by 40 per cent and in 1963 reached a total value of 465 Million marks. West Germany's exports amounted in the same year to 738 Million marks and this represented a 25 per cent increase in comparison with the previous year.

West Germany has invested approximately one thousand million marks in exploiting the country and its rich natural resources and granted Verwoerd's police state last year a credit of 120 million marks.

Then there has been the participation of West German scientists and technicians in developing South African rockets and arms production by the West German Henschel trust in South

The East German Deputy Prime Minister said that all GDR foreign

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## Socialist World

For a long time now, the relations between Yugoslavia and other socialist states were at a low ebb. But recently there has been perceptible change in the attitudes of various socialist states towards Yugoslavia. There is an attempt to normalise the inter-state relations.

THE relations between Yugoslavia and other socialist countries, barring those which follow the Chinese ideological views, in the political, economic and cultural spheres have recently been growing. The recent meeting between Tito and Khrushchov in Leningrad has underlined the Yugoslav-Soviet cooperation which accords with the vital interest of these two countries and contributes to the cause of peace, democracy and socialism throughout the world.

The keynote of this developing relationship is the close affinity of the mutual desires of the countries concerned in many fields. For example, the socialist nature of the social systems, devotion to the cause of peace, coordinated decisions on international questions and

adherence to the principles of peaceful coexistence between the states and peoples etc., are in the main common.

In their latest meeting, Tito and Khrushchov, have not only discussed the international issues and exchanged opinions on those, but also formulated various aspects of closer bilateral cooperation between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union in the political, economic and other fields.

### Rumanian Miners' New Benefits

WITH the swift development of industry, measures have been taken for a corresponding improvement

in the miners' living conditions in Rumania. There has been a systematic increase in the miners' earnings. Thus, the wages of the main categories of people working underground were last year 44 times higher than in 1949. A number of facilities have been afforded to them, such as, for instance, wages paid during their qualification period, longer rest leaves, pensioning at the age of 50, lower rents and other facilities connected with housing.

In the years elapsed since Rumania's liberation, housing blocks have been erected in the miners' centres, aggregating more than 17,000 flats as well as hostels providing accommodation for 20,000 single people. State investments in this field in the last 13 years alone, amount to 1,200 million lei.

New miners' centres have sprung up on Rumania's map, such as the towns: Uricani, Filipești de Padure, Rovinari, Petru Groza and further centres are under construction.

## RELATIONS WITH YUGOSLAVIA

At the same time, the network of health units has been expanded, with medical assistance granted free of charge to the miners and their families, just as to all working people in Rumania.

### New Laws Passed in Bulgaria

THE Seventh Session of the Fourth National Assembly of Bulgaria on June 10 and 11 adopted a number of new laws.

The new texts of some of the laws provide wide scope for voluntary work within the framework of the activity of the people's councils, making it possible for the people to take a direct part in local

self-government. This would lead to a further development of socialist democracy in the country.

The basic purpose underlying the new State and Party Control Law is to make this control of a predominantly preventive character and to assist the organs and organisations of Party and state most actively in averting violations of law and order.

The amendments and laws adopted by the session are also of great practical importance. There is, for instance, the amendment to the law governing the planned building of towns and villages and the law giving equal rights to cooperative farmers who have switched over to work on state farms.

—Sadhan Mukherjee

## Bridges Of Amity

### Magnificent Performance

ZUBIN MEHTA, a famous Indian orchestra conductor following a performance in Budapest last month received most enthusiastic congratulations of Hungarian listeners.

Writing on his performance, Hungarian papers used glowing terms. One of them described it thus: "With profound faith and enthusiasm he brought forth all the lofty beauties of this majestically booming and rolling music."

The programme which was broadcast by Radio Budapest was heard by about one million people.

### Interest In Indian Music

INTEREST in Indian music is constantly growing in the USSR. A number of Soviet composers are studying Indian music and its characteristic features.

### Nehru Exhibition In USSR

AN exhibition of Indian paintings, drawings and objects of applied art, dedicated to the memory of Jawaharlal Nehru, opened in Moscow on June 26 at the Museum of Oriental Art.

The exhibits include Nehru's AUTOBIOGRAPHY and THE DISCOVERY OF INDIA. On display are also works of Soviet artists who visited India on a number of occasions. Deputy Minister of Culture of the USSR Ivan Tsvetkov and Indian Ambassador to the Soviet Union T. N. Kaul were present at the opening ceremony.

songs and dances which they learn mostly from Indian films shown in the USSR.

### Trade Delegation In GDR

A DELEGATION of the Indian Council for the Promotion of Export of Machine Building Products is currently staying in the German Democratic Republic to study the possibilities for developing cooperation between the two countries in this field. The delegation headed by P. L. Kirloskar is accompanied by the Indian Trade Councillor in Prague, R. C. Kalra.

The Indian group was received for talks by GDR Deputy Foreign Trade Minister Gerhard Weiss on June 23. Further talks will be conducted by the delegation with the Vice-President of the GDR Chamber for Foreign Trade, Kurt Wolf, and with leading representatives of the Foreign Trade Company Transport Machine Export and Chemical Equipment.

## AFRO-ASIA In The Headlines

### BREAK DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH S. RHODESIA

THE UN Committee on Colonialism has strongly condemned the British government for its refusal to cooperate with it in regard to Southern Rhodesia. The British government argues that it cannot 'interfere' in this colony because it is 'self-governing'. This is a fantastic argument, intended to cover up London's total support for the racist minority government of this country.

The latest news is of the Southern Rhodesia government refusing to abide by the verdict of its own court, which had pronounced the detention of the nationalist leader Joshua Nkomo and others as illegal.

More arrests are being made and prison terms extended. There is every reason for the suspicion that the white racials in collusion with the British government are about to declare themselves 'independent' and thus create another South Africa for their cruel oppressive policies.

Public opinion all over the world is on the alert. The Afro-Asian nonaligned nations, in cooperation with the socialist countries, have declared their readiness to act jointly against any such move.

Meanwhile it appears that nationalists in Southern Rhodesia are urging the Government of India

to close down its diplomatic mission in Salisbury. As is well known, no African independent countries maintain offices in Southern Rhodesia: they do not recognise the white bosses. In these circumstances, it would seem advisable for Ministry of External Affairs to give serious thought to this question, and not dismiss the whole affair as ill-conceived.

On June 24, the Ministry issued a press note in which the argument is made that "India's mission in Salisbury is not accredited to the Government of Southern Rhodesia". The note says:

"Southern Rhodesia is a non-self-governing territory, with the United Kingdom as the administering power. This position which has the support of the Government of India, has been determined by the United Nations. The presence of an Indian mission in Southern Rhodesia does not in any way imply that we endorse the policies practised by the Southern Rhodesia government. On the contrary its presence is considered useful, as it enables us not only to keep in touch with African nationalist circles, but also to keep up a fait with the developments in Southern Rhodesia."

These arguments, however correct, do not meet the main objection of the nationalists. The Indian delegation which attended the recent meeting of the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Council in Algiers, was told by the Southern Rhodesian delegation of the help which the Indian mis-

sion in Salisbury always gives to the liberation fighters. And yet they felt that it would be a blow of great significance against the oppressor government, if India withdrew its mission from Salisbury.

It is good that the press note also says that "the continuation of our Mission will naturally depend on the trend of developments in that territory". It should be quite clear that whatever the justification or otherwise of the presence of an Indian mission in Salisbury till now, there is no justification for its continuance.

Indian spokesmen in the councils of the world have acted with great vigour in recent days in support of the liberation struggle. Let all that excellent work not be washed away due to a rigid attitude in regard to this question of the continuance of our Mission in Salisbury.

### ALGERIA'S SACRED SOIL

THE visit of Vice-President Zakir Husain to Algeria will assuredly help to improve Indo-Algerian relations. And they need improving.

This is not because efforts have not been made since Algerian independence to assure the leaders and people of this country of India's friendship and solidarity. The Indian Embassy in Algiers has

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## Chief Ministers Conference

# Outcome Short of All Expectations

The welter of chaos which the Chief Ministers' conference on food prices presented was found even by hardboiled pressmen difficult to wade through. Proposals were made with the gusto of announcing decisions; decisions were countermanded even before the ink was dry on the paper on which they were written; and each Chief Minister put a different interpretation on what was going on at the conference—all compounded by the most inept handling of the publicity end by a gentleman who seemed not to know the difference between paddy and rice.

**NATURALLY** the press took some time to digest the conclusions and decisions of the conference. After taking off the weekend to do so, the press in general came to the conclusion that there was nothing to be enthused in the decisions of the conference.

Even **THE HINDUSTAN TIMES**, which was very enthusiastic about the conference when it was announced, found them to be only "modest gains".

The paper said on June 29 that though the conference "reached no far-reaching decisions on policy", the "trend of their discussions suggested the political end administrative framework within which an overall food policy has to be evolved".

As far as the jugglery with "zones" and "movements" was concerned, it was quite happy: "Though these may not fit into any symmetrical definition of policy they seem to have had the immediate effect (reinforced by the Prime Minister's announcement that supplies would be adequate for the next few months) of bringing down prices and forcing out hoarded stocks in several parts of the country".

### Private Sector Unharmd

The suggestion to set up rice mills and a foodgrains trading corporation in the public sector alongside the private sector "should be generally welcome", the paper said, because "they take into

account the practical difficulties of monopoly procurement and rationing".

Also, it will "provide the kind of breakthrough which can be used for making the Bhubaneswar resolutions more meaningful", it concluded.

**THE TIMES OF INDIA** on the same day felt that "it is a pity that the Chief Ministers' conference did not conclude on a more decisive note although a number of useful decisions were admittedly taken".

It felt that the "government may appropriately spare itself the administrative costs of official trading without undue fear of runaway market forces" without the prospect of more PL 480 imports.

### Corporation Set-up Deferred

The proposal to have rice mills in the public sector was "entirely sound"; that of the scientific study into prices was "to be commended", but "it is a pity that a decision on the establishment of a government foodgrains trading corporation has been deferred".

The title of the editorial in **THE STATESMAN** on the same day was "Prelude to Realism", but the opening sentence itself gave away the truth: "Some equivocal statements have emerged purporting to be the conclusions of the Chief Ministers' conference on food policy".

It said that the Finance Minister's announcement of the cut in governmental ex-

penditure was "the first explicit recognition in official quarters that our price problems were the result of excessive spending".

The editorial demanded: "For a real change, the Planning Commission must reorient its attitudes and

## the press

treat its responsibility for maintaining stability of the economy as no less important than promoting development."

**THE INDIAN EXPRESS** was emphatic that utmost economy in expenditure was needed to counteract inflation and said that it would not be out of place to express the hope that the Chief Ministers would energetically follow the lead given in the matter by

Union Finance Minister T. T. Krishnamachari.

The editorial on June 29 said that "some of the conference's conclusions come as an anti-climax to those who had attached a degree of finality to Mr. Subramaniam's announcements on behalf of the Union Government on the first day".

After listing the proposals made by the Food Minister and the uncertainty which surrounds them now, as also the decision to remove restrictions on movement of rice from Madhya Pradesh to Maharashtra and Gujarat and its subsequent rescinding, the paper said:

"More important than the merit of the decision is the point that its abrupt withdrawal associates a kind of

the dimensions of the remedy".

To **PATRIOT** the decisions of the conference "bore down to a retreat before the challenge of the food price situation".

Saying that the food situation had only deteriorated after the State Food Ministers' conference in February last, the paper said on June 28: "Yet the Chief Ministers and the Union government seem to have led themselves to believe that a few minor adjustments will somehow enable them to tide over the critical situation."

A scientific study of prices could have been proper at the first sign of rising prices, "but when they appear to be almost out of control, scientific or any other kind of 'study' will not impress public opinion", it said.

As for the proper enforcement of control measures, the editorial asked, "what use are these going to be if, armed with powers under the Essential Commodities Act and the Defence of India Rules, the governments have been unable so far to stop anti-social practices?"

It concluded: "The Congress Party is to blame if the people see such influences (pressure of rich farmers and big traders) at work in the escapism which was the outstanding achievement of the Chief Ministers conference."

—PARAKAL

## No Decision Taken of Far-Reaching Impact

\*FROM PAGE 5

double advantage of helping to finance the foodgrains trade takeover as also pin-pointing a black money outlet. But the conference did not even take note of this aspect, if we are to believe official sources.

Nothing has been said in the final announcement on the decisions of the conference about another suggestion made by Subramaniam, that is, the starting of rice mills in the public sector. This may be because it does not need the consent of the states or their cooperation; it can be started and run by the Centre itself.

But the "perfidy here is double. The first and more important is that it has given the go-by to the Bhubaneswar decision of the Congress to take over the rice mills. The Bhubaneswar decision was not for competing with private rice mills, but for total takeover.

The second is that it is an impractical proposition which has only hollow propaganda value and no hard-to-earth effect.

If the government has been guided by the idea that rice mills form the vital link in the collection of produce and therefore it was necessary to enter the field to build its own stocks, the proposal as it is does not help.

It has to compete with 48,000 existing rice mills, none of which is going to be closed just to oblige the government. And unless the government goes in a big way—this is certainly a big "big"—it cannot create any impact on the trade either.

volatility with the government in the minds of the public, importing an element of unwholesome uncertainty into the situation".

"The 'positive' outcome of the conference is largely to negative the measures that one or more state governments have taken", the paper said, adding: "that 'there is travesty in a situation where withdrawal of a remedy in itself assumes

That again would bring the government to the question of resources. The Food Minister has said that each mill with an annual capacity of processing 20,000 tons of paddy would involve Rs. 1.62 lakhs in foreign exchange alone.

This means that, assuming the government wants to process at least half of the paddy produced in the country, it would need at least Rs. 15 crores in foreign exchange. Local expenses are besides these.

### Result Uncertain

Will we be able to spare that much foreign exchange at the moment? Will we be able to divert that much money from other fields to the rice milling industry, just for a venture whose results are yet uncertain?

The removal of restrictions and the zoning system in rice and wheat is without much reference to realities. It neglects to take into consideration the fact that much of the current scarcity is artificially created by the grain merchants who are after profits and not bothered about the food of the people.

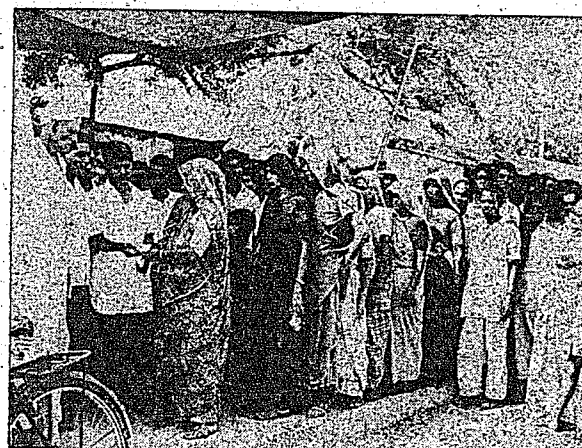
Wherever there is marginal scarcity, they accentuate it by holding back the stocks. Even where there is a marginal surplus they try to create the impression that it is a deficit area and try to boost the prices on the account.

Any decisions taken without regard to these facts are bound to prove to be failures. As far as the long-term measures to increase food pro-

The Mahagujarat Mill Mazdur Union led by the Sangram Samiti organised a ballot among the 1,30,000 textile workers of Ahmedabad during June 16 to 23. It was an unprecedented event in the hundred-year old textile industry of Ahmedabad.

**THE** working class awakening and movement have been continuously rising here since the campaign against compulsory deposit scheme was launched in May last year. The Sangram Samiti which was organised in September 1963, launched the big struggle against the index fraud, as a result of which

the textile workers secured a monthly increase of Rs. 7.50 per head from February 1964. The Gujarat government introduced the new index series based on the Labour Bureau survey from April 1964 and the first monthly dearness allowance for January 1964, announced on April 1, went



Strike-ballots being taken in a booth in Ahmedabad

## THOUSANDS OF WORKERS FACE UNEMPLOYMENT FACTORIES & MINES CLOSED

An extremely serious situation has arisen in the mica mining areas of Bihar. More than 42,000 workers have been retrenched and about two and half lakh women workers who were engaged in splitting the mica sheets have become surplus.

**THIS** largescale unemployment is due to the closures of mica mines by a number of employers. The worst-affected areas are Giridih, Kodarma Gowan and Tirsai areas in the Hazaribagh district of Bihar.

In Madras also, over a lakh of workers have been laid off last week from various industrial establishments. This lay off came in the wake of failure of power supply resulting in the suspension of work in textile mills and about 20 big industrial units.

## Industrial Relations Worsening In Public Sector Plants

The recent strikes in the Pimpri penicillin plant and the Durgapur steel plant and the pending strike notices in Bhilai have again brought up public sector labour policy to the forefront.

**THE** situation in Bhopal Heavy Electricals too is far from satisfactory. The HMS has called for a token strike in Bhilai steel plant in July. The AITUC affiliate has given notice of a token strike on June 29 in the Rajhara mines of the Bhilai steel project.

The Durgapur strike was led by an INTUC affiliate, which has as its president, Atulya Ghosh, the strong-man of the West Bengal Congress himself. The main issue was the demand for reinstatement of five workers of the Sleeper Plant. The strike which began in the Sleeper Plant employing over 200 workers on June 13, soon spread to the rolling mills, affecting about three thousand workers. A settlement was finally reached on June 20.

The Pimpri strike was led by an independent union (the only union in the plant) which has as its president, R. K. Khadlikar, a senior Congress MP. The strike was also supported by N.V. Gadgil, former governor of Punjab.

## Gujarat

From DINKAR MEHTA

# TEXTILE WORKERS' MASSIVE ASSENT FOR A STRIKE

up to Rs. 112.30. The Mill-owners' Association openly rebelled against this and decided to give DA according to the old series of December 1963, i.e., Rs. 99.99 only!

Thus while the cost of living went on rapidly rising, the DA of the textile workers stood still at Rs. 99.99. The Sangram Samiti representatives met the Gujarat Labour Minister and pointed out that millowners were acting in an illegal way and demanded that government should compel them by an ordinance, if necessary, to give DA according to the indices prepared by the Labour Bureau. Even the INTUC Major Mahajan made a similar demand. The government however referred the matter to an industrial court on April 14.

The Mazdur Union after waiting for a month, resolved to conduct a strike ballot among the workers. The plain issue posed was: "Whether the workers were prepared for a strike to secure DA according to the new index, or were they willing to accept only Rs. 99.99 as DA?"

The DA announced by government in April was Rs. 112.30. In May it went up to Rs. 113.45 and in June it further rose up to Rs. 114.60. Each worker thus lost Rs. 40.44 during these three months and the total amount the 1,30,000 workers lost was over Rs. 52 lakhs. The industrial court took up the matter

for hearing on June 18 and on the millowners' demand the hearing was postponed to August 5. No time limit has been set by the government and the proceedings may go on indefinitely and then the millowners would be free to go to the Supreme Court. The loss to the workers meanwhile would go on mounting and no one knows what would happen to the losses incurred during the period of the hearings.

Hence the strike ballot. The 64 mills were divided into 4 zones. The leaders of the Sangram Samiti addressed dozens of meetings at mill gates and in working class areas. Hundreds of worker-volunteers participated in the organisation of ballot.

The final result of the poll after the end of the last voting day (June 23) showed that of 1,30,000 workers, 1,25,356 had cast their votes, of whom 1,19,332 were in favour of the strike and only 6,024 against it.

Thus over 95 per cent of textile workers, participated in

the ballot and out of these, over 95 per cent voted in favour of the strike.

This means that the overwhelming majority of workers enlisted as members of INTUC, along with those of the Sangram Samiti, voted for strike and thus expressed a gigantic unity of the entire working force here on this issue. Working women voted solidly for strike. The Harijan workers, whose number is over 25,000 voted entirely in favour of strike. A large number of them were enrolled as INTUC members.

The Sangram Samiti has decided to organise the ballot of all the textile workers, in the state by the middle of July and after that fix a date for the strike for full DA according to the new cost of living index.

Other sections of the people will also be invited to show their solidarity with the workers' demand and thereby express their determination to fight against the continuously rising prices and the worsening food situation.

## CEMENT WORKERS' DEMANDS DAY

The workers of the Chaibasa Cement Works, Jhinkpani (Bihar) observed June 15 as their Demands Day at the call of the All-India Cement Workers Federation to press for early appointment of the second wage board in the cement industry.

**THEIR** demands voiced on the Demands Day were immediate payment of interim relief of Rs. 25 per month to all workers and acceptance of a nominee of the Federation on the wage board.

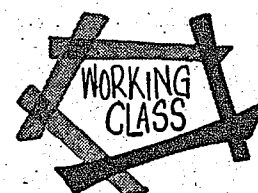
A one-mile long procession was brought out by the workers that day at Jhinkpani under the leadership of the United Cement Mazdoor Union which paraded the street of this industrial township and demonstrated before the general office of the local management. The factory belongs to the ACC group.

The workers also protested against the threat of retrenchment of all temporary workers by the local management. Most of these workers are engaged on jobs of a permanent nature for a long

time and their retrenchment is palpably wrong and unjustified. The matter is pending conciliation and yet the management wants to go ahead with the retrenchment.

One of the significant features of the Demands Day has been the mass participation of the workers belonging to the INTUC-affiliated union.

The procession and demonstration culminated in a mass rally which was addressed by K. K. Sinha, general secretary of union. The meeting adopted resolutions on the demands, copies of which were telegraphically sent to the Union Labour Minister and the Managing Director of the company.



public sector in recent weeks. In case, nothing positive is done to settle pending disputes and give a new orientation to the labour policy in this sector, the situation can take a serious turn in view of the rising prices and general discontent among the workers.

## NPC MOVE TO SCUTTLE PILOT PROJECTS

National Productivity Council's Pilot Projects scheme intended to demonstrate gains of productivity movement for employers, labour and consumers is now on the way to be scuttled, it is understood.

**THE** NPC had taken a decision to initiate twenty such projects about two years ago. The projects were to be administered jointly by the representatives of employers, labour and NPC experts.

Contrary to the decision of the governing body, however, the Programme Directorate of the NPC is understood to have prepared a survey of some industrial units in this respect on its own. This is intended to substitute the projects scheme so far as the pur-

### AITUC CANDIDATES' VICTORY

All the three candidates put up by the Samyukta Khadan Mazdoor Sangh for the three seats in the Canteen Management Committee of Rajhara mines won by thumping majorities defeating the INTUC candidates in the elections held on June 17.

The successful candidates are: C. R. Surchowdhury, A. S. Daniel, and P. H. Luther. The INTUC candidates were supported by the officials of the company and a lot of abusive propaganda was made against the AITUC candidates by them. But the workers were not influenced by these elements.

For Party Members Only

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# AGAINST THE SPLITTERS,

(FROM PARTINAYA ZHIZN [PARTY LIFE] NO 11)

All who cherish unity among the revolutionary forces of today are justly perturbed by the fact that the leaders of the Communist Party of China are attacking the ideological, theoretical and political groundwork of the general line of the international Communist movement, and at the same time are doing everything they can to undermine the Leninist organisational principles underlying the unity of all Communist Parties.

THE CPC leaders have completely discarded the cardinal demand which the 1960 Statement puts to all Communist Parties, that they manifest solidarity in observing all evaluations and conclusions jointly worked out at the meetings of the fraternal Parties. Riding roughshod over the principles of international proletarian solidarity, they have launched a splitting campaign unprecedented in the history of the Communist movement both in its scope and in the methods employed. The CPC leadership has scrapped the obligation undertaken by the Communist Party of China along with other Parties to tolerate no action that could subvert unity in the Communist movement.

## SPLITTERS AT WORK

Everything has its own logic. We find logic too in the actions of the factionalists, of the people disrupting the revolutionary working class movement.

Marx and Engels exposed the peculiar "logic" of factional and splitting activity. They castigated people with a penchant for "ultra-revolutionary" bombast, who were averse to proletarian discipline and who tried to plant factionalism, anarchy and petty-bourgeois laxity in the international working class movement.

Nailing in particular the true motives of the secret Socialist-Democratic Alliance society which the Bakunist splitters set up in opposition to the First International, Marx and Engels wrote: "We are dealing with a society, which, under the guise of extreme anarchism, is striking not at existing governments but against the revolutionaries who refuse to accept its dogmas and guidance... It is elbowing its way into the ranks of the international organisation of the working class, trying first of all to capture the leadership; when this design fails, it seeks to disrupt it. This society is insolently substituting its sectarian programme and hidebound ideas for the sweeping programme and great aspirations of our League: It is organising within the openly operating sections of the International its own tiny, secret sections which obey one common directive and which are therefore often able, by action previously agreed upon, to take over control of sections of the International. In its newspapers it openly assails all who refuse to obey its dictation and, as it itself admits, it is fanning an open war in our midst. To achieve its aims it is stooping to any means and any treachery: falsehood, slander, intimidation and ambush are all equally characteristic of it." (Marx and Engels, Coll. Works, Rus. ed. Vol. 18, p. 329.)

The present-day splitters have adopted the same tactics. The facts show that though the men in Peking are still berating imperialism they are striking mainly against the genuine revolutionaries and Leninists, against the Communist Parties. In their doings the Chinese leaders are following the customary logic of factionalists. At the 1960 Meeting, in their correspondence with the executive bodies

group in Ceylon is Kumarasiri who in the past was a rabid champion of the Right-wing policy of class collaboration. He openly bragged of having opposed strikes and other forms of mass working class action ever since 1956.

The ringleaders of the splinter groups stoop to any means to recruit a following. They often take action against Communists in the manner of quasi-fascist thugs. It became known at the 7th Congress of the Communist Party of Ceylon that the leaders of the splitters had resorted to bribes when assembling their group. Thus, 5,000 rupees were paid to one of those who joined the splitters to clear his debts, another was given 1,000 rupees for car repairs, the mortgage on a house was paid off for a third, etc.

In Peru, members of the Sotomayora group staged in January 1964 an armed attack on the premises of *Unidad*, the central organ of the Communist Party, and threatened Comrade Acosta, the General Secretary of the Party's Central Committee. In Belgium a group of hoodlums from among the splitters attempted to break up a meeting of active Communist Party members in Brussels in September 1963. Standing at the entrance of the hall, the Grippa followers abused the leaders of

of the fraternal Parties as well as in the propaganda material circulated by them. They endeavoured to impose their own special anti-Leninist platform on all the Communist Parties and to subordinate the world Communist movement to their "ideological guidance."

However, the fraternal Parties have remained faithful to the fundamental ideas of Marxism-Leninism. That made the leaders of the CPC switch over in an increasing degree, to sundry unscrupulous methods of slander, corruption and blackmail in order to make thereby at least some of the Communists of the other countries succumb to their influence.

They attempted to discredit the leaders of many Marxist-Leninist Parties that had roundly condemned their adventurist, nationalistic policy and splitting activity. They opened up a particularly furious broadside on the CPSU Central Committee and on Comrades Thoroz and Togliatti, the leaders of the American and Indian Communist Parties and other prominent personalities of the Communist movement. However, this, too, failed.

## FOMENTING FACTIONALISM

Having encountered the resolute resistance of the absolute majority of the Marxist-Leninist Parties, in the second half of last year, the CPC leaders adopted the tactics of fomenting open factionalism in some of the Parties and in the international Communist movement as a whole and of subverting the unity of the socialist countries. They undertook a whole series of manoeuvres and ruses to create confusion in the ranks of the Parties that had castigated their anti-Leninist views. The greatest vacillators, who in their Parties had been undisciplined, and had displayed outright adventurism, were subjected to intensive indoctrination—at first one by one and then in whole groups.

Special factional groups are being set up wherever possible alongside the existing Communist Parties with the blatant support of the CPC leadership to serve its purposes. The Peking leaders generously call them "genuine revolutionaries," "true Marxist-Leninists," etc. Attempts are being made to knock together an "international" bloc with its own political platform and its own factional discipline.

But what is the composition of these splinter groups? They consist of diverse renegades, Trotskyites and adventurists attempting to come to the top on the dirty foam of Peking's factional struggle against the Marxist-Leninist Parties. Among them are quite a number of morally corrupt people.

Thus, a certain Reindorf, who was once expelled from the Communist Party of Belgium for embezzling Party funds, is today one of the henchmen of the leaders of the Grippa splinter group. One of the groups of renegades in Chile is headed by Senulveda, a Trotskyite associated with the police, who was expelled from the Communist Party in the thirties. Among the ringleaders of the splinter

in exchange support to the Baathist rulers.

As a result of the subversive activities of the Peking splitters a number of Communist Parties have been placed in a difficult position and have been compelled to divert their energy from tackling the most urgent problems of the revolutionary working class and national liberation movements.

## CPI PUT TO DIFFICULTY

The Communist Party of India, in particular, was put in such a position. Starting with the outbreak of the Sino-Indian border conflict in 1959, the splinter elements in the Communist Party of India have ceaselessly abused the policy of that Party, attempting to force upon the Party their own incorrect appraisal of the internal situation in India and to force upon it adventurist tactics. The 7th Extraordinary Conference of the Punjab State Committee of the Communist Party of India in its resolution had every reason to state that the Chinese leaders were conducting a regular offensive against the Indian Communists, which "to a considerable degree aggravated the difficulties in our Party... The CPC leader-

ship has attempted to undermine our Party and to destroy it."

The JENMIN JIHPAO and HUNGCHI editorial of February 4, 1964, openly called for a split in the Indian Communist Party, for action against its leadership. At the fag-end of last December, the followers of the Peking-dictated line arranged a factional meeting to discuss intensification of the struggle against the Indian Communist Party leadership, and the establishment of a new so-called revolutionary Party. Today, we already find in some of the states of India special groups and "centres" uniting Leftwing sectarians.

# FOR UNITY IN

the Communist Party of Belgium, threatened them and shouted: "To the gallows!"

This is the real face of those whom the Peking leaders shamelessly call "true Communists," champions of the "purity" of Marxism-Leninism. Actually, all these wretched groups of renegades are outside the Communist movement and are waging a struggle against it, stooping to the foulest method.

## IMPERIALIST PATRONAGE

The activities of the splinter groups coming out against the Communist Parties are a godsend for imperialist reaction. It is hardly surprising that the imperialist press is glad to reprint the "manifestoes" and "statements" of the splitters, savouring their slanderous attacks on the international Communist movement and on the Soviet Union. Even in countries where the Communist Parties have been driven underground and Marxist-Leninist literature is illegal, the police, far from obstructing the distribution of CPC propaganda, facilitates it in every possible way. In West Germany, for instance, Chinese propaganda material is printed and distributed with the assistance of the intelligence centre, the so-called Office for the Defence of the Constitution.

The Chinese leaders, conducting subversive activities against Marxist-Leninist Parties, do not stop at establishing contacts with out-and-out reactionary forces. According to the statement of the leadership of the Communist Party of Iraq, during the rule of the Baathists, the Chinese leaders strove to make a deal with the bloody Baathist dictatorship proposing that the latter show tolerance to the splinter group which the pro-Chinese elements were attempting to set up, promising

Undermining activities are being conducted against the Communist Party of Australia by a splinter group headed by E. Hill, who has repeatedly been invited to Peking to be feted by Mao Tse-tung and other Chinese leaders. After receiving the necessary instructions, he called several meetings of his supporters in Australia and announced the founding of a

Central Committee, mouth-piece, rushed to announce: "The Communist Party of Ceylon has held its 7th National Congress which has formed a national leadership conducting a Marxist-Leninist line and which has saved the Communist Party of Ceylon and pulled it out of the fift of revisionism. A new Central Committee which has remedied the mistakes of the old Central Committee has been elected."

Thus, the men in Peking have declared the Communist Party of Ceylon "non-existent" though it has deep roots and exerts great influence among the country's working class and though only recently it was very successful in rallying Leftwing forces in one united front. Meanwhile a group of renegades and factionalists, who betrayed the Party's cause, has been announced the "saviour" of Marxism in Ceylon!

The Communist Party of Ceylon has resolutely rebuffed the splitting activities of the factional group. District conferences of the Party rank-and-file called by the Central Committee condemned the renegades and supported the measures the leadership of the Communist Party of Ceylon had taken against them.

The members of the anti-Party

faction were expelled from the Party. The meetings held at enterprises and Party branches helped to expose the true aims of the splitters. The 7th Congress of the Communist Party of Ceylon, held this April, confirmed the Party's resolution to fight to the end against factionalists supported by the Chinese leaders.

The Communist Party of Belgium is compelled to wage a struggle against the factional group headed by Jacques Grippa who was recently received in Peking with great pomp. The lavish support from without provides the grouping with the opportunity of publishing its own newspaper and to have a large paid apparatus. The Plenary Meeting, which the Central Committee of the Communist Party held late last year, was most instrumental in exposing its anti-Party activities.

## SPLITTERS DENOUNCED

The Plenary Meeting was followed by conferences throughout the country of Party activists and the rank-and-file. These meetings unanimously denounced the splitters. It became increasingly clear that the faction would be unable to recruit any sizable following among the working folk. It found itself in complete isolation. Nevertheless the Chinese press still continues to depict it as a group of "true Marxist-Leninists," meanwhile declaring the Communist Party of Belgium and its leadership as non-existent.

In January 1964 it arranged an assemblage of its followers which it proclaimed the "Seventh Party Congress". In this connection JENMIN JIHPAO, the CPC Cen-

trally, the Chinese propaganda machine is in no whit taken aback by the fact that Hill's scribbles are extensively quoted and used to attack the Australian Communist Party by publications of Australian reaction such as the *Bulletin* which is owned by the most pro-American group of Australian monopolists and the *NEWS WEEKLY*, which is put out by reactionary Catholic extremists, to mention two.

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The members of this splinter group have been expelled from the ranks of the Australian Communists.

## SPLITTERS EXPELLED

The Politbureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Australia rightly pointed out that the leaders of the Communist Party of China "have gravely stained their reputation as a result of their open interference in the internal affairs of the Communist Party of Australia by encouraging and supporting Hill and publishing a large number of his writings in *PEKING REVIEW*. Whatever the differences may be, Communist Parties should have dealings with Communist Parties, and not with subversive factions."

It is symptomatic that Peking-inspired splitting activities are joyously welcomed by all kinds of petty-bourgeois and counter-revolutionary elements, who have for a long time been fighting the Communist Parties. First in line are the present-day Trotskyites.

Stressing their ideological affinity with the leaders of the Communist Party of China, the Trotskyites express the hope that the Peking leaders will be "consistent to the end." They advise the latter to establish "new Parties" with a programme based on the notorious "25 points" of the Communist Party of China.

"We urge the Chinese Communist Party," said for instance, J. Posadas, one of the ringleaders of Latin American Trotskyites, "to help in every way and by every means—money, men and equipment—it has at its disposal all movements, organisations and mass action in defence of this programme."

The ideological union of the neo-Trotskyite leaders of the Communist Party of China with the leaders of the Trotskyite Fourth International is being supplemented by practical co-operation with them in the organisation of factional struggle against Marxist-Leninist Parties. In the United

States, for instance, the Trotskyites have reprinted a booklet, sent to them from Peking, with an article aimed against the Communist Party of the United States, and also several other articles by the Communist Party of China. The Chilean Trotskyites have recently put out a pamphlet with a characteristic title: "We Revolutionary Workers Are With China." With the aid of the Trotskyites, Chinese trade representatives have set up a so-called "Information Bureau" in Chile, which is spreading Chinese propaganda material.

A few years ago, at the 1960 Moscow Meeting, when trying beforehand (as it has become clear now) to justify their future factional activities, the leaders of the Communist Party of China put forward the thesis that the very concept of "faction" cannot be "applied" to the world communist movement. This, however, is a false thesis.

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## FALSE ARGUMENT

The wider the Chinese leaders extend their splitting activity, the more zealously they strive to put the blame for their subversive, factional actions on others. This is strikingly expressed in the editorials of JENMIN JIHPAO and HUNGCHI on February 4 and March 31, 1964; and in the editorial comment of JENMIN JIHPAO on the documents of the February Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

They contain a whole host of fabrications, penned by the Peking leaders, including the most absurd "accusations" against the CPSU—that our Party has decided "to split off from all Marxist-Leninists," "to split off from all revolutionaries," "to split off from all people opposing imperialism and reaction."

Incidentally, need we wonder why the Chinese Communist Party leaders, having embarked on an open course of splitting the communist movement, are now resorting to such methods? Improper aims ordinarily give rise to base methods. The Chinese leaders are feverishly striving to pin onto others the title of "the greatest splitters of our times"—one that they themselves really deserve.

## "INEVITABILITY" OF SPLIT

But it is they and no one else who put forward and spread in every possible way the false and very harmful idea that a split in the ranks of the Communist Parties is "inevitable," that, in the final count, the foundation of two revolutionary proletarian Parties in each country is "natural" and that a split in the world communist movement is "unavoidable."

The Peking theoreticians have invented for this purpose a "universal" formula: "Unity—struggle, or even split—and new unity on a new basis. Such is the dialectics of development of the international communist movement." The idea that a split within each Party regularly tells the factional groups throughout the world what to do on the ideological and political plane. The same is being done by a new "international" journal, pompously called *REVOLUTION*, which is financed by Peking and published in several languages. At the same time, the representatives

of the Communist Party of China have stopped taking part in the work of the *WORLD MARXIST REVIEW*, a journal of theory and information, put out by the Communist and Workers' Parties.

Both in substance and method the subversive, splitting activities of the men in Peking go clearly beyond the limits of Communist Party partisanship. They seek to organisationally isolate their following on the basis of a fallacious anti-Leninist platform. We hear from foreign press reports about the intentions of the leaders of the Communist Party of China to certain new "international" organisation with headquarters in Peking. The leaders of the Communist Party of China are clearly

trying to counterbalance the world Communist movement by knocking together an "international movement" of people sharing their views, with a special programme and with its own group, factional discipline.

Labels left and right the leadership of the Communist Party of China is really striving for the purity of Marxism-Leninism. No, the Chinese leaders are not waging a struggle against genuine Marxists because they have "mistakenly" taken them as revisionists; on the contrary, they have branded genuine Marxists as "revisionists" precisely in order to launch their unprincipled factional activity against them.

What, then, are the real aims of the Chinese leaders in seeking to split the world Communist movement? Both their practical factional activity and their "theoretical" concepts have nationalist, chauvinist and far-reaching hegemonic aims.

international work, class movement in the same way as in every phenomenon in the world." But this type of pseudo-dialectical method of reasoning which the Chinese splitters resort to is only a caricature of Marxism.

Obviously confusing things that are most elementary (for any one versed in Marxism), the Chinese splitters cannot distinguish between antagonistic and non-antagonistic contradictions. Can one, for example, mechanically extend the class antagonisms peculiar to bourgeois society to the world communist movement to elevate them to the status of a law in the relations between class brothers, between likeminded Communists?

## TRYING TO BLUFF PEOPLE

Is it not obviously the height of vulgarisation to put on the same footing, as the Peking theoreticians try to do, the processes taking place in the international communist movement and "any phenomenon in the world" and derive from this the inevitability of "division" and the inevitability of a split?

Or take another of the "theoretical arguments" that the Peking authors resort to. In the editorials in JENMIN JIHPAO and HUNGCHI on February 4, they claim that internal struggle has always "raised the international working class movement to a new stage and led to the consolidation and the development of the unity of the international working class movement on a new basis." Hence, according to the Chinese leaders, splitters always do useful work and splits are conducive to the success of the proletarian movement.

The attempts of the Chinese leaders to draw some analogy between their present splitting activity and the struggle waged by the great Lenin against the opportunist ringleaders of the Second International are outright blasphemy. What sort of an "analogy" does one have here if the exact opposite is the case!

The international unity of all Communists is closely bound up with the internal unity of the Communist Parties. Communists of every country unite in one party, as a rule, and struggle against separatism and autonomism. One cannot agree with concepts current in the communist movement which try to justify splits in the ranks of the communist movement and the founding of "several Communist Parties" in one country.

The supporters of this concept allege that the international communist movement is at present going through a process of "selection, crystallisation and consolidation," and that there are four types of Communist and Workers' Parties in the world communist movement today, namely:

- the Marxist-Leninist Party;
- the party whose leadership is under the control of revisionists but within which there is a Marxist-Leninist opposition;
- the party completely under the control of revisionists and from which the Marxist-Leninists have been expelled and have formed Marxist-Leninist groups; and
- the party whose leadership is under the control of revisionists and side by side with which a new Communist Party has been formed. Some comrades think it possible for them to maintain contact in equal measure with all

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They speak of "selection." This means evolving new types. But didn't the type of revolutionary party of the working class, the Marxist-Leninist Party, assume definite form in Lenin's time? Is there any need to "hatch" new "types" of Communist Parties? True, there are people today who do go in for this kind of dangerous "selection." They are the Chinese leaders, who artificially set up splitters groups which they need only to fight the genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties and "undermine their unity. Hence, there are instances of "selection" already being employed in practice against the unity of the communist movement.

They speak of "crystallisation"... But, after all, it is common knowledge that in a number of countries the opportunists, splitters and new-baked Trotskyites are striving to "crystallise" and in a quite definite direction at that: they are turning into small groups divorced from the working class, which are acting on the orders of Peking, catering to the hegemonic aspirations of the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party.

They speak of "consolidation"... Yes, consolidation really is taking place. The overwhelming majority of the Communist Parties of the world are consolidating on the basis of the platform of the general line worked out by the 1957 and 1960 Moscow Meetings. The Communist Parties that are consolidating are those waging a struggle against the fallacious, adventurist, nationalistic course of the Chinese leaders. If it is a question of that kind of consolidation, it, of course, is beneficial. But, unfortunately, there is another kind of "consolidation" that is, attempts to unite elements hostile to the unity of the international communist movement. Actually, this is not consolidation but splitting, and Communists are resolutely fighting such "consolidation."

They speak of "four types of Parties." By what right are factional organisations conducting subversive activity against the Communist movement elevated to the status of "Communist Parties?"

The leaders of the Chinese Communist Party and their henchmen are endeavouring to "theoretically substantiate" their line aimed at splitting the communist movement by tagging the label of "revisionist" parties to the majority of the Marxist-Leninist Parties. This is really nothing but a tactical means of fighting the fraternal Parties which have taken a correct stand. Only the very naive can believe that by attaching such

# THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

States, for instance, the Trotskyites have reprinted a booklet, sent to them from Peking, with an article aimed against the Communist Party of the United States, and also several other articles by the Communist Party of China. The Chilean Trotskyites have recently put out a pamphlet with a characteristic title: "We Revolutionary Workers Are With China." With the aid of the Trotskyites, Chinese trade representatives have set up a so-called "Information Bureau" in Chile, which is spreading Chinese propaganda material.

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(To be continued)



# SOUTHERN RACISTS RUNNING AMUCK

## civil rights fight in new stage

A charred automobile, mired in a lonely swamp, bore silent witness last week to the horror that is Mississippi today.

THAT burned automobile is empty now of the eager voices of James E. Cheney, young Negro plasterer from Meridian, Miss. And Michael Schwerner, 24-year-old white social worker, from New York. And Andrew Goodman, young white Queen's College student from New York.

The American people cry out in anguish against this violation of the flower of the nation's youth by the vicious racists of Mississippi. And the whole world cries with them, asking: Whither America?

For, the truth of the matter is that Mississippi is in a state of insurrection. The jackboots of the Nazi stormtroopers are echoing through the South now, as the white supremacists seek to maintain their brutal rule over the Negro and white majority of the Southern states.

As sailors search the Bogue Chitto swamp, 15 miles from Philadelphia in Central Mississippi, for bodies of the three

youths gone there to work in the cause of civil rights indignation and alarm sweep all over the United States. New York's Foley Square was rocked on Wednesday by 1,000 pickets demanding Federal action to find the three that have been missing since Sunday, June 21. They also demanded Federal protection for some 1,000 youths moving into Mississippi in the civil rights campaign.

At the Western College for Women, Oxford, Ohio, where 700 students from the north are engaged in a week-long "indoctrination course" for the two-month "Mississippi Summer Project", a reporter found them on Saturday June 27 signing "We Are Not Afraid", clasp each other's hands and swaying in time to the music. The Negro leader of the project, Bob Moses, just returned from talks with the presidential investigator, Allen Dulles, told them gravely there was now no hope of their three comrades being found alive.

Tensely silent, the young people heard another of their leaders warn them that if they now felt doubts about participating they ought to go home immediately.

From Attorney-General Robert Kennedy came word:

### Big Man's Small Theft

IN these columns a few weeks ago I told you about the big bluff the United States wishes to pull off in Canada regarding construction of dams across the Columbia river.

According to the US plan, there will be three storage dams built in Canada and another in the USA the water from which will flood back into Canada. This will help to effect a 20 per cent increase in power production in the US part of the Columbia river.

Moreover, the USA would get a regular supply of water for irrigation, domestic and industrial use through these dams.

And what is Canada's benefit? The cash to build the dams, some compensation perhaps, and no other benefit from the development project, not even cheap power!

The Canadian Communist Party has launched a big campaign to revise this treaty and described the US move as "an example of the policy of subordinating the economic development of Canada to that of the United States."

While this campaign is on, some startling facts have come to notice concerning theft of water from the Great Lakes by the US. The shore line of Georgian Bay is now 4½ feet below the normal level. The water level in Lake Huron has also dropped perceptibly.

There is an agreement between the governments of the USA and Canada for supply of fresh water from these lakes to Chicago city

"This is a very serious undertaking... There is no way that anybody can be completely protected from violence... There is no Federal police force in Mississippi!"

There were only four who took the advice to turn back. A Ph.D. student from Princeton said: "If one's made up one's mind already to go, what has happened just confirms that it is necessary. And a twenty-year old girl from Michigan said: "I think this about the three who are missing—if they had all been Negroes the story would never have been heard of; because two were white it has shocked people all over the world. This is what we can do."

And a psychiatrist from MIT concluded from his observations: "After the initial shock of tragedy the mood of

these youngsters is a quiet intensification of purpose."

THESE developments mark a new stage in the fight against Jim Crow which has been reached with the passage of the Civil Rights Bill. It is a stage where the struggle is intensified to a far higher pitch than any known till this time. For the upholders of white supremacy are fighting with their back to the wall and they are damned desperate.

In the Negro ranks too the trend to fight back blindly regardless of the need to win more and more allies is gaining.

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### Uncle Sam's umbrella under Sam's umbrella

in the USA. But it appears that more water is being drawn by Chicago city than what is permitted by the agreement.

And in addition, the US authorities have recently undertaken a six-foot dredging operation in the St. Clair river which has directly contributed to the fall in water level in Lake Huron and Georgian Bay. Chicago has been known to cheat Canada on its water extraction before too.

The fall in water level has resulted in the drying up of Lake Huron dock and affected the cottage owners threatening to put them out of lodging business. It has also affected shipbuilding contracts at Queen Sound.

And it is interesting to note that despite all the furore the US authorities are keeping silent. They did not indicate to the Canadian government anything about over-drawing waters from the Canadian lakes.

### Free World 'Protection'

DO you know the total number of military installations the United States maintains overseas?

The exact figure today is not known but US Defence Secretary McNamara admitted two years ago that there were (at that time—Ed.) 2,230 installations. Only a few of them have been abandoned. The majority of bases are being preserved, reorganised.

—CHABVAK

## West German Arms Supply

\* FROM PAGE 12

Africa and also the delivery of over 10,000 rifles, 16 aircraft including the technical personnel, a large number of military vehicles and other war material to Portugal for use in Angola and financing of the over seven-year war against Algeria with more than three thousand million marks.

In West Germany today some 600 colonial associations and neo-colonialist institutions exist. These include "Leagues of German Togolanders" which has demanded the making of the former German

colony of Togo the 12th Federal province (of West Germany). Stoph termed West German "development aid" as neo-colonialist fraud. "By the fall in prices for raw materials and the constantly widening price gap between raw materials and finished products, the developing countries have lost since 1954 two thousand million dollars per year—according to undoubtedly very cautious estimations, which corresponds to approximately the volume of the imperialist 'aid' granted to them," the Deputy Prime Minister stated.

In contrast to this, GDR's economic relations with Africa have been on the basis of complete equality of the partners. GDR's practice of the conclusion of long-term bilateral agreements has proved beneficial to the developing countries for it secures for them balanced trade and a stable market for those goods which make up their traditional and still developing structure of exports.

The GDR deputy head of government has also announced that agreements with various African states were in preparation for sending of technical advisers, continued training of African students and skilled workers in the GDR and issuing of documentations, licences and cooperation of specialists etc.

MADRAS: The hungerstrike by Communist and trade union leaders launched on June 22 in Madras city against the increased bus fares has won wide sympathy and support from all sections of people; the provocative arrests of the fasting leaders and government's hostile attitude to the agitation is being severely condemned by all.

# Agitation Against Bus Fare Grows

## Support from All Sections of People

NOT only the people of Madras city, the whole of Tamilnad is greatly agitated over the arrest of Baladandayutham and Murugesan who were the first batch to begin the hungerstrike on June 22 (see last week's NEW AGE). These two veteran Communist and trade union leaders who went on fast to win one of the most sensitive and strongly-felt demands of the city's population were arrested by police on June 25 on the ridiculous charge of 'attempting to commit suicide.'

This action of the government has inflamed public opinion in the city. At the same time Baladandayutham and Murugesan decided to continue their fast in jail and reports about their condition caused great anxiety and concern outside. Murugesan had to be removed to the General Hospital.

The Madras City Council of the Communist Party met on June 25 and decided to continue the struggle. It was also decided as a protest against the arrests and also as a support measure to organise groups of volunteers to offer hungerstrike every three days outside the jail.

After the arrest of Baladandayutham and Murugesan, new groups of leaders have joined the hungerstrike and have been taken into custody by police. On June 26, G. Kannan and S. Gopinadaswamy began a three-day hungerstrike. Kannan is a working class leader and Municipal councillor from New Washermenpet. Gopinadaswamy who is aged 52 is a veteran of Pondicherry textile workers' movement. Both were arrested on June 27.

But if the government thought that by a policy of arrests it could stop the movement, it had miserably failed in its calculation. The third batch of satyagrahis

consisting of T. Lokanathan and V. K. Sreenivasan began their hunger strike and when they were also arrested, the fourth batch of R. Chellappan and P. Govindarajulu began the fast.

Huge crowds of workers and other sections of public have been visiting the venue of the hunger strike, garlanding the satyagrahis and offering all support to the struggle. The movement has gained wide mass support and created a stir in the city.

The Mayor of Madras, S. Krishnamoorthy in a statement issued on June 29 criticised the policy of the government which has failed to arrest the rising prices, but is arresting people who are struggling for relief. He urged the government to release the arrested leaders and convene a conference of all parties to consider steps for improving the situation.

Meanwhile an all-party representative convention is being planned for July 1 to support the demand for reduction in bus fares and to suggest means of economy and efficiency for the state-owned transport system from the point of view of the general public.

All the leading Tamil dailies have commented editorially on the hunger strike and criticised the government's handling of the problem.

The DMK also has belatedly come to support the struggle. Their mouthpiece MURUSOLI which had been silent all these days has suddenly woken up to the mass pressure and demanded the release of the arrested leaders and revision of bus fares.

Even Congress circles, who could still react to popular sentiment are sceptical about the success of the government's "get-tough-policy" and apprehend its

adverse consequences. For, the public are convinced that the increase in bus fares that has been imposed upon them, over and above all the other burdens of rising prices and cost of living has no justification whatever, considering the finances of Madras Transport.

### Plea of Loss Unfounded

The state government's plea that bus fare had to be increased because of the increase in operational costs does not really represent the situation. The fact is that the Transport Department is making a profit and there is no basis whatever for introducing such a steep increase of 25 to 50 per cent, and in some cases even as much as 100 per cent, over the previous fares.

The Transport Minister has claimed that the department had in 1963-64 a net loss of Rs. 7.62 lakhs. This is a travesty of truth. The gross receipts are shown as Rs. 5,63.65 lakhs from out of which if the expenditure of Rs. 4,79.37 lakhs is subtracted, there should be a profit of Rs. 84.28 lakhs.

But the interesting thing is that out of this sum, an astronomical figure of Rs. 91.9 lakhs is sought to be allocated to depreciation, development, passenger amenities and housing fund etc.

This kind of jugglery with figures is what has produced the so-called 'loss'. The department cannot allocate such huge sums to different funds deliberately to create a mythical 'loss', particularly so when there is already a sum of Rs. 2.19 crores as reserves accumulated in these funds.

The people of Madras are in no mood to bear this additional burden, when already the cost of living has risen sky-high due to the increase in the prices of foodgrains and all other essential commodities. The hunger strike by Communist and trade union leaders to make the government see

reason and revise the bus fares has their full support.

Only the so-called 'leftists' who have been busy running down the Communist Party and trying to split it are chagrined over the masses' response to the Party's leadership of the struggle. Their 'revolutionary' contribution was a procession taken out a fortnight ago which shouted anti-Party slogans and which had nothing to do with the bus fare increase. Their propaganda that the Communist Party is seeking a united front with the Congress does not deceive the people. They are rallying more behind the Communist Party and rejecting the 'leftist' calculators.

JULY 25

## DOCK WORKERS' DEMANDS DAY

The working committee of the Port, Dock and Waterfront Workers' Federation of India met in Bangalore on June 26 and 27, presided over by Indrajit Gupta MP and attended by members from Madras, Bombay, Calcutta and Cochin. S. A. Dange also participated in the meeting.

THE committee decided to observe July 25 as the Wage Board Day of the port and dock workers demanding appointment of wage board immediately.

Other resolutions adopted by the meeting include the implementation of Bonus Commission recommendations by the government, recognition of the Federation, arresting food-price rise, nationalisation, dearness allowance etc.

The committee adopted a special appeal to all dock workers of the country urging them to refuse handling cargo, either import or export, of any vessel or line helping to carry on trade with South Africa. It warned all American and British lines that if they attempt to carry cargo in or out of South Africa, then all their vessels would be boycotted at the Indian ports.

## Struggle for Civil Rights

\* FROM FACING PAGE

ing strength. This, however, is not yet the dominant trend. For, simultaneously the organised movement for civil rights bringing in its sweep far greater number of whites as well as black people than ever before has grown.

One manifestation of this was the 80,000-strong rally in Chicago last Sunday (June 21). One of the greatest civil rights rallies ever held in the history of the nation—was how Martin Luther King, just out of jail and main speaker at the rally, described it.

The giant rally was a rejection of division and disunity; of white supremacist racism and of black supremacist exclusiveness; a powerful affirmation of unity and mutuality. Tens of thousands of trade unionists turned out in response to the call of 189 sponsoring organisations. Estimates of white participation ran from 10,000 to 15,000.

"We must have an alliance between the Negro people and the forces of labour and all other groups to rid this nation of poverty", Martin Luther King told the audience. "We are all tied together", he said.

The rally had a significance far beyond Chicago. This was recognised by the President of the US who in a message read out at the rally by Senator Paul Douglas described it as "democracy in action". Concerned as it was with local issues, such as segregated education and housing, miserable slum conditions and jobs, it showed keen awareness of the great national issues in the fight for civil rights, democracy and against poverty.

It made clear that it was at one with Dr. King when he warned of the growing ultra-Right danger. It gave clear indication that the passage of the Civil Rights Bill was not the end but only a step—a big step, to be sure—in a long journey. It roared in agreement with the spokesman of the Students' Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) when he demanded federal intervention in Mississippi to protect the youth now embarked on a mission of voter education and registration under the aegis of the Mississippi Summer Project of the Council of Federal Organisations.

In Washington a day later, addressing 2,500 delegates, the Executive Secretary of

the NAACP (National Association of Coloured People), Roy Wilkins, welcomed the coming Civil Rights Act of 1964 as an ally in the onward struggle. Criticising those who "deprecate the accomplishment by announcing what the Civil Rights Bill will not do", Wilkins said:

"No sane person contends that the bill solves all problems, but we intend to use it, to urge our people to use it and to employ very legitimate means to secure its enforcement."

Wilkins pledged the NAACP to "give the special case of Senator Goldwater special attention". He said the NAACP will aim to strengthen its allies but "will not sacrifice one goal or one principle" and will "try to expand a policy of true militant responsibility as against reckless adventurism."

"We intend to keep pushing along the whole front, not afraid of a new idea or a new method, but not afraid to toss out the ideas that are more exotic than they are useful", said Wilkins. He disclosed that the NAACP today had the greatest membership in its history—534,710.

## Public Sector Conf.

\* FROM PAGE THREE

mismanagement which constitute a blot on the public sector today, and above all, intensify their struggle against the anti-labour policy and practices now prevalent.

He suggested that the central government should convene a tripartite meeting to discuss and decide the ingredients and content of the labour policy in the public sector. He called for recognition of unions on the basis of ballot of workers.

The report was unanimously adopted after discussion by the conference.

The conference reorganised the coordination committee of trade unions in public sector and mandated it to approach all central trade union organisations for inclusion of their representatives in it. The coordination committee

re-elected Satish Loomba as the convenor.

Other members of the committee are: S. A. Dange, P. Ramamurthy, M. S. Krishnan (Bangalore), T. B. Vittal Rao (Singaperi), Satyanarayan Reddy (Hyderabad), Chaturanan Misra (NCDC), Prakash Roy (Korba), G. Sundaram (Bombay), Nihar Mukherji (Durgapur), D. Munjappa (Bhadravati), F. Poulis (Bangalore), George (FACT), Nityanand Ponda (Rourkela), and one representative each from Bhopal, Pimpri, Bhillai and Durgapur. The committee has been given powers to coopt additional members.

After the conference ended, a big mass rally was held at Subhash Nagar on June 27 which was addressed by S. A. Dange, Indrajit Gupta and P. Ramamurthy. The resolutions adopted at the conference were explained to the audience by M. S. Krishnan.



## VIJAYAWADA FIRES

ENQUIRY DEMAND  
GETS WIDE SUPPORT

From MOHIT SEN

HYDERABAD: The executive committee of the Andhra Pradesh council of the Communist Party of India has just concluded its four-day session. Among the most urgent tasks to which it addressed itself was the cause and the consequences of the blaze in Vijayawada.

It took note of the great damage that has been done to the city and the suffering caused to the people by these terrible outbreaks. Restoring calm and giving some relief are quite obviously the main jobs to be taken on hand and the committee appealed to all Party members and supporters to unite with all others to see that the people were spared not only further outbreaks but that their distress was alleviated.

It strongly repudiated the allegations and slander that the CPI was in any way responsible for the arson and deprecated the tendency of the Congress and of the Chief Minister to hold the Communists responsible. It was also wrong to try to make the political conflict between the Communists and the splitters as the cause of the fires.

It pointed out that there was a well-laid plot of a gang of antisocial elements with the powerful backing of some influential men who commanded sufficient financial and technical resources as some of the culprits caught by the people had materials like chemicals, explosives and kerosene.

It strongly condemned the arrest of political workers and leaders belonging to the CPI and the splitters, some of whom were arrested on the advice of some local Congress leaders. It called for the release of all these political workers and leaders.

It reiterated the demand for an open judicial enquiry into the outbreaks so that the real culprits might be caught and their patrons unmasked.

It is significant that some Congressmen are also anxious for such an enquiry and have openly said so in the legislative council.

NEW AGE has received fresh reports and evidence that the underworld gangs, who had been cowed down by the strength of the CPI, had a hand in these acts of arson. It is more than likely that the first outbreak at Krishna

Lanka, to say nothing of the subsequent ones, were engineered by these gangs and their patrons.

Some well-known rowdies went about boasting that the Communists were going to be finished off this time and that they themselves had nothing to fear as their "friends" would see to their protection.

It is significant to note in this connection that even some local Congress leaders have come out against G. S. Raju and his group. They are more than hinting that this group had been up to mischief and was trying to establish its stranglehold on Vijayawada city by attempting to weaken the position both of the Communists and the splitters.

These local Congress leaders are reported to have said that everybody knows what G. S. Raju is like and of his unsavoury connections. They are quite aware that dirty tactics against the Communists today can be turned against them tomorrow by G. S. Raju and his group. It is said that over 32 Congressmen have sent a memorandum against this group to the Chief Minister.

As these facts keep coming in, the people of Vijayawada are gradually overcoming their confusion and turning their anger against the real culprits.

In this situation when both the CPI and the splitters are under fire and facing a common offensive, the splitters' weekly JANASAKTI continues its disruptive game, not hesitating to use blatant lies.

In its latest issue it has committed a huge howler. It claims that Rajasekhar Reddy met the Chief Minister on the evening of June 13, had a long talk and came out happy and satisfied and thereafter began the arrests.

Unfortunately for the heated imagination of JANASAKTI Rajasekhar Reddy was on the train coming to Hyderabad on June 13, and from his arrival in Hyderabad on June 14 till this day has not met Brahma-nanda Reddy at all! These

facts, atleast, could have been checked up but the hard core of the splitters here care a fig for facts and are obsessed with hatred of the CPI and its leadership.

SUNDARAYYA  
REMOVED

P. Sundarayya had always claimed that the splitters were in a majority in the Communist and Democratic Legislators' Front (CDLF) in the Assembly. Even as late as June 24 he made this claim which was prominently featured by the INDIAN EXPRESS, which has systematically gone out of its way on several occasions to favour the splitters.

The CPI was anxious to maintain the unity of the CDLF and offered to negotiate with the splitters in this connection.

Sundarayya rudely turned down all proposals insisting that he alone could be the leader of the opposition. He obviously hop-

## DR. N. M. JAISOORYA

DR. N. M. JAISOORYA passed away on June 28 after a prolonged illness. He was 65.

He was the worthy son of the great Sarojini Naidu and a 'doughty' champion of the underdog and of all progressive causes. He was an eminent physician and a man of great culture and the most varied interests. He played a most prominent part defending the cause of democratic rights during the dark days of the terror launched by the Congress against the Telengana peasantry. He

was one of the leaders of the democratic movement in Andhra and the president of the Andhra branch of the ISCUS. He was loved deeply by the workers and peasants and intellectuals and his company was eagerly sought by all who had the cause of the people at heart and who appreciated wit, intelligence and compassion.

NEW AGE pays homage to the memory of this fine man and fighter and sends its condolences to Dr. Dwarakabai, Smt. Padmaja Naidu and all other members of the bereaved family.

ed that the CPI would not be able to muster the requisite 30 MLAs (the CDLF has a strength of 55) to maintain its position as the recognised opposition and so would fall prey to his intimidation.

On June 29 afternoon 30 MLAs of the CDLF intimated the Speaker that they had removed Sundarayya as their leader and Nagi Reddy as their deputy leader and that P. Venkateswarlu has been elected leader and V. Srikrishna and A. Kamla Devi as

deputy leaders.

The splitters have a following of 21 MLAs with the rest taking an independent position.

According to the previous rulings and precedent the CDLF has to be recognised as the leading opposition party. The speaker has accordingly done so on June 30 morning.

Thus the splitters have once again had to swallow their words and another 'public demonstration' has been made of their minority position in the Communist movement in Andhra.

## WHISPERING Gallery

## FIELD MARSHAL NANDA

THE day after Nanda declared "people's war against corruption" curiosity drove INSIDER to the Home Minister's residence at 6 Hastings Road where he had established his operational headquarters.

There were long queues of people ready to go to war being recruited by subedar-majors seated behind small tables equipped with notebooks and pencils.

There were generals moving about—Bhimsen Sachar, Brijkrishen Chandivala, CBI officials. At the head of this impressive galaxy was Field Marshal Nanda himself in his khadi uniform, swiftly moving in and out of the two tents, listening, talking and at times weeping. All were engaged in plotting the strategy of the people's war.

INSIDER listened to many of the complaints of corruption. Invariably the targets were a police man, an SHO, a sales-tax officer and such minor fry in the administration.

I am certainly not deriding the beginning shots in the war against corruption. Undoubtedly it is a splendid beginning in this that the people have been encouraged to speak up.

But looking at the initial shape of things one cannot resist the temptation to recall the fate of the similar Diwan-i-Aam launched by President Radhakrishnan soon after he entered the Rashtrapati Bhavan. I am not sure whether the show is still on. It was a flop, and it was certainly not due to the fault of the President.

So when we plot a war, we must have an idea of the

targets. The fountain-source of corruption in this country is the big business and their top accomplices in the government.

But are the big business tycoons cooperating with Nanda in his drive against corruption? I have before me a copy of the D.O. letter dated February 4, 1964, written by Bharat Ram, the then President of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce & Industry, and also a copy of Nanda's reply.

Wrote the Chief after discussing in the Committee of the FICCI: "This phenomenon of corruption, if looked at realistically, is not confined to our country alone...but we have of late tended to publicise it unduly. Indeed, this is not good for our image abroad..."

The Chief went on: "Moreover, at the national level the matter is so publicised as to give the impression that a particular section of the community, viz., the business community, is responsible for this sorry state of affairs. And this is not correct."

Attributing corruption solely to the "plethora of laws, rules, regulations and directives" of the government, Bharat Ram kicked the ball back at the ministerial door with a final dig:

"...In our view the problem is such as not to let delicacy be subordinated to frankness. It is a truism, but its force is not diluted by repetition, that honesty like water will find its level; in other words, the source and origin should necessarily be at higher regions."

Unfortunately Nanda took this impudence lying down; he was all sweet reasonableness in his reply, though he

feebly maintained that "corruption on a big scale is associated with big economic projects."

And he concluded his reply exuding optimism by saying "I welcome your offer of cooperation in combating the evil of corruption." But there was no offer of cooperation at all.

In fact, the FICCI was in such a belligerent mood that it refused to cooperate with the work of the Santhanam Committee. And the committee report had to make a special mention of this boycott by business Thugs.

Space does not permit a dilate on the corrupting influence of Black Money in the possession of these tycoons. Though he retracted slightly later, Nanda himself said at Lucknow the other week that a tycoon had told him that he had 45 MPs in his pocket.

Leave apart corruption of political life. We are being told time and again by men like TTK that this huge Black Money has been continuously pushing up prices, especially food prices.

And what is the main source of Black Money? Anybody will concede that evaded taxes bulk large in the Black Money.

The other day it was reported that Nanda has finalised schemes to combat corruption in five Central government departments. And mind you, the income-tax department is not one of the five.

The report says that the Finance Ministry has not agreed to let Field Marshal Nanda to carry the war into its income-tax department.

Here's the rub in the whole strategy of the people's war against corruption.

—INSIDER

## A Real Enquiry Needed

\* FROM FRONT PAGE

meaning "that through increased production, workers and agriculturists who had nothing now should get some portion of the country's wealth, so that peace could be maintained in domestic economic relations" (PTI report of Manubhai's speech).

The other "definition" of socialism which the PTI attributes to Manubhai is an even bigger gem and makes the author more worthy of the boot. This "definition" of socialism is that it is "nothing more than peace between the capitalist classes on the one hand and the working classes and

agriculturists on the other"

But Ramaswamy says that Manubhai "emphasised that the policy of nonalignment and socialism of Shri Nehru would be continued...."

If Manubhai's "definitions" are the definitions of Nehru's concept of socialism which Manubhai seeks to continue then it is time we woke up and acted. For, evidently the Nehru label is being used to hide the worst anti-Nehru sentiments.

THERE MUST BE A REAL ENQUIRY INTO THE WHOLE DIRTY BUSINESS AND A FULL REPORT MADE TO THE INDIAN PEOPLE.