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First Gains Scored By People's Food Campaign

STILL A LONG WAY TO GO

Prime Minister Shastri's speeches during the last two days, while addressing the National Development Council, have been rightly welcomed as representing a shift in the direction desired by the Indian people. Control and rationing of foodgrains will be introduced in Calcutta, Bombay, and other big cities, as well as in deficit Kerala. An Ordinance is being issued to enable prompt action to be taken against the profiteers and hoarders.

There is a sense of hope among the people that at last the grim food struggles waged by them are bearing fruit. Government appears to be realising that feeding the people is its duty, and that a government which cannot do this does not deserve to remain in power.

THOSE who scoffed at the Great Satyagraha, at the mighty Bandh actions, and said that they were futile and could not move the powers-that-be, are today silent. The Right reactionary enemies of control and equitable distribution of foodgrains of state-trading, are up in arms against the announcements made by the Prime Minister and the Food Minister this week. They are up in arms for precisely the same reasons as the people are filled with hope and expectation.

The people's food campaign is scoring its first gains. Even the limited announcements made by the Prime Minister are a victory, for they concede the essential correctness of the people's demands.

But words and proclamations cannot feed the people, even if they are on the right lines. This is a grim truth, which must not be forgotten in the midst of popular elation at the preliminary success-

ses achieved by the nationwide campaigns.

It is not enough to take powers to punish hoarders and profiteers summarily. It is necessary to use these powers in such a way as to win the confidence of the people that the authorities mean business. And it must be admitted that there is little of any confidence among the working masses that the authorities do mean business.

In the past, too there has been plenty of talk of action against the hoarders and profiteers. In righteous indignation, the highest in the land shouted "Hang the Hoarders". But too often did the people find that it was impossible to persuade the law to lift its little finger against the hoarders, when this was required. For these anti-national elements were often the mainstay of the ruling party, in some cases themselves sporting the white cap as members of the Congress, and, in others, being merely the financiers.

Not only have the hoarders and profiteers often had the protection of one or other faction of the Congress; they have also linked themselves up with the worst Right reactionary forces in the country.

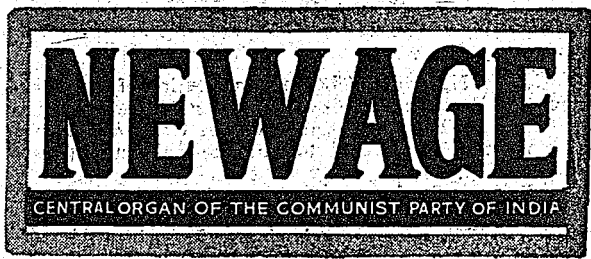
It was not an accident that the Jan Sangh rallied its forces to "defend" the shops of the wholesalers when they were picketed by Communist volunteers during the Great Satyagraha. Rajaji and the

Editorial Article

Swatantraites openly oppose any form of controls and ask for a free hand for their black-marketeer patrons.

There is always a fear that powers taken by government to act against price racketeers and other anti-social elements, who help to worsen the food situation, may be ill-used. Corruption, already rampant, may grow, as profiteer after profiteer pays in his hush money, while the small trader is harassed as evidence is concocted with a view to extract a toll from him.

There is a similar fear among the people of bureaucratic incompetence and of



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corruption, when they contemplate the introduction of controls and rationing. And the Right opponents of controls, the supporters of the so-called "freedom" of the market, utilise this legitimate fear to whip up opinion against rationing.

All these fears notwithstanding, today the moves towards accepting the responsibility of government to feed the people are universally welcomed. Rationing is starting first only in Kerala and the biggest cities. But it is made clear that it will be extended to other cities, if necessary, and when government has the resources and the stocks.

The main issue is: will these declarations be implemented? It is significant that the Chief Ministers attending the National Development Council did not appear to be enthusiastic, and several recounted the "difficulties" in the way of implementation. The State Ministries often have the closest class and personal

links with the hoarders and profiteers, and that has been one of the principal reasons for the failure to act against them so far.

While extra powers to take summary action are useful, let it not be forgotten that sufficient powers have existed all along for government to take action against the black-marketeers. **BUT THESE POWERS WERE VERY SELDOM USED.** And when they were used, it was already against the little men, the small traders, the petty thieves.

The men, who bear the main responsibility for the shooting prices, the monopolists and their agents have always gone scot-free. And there still does not appear to be any reason to assume that they will not continue to loot at liberty in the coming days, all the ordinances and strong Prime Ministerial words notwithstanding.

The last few weeks have seen the unfolding of a popular price rise resistance movement in several parts of the country. Consumers' cooperatives have been growing like mushrooms. Boycott of shops selling goods at profiteering rates has become a feature of the movement. In some cases, smuggled or hoarded grains have been seized by the people and distributed equitably among all, the reasonable price being collected and paid to the owners.

This people's movement has itself played its part in pushing government towards the solutions and proposals put forward by the toilers' food campaign. The hammer blows of the Bandhs and the Great Satyagraha have compelled the government to declare its intention to take drastic steps.

There must be no relaxation in the people's campaign. It is this campaign which has lashed the authorities into declaring their intention to act against the food thieves. It is this campaign, in all its many forms, which can guarantee that this declaration of intention is followed up by concrete action.

Yes, it is still a long way to go... But the campaign moves relentlessly forward, gathering ever larger support for its key slogans, its varied forms of action. The goal is still distant, but an awakened and united people can and **SHALL** reach it.



The huge march of Bombay textile workers on October 23 on the bonus demand.

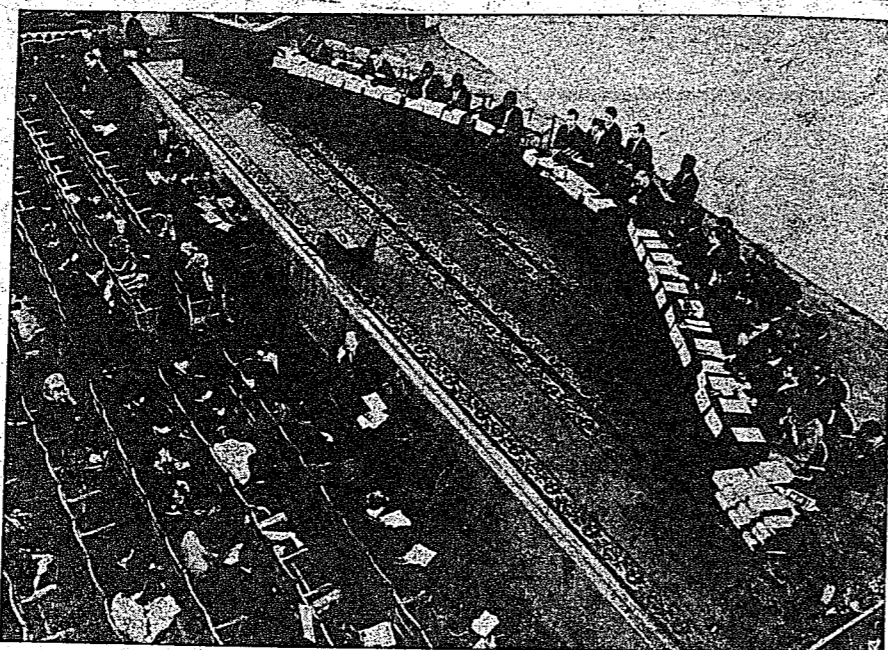
Photo: SHARAD PAWAR

ALL ROADS LEAD TO DELHI

From November 1 begins the meeting of the International Preparatory Committee for the World Conference for Peace and International Cooperation. The Committee is expected to put the finishing touches to the programme, the agenda and other details regarding the Conference, which opens in New Delhi on November 14—Pandit Nehru's 75th birthday.

AMONG the first to intimate the Conference office of his arrival date is the representative of the Algerian Peace Committee, which functions under the direction of the National Liberation Front (FLN). In a way, the day on which the International Preparatory Committee is beginning its work is specially auspicious: November 1 is the anniversary of the day on which the liberation war in Algeria started, and is celebrated every year, to pay tribute to

of concrete measures of solidarity with these peoples fighting for their freedom from colonial slavery. A cable received this week indicates that twelve leading jurists of the world will be attending the Conference and will act as the judges or prosecutors in the Trial of the South African racist Prime Minister Verwoerd. The first part of the trial was held in Moscow during the days when the World



Verwoerd trial at the World Youth Forum, Moscow. The next part of the trial will begin in New Delhi on November 14.

held, will help to focus attention on the most burning issue of apartheid. A special meeting of international solidarity with the people of Angola, Mozambique and other Portuguese colonies is being organised on the initiative of the members of the Indian delegation from Goa.

It is expected that during this meeting a committee for the collection of funds and other material assistance to the freedom struggles in the Portuguese colonies will be set up. The Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity and other organisations are likely to propose that the meeting issues an invitation to the freedom movements of Angola, Mozambique etc. to open an office in New Delhi, in the same way as the African National Congress of South Africa is opening its office here (the funds for which began to be collected during the recent tour of Dr. Dadoo and J. B. Marks).

Again, while the general questions of trade and the economic consequences of disarmament will be emphasised, the spotlight in the economic commission will be focussed in particular on the problem of developing countries and the necessity of peace for their development.

Cultural and Economic Commissions

The cultural and economic commissions are expected to discuss and decide upon concrete proposals for cooperation and mutual exchanges during the International Cooperation Year 1965. Here, as in all other commissions and sectional meetings, the effort is to avoid the stale platitudes which sometimes go along with conferences, and instead to concentrate on practical and concrete issues and proposals.

There is little doubt that in India, the commission on

the struggles against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism will be the most largely attended. Apart from specific issues, this commission will also go into the question of the relationship between the struggle for peace and the struggle for national independence.

★ The Conference organisers have been hunting for a symbol for the Conference badges, posters, etc. They have at last hit upon a most suitable one: a rose. For a Conference which opens on Jawaharlal Nehru's birthday, the rose is obviously appropriate. But more, as the Conference organisers say, a rose is a symbol of beauty, of life... which after all are synonyms for peace. It is hoped that some of India's best known artists will agree to draw the roses, which will become the symbols of the conference.

Issues to be Discussed

The issues which are to be discussed at the Conference cover the very widest fields. The discussion on disarmament and its many aspects is bound to be of special interest. The Chinese test and the French preparations for their tests in the Pacific are looked upon with the gravest concern, particularly by the peoples in the range of the radioactive fall-out from these dangerous experiments.

For India, where the cry for the manufacture of nuclear weapons has again gone up from the dens of reaction, the discussions on disarmament will be heard with very deep interest.

The agenda is inevitably drawn up in such a way as to make it of particular concern to people in India, and this region of the world. The contribution of nonalignment to world peace is a subject which will receive considerable attention. And the resolution on this vital subject will probably be the first in a world conference of this nature which will go on record on the significance of nonalignment.

India And The Bomb

FROM FACING PAGE

must include financial and economic consideration—as a result of clear and oft-repeated declarations that she will never make the nuclear bomb.

It is this declaration—which everyone knows is made at a moment when our scientific knowledge clearly makes it possible for us to produce the atom bomb without much difficulty—which enables India to command universal support and sympathy.

Let us make no mistake about it: the test explosion by the Chinese leadership has not won for it friendship or applause. It may have won for it a certain kind of fear. But in the world of today when nations are rallying together for peace, that fear can never win support.

It is necessary for India's public opinion to recall at this moment the firm stand taken on this question, throughout

this period when it was known well that China was making its own atom bomb, by the late Prime Minister Nehru.

If he is remembered today in the world, remembered with affection, it is, above all, because of this sincere and principled adherence to peace.

India's stand against nuclear weapons does not mean and has never meant that India will not build up its own defence potential. But in today's world it is sheer madness to attempt to enter the nuclear race, in which the leading powers have gone so far ahead, that mankind is faced with virtual annihilation.

India must not fall a prey to the Right propaganda, it must not attempt to join the nuclear race. The policy of nonalignment and peace is India's shield: We can depend upon it, as always.

(October 27)

It is good that Defence Minister Chavan has once more reiterated that India's policy in regard to nuclear weapons remains the same as before. As a matter of fact, his own utterances immediately after the Chinese test gave rise to a considerable amount of confusion. And this confusion would become worse confounded, had he not been asked to make matters clear.

At Ahmednagar on October 25, Chavan addressing officers, gathered for an armoured crops conference, said:

"During the last ten days, we have witnessed events of such far-reaching importance that inevitably would affect our thinking on defence."

He added that India's defence preparations should be in accordance with the "dynamic political and military situation" in the world.

This was equivocal enough to suggest that there was considerable rethinking in regard to India's attitude toward the making of nuclear weapons.

A day earlier in Bombay the Defence Minister addressed a meeting organised by the Bombay Union of Journalists and stated:

"The explosion of a nuclear device by China is a new factor which will have to be kept in mind by those connected with defence preparations in the neighbouring countries."

THE TIMES OF INDIA, in a report of this press meeting, reported:

"When further pressed to say whether there was going to be a rethinking on the part of the government regarding its nuclear policy,

Mr. Chavan parried by saying that in a dynamic political situation, there was always a need for thinking."

It appeared from the weekend utterances of the Defence Minister that he was greatly disturbed by the Chinese explosion, and had not quite made up his mind regarding our own production of nuclear weapons.

To all this was added the interesting statistics furnished by the Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, Dr. Homi Bhabha. Broadcasting from All India Radio, Dr. Bhabha informed the country that atomic bombs could now be produced at a very low cost: a 10 kiloton explosion equivalent to 10,000 tons of TNT—about the size of the Hiroshima bomb—would he said, cost only Rs. 17.5 lakhs, while a two megaton explosion—equivalent to two million tons of TNT, will cost Rs. 30 lakhs.

To make the whole proposition even more palatable Dr. Bhabha pointed out that two million tons of TNT would cost Rs. 15 crores. The nuclear bomb was one-fifth the price.

According to UNI, Dr. Bhabha "emphasised that the most powerful deterrent was the capability of launching nuclear retaliation."

INDIA AND THE BOMB SHOULD OUR NUCLEAR POLICY BE CHANGED?

All this only went to help the Right reactionary campaign aimed essentially at dragging India under the U.S. umbrella.

In the capital, the President of the Delhi Congress Committee organised an Anti-Bomb Explosion Day, only to demand heroically that India have its own nuclear weapons. It appeared that the Congress could find no answer to the Jan Sangh Campaign other than to echo its vicious and dangerous slogan.

It is in this context that the latest pronouncements of Defence Minister refusing to accept the U.S. nuclear umbrella and emphasising that India will never use nuclear power for war purpose, are more than welcome.

Regarding the umbrella, Chavan categorically said that the suggestion was not only impracticable but unreal and added: "How can anyone guarantee our defence through a nuclear umbrella or anything of this sort?"

The danger, however, is still great, and vigilance should not be relaxed in the slightest degree. The warning given by NEW AGE last week has served already to bring to the focus of public attention the peril that exists.

That the Defence Minister's statements (they must be seen together with the week end vacillations) are

He cast doubts on the policies of the new leadership in the Soviet Union, and the purpose was clear enough.

The right, both inside and outside the Congress, will make the most of the present situation to press for a change in our own policy of non-alignment and peace. They would appeal to the natural patriotic feelings of the In-

by ROMESH CHANDRA

by no means the final word is apparent from the new campaign which Sadoba Patil has launched to link Chinese explosion with the events in the Soviet Union.

Addressing the Commerce Graduates Association in Bombay on October 24, Patil talked of "the explosion coupled with the exit of Mr. Khrushchov showing that dangerous symptoms were developing in the world."

dian people (who sincerely desire that our country's defence should be adequate) in order to push India into one form or the other of military alliance with the western powers.

It is not without significance that the Hindustan Times' Washington correspondent has raised the question of India acquiring from the USA "such smaller tactical nuclear weapons as the Davy rocket."

The US imperialists would like to make India completely dependent on them in one way or the other for its defence. And if this so-called defence is to be based on nuclear weapons, then the USA is ready both to offer its umbrella and its "smaller nuclear weapons". Clearer thinking is necessary. It is not possible for any country today to throw a nuclear bomb in a hostile action, without unleashing the forces of a world war. This reality must be made known to and understood by the entire Indian people.

Therefore, if as the Right hysteria warns, the Chinese leadership were to dare to use its nuclear bomb (and it must be emphasised that this is yet a tiny bomb in comparison with the kind of bombs which are in the possession of the USA and the Soviet Union) then it would automatically bring upon itself the wrath of the whole world and with it the destruction of modern nuclear weapons.

Another fact which must be underlined is this:

As Prof. Linus Pauling has said again, the world's nuclear stockpile is equivalent to 320,000 million tons of TNT, which is far more than enough to kill everyone on earth several times over.

The temptation of making a two megaton bomb at the cost of Rs. 30 lakhs which some of our scientists seem to be offering us should be seen in the background of the 320,000 megatons which are already stockpiled.

This drop in the ocean will not make India invulnerable. On the contrary the possession of nuclear weapons makes any country the first target in the case of the opening of nuclear hostilities.

Apart from the practical considerations—and these

Economic notes

oil and fertiliser industries, and the greater private sector orientation given to coal policies."

It also describes the World Bank ("with its regular surveying of the Indian developmental programme and its key role in the Aid India Club arrangements") as "a special source of influence" and notes that "internationally, the drive toward a socialist pattern lost its vigour as dependence on foreign aid increased and assumed urgency."

All this happened when a man of Jawaharlal's perspicacity was at the helm of affairs, and when even T. T. Krishnamachari realised that "a man who gives us aid naturally lays down his terms."

YIELDING TO W. GERMANS

AN instance of the government's softness towards foreign investors is provided by its acceptance of the West German government's outrageous demand that it should have a hand in deciding the quantum and mode of compensation for any West German holdings that India might decide to take over.

So far the right to take decision was solely that of the Indian Parliament, and even the country's courts were barred from questioning this right.

Now an alien government, acting as the custodian of its nationals' investments, has been allowed to ask for arbitration by a committee in whose selection it will have a decisive hand. This committee will also be empowered

In fact, TTK who, echoing the US businessmen, now wants aid to be supplanted by foreign private investments had, according to the study also said less than a decade ago that "the fight that we had to put up for the attainment of liberty is still fresh in our mind and we shall not barter an inch of that liberty, not for a mess of pottage." Now, of course, the old spark is dead, and how much more vulnerable have we become to the pernicious influence of western aid!

ed to question India's right to refuse permission for the repatriation of the West German capital on the score of balance of payments difficulty.

The agreement is a humiliating document which no self-respecting government, least of all one which swears by the name of Jawaharlal Nehru, can find its way to accept. It opens the door wide for an inundation of our industries by West German capitalists, foreclosing at the same time our right to prevent them from indulging in new depredations.

It is an invitation to neo-colonialism and a blow to our prospects to build a democratic social and economic order. For, if foreign aid can erode our policies foreign private investments if allowed an upper hand can corrode our very independence.

—ESSEN

(October 27)



Whither Congress?

This is not the first time that the people of India are asking themselves the question: in which direction is the ruling party going? And it is probably not by any means the last. But perhaps the difference this time lies in the fact that the question is being asked with greater force than ever since independence, by rank-and-file Congressmen themselves.

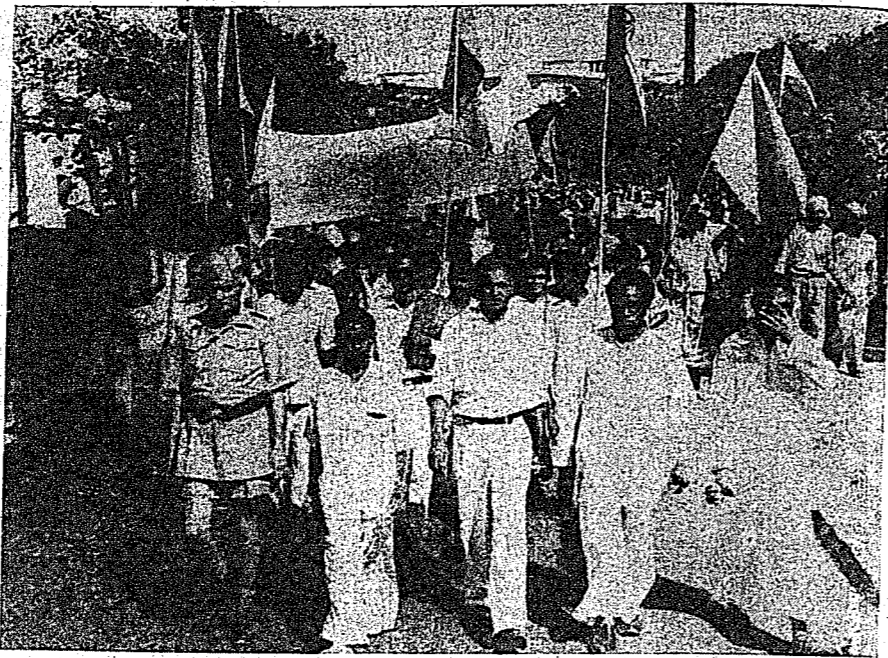
THE series of conferences which have been held in Uttar Pradesh and the meetings organised in Punjab and Bihar, following the Northern India Congress Workers' Convention, are an indication of deep-seated unrest among Congressmen, who work at the base.

In a way, this "ferment" as the sponsors of this movement for radicalisation would like to describe it, arises from the realisation that elections are fast approaching, and the Congress workers sense the growing discontent against the Congress governments, which is the common feature among the masses in towns and villages.

But to dismiss the whole new movement as merely arising from the realisation that Congress must give itself a cleaner face before the general elections, would be to miss the dominant impetus behind the "ferment".

It is not an accident that in all these conferences, in which radical Congressmen like K.D. Malaviya are taking the lead, the emphasis is on "more rapid strides towards socialism."

One may quarrel with the concept of socialism, which some of those who participate in these conferences may have. But what is clear from even a cursory glance through the proceedings of these meet-



Processionists from Shahada who demonstrated in the Capital on October 24 against price-rise. The demonstration was jointly organised by various political parties including Communist Party. PHOTO: R. PARASHER

ings is that there is an overwhelming urge among the delegates and participants to put an end to the profiteering and license-hunting raj, which today blackens the face of the Congress. Resolutions are adopted in favour of nationalisation of

banks, state-trading in food-grains and other democratic measures, which are also being sponsored today by Communist and other democratic forces in the country. The recent Lucknow divisional conference reiterated the demand of honest Congress workers for the debarment from Congress office of all those who hold licenses and permits.

Socialism, not Foreign Concept

There is an interesting story from the Banaras conference where a rightwing Congress leader tried to put across the idea that socialism was a "foreign" concept, and India should not follow such foreign slogans, but build on its own "traditional" thought and practice. Whatever this gentleman may have meant, he learnt pretty soon that he was barking up the wrong tree, as delegate after delegate trounced him, and with him, the entire right gang which has grabbed for itself positions of power and influence inside the Congress organisational machine.

What About United Front?

There is another issue which also calls for urgent attention. Can the Congress progressives (or would it not be better to describe them as anti-right, anti-monopolist forces inside the Congress?) really grow, in isolation from the progressive forces outside the Congress? Is there no need for common action round common slogans? Is it enough for the Congress democrats

Comment

advance made in regard to food controls and rationing and towards state-trading, and argue that if it were not for this constant pressure by the Congress rank and file, even the present halting measures would not have been permitted by the monopolists' caucus, which is strongly entrenched at all levels in governments and legislatures.

Next week the AICC meets in Guntur. The Congress Working Committee is still debating on the question of the admission to the Congress of the Swatantra wing in Bihar, led by the Raja of Ramgarh. The whole issue is mixed up with the factional

politics inside Bihar itself, and even the opposition to the entry of these Swatantrales, while couched in radical terms, is often largely a product of the factional interests which divide the Bihar Congress.

Those who would like the democratic elements inside the Congress to grow stronger ask how precisely they intend to steer clear of the factional divisions which are the bane of the Congress in almost every state.

If they do not do so, and base themselves on one or the other faction, and NOT on a concrete programme, then there will eventually be only a scramble for election tickets on a factional basis (with radical slogans only being used as a kind of screen, which is easy for anti-ministerialists to employ anywhere).

It does not require a Sherlock Holmes to unravel the mystery of this strange get-together. Reaction finds, as it did during his lifetime, that Sardar Patel can be a rallying point for his anti-national aims and policies. And the Right reactionary forces, including those inside the Congress headed by Morarji Desai, are gearing up for the occasion.

WATCH THE WHOLE BUSINESS CAREFULLY. IT IS MEANT TO BE THE OPENING SHOT IN THE CREATION OF AN OPEN RIGHTIST UNITED FRONT.

What is surprising is how President Radhakrishnan and Kamaraj allowed their names to be used for this obviously reactionary united front.

LUCKNOW: While the ministerialists and the dissidents, the haves and the havenots of the UP Congress, continue to be locked in their eternal battle to oust and eliminate each other from all positions of power and patronage, new and welcome signs of some fresh thinking seem to be appearing lately among the Congress workers of the state.

UNDER the Presidentship of the UPCC President, ex-Finance Minister Kamalapati Tripathi three divisional conferences of Congress workers have been held in Faizabad, Varanasi and Kanpur during the last two weeks or so. These Conferences, representing Congress workers of nearly 20 districts of the state have, on all accounts, been well attended and fairly stormy affairs. In all, about fifteen thousand Congress workers have taken part in these conferences.

Enunciating the objectives of these conferences, Kamalapati Tripathi has said that, although the responsibility of UP Congressmen is "very heavy," "due to factionalism and inter-caste quarrels" they have lost contact with the people. "The result is that the Congress organisation has begun to look lifeless." Therefore, these conferences are being organised "to reforge" the lost contacts and "to rejuvenate the Congress."

H. N. Bahuguna and Govind Sahai, new general secretaries of the UP Congress, and possibly the driving force behind this move, have expressed similar sentiments.

But, it appears that, the Congress workers, who came to these assemblies felt even more strongly. In the Faizabad divisional conference, held on October 11 and 12 and attended by over 5,000 Congress workers of several neighbouring districts, it was decided that:

"Capitalists have seized hold of the Congress now. They are Congressmen for doing things which are only in their interests."

The workers demanded that, "the Congress should be barred to quota, permit or licence holders." They further demanded that, "Congressmen should not have social relations with blackmarketeers or persons guilty of moral turpitude."

They further said that, "there should be a code of conduct for Congressmen, for their social, political and personal behaviour."

They should keep aloof from capitalists and collect small subscriptions... Workers also said that sums of more than Rs. 10 should not be accepted from anyone.

After the Varanasi conference Mangal Singh, M.L.A. caustically commented, "to make capitalists leaders of the Congress and then to talk of socialism is a farce..."

The two-day conference of Congress workers of Allahabad division, which was held at Kanpur on October 18 and 19, besides proposing "a ban" on the active membership of those Congressmen who indulged in black-marketing and benefited themselves by holding quota, permits and licences, prescribed a "code of conduct" for the ministers (also) and urged upon them "to maintain contact with the district and

city Congress committees" wherever they went on tour.

Further, "it was decided that the Congress organisation should be made free from the influence of the capitalists and consequently it was recommended that small subscriptions should be raised from the common man instead of collecting money from industrialists."

A deep and, at times, extremely bitter concern was voiced against the ever-growing control of capitalists and other anti-social elements on the Congress organisation and the governmental machinery at various levels and a powerful demand was raised in all the conferences to rid and "purify" the organisation of such influences and people.

Secondly, in these conferences serious note was taken of the situation created by the rise in prices and the food situation. Worker after worker is reported to have got up in each one of the conferences to nail down the utter failure of the Congress policies in respect of above questions.

Some of the sharpest denunciations of the trading community and their practices made from any Congress platform was heard in these conferences. Traders, profiteers and blackmarketeers were charged with treachery and practically with one-voice, all these conferences demanded that:

"The government should immediately take over the food-grains trade and introduce state trading; Banks should be nationalised; Monopolies in the newspaper and other industries should be 'eliminated'. Along with ceiling on land holdings and agricultural income, ceiling should also be fixed on urban incomes; Licences of those fair price shops should be cancelled against whom there are complaints of corruption and fair price shops should in future be allotted to cooperatives instead of individuals;

For stepping up foodgrains production, uneconomic holdings of land should be exempted from rent and kisans should be provided with facilities of irrigation, fertilizers, seeds and modern agricultural implements;

The Kisans with small holdings should be given enough taqat loans and development programmes should be reoriented to give them a bias in favour of the middle and the poor peasants;

The controversial land and house tax, introduced during the emergency, should be withdrawn. Privy purses, being given to ex-rulers should be stopped and an end put to "these remnants of feudalism."

In Crisis-ridden U.P. RETHINKING AMONG CONGRESS RANKS

From RAMESH SINHA

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Sharp criticism was made of the prices of grains which the government has fixed for the state. A resolution passed in the Varanasi conference, held on October 13 and 14, said "the prices recently fixed for the foodgrains produced in UP do not do justice to the peasants. Therefore, proper prices should be fixed."

The conferences criticised the "unfair rates" paid to the peasants for their lands taken from them for industrial or other purposes. They demanded that compensation should be paid to the kisans on the basis of market rates and in keeping with the needs of their rehabilitation.

Similarly these Congress workers had some strong things to say about the treatment given to the workers in the nationalised undertakings. According to H. N. Bahuguna, UPCC general secretary: "The Congress workers warned against the present pattern of nationalisation, which was another name for bureaucratization in

his column in SWARAJYA (October 27). Rajaji moans about the Cairo meeting in these words:

"On the whole it was a futile affair which came really to nothing after a great deal of noise and newspaper space. It has not furthered either world peace or India's interests in any way."

Patil Peddles Nuclear Dope

NEW DELHI is in the thick of a debate. Two lines are contending for official acceptance. Should India make the atom bomb and answer the Chinese? Or should India fly into the nuclear arms of Uncle Sam?

Intense discussion is taking place behind the scene at various levels. INSIDER understands that the chief peddler of Johnson's nuclear dope in the government is S. K. Patil.

He has been lobbying Cabinet colleagues and Congress bigwigs for official acceptance of the American offer of a deterrent.

On Tuesday US Ambassador Chester Bowles also met a select few of the dope peddlers of the jute press. You may take it that we are in for a national campaign.

It will be more furious than the one we had on the nuclear umbrella and the inglorious VOA deal. What the HINDUSTAN TIMES has done on Wednesday is the curtain-raiser.

Birla's Century Mills produce some of the finest cotton fabrics in this country but production has never been adequate enough to cover up the ugly political anatomy of the Birlas. They are so unashamed as to openly ask for the American deterrent.

So with the Birlas giving the green signal it is no surprise that some of the ministerial marionettes and others have started dancing.

In sheer desperation, the other day, Kabir wrote a personal letter to the Prime Minister.

It should not, however, be

Whispering Gallery

ter protesting against the Finance Minister's underground activities.

He tried the same trick in 1962 when foreign collaboration in the Cochlin refinery was being finalised. His target at that time was K. D. Malaviya on whom he had tried to force Burnah-Shell again and incidentally help a Marwadi millionaire operating in the south.

TTK is a large-hearted person as far as Western monopolies are concerned. See how generously he has treated the Bird & Company. The company's unauthorised foreign exchange reserves abroad was a big scandal and it was agitated in Parliament for a long time. It has now been let off with a trifling fine of Rs. 67,000 which, again, it will share with another firm. Orissa Minerals Development Corporation.

This reminds me of the letter which the former Auditor-General, Ashok Chandra, wrote from London to a buddy of the Bird & Company fixing up an appointment for him with TTK on coal prices.

The buddy did meet him and, soon after coal prices in which the Bird & Company is so much interested were raised handsomely.

The photostat copy of this letter was presented to the Rajya Sabha by Communist leader Govindan Nair. TTK couldn't do very much then except to look sheepish and mutter some incoherent explanation.

INSIDER

NEW AGE

NOVEMBER 1, 1964

A PATRIOT'S NOTEBOOK

COMMEMORATION OR REACTIONARY GANG-UP

THE walls of the capital are always plastered with posters. But there is one poster this week, which deserves special attention. It announces a public meeting to observe the birthday of the late Sardar Patel, on October 31 at the Red Fort. It is the printed list of speakers, which arouses much concern and indicates that there is more in this affair than a simple commemoration.

Here are the names of those who are evidently the main speakers:

- * MORARJI DESAI
- * GURU GOLWALKAR,
- * ACHARYA KRIPALANI,
- * K. M. MUNSHI.

For good measure evidently, the names of Congress President Kamaraj and Ram Manohar Lohia are added.

And to make the whole mixture more "respectable", it is proclaimed that President Radhakrishnan will preside.

The poster significantly adds the words "RSS Chief" after Golwalkar—just to assure the public that the Guru is there in his full regalia, as boss of his fascist apparatus. And just next to him comes the name of Kamaraj, again described as "CONGRESS PRESIDENT". None of the other speakers are given their titles or other claims to be on the platform.

It is known that the sponsors of the meeting are headed by known communalists and reactionaries. The so-called Sardar Patel Jayanti Samaroh is chaired by Prakash Vir Shastri and includes several Jan Sangh-Swatantra-RSS organisers and leaders.

It does not require a Sherlock Holmes to unravel the mystery of this strange get-together. Reaction finds, as it did during his lifetime, that Sardar Patel can be a rallying point for his anti-national aims and policies. And the Right reactionary forces, including those inside the Congress headed by Morarji Desai, are gearing up for the occasion.

WATCH THE WHOLE BUSINESS CAREFULLY. IT IS MEANT TO BE THE OPENING SHOT IN THE CREATION OF AN OPEN RIGHTIST UNITED FRONT.

What is surprising is how President Radhakrishnan and Kamaraj allowed their names to be used for this obviously reactionary united front.

The RSS is specially jubilant: Golwalkar has never before spoken on the same platform as the Congress President and the President of the Republic.

Minister will address a meeting on the occasion under the auspices of the Delhi Pradesh Congress Committee.

This, to say the least, is an amazing decision. November 14 is being observed in many parts of the world as a day dedicated to peace. And here in the capital of Nehru's own land, a party meeting—for it remains a party meeting, even if addressed by the Prime Minister—is supposed to be a fit observance of the day.

It is not a question here of one's attitude towards Pandit Nehru, towards his achievements or his failures. There is time enough to assess all that.

But in today's context, the Nehru Jayanti could be a national day of rededication to the positive policies for which he stood, particularly in regard to the struggle for world peace.

There is woeful delay in chalking out a programme for the day—a national and not a party programme. So far November 14 has not even been declared as a national holiday.

One can be happy that the World Conference for Peace and International Cooperation opens on November 14 in the capital. This will give an opportunity to peace workers from many lands to pay their tributes to Nehru's work for peace.

THE CAIRO CONFERENCE HAS BEEN PARTICULARLY SHAMELESS IN TAKING THE RUSSIAN SIDE ON ALMOST EVERY QUESTION. It is time for India's new government to consider whether this commitment of its predecessor really serves any national interest.

Poor Rajaji! One pities the apologists for the imperialists! The anti-imperialist armour donned by the nonaligned world does not mean "taking sides". The only fact to which Rajaji would like to turn the blind eye, is that there is a common bond between the nonaligned world and the socialist countries—and that is the common struggle for peace and national independence, against war and imperialism.

The "nonalignment" of the pro-imperialists' conception—of so-called equidistance between the imperialists and the socialist countries—is dead, and not all the whining chants of the Swatantra witch-doctor can resurrect it.

THE frustration of the Right reactionary forces at the success of the nonaligned conference at Cairo can be seen vividly in the comments by the Swatantra chief Rajaji. In

—ROMESH CHANDRA (October 28)

CPI Gathers Strength In Andhra

GROWING DISARRAY AMONG SPLITTERS

Congress Squabbles Come To Fore

HYDERABAD: The no-confidence motion tabled by the CPI Legislative Party, on the basis of the decision of the state executive, has attracted wide attention.

It is becoming the focal point of the democratic movement in Andhra, which has registered good advance in the recent period. The Congress leadership affects to be unconcerned, depending on its mechanical majority. But the rumblings of popular protest reverberate in its ranks as well. Not all the Congress MLAs are likely to function only as obedient boys when the debate proceeds.

There was a rather piquant sequel to the decision of the state executive. No sooner was the news published than Sundarayya and Nagi Reddy rushed forward to table a no-confidence motion of their own, hardly differing in substance or phrasing. A newspaper correspondent remarked that the "leftists" seem to have developed an inferiority complex and have become tailists as far as the CPI is concerned.

However, this is all to the good in many ways. It should open the way to discussions and negotiations so that a united front is presented in the Assembly, which would help other opposition members also to rally round and put the complacent Congress government in the dock. It might help also to dispel some of the prejudice and confusion that some of the leaders of the splitters have gone all out to create.

Misplaced Zeal

Everybody, according to him, knew that it was bad and it was on its way out. The main enemy of the splitters, he said was the CPI—echoing Rajaji's call that communism was his Enemy Number One. Until the CPI was smashed the anti-Congress movement could not fully develop.

This was quite logical from his own standpoint. People were heard to say that it may not take long for Sundarayya to declare that his main enemies were the "compromisers" among his "revolutionaries" who had to be smashed if the CPI was to be smashed, all as a prelude to smashing the Congress. The only wonder is that he bothers at all about the CPI in Andhra, since on the basis of his famous penchant for statistics it has been reduced almost to a state of non-existence.

In contrast to this approach is the line adopted by the CPI,

which has been very ably carried forward, among others, by Giri Frasad in Khammam. The harm done by the split is not underestimated nor the future damage in store through the adventurist, opportunist and disruptive line of the leadership of the splitters.

But the CPI does not consider it its main enemy or even its enemy at all, though it will give them no quarter ideologically or organisationally. It wants to draw it into united mass actions and wishes to jointly serve the same masses, for whom they had so far worked together in a single Party. The CPI has a line of unity to counter the line of split.

The intense ideological political campaigning combined with the experience of the recent mass actions has had some impact on some of those who had been temporarily confused by the splitters.

Return to Party fold

In Hyderabad Shahidi, president of the Hotel Kamgar Union and well-known trade unionist as well as Communist of long standing, has decided to return to the CPI and resume his place in the City Council, in view of the international and national situation. In a statement, Raj Bahadur Gour, secretary of the Hyderabad City Council, has warmly welcomed this decision and appealed to others, who may have been temporarily confused, to emulate this excellent example.

Similar has been the experience of an important taling in Srikakulam district where quite a number have rejoined the CPI. Steady shifts are taking place in Khammam, while in Nalgonda village explanatory campaign in the so-called strongholds of the "left" has yielded good results.

The experience of the drive to double Party membership has shown, especially in the Telengana districts, that very wide fields are waiting for the Party plough. The need is for mass education and for trained cadres, on which the state council of the CPI will get a detailed organisational report.

So far reports have reached of the district conferences of Nalgonda, Karimnagar and Warangal. All district conferences will conclude by the first week of November when a clear picture of the position in the entire state will emerge.

In the meantime, attention has been focussed on another aspect of the methods of some of the leading splitters. They had all alone claimed to be the "real" CPI and presumably are conducting their con-

ferences on the basis of the Party constitution adopted by the 1953 Amritsar Party Congress. This constitution provides for state councils, executive and secretariat.

Without waiting for even the formal gesture of amendment by the splitters' Congress, Sundarayya has forced through a revision. A select committee of 25 replaces the Council with a small Secretariat with Sundarayya as the presiding deity. It is quite in line with the general sectarian attitude of the leadership of the splitters that they are against the drawing in of new forces in the shape of an extended

BID TO DISRUPT T. U. MOVEMENT IN COIMBATORE TEXTILES

Factional Interest, "Left" Leaders' Guiding Line

The Coimbatore District Mill Workers' Union is one of the most active and influential AITUC unions in the country. During the past ten years it has been a decisive factor in the trade union movement in the district.

In 1956 the union played a leading part in achieving the general agreement on wages and workloads which was taken as a model in many textile centres throughout the country. Since the Ernakulam session of the AITUC in 1957 the union has actively and correctly implemented the re-orientated policies of the AITUC which has enabled it to become a strong force amongst the textile workers.

This was the union which was largely responsible for the successful organisation of the now memorable Coimbatore session of the AITUC, (1961) which was acclaimed throughout the country. With a membership of more than 10,000 the union also owns property to the value of about two lakhs throughout the district including a number of buildings.

During the last five years, since 1959, P. Ramamurti, through his henchmen has tried in vain to gain control of this union. At every single general body meeting of the union while the general secretary's report has been adopted unanimously, the posts of office-bearers have been contested.

Last year, in 1963, this reached the climax in that every single office was contested, but the disruptors were routed. Seeing that the workers did not have confidence in them, since that time, and more so since April 1964, when an open split came about in the Communist Party, Ramani (the local district leader of these disruptive elements) and his henchmen have gone all out to break the union.

During the last six months they have resorted to every possible means to gain control. They have organised fake branch general body meetings consisting of their own men and in some cases refusing admission to paid-up loyal members of the union. They have also tried violent methods to 'capture' offices of the union. For instance, in Sarvanampatti, they

From MOHIT SEN

base of leadership. Adventurist politics together with conspiratorial organisational forms (cells replace branches) is the general line that is being pursued. These intense preparations for the Party conferences proceed in an atmosphere of continuing difficulties on the food front. A few days ago all the daily papers splashed the news that Nellore District faced a regular rice famine as the stocks had just disappeared. In Hyderabad the decision has been taken to go in for wholesale decontrol, entire reliance being placed on price regulation alone.

In the meantime stories are circulating that among the hosts of Prime Minister Shastri, Indra Gandhi and others there are some tobacco magnates who are not only pro-Swantantra politically but who have spread the most scurrilous stories about the late Prime Minister and his daughter.

These have been brought to the notice of the State Congress leaders but to no avail so far. If Shastri and Indra Gandhi are put up in the houses of these obnoxious and disreputable persons some public exposure and protest may result. It is still hoped that Brahmananda Reddy will see sense even at this late hour.

Factional Vendetta

The bungling by the Food Minister Balaram Reddy has been taken full advantage of by the APCC President, Thimma Reddy. He is pursuing his own factional vendetta and hopes to make the government a still more pliable

instrument of reaction, to reinforce its pro-landlord and pro-landlord orientation. It is reported that matters have already reached such a pass that the strongman Sanjeeva Reddy may have to intervene personally when he comes here for the Guntur session of the AICC.

But the union leadership took timely action and the office building was handed back to them by the police and a case of trespass has been launched against the miscreants which is now pending in court. Threats were held out that the Head Office of the union would be captured by workers marching in their thousands under the leadership of P. Ramamurti, Ramani and others. But the workers rallied to the defence of the office and showed they were vigilant. The disruptors were therefore forced to abandon these plans.

Open Disruption

During these six months Ramani and his followers did not rest content with only capturing the union. They have been actively disrupting the unity of the working class. In many centres they have misled the workers into adventurist actions which have led to penalties being imposed on the workers.

The mill managements have until this year been in awe of the AITUC union. While the INTUC and HMS unions have been ridden with inner-union factional squabbles, it was the AITUC which time and again came to the fore to be a decisive force in settling issues.

To quote one major issue, it was the firm stand taken by the AITUC on the issue of implementation of the wage board recommendations which forced the managements to implement the most important of them. But now the managements are trying to gain out of this disruption.

However, the workers stand firm and when a call was given by the AITUC and HMS unions to abstain from work on August 14 as a protest against rising prices and for implementation of the recommendations of the Bonus Commission, the attempts of these disruptors to blackleg came to naught.

When an agreement was to be signed on interim bonus

*ON FACING PAGE



S. G. Patkar addressing the mammoth rally of Bombay textile workers at Nare Park on October 25. Below: A view of the gathering.

Photo: Sharad Pawar

Proposed Indefinite Strike Withdrawn BOMBAY TEXTILE WORKERS' SIGNIFICANT VICTORY

Millowners Humbled To Pay Diwali Bonus

BOMBAY: The textile millowners of Bombay have climbed down from their arrogant positions of keeping silent over the bonus demand of the workers. The Mumbai Girani Kamgar Union (MGKU) had therefore decided to call off the proposed indefinite strike of the two-lakh textile workers from October 31. The strike was originally scheduled from October 26, but was postponed by five days.

The millowners have now agreed to accept the recommendations of the Maharashtra Chief Minister and pay the workers interim bonus before Diwali.

The MGKU had been warning the millowners since a long time that unless they agreed to pay bonus to the workers before Diwali, the strike would certainly take place. Even as late as on

October 23, the MGKU in a letter to the Chairman of the Millowners Association urged for an immediate settlement of the disputes: bonus before Diwali and full payment of bonus for the year 1963.

The reply of the millowners had been anything but conciliatory. In fact, they threatened on the next day through press that the strike would be illegal. The

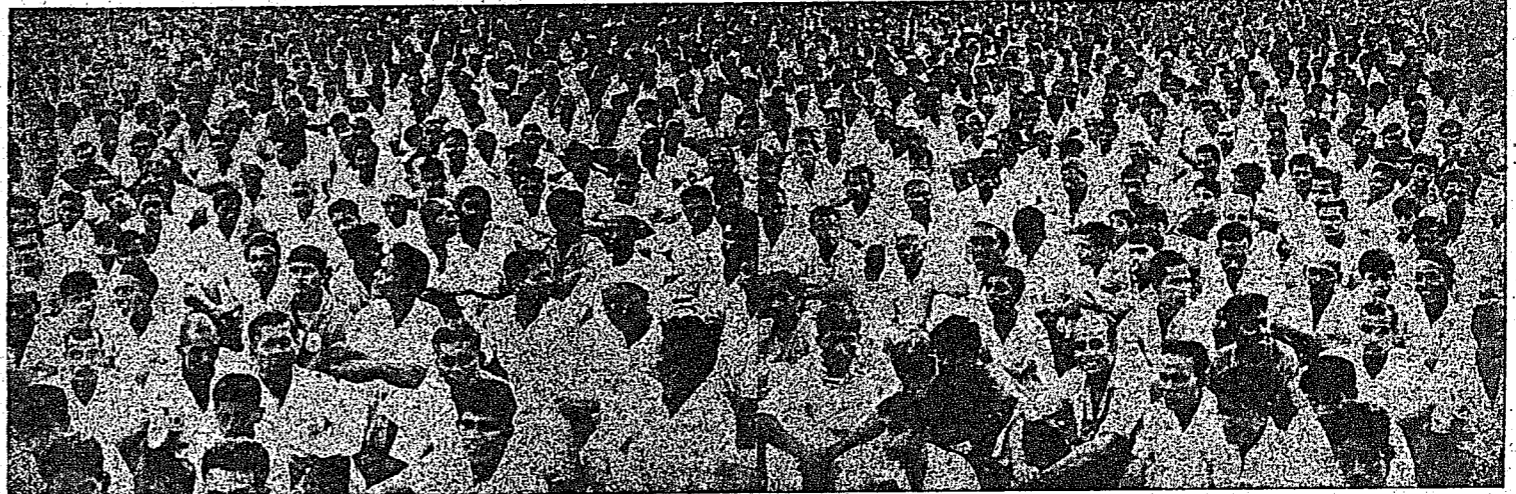
INTUC also supported the stand of the millowners. But all the same, the workers stood firm on their decision and the same day brought out a huge marcha to demonstrate their will.

The suggestion of the Chief Minister was approved of by the Executive of the MGKU and the same day a mammoth rally of the textile workers endorsed it. It was decided to postpone the strike till October 31 to give a chance to the millowners to accept the Chief Minister's suggestions.

S.G. Patkar, general secretary of the MGKU explained in the rally that the union had decided to postpone the strike for five days and if the millowners still fail to implement this suggestion, the workers would be constrained to go on an indefinite strike from October 31.

He also pointed out that even if the problem of "bonus before Diwali" was thus solved, in the event of millowners implementing the Chief Minister's suggestion, the question of "full bonus for the year 1963 would remain".

And on October 26, the Millowners' Association realised the gravity of the situation and decided to accept the recommendations of the Chief Minister.



AGRA PWD EMPLOYEES INTENSIFY AGITATION

AGRA: More than 1,500 workers of Agra PWD went on a one-day tool-down strike on October 19 throughout the district to protest against the arbitrary actions of the authorities and refusal to accede the justified demands.

The tool-down strike was an



A Consumers' Fair Price Shop in Delhi. —Photo: Virendra Kumar

Workers Resist Disruption

*FROM FACING PAGE

Ramani tried his level best to be recognised as the Coimbatore District Mill Workers' Union, but he was not asked to sign any agreement but politely shown the door by the Millowners' Association who recognise the existing leadership.

Today they are trying to terrify workers inside the mills, break-up gate meetings, etc., and resorting to every type of rowdy-

ism. But the workers, with the experience of the last ten years behind them, realise that it is only the present leadership who can deliver the goods, and are not misled by all the false propaganda of these people.

But the question which workers ask is: how is it that a vice-president of the AITUC, P. Ramamurti, can lend his support and give inspiration to a movement to disrupt and break-up an AITUC

union? There is no doubt that these acts of disruption can favour none but these very employers against whom he breathes fire and thunder at the first opportunity. The cardinal principle of building working class unity is thrown to the winds in their desperate attempt to gain control of the union. There is no doubt that the textile workers of Coimbatore under the influence of the AITUC and loyal to its policies and principles will give the answer to P. Ramamurti and his men, and further consolidate the gains of the AITUC of the past years.

Central Government Employees Demonstrate for Food

A huge demonstration of Central Government employees on October 24 in front of the residence of the Prime Minister registered the protest of the employees against the rising prices of essential commodities and urged upon the Prime Minister to allay their hardship.

The demands put forward by the employees included setting up of subsidised grain shops, revision of the dearness allowance formula and grant of interim relief and full neutralisation of rise in the cost of living upto 135 points.

Among the demonstrating employees were included workers from the Defence Ministry, the CPWD, Army headquarters, Civil Aviation, Audit and Accounts, Income Tax and Railway departments.



S. M. Banerjee, M.P. and other leaders of the Confederation of Central government employees leading the procession. —Photo: K. Parashar

In The Name Of Driving Out Infiltrators

POLICE VENDETTA AGAINST MUSLIM CITIZENS

Assam CPI Condemns Govt. Action

From Madhusudan Bhattacharyya

SHILLONG: A five-thousand strong public meeting was held earlier this month at Morajhar, in Nowgong district, under the auspices of the Communist Party's Morajhar branch to condemn the present harassment of Indian citizens in the name of driving out illegal Pakistani infiltrants. Morajhar is an area predominantly inhabited by Muslims.

THAT such a large gathering attended this meeting, in spite of a heavy downpour and they listened to the speeches of the Communist leaders sitting in the heavy rain, indicates the popular resentment against the nature of the current drive against illegal Pakistani infiltrants.

Phani Bora, secretary, Assam state council of the CPI, presided over the meeting which was addressed, among others, by Renu Chakravarty, MP, who had come to study the problem on-the-spot.

Assam state council of Communist Party had not only supported the drive against illegal infiltrants, but had also demanded that no foreign national should be allowed to enter this country without any valid document and that all the illegal infiltrants should be deported. But the Party had also stated emphatically that in the name of deportation of illegal infiltrants, no Indian citizen should be subjected to any harassment.

Earlier, when an attempt was made to deport people belonging to the minority community indiscriminately, the Communist Party raised its voice against it.

Ultimately, New Delhi had to intervene. Following that intervention, a new procedure was accepted in principle to determine the nationality of a person suspected of being a foreign national. It was in keeping with that principle that tribunals were set up to scrutinise all cases of suspected infiltrants.

The Party welcomed that procedure inasmuch as it proposed to take away from the

police the right to determine the nationality of a person. Chief Minister of Assam himself told his critics emphatically that the police could not be entrusted with determining the nationality of a person. But under pressure from the communal elements both within and outside the ruling party, including even a section of those who talk a lot about socialism and democracy and secularism, but in reality are nothing but communal when it comes to this question, it appears the Chaltha government allowed even the tribunals to be converted into just another variation of the police court.

Indiscriminate Harassment

Of late, this indiscriminate harassment of Indian citizens of minority community, in the name of driving out illegal infiltrants, assumed such a monstrous form that the entire population of this community in certain areas have been living in constant fear. They have all lost all sense of security. In that meeting, local Communist leaders Rahimuddin, Abdul Huque and Monohar Ali narrated irrefutable facts to show how in the name of driving out illegal infiltrants actually Indian citizens were being harassed and even deported.

It was pointed out by them that the main victims of this unrestrained police high-handedness and

whims were the poor agricultural labourers and landless peasants who could not produce any documentary evidence in support of their claim of Indian citizenship, even though they had been residing in this country for one whole generation. These landless people obviously could not produce any documentary evidence like land revenue receipt in support of their claim of Indian citizenship. Even if there are certain other kinds of evidence in their favour, the police would not accept it, unless that would be backed by some solid cash payment to "satisfy" the police and these people are too poor to have any cash to buy the favour of the police.

Not only these landless people, but even those with valid documents in support of their claim often do not get any chance to escape the deportation drive. There are instances, it was disclosed in that meeting, where persons who held land revenue receipts, as old as that of 1936, 1943, 1946 also were deported without giving them any chance to prove their claim. Instances are there where the father was deported, while the children were left behind, or the husband was deported, leaving the wife behind uncared for. There were persons who were implicated in some court proceedings and eventually were acquitted long before the partition of the country and even then could not escape the deportation drive.

It was disclosed that more often than not police serve the

quit-India notices in such a way that the victim does not get any chance to prove his bona-fides as an Indian citizen. In fact, it is the police who have become the sole arbiter of the destiny of the people belonging to the minority community. It is the whim of local police officials that determines the fate of these people. Taking advantage of the situation, the police, it was alleged extorted illegal gratification the only alternative to which is deportation from the country. A virtual reign of terror prevailed in the areas predominantly inhabited by Muslims.

Public Inquiry Demanded

Renu Chakravarty in her speech referred to this situation and appealed to the government to respect the secular Constitution of the country and to stop this harassment of Indian citizens. She has demanded a public enquiry into the allegations of corrupt practices of police and harassment of Indian citizens. She also demanded that there should be tribunals consisting of High Court judges and the responsibility of determining the nationality of suspected persons should be handed over to such tribunals. She urged upon the government to give all facilities to the Indian citizens to prove their claim and appeal against police action.

Phani Bora told the people to stand unitedly to defend their rights guaranteed by the Constitution and assured them that the Communist Party would continue to fight in defence of their rights as citizens of this secular country. If need be, he told them, they should be prepared to offer satyagraha also to defend their rights as Indian citizens.

It is regrettable that except the Communist Party, no other political party in this state has come out against this indiscriminate harassment of Indian citizens.

The so-called "nationalist press" in this state never care to uphold secularism and the rights of the Indian Muslims. How skin deep their secularism is becomes evident when they certify the conduct of the police in this matter as above board, even though they themselves had to criticise the police for inefficiency and corruption on many other occasions.

Sometime back, following some representations from a section of Congressmen belonging to the minority community, a delegation of Congress MPs came to Assam for an on-the-spot study of the problem. On the eve of their arrival in Assam the deportation proceedings were stopped for about two weeks at the instance of New Delhi. What facts the Congress MPs gathered and what their findings were is not yet known; they did not say anything publicly.

The issue came up before the state Assembly during its short Autumn session that adjourned earlier this month. Opposition members attacked the government for suspending deportation proceedings; but none spoke a word about the harassment of Indian citizens. The government spokesman (in the absence of the Chief Minister who holds the Home portfolio; Finance Minister F. A. Ahmed replied to the opposition criticism) apologetically explained that deportation proceedings had been suspended temporarily at the instance of the Union Government that has suggested a new procedure.

In the meeting at Morajhar organised by the CPI a 15-man Committee for the defence of citizens' rights was formed and it was decided to send one delegation to New Delhi and another to Shillong to place the facts before the authorities concerning the harassment of Indian citizens in the name of deporting illegal infiltrants.

DRAFT PROGRAMME OF "LEFT": DOCUMENT'S WRONG APPROACH

The basic approach of the "Lefts" in their draft programme bears a close resemblance to the ill-fated Political Thesis adopted at the Second Party Congress.

TO take first the analysis of the transfer of power; the 1948 Political Thesis stated:

"Menaced by the revolutionary wave and finding the bourgeoisie also frightened by it and therefore agreeable to compromise, imperialism struck a deal with the bourgeoisie and proclaimed it as independence and freedom. Imperialism was basing itself on a new class—the national bourgeoisie, whose leaders had placed themselves at the head of the national movement and who were immensely useful in beating down the revolutionary wave" (p. 15).

Now let us take the draft programme under review. It says:

"Afraid of the possible outbreak that might follow such a thorough-going completion of the basic tasks of democratic revolution, the Congress leaders, the political representatives of the Indian bourgeoisie, compromised with imperialism and agreed not only that British finance capital would be allowed to continue its plunder but facilitated the further penetration and growth of US and other imperialist capital into our economy" (para 13).

Is not the similarity very close?

Then even on the role of the bourgeoisie during the period of the national movement it mechanically repeats the formula of the Colonial Thesis of the Sixth Congress of the Communist International that the bourgeoisie was "balancing between imperialism and revolution"; it was this formulation that facili-

tated the commission of the sectarian mistakes by our Party in relation to the 1932 civil disobedience movement, when we set ourselves against the main stream of the national movement. And it is not accidental that the Lefts repeat the mistake here.

Again while the Draft Programme of our Party correctly recognises the validity of the steps to consolidate Indian independence taken by the bourgeois government after 1947 (against the Princes, against communalism—vide para 7 of the draft) the programme of the Lefts only pictures them as steps towards consolidation of the compromise with imperialism.

For instance, the abolition of the Princely States (the demolition of "independent" Hyderabad and Travancore, the intrigues of the British in Rajasthan) is described as:

"Huge concessions were offered to feudal Princes and their alliance sought to buttress bourgeois class regime" (para 13).

And the final summing up is:

"After winning political independence, it (the bourgeoisie) compromises with imperialism and allies with domestic reaction" (para 14).

Thus even the old concept of "balancing" is abandoned and we are given a picture of complete understanding arrived at between imperialism and its local agents on the one hand and the bourgeoisie on the other.

On the characterisation of the

present government also the draft of the Left presents essentially the analysis of the Political Thesis. Of course the Political Thesis denied that independence had been achieved and even the Lefts cannot deny that today. But in other respects:

"Imperialism makes big concessions to the bourgeoisie and hands it over governmental power to rule the Indian people in its own narrow selfish interests. Henceforward the march of the democratic revolution will have to proceed directly in opposition to the

following passage from the Political Thesis:

"Henceforward the march of the democratic revolution will have to proceed directly in opposition to the bourgeois government and its policies, and the bourgeois leadership of the Congress" (my emphasis p. 49).

The attitude towards the Chinese attack on our country is, of course, in line with the positions taken by the Lefts in October 1962.

The characterisation is:

from which Sino-Indian relations, particularly on the border question began to worsen!

Agreement With Chinese Analysis

Thus behind the rather vague and dubious formulations, we see the outlines of an analysis which is in total agreement with the Chinese analysis of our foreign policy, as in fact on most questions.

And on the principal tactical slogan, the slogan of power, we have exactly the same slogan as given in the Political Thesis.

The Political Thesis put the matter in this way:

"The present State will be replaced by a People's Democratic Republic—a republic of workers, peasants and oppressed middle classes." (p. 88). And the draft of the Left:

"It is obvious that for the complete and thoroughgoing fulfilment of the basic tasks of the Indian revolution, in the present stage it is absolutely essential to replace the present bourgeois-landlord state headed by the big bourgeoisie by a State of People's Democracy led by the working class" (para. 103).

Of course the draft of the

FORUM

bourgeois government and its policies and the bourgeois leadership of the Congress" (Political Thesis—p. 49)

The present draft of the Left lays down:

"The present Indian state is the organ of the class rule of the bourgeoisie and landlords, led by the big bourgeoisie".

Consequently,

"The People's Democratic Revolution is not only in irreconcilable opposition to feudal landlordism and foreign monopoly capitalism but together with them it is opposed to the big bourgeoisie which is leading the state and which is pursuing the policies of compromise and conciliation with foreign finance capital and alliance with native landlordism" (para 109).

Same Basic Political Position

Thus the basic political positions of the Political Thesis and the Draft Programme of the Lefts are the same, namely, opposition to the bourgeois government, irreconcilable opposition to it. The only modification is that whereas in the Thesis it was presented as an alliance between imperialism and the bourgeoisie, we now have a policy of "compromise and conciliation" with imperialism being pursued by the bourgeoisie.

And the final stroke:

"These basic and fundamental tasks of the revolution cannot be carried out except in determined opposition to and struggle against the big bourgeoisie and its political representatives who occupy the leading position in the state..." (my emphasis, p. 48)

"Naturally, under these circumstances, the People's Democratic Revolution inevitably comes into clash with the state power of the big bourgeoisie of India..." (p. 48—Draft Programme of the Lefts). What is the difference between this formulation and the

"The border dispute with China leading to a border war between the two biggest states in Asia and the state of cold war existing since then, have further accentuated this shift in the Government of India's foreign policy" (p. 29).

So it is a "border dispute leading to border war"—but what of the rights and wrongs of it? Was it aggression on India to march Chinese troops some seventy odd miles deep into

Indian territory? Did not this action of the Chinese provide an excellent platform for the worst and most anti-national elements to whip up a powerful anti-democratic anti-Communist crusade? Was this not an expression of Chinese chauvinism in relation to border differences?

And how one-sided, as usual, is the evaluation of India's foreign policy: no reference to the continuance of the friendly relations between India and the Soviet Union and an extension of the economic relations between the two countries; no reference to the continued participation of India in the non-aligned camp; and the refusal to concede to imperialism its demands on the VOA, on Kashmir, on disarmament—are brushed aside with just a reference (p. 30).

In fact the analysis of the foreign policy of India is in line with the Chinese criticism, expressed in the articles on "Nehru's Philosophy". We get the dividing up of India's foreign policy into three periods—"the early period after independence", when India "was looking to the imperialists"; then the progressive period (because we were friendly with China) till 1958; and now once again leaning towards imperialism.

The Lefts' draft therefore virtually dates the pro-imperialist resiling of India's foreign policy to 1958—which is also, the date

Lefts notes the participation of the "different sections of the national bourgeoisie" (para 112) and this may be pointed to as a question where the Political Thesis and their draft are in opposition. But in truth this is mere lip-service.

For the emphasis is everywhere on "a new type of People's Democratic Revolution, organised and led under the hegemony of the working class" (paragraph 107) and in another place on "the core and the basis of the People's Democratic Front" as "the firm alliance of the working class and peasantry" (paragraph 112). Thus the emphasis and content of the approach are essentially the same.

Contrast this with the formulation in our draft Programme:

"Objective conditions are most favourable for building up a national mass movement as described above and to forge a National Democratic Front in the course of it—a front which will include the patriotic sections of the national bourgeoisie" (p. 36).

And the difference between national democracy and people's democracy consists in:

"...in a people's democracy the alliance of the patriotic classes is under the exclusive

ON CENTRE PAGES

SPLITTERS' GANG-UP WITH SWATANTRA LOSES A SEAT

Congress wins Hanumangarh Election

From H. K. VYAS

JAIPUR: The unprincipled and opportunistic tactics of the Tenali splitters has caused a Congress victory in Hanumangarh, the most hotly contested by-election in Rajasthan in many years.

It was a prestige contest for the Congress. It put up one of its topmost leaders, Chaudari Kumbharam as its candidate in Hanumangarh and the Chief Minister, Sukhdia, had declared that if Kumbharam was elected he would be made a minister. Opposing Kumbharam was an independent candidate, Hari-ram who was really the nominee of the "left communists" but whom all other opposition parties also supported. The contest was naturally keen.

On the Congress side every effort was made to ensure a victory for their candidate. Ministers camped in the constituency and campaigned for him. Jeeps (about 150) were mobilised for the Congress election office, about five thousand Congress workers were brought from outside the constituency and above all the government machinery was freely used to catch votes for the ruling party.

Small but vital things to be done in the villages were ordered on the spot, petty bargains were made for votes, and promises of concessions in respect of land, patta for housing space and of course promises about the future

view of this promise our comrades, Karnail Singh and Handa declared their support. But that promise was not kept. The press statement that Hari-ram issued on the election did not contain any policy matter like nationalisation, ceiling on land holdings, abolition of privy purses, state trading in foodgrains, non-alignment etc. Only there was a reference to his determination to adhere to "progressive" policies.

Having thus evaded major policy issues, it appears Hari-ram and his friends struck a deal behind the scenes with the Swatantra and the Jan Sangh. But it was kept a secret till the last moment. Barely a week before polling these things began to come into the open.

Four jeeps sent by Maharanee Gayatri Devi bearing the number plates "Jaipur" arrived to work for Hari-ram. Then came the announcement that Gavatri Devi and Jan Sangh leader Bharon Singh were coming to address meetings in support of the independent candidate.

This naturally raised doubts in the minds of the people and also created problems for our comrades. It was a question whether we should continue our support to Hari-ram or withdraw from it. But our

Independent Candidate

But instead of fighting the election on their Party basis, they put up Hari-ram as an independent. In the initial stages they declared that Hari-ram would issue a manifesto outlining the major policy stands of the Party and also give it in writing that he would remain with the Party. In

ON PAGE 1

NOVEMBER 1, 1964

PARTY CONFERENCES BEGIN IN ASSAM

SHILLONG: Branch and district conferences of the Communist Party are being held in Assam according to the schedule decided by the last meeting of the state executive of the Party. It was decided by the executive committee that branch and district conferences should be concluded by the last week of this month, and must not be later than the first week of November.

ACCORDINGLY, in certain districts, branch conferences have started, it is reported. In most cases, however, the conferences will be held towards the end of this month, while in some cases these are being held this week. Till now reports of the conferences of the Gauhati town committee and the Jorhat district council have been received here. Conference of Kamrup district council will be held this week, according to available reports.

Nearly two hundred delegates attended the Jorhat district conference. The two-day long conference, which concluded on October 13 discussed the Draft Programme of the Party and a fairly large number of delegates participated in the deliberations. At the conclusion of the conference a big mass rally was held which was addressed, among others, by Renu Chakravarty, MP; Phani Bora, secretary, state council; Pramada Gogoi and

Dadhi Mahanta, members of the state executive; Kirti Bordoloi and Dulal Khaound. The speakers explained the different aspects of the Party policy. Resolutions were adopted protesting against the food policy of the government and demanding nationalisation of banks, oil industry, general insurance etc.

It was at Jorhat that the "Left Communists" of Assam held their "state conference" earlier and at the conclusion of their conference they also held a public meeting. But according to reports, the public rally held at the conclusion of the Communist Party's district conference was much bigger than that held by the "Left Communists". This debunks the claim of the "Left Communists" that they have a bigger mass following in that district than the CPI.

The state conference of the Party will be held at Gauhati from November 12 to 16.

PAGE EIGHT

NEW AGE

NEW AGE

PAGE NINE

Some Serious Omissions Noted

DOGMATISM has been the chronic trait of the Party from its inception. That Marxism "is a guide to action" and that "some of its propositions and conclusions are bound to change in the course of time, are bound to be replaced by new conclusions and propositions, corresponding to the new historical conditions" (*History of the C.P.S.U. (B)*, page 355) is learnt only to forget it when conditions demand its application the most.

Our practice has been to follow the international line in the context of old and new writings of recognised Marxist theoreticians.

That is the reason why some of the most important features of our national conditions have never been treated thoroughly in our documents, theses and programmes. What was true in the past is equally true today.

For example, the problem of mixed economy is a peculiar problem in the context of conditions obtaining in our country. In fact, it is a basic problem of national economic construction in the present stage of our revolution which is neither socialist nor bourgeois-democratic.

But this does not find a place in our programme, neither in the left programme. Issues tackled in both the programmes are the same though expressing diametrically opposite understanding.

Para 21 of the Party draft says that "the policy of imperialists to keep Indian economy in a stagnant semi-colonial state has received a rebuff." Para 56-57 of the left draft says that "the most glaring fact of our economic life today is that the country's economy as a whole is in many respects precariously dependent on Western assistance." "This dependence is actually increasing year by year."

The Party draft in para 21 further says that "it shows no stagnation or growing dependence, but consolidation of political independence and a step forward to economic regeneration."

This difference arises out of the differences in the international Communist movement.

National problem in India is a peculiar problem. We are a nation in the making, not already developed as a modern matured nation. Problem of Indo-Pak rela-

tions, relations with Nepal, Bhutan, Sikkim, Kashmir problem, language programme, separatist movement in South and border regions, water and other disputes between many states etc., only speak for the complexity of this problem. But both the drafts are silent on this issue except for a cursory reference.

Communal and tribal problems are still more peculiar to India. It cannot be solved just by liquidating feudalism. Communal system in India is much older than feudal system. It is not only an economic problem but also a social problem. It is deep-rooted in the consciousness of the people. Unless a strong social movement is launched to tackle it the reactionary forces would take maximum benefit from it. In the context of our democratic perspective, it is dangerous to neglect over 70 million people constituting scheduled caste and tribes who belong to the class of proletariat.

Educational problem is equally important in the context of tasks confronting the nation. It must be remembered that classes exercise their power in the society through a medium of their own intelligentsia except in the field of eco-

nomy where they function directly. It was not an accident that in the West a bourgeois-democratic revolution was preceded by renaissance. Ideological struggle is a pre-requisite of a revolutionary struggle against the ruling class.

Even the imperialist rulers could not consolidate their rule in this country without an ideological struggle of some kind. If Macaulay finds a place in the history of British conquest of India it is because he was the architect of British educational policy in India. His system created an army of intelligentsia that served the imperial rule for over a hundred years. Basically, the same system still persists. If we have to work for regeneration of a nation, this system must be changed as speedily as possible.

These and such other issues which are peculiar to India do not, naturally find place in International documents. But that cannot be the reason for us to treat these issues as of not much significance. We must make our own efforts to study these problems in the light of Marxism-Leninism and find a proper solution therefor.

terial and labour power in the public sector. Such a thing is absolutely absent in private sector. In the public sector industries there being no incentive, the administration there can afford to behave irresponsibly whereas in private sector, personal interests being involved, the administration resorts to even unfair practices to keep the production going and save the industry from waste.

It is difficult to enumerate

and (5) the Unit Trust recently floated by the government with certain modifications in its constitution.

Such a form of mixed economy has not been practised anywhere in the world. In the developed capitalist countries the necessity never arose. In the socialist countries the state power being in the hands of socialists, the capitalists could be coerced to accept whatever was desired by the socialist state. If any one

FORUM

can be achieved by amendments to the Unit Trust Scheme, recently introduced by the Central Government on the lines as under:

EXPANSION OF UNIT TRUST

The Unit Trust should be an all-India democratic organisation with district as its base. Its fund should be unlimited. A free competition to enrol its shareholders should be encouraged. This organisation should get a share in the administration of industries in proportion to its investments. The nominations of its representatives on the board of directors of different industries should be under the authority of its district bodies with certain reservations.

Such a thing would draw the mass of people nearer to the economic activity in particular determining the policy of economic construction. This body can wield a considerable influence in the field

been accepted by most that the present conditions demand an alliance of all classes including bourgeoisie to wage a determined struggle against imperialism.

What we see at present is that the question of these alliances does not concretely come in the light and confuses the rank and file. Our struggle against imperialism will mainly be decided by our economic progress because the more we progress, the greater freedom we achieve from the economic clutches of imperialism. In the implementation of the above scheme the masses can clearly see who stand for economic advance and who stand against it.

CLASS INTERESTS

A certain section of the bourgeoisie which benefits by alliances with imperialism which is known as comprador sector, is bound to come out in the open against our economic schemes which are in-

Problems of Mixed Economy

Our society is obviously not matured enough to adopt socialism straight and forthwith. As it is, it contains various economic elements. We can name those as under:

- The feudal relations of the classical Indian type and also as reformed by imperialism.
- Small commodity production: This also includes the peasantry that emerged out of the land reform introduced by the Congress Governments. The village and handicraft industries.
- The natural peasant economy; the village and handicraft industries.
- The private capitalism.
- The state capitalism.
- Co-operatives.
- Socialism, and
- Foreign capital.

Ours being a very vast and unevenly-developed country, we may find even earlier forms of economic relations in certain parts of the country. Intermingling of these varied types of economic relations may have complicated the conditions in certain other parts.

The pronounced desire of our people is to construct a socialist economy. We can change the established government by a revolution. But a socialist economy is not thereby automatically established. It is a task involving a considerable period of peaceful, united and planned efforts of the whole society. The period between the two ends is obviously a transitional period when the national economy is bound to have a mixed character. Thus a period of mixed economy is inevitable.

Socialist construction presupposes industrial development on a vast scale. Capital formation is the pre-requisite of industrial development. Where the capital is to come from? Obviously, it has to

come primarily from within our own society. Much of the wealth in our society is hoarded in the hands of a few. It is lying idle and unproductive. It can come on the surface and be utilised for productive purposes only if assured safety and lucre. It is this compelling position that makes the mixed economy inevitable.

The capitalists also accept mixed economy but for different reasons. The long and exasperating period of imperialist rule in our country thwarted the growth of capitalism. With the result, their capacity to undertake projects requiring heavy investment is limited. Another aspect that should be noted is that capitalism of our country is a product of twentieth century. It possesses all the demerits of capitalism but very few merits. It lacks idealism of eighteenth century capitalism.

GUIDING MOTIVE

Profits and more profits is the sole motive force of the capitalism, in our country. The reason is that they have not played any part in the creation of modern means of production. They borrowed these means from their counterparts in imperialist England. Their origin thus lies not in the national endeavour for regeneration but in collaboration with imperialism.

What part this fact has played in shaping the class character of capitalism in India is an interesting subject for study. Here we are concerned with their incapacity to take an idealist view of things and undertake heavy responsibilities on their own without any guaranteed pro-

fits and even running the risk of losses. The capitalists therefore want the government to shoulder those risks.

INTER-CAPITALIST CONTRADICTIONS

Our country being very vast and unevenly-developed collaboration among different groups of capitalists is not easy. Naturally clashing interests also prompt them to leave certain industries in public sector.

This is not new to our country. Even in highly-developed capitalist countries, certain industries are owned by government. Even American diplomats say to their naive listeners that twenty per cent of their economy is state-owned. Means of communication and transport, defence industries, chemical laboratories and other scientific work rooms requiring considerable expenditure which is not likely to yield any immediate profits are all owned by state in most of the capitalist countries. To that extent these countries can also claim that they practise mixed economy.

Thus we find that although both haves and havenots in our society champion the cause of mixed economy, they differ in their motives. Both desire to construct developed industrial economy in our country through mixed economy. Still their perspectives are diametrically different from each other. The havenots aspire to establish an economy where there will be no exploitation of men by men whereas the haves' endeavour is to construct an economy over which they will have their iron grip. None the less both desire to have mixed economy as a stepping stone in the transitory period.

In which direction our mixed economy is going at present? The experience of last over fifteen years of national

ON THE DRAFT PROGRAMME OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

WAR AGAINST PUBLIC SECTOR

As capitalism is growing stronger it is waging a war against public sector over which they aspire to get full control. This war between the private sector and the public sector is so keenly fought that it becomes damaging to the national interests and development of national economy.

PRIVATE SECTOR IS GROWING

This common belief based on their hard experience of life has been confirmed academically by a committee of experts appointed by the Central Government for this investigation. The rate of profits of capitalists have considerably increased during this period. Whereas in public sector or cooperative sector the picture is not very satisfactory, if not gloomy.

The factor of foreign capital is equally important. During the period under review the proportion of foreign capital in the national industries has also considerably increased. Foreign capital has entered into our economy in two forms. First in the form of collaboration with indigenous capital, secondly in the form of loans advanced to the state. By collaboration with private capital it has given them an added strength both economically and politically.

Besides, the private capital also strengthens itself by duping the state and the masses at large. The net result of all this is that the capacity of private capital to accumulate and expand is increasing day

by day. In contrast, the capacity of state and cooperative sectors does not increase. Expansion in these sectors, therefore, depends on the capacity of the state to invest. The state is trying to build up this capacity by taxing the people more and more and by borrowing from foreign countries as well as locally.

The tax burden impoverishes the people. The burden of interest on loans impoverishes the state. This situation also gives an added opportunity to private capital to make further gains by increasing costs, resorting to black-marketing etc.

Thus the present set up of our economy provides very fertile ground for capitalism to flourish. The policy of the state in this respect is so undetermined, naive and blind that it arouses criticism and opposition from every corner, every stratum and every section of our society. It need not therefore be restated that such a policy can never usher in an era of socialism in our country.

POLICY DIRECTION

The present policy of the government and organisation of national economy cannot properly lead us to either build a national capitalist society or a socialist society. Although it is true that the trend and direction of the national economy as a whole is slowly but surely away from a solvent point. If the same trend continues it is sure to land us in dangerous position

WAR AGAINST PUBLIC SECTOR

As capitalism is growing stronger it is waging a war against public sector over which they aspire to get full control. This war between the private sector and the public sector is so keenly fought that it becomes damaging to the national interests and development of national economy.

Take, for example, the question of efficiency. As a result of integration of world market no nation can build its economy if it falls short in world economic competition. This competition is so keen that even to be where we are we have to run very fast. This competition expressed itself more in the matter of efficiency which along with certain other factors ultimately determines the cost of production of the commodities.

The efficiency in the public sector is much lower compared to the private sector. The reasons are very obvious. The cream in the field of technology is captured by private sector. They offer more wages, hence technicians are naturally attracted more to private sector than to the public sector. Only those technicians who fall to get an entry into the private sector apply for employment in public sector.

In the question of administration of the industries, the public sector has to follow an hazardous administrative red tape with the result that there is more wastage of ma-

away with. It can be done by amending the Company Law to make it incumbent on both these sectors to work hand in hand. How this can be made possible is a matter for thorough investigation by a team of experts. As a layman's view, I may suggest that it can be done by making it compulsory for each industry concerned in the country to have 50 per cent capital from private sector and the remaining 50 per cent from public sector.

There need not be any restriction put on the profit incentive because the gains of the industry would be equally divided into two sectors. If this is practised, it may put a stop or at least severely curb many unfair practices presently practised by the capitalists such as tax evasion, and blackmarketing etc. It may also end the competition in the labour market. The service conditions of the employees being equal in all industries, a proper division of labour and technicians can be made on the basis of actual requirements of industries.

OWNERSHIP COMPONENTS

The whole scheme, as I have already said above, can be worked out only after proper investigation by a team of experts. The following should be the components in the ownership of industries: (1) the private capital as it is understood today; (2) the employees in respective industries; (3) the state; (4) the Local and Corporate bodies

This is exactly what we saw in their experiments of mixed economy. Whereas in India capitalism lives quite strongly. It holds the state power. The international conditions are not favourable, neither the national conditions are favourable to launch an armed revolution against capitalism.

PERSPECTIVES OF STRUGGLE

Under the circumstances the struggle has got to be peaceful and fought with patience. We shall have to therefore evolve new forms of economic organisation which will develop national economy without strengthening capitalism or weakening socialism that is public ownership of means of production. In my opinion the forms suggested above or similar other form is the only way out of the situation.

The other aspect that is to be considered very seriously in considering the present economic conditions is the apathy of the people towards economic problems of the country. On August 15, 1947, the hopes of the people were raised to a certain height. The experience of life in the last 17 years has shattered all those hopes. The degeneration of social life is the direct result of this.

This situation can be changed only by infusing proper consciousness among the masses. For that purpose, it is absolutely necessary to build up a socio-economic psychology in harmony with our economic construction work. That

of national economy. Hence all political parties will necessarily be attracted towards this and would try to capture the body. For this purpose, they will, if necessary, have to impart consciousness and a specific point of view to the masses. Only this way we can create an industrial mass psychology which is so essential for our country today.

Another aspect of the scheme regarding mixed economy is the question of class alliances. Theoretically, it has

convenient to imperialism and making it easy for the people to see and judge for themselves. Thus in the interest of class struggle such a scheme is more required than not. It will help very much to develop the consciousness of the people, give them a proper perspective for nation building. The more the people are drawn into these economic activities the richer will be the democratic life of the country.

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"LEFT" PROGRAMME

* FROM PAGE 9

leadership of the working class. In the case of national democracy, the leadership of the alliance is shared between the national, bourgeoisie and the working class" (p. 36)

Thus on the crucial slogan of power, in essence the formulations of the Calcutta Congress find a place in the Draft of the Lefts.

The real weakness of the draft Programme of the Lefts is seen however in their failure to put forward concrete slogans that will help to develop the mass movement and take it forward from its present stage.

In the draft programme of the Communist Party this defect also is there—though to a lesser extent.

But the roots are the same; the failure to analyse in concrete detail the situation—political and economic—in our country and the tendency to be satisfied with criticism in the general and the abstract. For instance the attitude to the Community Development Scheme or Panchayat Raj is disposed off most summarily—that they "are in the final analysis another device to extend and consolidate the rich peasant and landlord base of the ruling class in the rural side" (paragraph 44).

A closer and more detailed analysis of this aspect will also be helpful to a proper understanding of the demagogic and revolutionary phrasemongering which is the essence of the Programme of the 'Lefts'.

Sereni Explains to NEW AGE

ITALIAN PARTY'S STAND ON CURRENT PROBLEMS OF WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

(EMILIO SERENI, a Communist deputy in the Italian parliament, a Marxist philosopher who has published many valuable studies in linguistics and a member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Italy headed the Italian delegation to the centenary celebrations of the First International held in September 1964 in Berlin. Our correspondent took this opportunity to interview him on the current problems facing the international Communist movement. The conversation recorded is reproduced below.)

WE in India are keen to learn from your experience of building the anti-monopoly front in Italy. What is the nature and composition of the anti-monopoly united front in your country?

SERENI: The negative reflections of monopoly and state-monopoly capitalism in our country have certain features that hit the national interests of Italian people. This fact has given us new possibilities to enlarge the front, to include in it forces which can be more and more engaged in mass actions against monopolists, against imperialists and colonialists and for peaceful coexistence, for democracy and socialism.

The programmatic declaration of our Party, approved at the 8th Congress in 1956, states that not only are the working class and poor peasants to be considered the moving force of our democratic and social revolution, but also the masses of toiling peasants and middle classes engaged in social production, dwellers in towns and the intelligentsia. There are also sections of the non-monopolistic bourgeoisie who can be brought into the anti-monopoly struggles.

As the front grows and develops fulfilling its national tasks, the whole people moves into a position against the monopolies, vast majority of the population is rallied in the front. It becomes a dynamic force that can bring great revolutionary changes in the social setup.

WE have noted a shift, certainly to the left, in the Italian elections. Would you please give the main features of this shift?

SERENI: A deeper examination of the results of last elections shows that the 8 million

growing. This is a reality our direct opponents, the Christian Democrats themselves have had with regret to concede openly in their recent national Congress. We can only regret very much that our Chinese comrades are not willing to concede even what our opponents are forced to admit.

Why is the Italian Party opposed to the convening of an international conference? Don't you see the danger: greater the delay more widespread and deeper the split in national parties and international movement which seems to be the aim of the Chinese leaders?

SERENI: The first part of your question is not exact. The Italian Communist Party is not opposed to international conferences of Communist and Workers' Parties. Our Party has always taken part in international meetings of such kind. We consider that bilateral and multilateral conferences of Parties—regional as well as international—should be the actual form for

Another sector where we had made a big advance was the middle peasantry. Italian Party had long since been having a decisive influence among the agricultural workers and poor peasants. Middle peasants were the traditional base of the conservatives and the Christian Democratic Party. A shift has taken place in this sector and areas in our favour. This is thanks to our flexible line and our struggles for anti-monopolistic agrarian reforms. These are the shifts in the main, we have been able to bring about.

The Chinese leaders in their 7th and 8th Congresses have asserted that the Italian Communist Party lost lot of ground due to your structural reforms policy which they call a "revisionist deviation". What have you to say to that?

SERENI: We know our Chinese comrades do not approve our political line and the policy orientation on the struggles for anti-monopoly structural reforms which is an important element of the struggle for conquest of political power and for a democratic socialist transformation of the Italian society.

When they openly expressed their disagreement with our political line, we invited them to send a delegation to Italy to study the concrete situation, the meaning of our political line and how the people react to our political campaigns. To this date the Chinese Party has not sent a delegation.

From

P. KUNHANANDAN

votes we got in the context were the result of the further expansion of the electoral influence of our Party among the people, especially among the working class in the big industrial centres of North Italy where in previous elections we have had a certain stagnation in influence. The struggles of the Italian Communists for structural and anti-monopoly reforms have enabled us to liquidate that stagnation in the North. A clear and concrete perspective has opened up ensuring real successes to the big mass

If the Chinese leaders had cared to listen to our sound proposals and had sent a delegation they could have had the opportunity to understand the political situation in our country clearly and our policy would have been easily digestible. Now, have we lost ground? We have not only increased our popular support by one million votes in the last political elections, but we have also penetrated into new areas and sections. Our influence among the people and mass organisations is constantly

exchanging opinion and experiences and planning our common actions. This is always the correct way of exchanging experiences on the general problems of the international working class movement.

In the given situation and in this particular case what we have expressed and what we are still expressing is that we have some reservations on the matter of convening an immediate conference of Communist and Workers' Parties. The aim and the final result of such a conference should be the liquidation of the danger of division and splits in the world movement and national parties. We don't think there is in the present situation the possibility of bringing about necessary action for unity of the world movement in the form of a general declaration such as the one given by the 1960 Conference.

Experience has proved that such formulations cannot prevent the cropping up of real differences and divisions. We, the Italian Communists think

National Problem

★ From Centre Pages

The national problem in India has become very much complicated due to imperialist rule and their machinations at the time of granting of independence. The grant of free status to princes by the imperialists has done a great damage

to the anti-feudal revolution. federation with some more autonomy to states and an Upper House with equal re-

presentation to all states. Nations are a creation of history. Objective conditions provide a very fertile ground for the development of India as a nation. However, if this process is not properly aided by conscious efforts, things may get all kinds of twists and turns.

Looked from this angle this was more disastrous to India than the creation of Pakistan. Unfortunately this fact does not find even a mention in the draft Programme, although Kashmir problem is a typical offshoot of this imperialist mischief.

The partition of our land into Bharat and Pakistan was done on communal basis. As a matter of fact the placing of religious populations in the country has been so oddly scattered that the Muslim population in India is more or less the same as in Pakistan. The Muslims in areas today known as Pakistan never supported the idea of Pakistan. It is this fact which aggravates the communal problem.

Hotbeds of Feudalism

The areas now known as Pakistan have traditionally been the hot-beds of feudalism. The democratic movement against imperialism has always been weak in these parts. It is therefore no surprise that Pakistan became such an easy prey to military dictatorship subservient to imperialism. So long as this position continues there is no solution to normalise Indo-Pak relations.

Considered from all these aspects the only solution to these problems is a powerful mass agitation for a reunion of India and Pakistan into a

that what we need now for liquidating such divisions and splits is not general formulations or declarations of principles and aims, or excommunication and condemnation of one or the other Party.

That is why we cannot accept for instance the position of our Chinese comrades who strive to impose their political line on the world movement and denounce those Parties that refuse to toe their line as "revisionist" and "bourgeois degenerates", and so on.

For our part we bring our contributions to the fund of general experience of our world movement, but we don't pretend every experience of a particular Party should be valid in different national or regional situations. We think the way of liquidating the element of division and disunion in the international movement is to find and then elaborate regional or international political initiatives which could in practice unite and mobilise all the forces in the struggle against our real enemies, the imperialists, colonialists and monopolists.

Such initiatives should be the best way to bring our Chinese comrades or other

★ ON FACING PAGE

FORUM

Educational Problem

The educational system introduced by foreign rulers was primarily intended to create suitable cadre for their own administration. That was the new intelligentsia in India, distinct from the old feudal intelligentsia.

The new intelligentsia was bourgeois in character but extremely weak to serve the interests of national bourgeoisie. Contradictions in the national situation and emergence of world socialist system caused considerable defections in this new intelligentsia. Consequently the national bourgeoisie today does not possess the requisite strength of the intelligentsia to serve its purpose. The position of other classes in the society is still weaker.

The world is today witnessing a new revolution viz, technological revolution. This revolution is as much important as the old industrial revolution in respect of human productivity. This revolution has assigned an important task to intelligentsia in general and technicians in particular.

In the present world set-up it is impossible for our nation to progress unless we keep pace with the technological revolution in the world. Educational system is a cardinal feature in this respect.

Under capitalist system, the differences between towns and villages are ever-widening. But they are just the other way round under the socialist system.

TAKE the typical example of Bulgaria. Before the revolution, i.e., 1944, the differences between Bulgarian towns and villages were continuously increasing. The towns grew and developed as centres of industry, trade, banking, science, culture and art. They predominated over the villages, both economically and politically, exploited them and ruined the hard-working peasants.

The villages continued to remain in a decadent state; the

In the course of socialist construction, the whole country changed. The villages lost the look of desolation and slowly the peasants were transformed into a new, unified class of cooperative farmers. Substantial socio-economic changes also took place. No longer, towns hold that all-dominating position which they used to hold earlier.

Today Bulgarian agriculture is a largescale, highly mechanised socialist agriculture. There are

Socialist World

productive forces engaged in slices of land (Bulgaria then was divided into about 12 million arable land) had very little scope of development. There were crushing debts on the peasants in addition to taxes and cultural levels remained in a primitive state.

One of the main tasks undertaken immediately after the revolution has been the upliftment of the villages and the rural population. The nationalisation of means of production in 1947 put an end to private ownership and consequently production relations improved. This cut at the root of the differences existing between the villages and towns.

981 cooperative farms and 85 state farms which provide 94 per cent of the agricultural produce purchased by the state.

The success of socialist production relations in the countryside prepared the ground for effecting in full swing the cultural revolution among the working people as an inseparable part of the general cultural revolution in Bulgaria. All facilities exist today for education for the children of peasants. There are cinemas, libraries, radio-relay systems criss-crossing the whole of Bulgaria covering the villages.

Instead of antagonistic relations existing between the towns and villages during pre-revolution

BUREAUCRACY CASTIGATED

★ FROM PAGE FIVE

which the interests of workers suffer after the takeover.

"The cases of takeover of electricity undertakings of Balrampur and of Lucknow and Allahabad were cited. The wages of the Balrampur workers were fixed by the state Industrial Tribunal at Allahabad, but were alleged to have been changed by the state government after taking over the Balrampur concern!

Govind Sahai raised the question of cheap justice and ending of corruption. He said, "while the judicial system, which teaches us that to speak the truth in the courts is folly, lasts all talk of doing away of corruption is sheer moonshine."

He said, "if we want to remove corruption we must bring about a radical change in our ideology, political philosophy, and the judicial system."

Insistent demands were also made to define Congress socialism. In clear terms and to educate Congress workers on its basis.

CPI Stand Vindicated

The demands raised by Congress workers in these conferences are thus, more or less, the same as have been raised by the democratic opposition parties, mainly the Communist Party, during the last several months of terrible travail of our people.

Their decisions and recommendations have also thus vindicated the claim of the CPI that the demands put forward by it for the solution of the country's burning problems are truly national demands. It would seem that, like other patriots, Congress workers have been arriving at these conclusions on the basis of their own grim experience.

An indication of the new thought process that seems to have been released among Congress workers, or at least a sec-

tion of the state's Congress workers can be had from the fact that a resolution has been submitted for consideration by their Lucknow divisional conference, to transform "the Congress from a platform of conflicting ideologies into a political party of one homogeneous and clearly defined socialist goal."

No doubt the recent movements of the people have contributed in bringing about the change in the thinking of Congress workers.

A charge has been levelled against these conferences that they were merely rallies of workers belonging to more or less only one group, the group of anti-C. B. Gupta dissidents. Charge is also made that they are being organised for advancing the factional ends of the concerned group.

It would indeed be surprising if there were no factional objectives also behind this move. At places like Varanasi many leading lights of the Gupta Group, with the exception of Home Minister, Hargovind Singh, who were invited boycotted the conference. On the other hand in Kanpur some Congress workers of the other group were, they complain, kept out by various subterfuges.

The Faizabad conference was addressed by Sucheta Kripalani, Chief Minister, but from the Kanpur meet she walked out without speaking, in protest against the presence of Arjun Arora, MP and some other Congressmen associated with the heroic 42 day old strike of 1,800 Roadways Workshop workers. She charged them with having organised black flag demonstrations by about 5,000 workers at every place she visited in Kanpur on that day.

Similarly, though in the Varanasi conference C. B. Gupta had sent a message of greetings, he did not repeat it in the case of the Kanpur meet. Nor have any of his stalwart lieutenants like Banarasi Das or Kallash Prakash attended any of these conferences.

VANISHING DIFFERENCES BETWEEN TOWNS & VILLAGES

period, today there is a new kind of mutual relation—socialist relation of cooperation and mutual assistance established in all spheres of economy, politics and culture and in all walks of life. They are based on identical aims and unity of purpose.

An interesting feature of this relation is that it manifests itself above all in the economic field, in the process of mutual exchange of products and production activities. There today exists no contradiction between the various forms of production—industry, agriculture and so on. Each is linked up with the other and the success of one reflects in the success of another branch of production. If agriculture shows very good results, it automatically means better and larger amount of raw materials supply to industry, and more foodstuffs for the people.

The better the fulfilment of the plans in industry, the higher will be the quality of the goods produced and the lower their production cost, the more abundant and cheaper agricultural implements, fertilisers, chemicals and consumer goods.

The state policy in the field of prices is also based on the need of meeting the radical needs of both the towns and the villages. It does not therefore run counter to the interest of any sector. This policy is aimed at providing ever

more favourable conditions for expanding socialist output in ever-increasing scales and at ever higher rates both in industry and agricultural production.

The pace of this development is ever-increasing and very soon

it will become difficult to enumerate the differences between the towns and villages, in terms of people's well-being and facilities.

(Source: A. HRITSOV)

Bridges of Amity

Monograph on Mysore

A monograph, MY-SORE'S STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE, has been brought out by the Uzbek Publishing House, NAUKA, recently. It is the first in Soviet historiography to provide a full picture of the glorious page in the history of the Indian people's struggle against colonialism.

The author, Amin Kasymov, an Uzbek historian, analyses the political and socio-economic position of the southern Indian state and its administrative system. He also provides a detailed analysis of the military operations and individual battles in the struggle against foreign invaders.

The Mysore people's heroic struggle for independence delayed by thirty years the establishment of British colonial rule in India, the historian points out.

Amin Kasymov stresses the progressive character of the administrative, agricultural and military reforms and the home, foreign and religious policies

of the Mysore rulers, Haider Ali and Tippu Sultan.

Wandel in India

DR. Paul Wandel, President of the GDR's League for Friendship Among the Peoples, accompanied by E. Kocher, secretary of the German-South East Asian Society of GDR, arrived in New Delhi on October 21 for a two-week tour of our country at the invitation of the India-GDR Friendship Society.

Dr. Wandel, after a four-day stay in New Delhi, has taken up the second part itinerary which will take him to Benaras, Patna and Calcutta. During his visits, Dr. Wandel will talk with outstanding personalities of our country and the representatives of the society.

The delegation has already completed its visit to Indonesia and Ceylon and after finishing the Indian visit, it will proceed to Nepal.

SERENI INTERVIEW

★ FROM FACING PAGE

mon struggle, to make them again give their valuable contribution to the realisation of our common historical objectives.

For our part, we are deeply convinced that these common tasks in their best realties could be achieved by going along the way opened up by the 20th Congress of the CPSU, along the line of peaceful coexistence, which does not in any way mean the "maintaining of the status quo" as the dogmatists are now charging us. That path which is further cleared by the 22nd Congress and the 1960 decisions of the International conference, signifies the most favourable conditions in which the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, monopolies in every country can be waged and national liberation, democracy, socialism and communism realised in the quickest possible time. Our position on the calling of an international conference is made clear in Togliatti's memorandum to CPSU.

(Since this interview was taken the CC of the Italian Party announced its decision to attend the proposed December 15 meeting. See report in last week's NEW AGE, Page 16)

Comrade Sereni, thank you for your forthright answers. Now let me put a last question concerning the orga-

national principles of the proletarian Party. What do you think of the new phenomenon: one Party engineering a split in a brother Party?

SERENI: We have in the strongest words condemned all splitting activities. Notwithstanding wide international splitting activities of Chinese comrades and their personal attacks against Comrade Togliatti and efforts to undermine the unity of our Party on a national scale, such forces of splitters could not achieve any practical result in the Italian Party. The mourning on Comrade Togliatti's death has been an impressive manifestation of the unity of our Party and solidarity for a united international movement.

We condemn very severely the splitting activities engineered by our Chinese comrades or any other Party or group in the ranks of other Parties including in the Communist Party of India.

Non-interference in the internal affairs of brother Parties is an elementary principle and that should be the basis of our mutual relations, cooperation and unity based on proletarian internationalism.

The Italian Party is observing this principle and applies it strictly to our relations with all brother Communist and Workers' Parties including the Indian Party as well as the Communist Party of China.

British Elections

STUPENDOUS TASKS FACING LABOUR

Labour is back at the helm in Britain and Prime Minister Wilson has announced an impressive cabinet and made his first policy pronouncements and decisions.

It is an event of major international significance and notwithstanding the too well-known failings and shortcomings of the British Labour Party and its leadership none can afford to underestimate the positive significance of this victory. To realise this one has only to ask the question: where would the British working class and progressive movement be today had the Labour Party been defeated in these elections—for the fourth time in a row.

The Labour Party held 261 seats in the last Parliament. In the newly elected one, it holds 317. The Conservatives who now hold 304 had 58 more in the dissolved Parliament. Labour's gains and the Tories' losses are thus quite impressive. Still in a house of 630, with the Liberals holding nine seats, Labour's majority remains very slim.

This need not necessarily have been so. Had the Labour Party been bolder in its campaign it would certainly have cashed in much more on the anti-Tory swing in the British people and not let the Tories recover from the great revolution that they had roused among all decent Britons.

This failure on Labour's part went so far as to give

By **ZIAUL HAQ**

grounds for the campaign to be dubbed by many as one "without an issue". Surely, it was not so, but considering the intense anti-Tory feeling it did turn out to be a rather dull campaign.

With the stink of Tory mis-

adventures and scandals rising to high heavens, the Conservatives were anxious to keep any reference to these out of the campaign. And when inevitably there arose cries of "What about Profumo?" at Conservative Party's election meetings, one of the Tory leading lights, Quentin Hogg, the former Lord Hallsham, came forward with retort which could only be interpreted as attempts to justify the dirty doings that went on during the Tory years.

To some extent a diversion from the major issues, it was inevitable that this aspect of Tory rule come under discussion, particularly when the Labour Party leadership had shied away from raising fundamental issues on the plea of attracting the floating voters. Actually these tactics only played into the hands of the Tories and led to one commentator saying with much truth: "For all the argument, millions of voters have still to be convinced there is much difference between a Tory government and a Labour one" (Evening Standard).

The Communist Party of Great Britain campaigned for Labour's victory around the slogan, "Vote as Left as you can". It put up its own candidates in a small number of constituencies including that of Sir Alec Douglas-Home to popularise its own programme of radical reorientation of British policies. Welcoming the Labour victory the Political Committee of the Party called on the government to go forward boldly to take action against the monopolists, to nationalise steel, to speed up action on houses and rents. (See Box).

Prime Minister Wilson declared on the very morrow of his Party's victory that despite its narrow majority

CPGB Statement

The Political Committee of the Communist Party Great Britain said in course of a statement issued Oct. 16:

AFTER 13 years of Tory rule the government has been defeated. This result will be welcomed by all anti-Tory forces. What now for Britain?

The big urgent issues facing the government are the handling of the economic crisis, the need to do something now for the pensioners before the winter sets in, action against the monopolists and the burning necessity for a new initiative for peace. We need to rally the ranks of all Left and progressive forces and fight.

The government must take action against the monopolists, tax profits, and capital gains. There should be no wage restraint under any circumstances. There should be no retreat on the nationalisation of steel and water.

The economic crisis should be tackled by ending

the military expenditure abroad.

Steps should be taken now to improve the social services—above all, old age pensions—and speed up action on houses and rents.

Decisive new steps for peace should be taken. The conditions are favourable. The Soviet government changes have been accompanied by a declaration that "Soviet policy will continue to be firmly based on the decisions of the 20th, and 22nd Congress and the policy of peaceful coexistence."

The chance should be seized for new talks with the USSR for absolute opposition to the MLF (multilateral nuclear force) and to secure nuclear free zones.

Any progressive proposals on these lines will be supported by the Communist Party.

he intended "to govern and to govern strongly". He has won all-round applause in progressive circles for this resolve of his, which he has already started implementing. He has brought tremendous energy and vigour to his job and since his assumption of office has already infused a new life in Labour's ranks.

Disarray and demoralisation have engulfed the Tory camp where the antediluvian Sir Alec is likely soon to be thrown out of leadership.

For all its marginal character the victory of Labour has a very wholesome effect on public mind. The Tories had sought to implant a myth of permanence about their rule and thirteen uninterrupted years of it lent some weight to their propaganda. Their defeat at long last—after having won three elections one after another—has exploded that myth and imparted new buoyancy and confidence to all forward-looking forces. The Tories have been

losing their following since the results were announced and they are bound to go on losing more and more.

To save the Tories from this headlong downhill drive some of their friends have put forward a plan of a Lib-Lab alliance. Advanced in the name of bringing "stability" to Labour's rule by securing the Liberal Party's support for it, this proposal actually seeks to make Labour dilute and water down its programme—abandoning clause 4 and steel nationalisation, for instance.

There is a strong feeling in the Labour Party against such an alliance, and in fact it is the Tory press which is campaigning with full force for it. The NEW STATESMAN has very correctly pointed out, "There can be no surer way of destroying the morale of government supporters than to permit Mr. Grimond to act as the arbiter of Labour's legislative programme".

VERWOERD : WEST GERMANY'S BIGGEST TRADE PARTNER

From P. Kunhanandan

The Verwoerd regime is today the biggest foreign trade partner of the West German Federal Republic. West Germany's export to South Africa totalled 600 million marks last year and thus has more than trebled in the last few years just like China.

WEST Germany has not only not joined the arms embargo and boycott of South African goods as decided on by the United Nations but has even made use of the situation to expand trade enormously with South Africa. The attitude of the Bonn government towards South Africa is clearly elucidated by the following statement of West German Federal President Luecke during a visit to Johannesburg in 1959: "South Africa has gained great experience in solving the problems of aborigines. The native problem is in good hands here".

Credits granted by West German banks to the Verwoerd regime total 160 million marks so far.

The Chairman of the Board of the biggest West German credit institute Deutsche Bank, the former financier of the Nazis Hermann Abs enthusiastically advocates cooperation with the Verwoerd government. During his last visit to South Africa in September 1963 he promised Verwoerd arms and supply of all necessary means for continuation of the latter's policy of suppression. Deutsche Bank also controls

the West German Otavi mines and Railway company which has a 100 per cent share in five South African companies, a 90 per cent share in another enterprise and a 50 per cent share in a third firm. Last year Otavi purchased the total shares of two other South African enterprises and increased its turnover by almost 60 per cent. The capital of this biggest West German colonial company rose by three to twelve million marks. It is above all designed to enlarge South African copper exploitation.

The West German firms of Boekow Entwicklungen and Telefunkun cooperate with the institute for rocket research near Pretoria. The firms of Siemens Aeg, I. G. Farben, the Volkswagen Automobile Works and other trusts with considerable investments have built works of their own in South Africa.

Faced with a continuous agitation by the non-gazetted employees of the Bihar state government, the ministry of B. N. Jha constituted a second Pay Revision Committee on August 29, 1961.

THIS Pay Revision Committee was assigned the task of rationalising, bringing about uniformity and suggesting a fair wage for the 1,80,000 state government employees. At the same time the terms of reference required the committee to keep in view the development projects and to see that "unnecessary heavy burden was not imposed upon the state exchequer."

The state government called upon the committee to submit its recommendations within six months. This aroused some hopes among the state government employees and they eagerly waited for the committee to make its recommendations.

It is reported that the state government indicated clearly to the committee in an informal manner the exact amount of money that it was prepared to spend in enhancing the wages of the employees and the task of the committee was thus more or less simplified into dividing the amount to the various categories of employees and construct a suitable theory to justify the same.

In doing so, the committee took full two and a half years to submit its report on February 29 this year, and the state government has yet to finalise it and declare a date of its implementation. The Sahay ministry gave two dates to finalise the same and after facing the barrage of discredit on its failure to do this, has now ceased to give a definite date for the publication, finalisation and implementation of the report.

In the meantime the undue delay and the rising prices forced the employees during the past two and a half years to stage several unprecedented mass demonstrations before the residences of the Governor and the Chief Minister. The government however had to grant interim relief to compensate the delay in announcing the recommendations and their implementation, from time to time, the latest being granted on April 1 to the tune of 10 per cent of the wages or Rs. 10 a month whichever is greater with a maximum ceiling of Rs. 30 per month.

Irresponsible Theories

Though the full report of the committee which is reported to run into 800 pages

is still kept unpublished, from whatever has appeared in press, it appears that the committee seems to have spun such outdated and irresponsible theories, that the entire labour and the money spent on the work of the committee has been a colossal waste.

The second and more important aspect of the recommendations is that the wage structure has been constructed in such a manner that the 95 per cent of the state government employees who are known as non-gazetted employees stand nothing much to gain out of these recommendations and in certain cases they have been put to a loss. Only about 5 per cent of the gazetted employees have gained something. A spokesman of the non-gazetted employees' federation has, therefore, described it as a "report of the deputy collectors by the deputy collectors."

PAY COMMITTEE'S FANTASTIC 'WISDOM'

minimum to be drawn by an employee of this category is Rs. 67.50.

Loss In Increment

The second disadvantage in the new scale is that while in the previous scale the rate of increment was Rs. 0.50 per year, the new scale gives an increment of rupee one in every two years. This means that in every two years, the employees of this category stand to lose Rs. six; for a working force of about 50,000 workers in this category the sum will be Rs. 3 lakhs in every two years or 1.5 lakhs per annum.

For reasons best known to the committee, it does not mention anything about the decisions of the 15th ILC which lays down the criterion for fixing minimum wages of

gal, the committee opined that since conditions differed from state to state, it would not be fair to have a comparison of the scales of this category with those of other states.

This argument if not convincing is at least convenient. Therefore, the committee evolved a principle to fix the wages of this category of employees known as "cost of production theory". In accordance with this theory the committee first decided as to what minimum educational qualification and training was required for a particular post. After that it calculated as to what would be the cost of imparting such education to the person concerned. The second factor to be taken into consideration is that if the person concerned instead of getting education, would have earned a living, what would have been his average income.

Rs. 5 and from Rs. 201 to Rs. 290, it is Rs. 10.

Thus the initial wages of this category of workers will fall by Rs. 12 per month in comparison of the old structure of their wages. Though the wages of the old workers will be safeguarded, it is the new entrants in this new scale who will stand to lose.

Similarly, the upper division clerks of the secretariat whose previous scale was Rs. 130-12-250 will now be placed in the scale of Rs. 200-10-350. The minimum wages as it stand on April 1, 1964 of this category of workers will be Rs. 200.75 as minimum and Rs. 350 as maximum in accordance with old scale.

So the new wage structure is going to give nothing more than what the employees are drawing at present. Rather because of the lowering of the rate of increment from Rs. 12 per annum to Rs. 10 per annum the employees of this category will lose a huge sum in their thirty years of scale. By way of wages each employee in the new scale will lose Rs. 9960 during this earning period directly; if provident fund and other benefits are calculated the sum will be much more than this.

While on the one hand the rate of increments of class IV staff and some other categories as has been mentioned above has been reduced, the rate of increments of the gazetted staff has been enhanced on the plea that things have become dearer. It appears as if things have become dearer for the gazetted staff only.

More For Privileged

For example the rate of increment has been enhanced from Rs. 10 per annum to Rs. 15 per annum in the case of junior class II gazetted officers. Though this enhancement is justified, it requires special intelligence to understand as to why in some of the class III staff the rate of increment were the rates of increment were decreased.

Naturally enough the recommendations of the Second Pay Revision Committee in Bihar, instead of evoking any enthusiasm among the government employees of the class IV and class III category, have aroused deep indignation. Already memorandum demanding revision of the recommendations has been submitted signed by about 90 per cent of the secretariat employees of the state government. The non-gazetted staff association and their federation have given indication in no uncertain terms that if the recommendations are not changed, some form of mass action will be resorted to by the employees.

Evidently, the state government employees are unable to appreciate the invaluable "wisdom" of this august body. We may have more of the profound theories of wage-fixation when the full report comes into the light of the day. In the meantime let us hope that reason dawns upon the state government and they concede the just demands of their employees.

BIHAR GOVT. EMPLOYEES PLAN TO FIGHT BACK RETROGRADE REPORT

By RATAN ROY

The first gem of wisdom of this committee is revealed in the fixation of minimum wages for the unskilled workers, viz., the chhapris, orderlies, sweepers, ward boys of hospitals and such other staff of the state government in various departments.

Here the committee argues that since these workers are generally recruited from the ranks of poorer section of the rural population (agricultural workers), it would be an act of discrimination if their wages are fixed at a much higher level than what their brethren earn in the village.

The minimum wages fixed for the agricultural workers in Bihar is about Rs. 55 a month and taking into consideration that bulk of the class IV staff (the unskilled section) has to stay in towns which entails a bit of more expenditure than in villages, the minimum wages for this class has been fixed at Rs. 65 per month by the committee. The grade fixed for them by the committee is as follows: Rs. 65-1 (binelly)—72.

The First Pay Revision Committee fixed the scales of wages for this category of employees as: Rs. 17.50-0.50-22.50 plus DA. The wages of these workers stood at Rs. 57.50 on March 1, 1964 as minimum and after getting the special allowance, the minimum for these categories came to Rs. 67.50 per month.

According to the recommendations of the committee, employees getting upto Rs. 100 will receive a DA of Rs. 2. So in accordance with the recommendations the workers will get Rs. 67 as minimum whereas in accordance with present scale and DA and special CLA, the

an unskilled worker for all wage fixing bodies. It is interesting to note that the Labour department of the Government of Bihar has calculated the minimum wages of an unskilled worker in accordance with the decisions of the 15th ILC at the 1963 cost of living index for different centres of Bihar as follows:

Patna: Rs. 176.75, Muzaffarpur: Rs. 172.37, Monghyr: Rs. 176.51, Jamsheerpur: Rs. 201.32, Jharia: Rs. 185.65, Ranchi: Rs. 196.30, Rs. 175.82.

Queer Logic

While fixing the minimum wages of an unskilled worker, the committee thought it reasonable to compare with the wages of their counterpart in rural areas, but the same principle of comparing wages of the clerical staff with those working in nearby states or private enterprises did not find favour with the committee.

It may be noted that compared with West Bengal and Uttar Pradesh the emoluments of the clerks of the state government of Bihar is much lower. Compared to the wages of the private enterprises in the state it also stands at a very low level. The august body, therefore argued that since the government is not a profit-earning concern, the wages of the clerical staff cannot be compared to the same category of employees in the private sector which earned profit.

As for the emoluments of the same category of employees in the states of Uttar Pradesh or West Ben-

And after combining these two and on certain balancing factors the average is arrived at, and a scale is prepared so that in a total length of 30 years this average earning is ensured. So the initial wages are fixed at a rate much lower to the average and the highest of the scale is fixed above the average.

In accordance with this calculation one Intermediate Arts student's cost of production is placed at Rs. 190 per month. This is the minimum qualification for recruitment in the lower division assistant in the secretariat. Since Rs. 190 has been calculated as the cost of production the scale fixed for this category of employees, is Rs. 115-5-225.

Lower Than Old Grade

Now let us see how it compares to the position in respect of the old grade. The First Pay Revision Committee fixed the scale of this category of employees as Rs. 75-150 plus DA from time to time. The total emoluments of this category of workers stood at Rs. 120 on March 31, 1964 inclusive of all DA.

On April 1, 1964 when after a big agitation the employees got a special cost of living allowance the minimum wages of this category of workers stood at Rs. 132 from the date. Now according to the recommendations of the Second Pay Revision Committee the minimum wages of this category of workers will be Rs. 115 plus Rs. 5 as DA or Rs. 120 per month.

The rates of DA upto Rs. 100 is Rs. 2 per month, while from Rs. 101 to Rs. 200 it is



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Zambia Out of Colonial Grip

The thirty-sixth independent state in Africa came into existence on the midnight of October 23 as the new red, green, black and golden flag of Zambia went up to replace the Union Jack and the people of the former territory of Northern Rhodesia crossed the threshold of freedom.

A PART from marking the final end of the notorious Central African Federation, the independence of Zambia is additionally significant as marking the Southern-most extension of freedom on the continent of Africa having common frontiers with four countries where the African people are engaged in bitter struggle against colonialism and white racialist domination, namely, Angola, South-west Africa, Southern Rhodesia and Mozambique.

With the achievement of independence, first by Malawi and now by Zambia, Southern Rhodesia becomes the main battleground of the white supremacists led by Ian Smith, still fighting stubbornly to maintain their grip.

In the Federation it was Northern Rhodesia which was in the strongest position financially owing to the

By BAREN RAY

For the people fighting in South West Africa and Southern Rhodesia this will be the first time that they will have a friendly border with an independent country.

The nearly 70-year history of the Rhodesias, right from the days of Cecil Rhodes and the British South Africa Company, is connected very closely with the attempts of numerous capitalist companies to find the most suitable state form to give them effective control over the human and natural resources of the territories.

The Federation imposed in 1953 was considered a means of entrenching white supremacy in the Rhodesias and Nyasaland, maintaining a perpetual source of cheap African labour by denying the people free access to the land, and delaying the drive of the people of the three territories for independence.

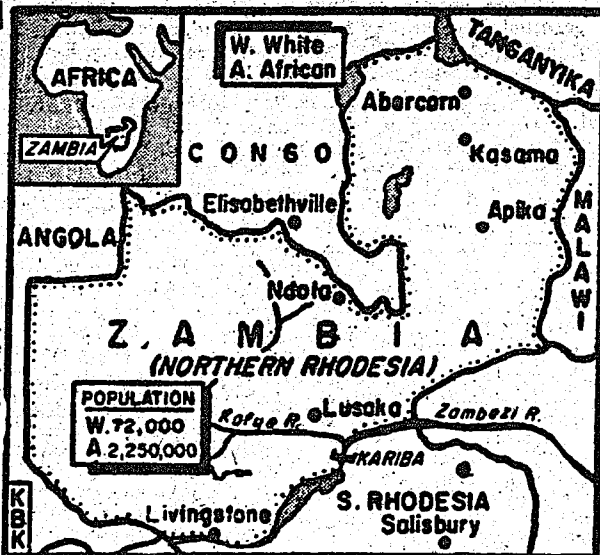
The dissolution of the Federation on December 31, 1963 was the first victory of African nationalism in Central Africa brought about by the wind of change sweeping across the conti-

At the time of the dissolution of the Federation, one matter settled definitely against the interests of the African majority governments of Malawi and Zambia was the disposal of the army and the air force which were left almost entirely in the hands of the racist Field government of Southern Rhodesia.

In fact it is with the military equipment of the Federation that the white government of Southern Rhodesia is today threatening to declare its "independence" of Britain.

Similarly it was suggested that the Rhodesian railways and the Kariba Dam should be run jointly by Southern Rhodesia and Zambia as common services. But the fact remains that the Rhodesian railways is a private company and with the development of the Zambia-Tanganyika railway project and the progressive lessening of railway traffic through South Africa, this railway will increasingly be a financial liability.

It is to the credit of the government of Prime Minister (now President) Kenneth Kaunda that it has declared that Zambia will not be bound by any of the financial obligations imposed on her against her wishes at the time of the break up of the



Federation. Zambia's main weakness is that in addition to the strong entrenchment of South African capital, apart from the British and American, till the coming into existence of the projected Zambia-Tanganyika railway, all her exports have to pass through the territories of the white racialist governments of Southern Rhodesia and Mozambique.

But again thanks to the clear stand taken by President Kaunda and his United National Independence Party, Zambia has declared its firm resolve to help her brother people in Zimbabwe (Southern Rhodesia) in their struggle for independence and ending the white minority government. She has firmly declared that should the Ian Smith government attempt to unilaterally declare its independence, the territory and the resources of Zambia will become available to the freedom fighters in Zimbabwe.

The United National Independence Party which came into existence in 1960 as a result of a split in the older and by then muddled and ineffective African National Congress led by the veteran Harry Nkumbula, has been affiliated to the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organisation since its inception.

Kaunda himself had attended the first All-African Peoples Conference in Accra in December 1958 and was elected Chairman of the Pan-African Freedom Movement of East, Central and South Africa (PAFMECSA) at its meeting in Addis Ababa in February 1962. Accordingly he possesses an enormous prestige far beyond the borders of Zambia alone and is recognised as a man of the greatest personal integrity. With the independence of Zambia the struggle for African freedom enters a new and a higher stage.

Free Algeria Now Ten-Year Old

From KUNHANANDAN NAIR

BERLIN: On November 1, the Algerian people celebrate the 10th anniversary of the beginning of their armed liberation struggle.

IN eight years of heroic liberation struggle, the Algerian national liberation movement defeated the French militarists and OAS terrorists and won Algeria's national independence. The price paid for the victory was the martyrdom of thousands of Algerian patriots.

And in two years of freedom from colonial rule the National Liberation Front (FLN) has opened out the non-capitalist path of development towards Algerian socialism.

The event of the historic tenth anniversary of the first shot of armed struggle is marked by two events of vital importance for the national liberation movement.

The first, is the development of close cooperation between the Algerian National Liberation Front (FLN) and the Communist Parties of France and Italy.

Counter-Revolution Defeated

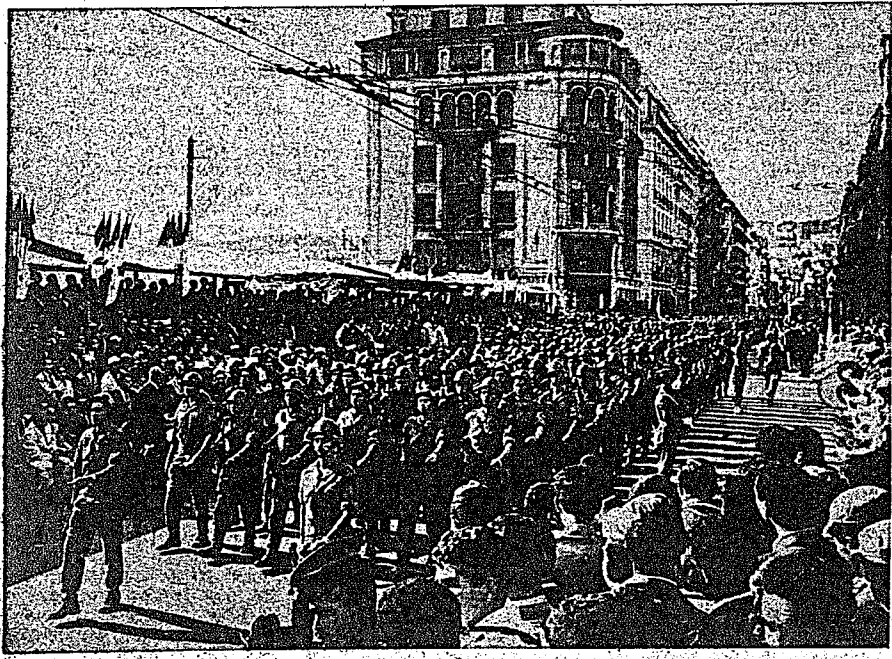
The second is the crushing of the counter-revolutionary leadership at home highlighted by the arrest of the rebel chief Ait Ahmed and his lieutenants last week.

Ait Ahmed was arrested in a cave in Azazga, Kabylia

region, eighty miles east of Algiers. Three months ago another rebel chief Col. Chabani was arrested. The Algerian peoples army had opened large scale actions against the counter-revolutionary forces who are supported by US and French imperialists and the feudal elements who lost land in Algerian reforms.

Since the arrests of top rebel leaders symptoms of chaos and disintegration were noticeable in the ranks of the counter-revolutionary bands. Some 100 armed bandits have been taken prisoner in recent days according to the paper ALGER REPUBLICAIN. Others deserted to the people's army including two former deputies of the national assembly who had gone over to the counter-revolution.

It has been learned from leaders of the National Liberation Front (FLN) that contradictions between the internal counter-revolution are sharpening, intensifying the symptoms of decline of both. Quiet began to enter the province of Kabylia even before news of the arrest of Ait Ahmed had penetrated the remotest places of the province—the mountainous areas. The Algerian press voiced that after a year of



Algerian armed forces marching past the reviewing stand on Independence Day 1962.

* FROM PAGE 18

kilometres from its site is coming up an aluminium plant which also will be the biggest in the world. On one side is millions of kw of electric energy and on the other are huge industries growing up using this energy.

Who are the people who have come to Siberia to build these projects? Bratsk in Russian means the "brotherly" city and it speaks for the community of young people from all over the Soviet Union who today constitute the population of this youngest city in the USSR.

Everywhere one meets young people working as technicians, engineers, crane operators etc. at the construction sites. The Komsomol organisation of Irkutsk district plays a very important role in these projects. Out of its 142,000 members 93,000 are working at the various construction sites.

Following the call of the Central Committees of the

CPSU and the Komsomol more than 50,000 youth came to the district to participate in the construction. And every year come 10-12 thousand youth to work at new construction sites.

The Komsomol pays much attention to their education, to raising their professional knowledge and technical skill. There are 36,000 young workers attending schools for the working youth in the district. This is quite apart from the 250,000 pupils studying in normal schools. Then there are 30,000 students in the higher educational institutions which include the university, the polytechnical institute, medical institute, institute of foreign languages pedagogical institute, and a finance and economic institute. The population of the district is three million.

Along with the work projects and study have developed the recreation facilities for the young people. There are dozens of stadium and sporting halls, many of them built by the youth themselves. In the place where the Aluminium plant is being built,

Meet The Builders Of Communism

THE SIBERIAN SAGA

They have already constructed a stadium and now are building a 'Lushniky' (sporting complex) on the model of the Lenin Stadium in Moscow.

Siberia has not only its rich forests and water power resources. "We have here almost the whole of Mendeleev's system of elements", the Siberian people say proudly. The exploration and exploitation of this natural wealth of Siberia has been undertaken both intensively and extensively under the current Seven-Year Plan of the USSR. Scientific expeditions reaching to the Far North and the Far East have discovered diamonds, coal, iron ore, oil and much else necessary for the full-scale industrial development of this panoramic landscape east of the Urals. The oil deposits

of Siberia exceed the existing deposits in the Baku or Volga regions of the USSR.

"Our Institute is practically empty now because bulk of our scientists are engaged in field research," we were told when we visited in Novosibirsk the Institute of Geology and Geophysics of the Siberian Branch of the Academy of Sciences. More than hundred parties had gone for research in the Far North, the Pacific, Kamchatka Peninsula, Kurile islands etc.

The Institute founded in 1958 is "still in the stage of developing". But already it has done considerable work. And all the research work done here gets their final mould here. More than one thousand monographs have been published already. The Institute is in correspondence with many scholars all over the world, including Indian scholars.

Science Town

The new Science Town where this and other institutes of the Siberian Branch of the Academy of Sciences are situated has an area of 20 sq. kilometres. This modern township built in a picturesque setting on the bank of the Ob sea (the huge storage lake of the Novosibirsk hydro-electric station) affords the best conditions of living and work for the scientists engaged in the pursuit of research and development of Siberia's economy.

Founded as a "fountain head" of cadres for the Siberian Branch of the Academy of Sciences is also the new University. It is in its fifth year now and has about 3,000 students, who combine their study with practical work in the institutes.

The city of Novosibirsk itself is a highly developed industrial centre and it is the cultural centre of Siberia too. It is not exactly a young city, because it is 60 years old. But it is the youngest of the largest cities in the Soviet Union. Widely dispersed over an area of 477 sq. kilometres, Novosibirsk has now a population of 1.28 million. Before the revolution it was a small town, with only 70 thousand inhabitants.

During the last decade it has developed greatly. Particularly the construction of new houses has proceeded at a very fast rate.

and half the population of the city now live in houses that were built in the last ten years.

There are about 180 thousand students in the city's schools for general education, 56 thousand in the higher educational establishments and 43 thousand in the technical schools and colleges. During these ten years the number of hospital beds has increased by 63 per cent and there is one doctor for every 280 inhabitants.

The Novosibirsk state academic opera and ballet theatre is the largest in Europe and Asia. We saw a production of the famous Russian classical opera "Prince Igor" at the theatre. The city has also five other big theatres, scores of clubs, cinemas and palaces of culture, over five hundred libraries and many other cultural institutions. There are over 7,000 scientific workers now in this city.

Machine building is the main part of Novosibirsk industry and the products include large machines and hydraulic presses, powerful turbo and hydro-generators, large electrical machines, metalworking machines, machines for casting industry, high-capacity electrical steel furnaces, automotive drilling plants and the most modern textile and agricultural machines. More than 40 countries purchase up to four hundred different articles manufactured in the city's enterprises. The industrial output of these enterprises in 1963 had risen to 24 times that of 1940.

The workers of the turbogenerator plant in Novosibirsk, which is only ten years old and which has supplied generators to 32 countries including India and UAR (for Aswan Dam), have a story to recount about a delegation of American engineers headed by the director of the Detroit Electric Co., Walter Sisy who visited their plant a few years back.

The American engineers had been to the hydro-electric power station on the Volga named after Lenin and also seen the Irkutsk hydrel station. At the latter place they asked which firm had supplied the generators for the station and when they were told that the generators had come from the turbogenerator plant in Novosibirsk, they wouldn't believe it. "It is just propaganda", was their reaction, and they wanted to be taken to the plant in Novosibirsk. They took four hours to see the plant and then the leader of the delegation said: "I have many plants, but I do not like any of them now as I like this one."

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Meet the Builders of Communism III

The Saga of Siberia

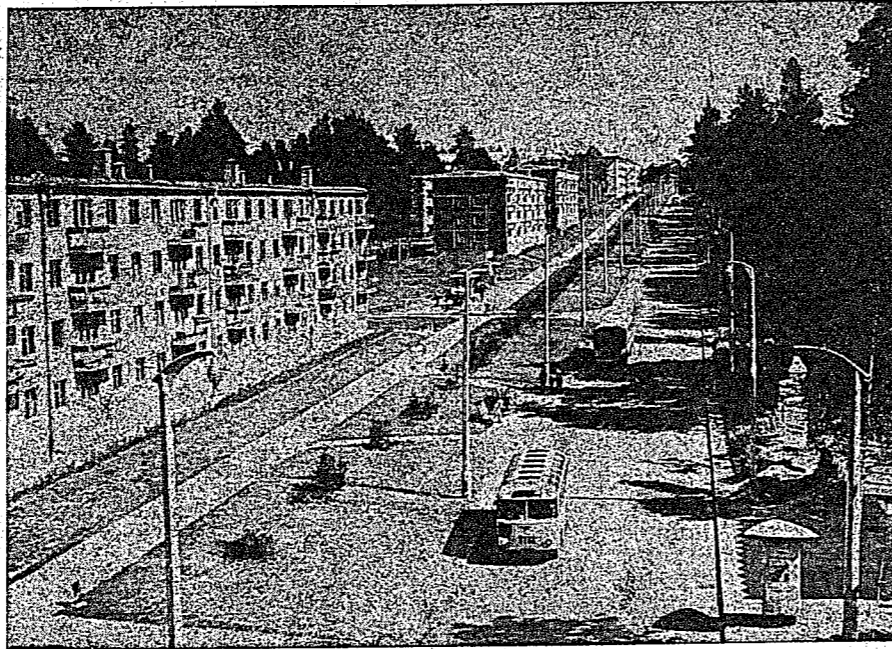
The tremendous changes that have taken place in Siberia in recent years constitute one of the most fascinating chapters of modern Russia.

THIS once unknown and dark region where three generations of Russian revolutionaries spent years in exile under tsarist rule has under Soviet power opened its immense wealth to the people who have undertaken to build there the biggest projects in human history for the exploitation of nature's resources. Gone are the days of seclusion and silence. Instead, with the haunting beauty of the Siberian 'taiga' mingles the laughter and enthusiasm of the young builders.

We spent altogether a week in Siberia and saw the world's

"quite probably next year" it will attain its full capacity of 4.5 million kw. As a comparison one may take American's largest hydel station, the Grand Coulee whose output is only 1.9 million kw.

And the electricity produced here will be cheapest, it will cost no more than half a kopeck a kilowatt-hour. Natural conditions, like the rocky foundations, the high banks of the Angara and the narrow canyons have contributed to make the construction of Bratsk cheaper. We spend here much less concrete than any



The science town of the Siberian Branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences in Novosibirsk.

operation, the power they produce will total 70,000 million kilowatt-hour annually.

The famous Dnieper when it was built in the early years of Soviet Union's industrialisation had a capacity of 65,000 kw, but today it looks small against these. When the construction of the Krasnoyarsk station is completed, it will be even bigger than Bratsk having a capacity of five million kw.

Then there are other stations being built in Siberia itself. As is stated in the control figures for the Economic Development of the USSR in the current Seven Year Plan (1959-65), "the inauguration of the power plants now under construction will enable Siberia to generate more electric power than any capitalist country in Europe."

"We exceed the USA in power potential at least eight

times. Our task is to put all this in the service of man, in the service of communism", Knyazev said.

While pre-revolutionary Russia had the eighth place in the world and sixth place in Europe in electric power generation, today the Soviet Union is second in the world and first in Europe. The Programme of the CPSU adopted in the Twenty-second Congress calls for raising the output of electricity power in 1970 to 900,000-1,000,000 million kw, and in 1980 to 2,700,000-3,000,000 million kw. In 1980 the USSR will have at its disposal 10 times as much electric power as in 1960. It will be approximately 50 per cent higher than the total output in all the countries of the world combined in 1960. And there will be a single power grid for the whole USSR.

Apart from the hydel station, there are a number of other big enterprises coming up in the Bratsk region. One of these which we visited and which is still under construction is a wood processing plant. There are 12,000 people engaged in its construction and it is to be inaugurated in the first half of next year. Designed to process 6 million tons of wood a year, its products will include cellulose, card board, wood alcohol and a variety of other items. Every piece of wood, including the roots will be consumed.

A huge harbour is being built nearby on the Bratsk sea to bring timber for the plant. Also a thermal power plant to produce heat of very high temperature necessary for the wood processing plant. And 12

* ON PAGE 17

Resurgent Algeria

* FROM PAGE 16. constant murderous deeds of pillage and midnight attacks by the gangs backed by foreign reactionary circles, the people in Kabylia can now breathe again freely. Yet another important aspect is that the imperialist press proves through its furious commentaries that the blow against the Ait clique was also a blow against the enemies of Algeria abroad.

Documents providing support to counter-revolutionary activities in Algeria given by imperialist and reactionary circles abroad have fallen into the hands of the Algerian security authorities after the arrest of the counter-revolutionary leader Ait Ahmed. The press published on Wednesday one of the documents providing testimony to the co-operation between the counter-revolutionaries and the fascist regime of Portugal and also with Israel. It contains information on contacts with the military attaches of the two states (not yet named) who gave assurances of "aid without return graces".

A joint communique signed between the Algerian National Liberation Front (FLN) and the Italian Communist Party was published on Thursday following a visit of an FLN delegation to Italy. The communique said that talks between the FLN delegation and the

leading functionaries of the Italian Communist Party were "marked by fraternal cordiality by the growing common desire to understand the utilisation of experiences with their success and problems and the possibility of cooperation which it offers".

The communique furthermore said that the Italian party welcomes the efforts being made by FLN in the direction of socialism in Algeria.

The communique condemns thoroughly the imperialist policies in Congo and South Vietnam and supports the liberation movements. It goes on: "to push ahead the cause of peace and national independence in the unity of anti-imperialist forces is now necessary than ever before."

A joint communique of the Communist Party of France and the Algerian National Liberation Front (FLN) was signed in Algiers on Monday, October 19 by Waldeck Rochet, secretary general of the French Communist Party and by Hocine Zahoane, member of the FLN political bureau at the conclusion of a visit of ACPF delegation to Algeria.

The communique said, the two parties would step up their cooperation and help toward the development of friendly relations between their peoples. The two sides pledged themselves to mobilise their peoples for peace

for the struggle for general disarmament and for co-existence among states with different social system. The CFF delegation paid tribute to the attainments of the Algerian people on the path towards the construction of socialism.

The communique said furthermore: "The French delegation evaluates positively the measures taken by Algerian government to bar the road to neo-colonialism and to defeat Algerian and foreign counter-revolutionaries, to preserve and strengthen independence and to secure the country's socialist development."

The communique continued "the Algerian delegates positively valued the support rendered by the French Communist Party to Algeria during the liberation war and of their positive attitude towards the socialist policy of independent Algeria". Finally, the statement said that the French Communist Party has invited a delegation of FLN to visit France.

The development of close relations between Communist Parties of Europe on the one hand and the Algerian FLN on the other have great revolutionary significance.

Due to inadvertence, the headline of this article on Page 16 instead of referring to 10 years since the start of the freedom struggle refers to 10 years of freedom. The error is regretted.

A landslide victory has been forecast for President Johnson over the Republican Senator Barry Goldwater in the US presidential elections on November 3.

EVER SINCE Goldwater's nomination as the Republican Party's candidate for presidency, the world has become aware of the great stake it has in these elections. A headlong plunge by the US into thermonuclear war or a chance for peace: such has become the clear issue. For, around Goldwater are rallied all the extreme reactionary warmongering elements of the US; Goldwater is their candidate.

As essential background to Goldwater's candidacy we must recall the fact that the few years of Kennedy's presidency gave jitters to the American ultra-Rightists. They saw that Kennedy's realism led him to seek accommodation with the USSR and made him respond to Soviet initiatives for the relaxation of tension. There was the settlement of the Cuba crisis in October 1962 with a US pledge given not to invade the first socialist country of the Americas.

Then came Kennedy's speech at the American University in June 1963 when he openly praised the achievements of the Soviet Union in such glowing terms as no American government office-holder had dared to do since the days of the second world war and the anti-fascist coalition of those days.

From words Kennedy went forward to deeds and the partial test ban treaty was signed by the three main nuclear powers on August 5, 1963.

Internally, in the US these were the years of the great Negro awakening and struggle with "Freedom Now" inscribed on its banner, culminating in the historic march on Washington

on August 28, 1963. Kennedy had responded with bringing forward the Civil Rights Bill.

This entire trend had made Kennedy, extremely unpopular among the diehards of US imperialism and they decided to do away with him. It is significant that despite the whitewash of the Warren Report and even after its publication and the high-powered campaign to sell it as many as one third of all Americans believe that it was no one-man job but Kennedy was victim of a Rightist plot.

Always considered a safe bet by the ultra-Right, Johnson for all his efforts to reassure them—of which the Warren Commission and its report too were a part—could not completely break with Kennedy's policies.

Their Own Man

Thus the extreme rightwing of US reaction, through experience, came to the conclusion that it could no longer tolerate a President and an administration which would be "soft on communism". They must have their own man in the White House, they felt convinced. Hence, notwithstanding the most powerful protests from the "moderates" of the Republican Party, disregarding the danger of irreparably dividing the Party, they picked Senator Goldwater as their candidate and insisted on his nomination being accepted by the Republican convention.

This nomination and the subsequent campaign have brought home to the great majority of the American people

U. S. Prepares For Johnson's Victory

Voters see Danger in Goldwater's Campaign

By ZIAUL HAQ

what they are up against. The threat is no less than that of being enslaved in the chains of fascism and being seared to death in a thermonuclear war.

War and peace undoubtedly became the biggest issue of the US presidential campaign. And the Goldwaterites realised at quite an early stage that by coming out openly with a programme of war and aggression they had alienated the vast majority of the American people. Attempts were made at that stage to show that Goldwater was not really that mad, that he did not mean to plunge the world into the thermonuclear inferno.

But the reality was too difficult to cover up, it kept coming out of the bag at every turn.

In the latest phase for instance in reference to changes in the Soviet Union and the achievement of nuclear capability by China, Goldwater once again enunciated a programme which amounted to open advocacy of nuclear assault and blackmail. Commenting on this the NEW YORK TIMES could not help calling it a "missile-rattling design which would make more difficult than ever a peaceful resolution of East-West tensions".

"The essence of his foreign policy", it said "is to cow the Communist world into surrender, with all the risk of nuclear warfare which that policy entails".

The American people refuse to be led along this suicidal path.

Another factor on which the Goldwaterites had counted heavily was the so-called "white backlash", appealing to the most backward racial prejudices and the opposition to the Civil Rights Act.

But what has become the most significant feature of this election is that most of the people who were for a period influenced by racial rioting and efforts to better integrate schools in the Northern areas have sobered up and regained their common sense. There is obviously small percentage for Goldwater in the so-called "backlash".

Even so the Goldwaterites keep on trying. Ten days before the voting the Arizona Senator declared that the main thing is not civil rights but the "right" of whites to discriminate!

The Goldwaterites have further counted on backward sentiments among the aged, blaming the Administration for insisting in Congress on medical care rather than "compromising" on a couple of more dollars on the social security cheque.

They failed just as miserably on this issue and only lent greater emphasis to their ultra-reactionary position on all matters of social welfare.

Never in US history have trade unions, civil rights organisations, etc. been so unanimous in a political campaign as they have been in this one against Goldwater.

It is unique to have unanimous endorsement given to the Johnson-Humphrey ticket by the Labour, Civil Rights and family-farmer organisations, as well as the support of such newspaper chains as Hearst and Scripps Howard, of the Luce publications, and of many prominent businessmen. This only illustrates how far to the fascist right Goldwater has come since the takeover in San Francisco.

While the neo-fascist network of reactionary organisations like the John Birch Society and also many of the traditionally Democratic Party politicians and followers in the South are actively campaigning for Goldwater, there is a far bigger lot of "independent" campaigners for Johnson. Unquestionably the mass activity of the Labour and Negro people's movement is the backbone support for the Johnson-Humphrey ticket.

With defeat and debacle staring them in the face the Goldwaterites are trying to raise some last-minute scare which might stick and catch on. They tried to use the Moscow changes for these purposes but the wind was taken out of their sails by the Soviet government's repeated and categorical assurances given to President Johnson and the US administration that no change would take place in the Soviet policy of peace and peaceful coexistence.

The US president also made it a point to put the Soviet changes in sober perspective before the American people. The Goldwaterites screamed over these statements. They were most disturbed over the sober tone and restatement by Johnson of a position which tends towards relaxation of tensions rather than their intensification.

The attempt of the Goldwaterites to profit from the Soviet changes and the Chinese atomic bomb explosion too has clearly misfired.

Morality is another issue on which they want to pillory and pull down the Democratic party's ticket. There is never dearth of such issues in the US and promptly enough a certain Jenkins, a White House Assistant, was caught in a homosexual escapade and the Goldwater camp tried its best to turn him into "Johnson's Profumo". Unfortunately for the Goldwaterites the American voter had already become vigilant and knew that he had to be on the look-out for some such scandal to be raised. It is in no mood to let these irrelevancies affect the outcome of the elections.

Still, such attempts are bound to continue to the very last moment and one can never be sure till the whole thing is over.

Whatever tricks the Goldwaterites may still have in their bag for the eleventh hour in the campaign they count most on that old reliable ally of reaction—complacency. They hope their opponents will sit back, happy and content that opinion polls are so strongly against Goldwater. Relying on this factor and better organisation of their vote-getting machinery they hope to forge victory even from defeat.

They seek to make the margin between a losing Goldwater and a winning Johnson as low as they possibly can.

If they succeed in getting a good number of votes so that they are regarded as a substantially big part of the US population it will lend them an immense amount of prestige and respectability—and much encouragement. They visualise themselves as heads of a big party that they could maintain as a permanent neo-fascist force in the political life of America.

They would then prepare to take over the US at the next elections, if not earlier.

Hence all democratic and progressive forces in the US are striving to secure as complete a rout of Goldwater at the November 3 elections as possible.

"Goldwaterism must be thrown back with an overwhelming majority—majority big enough to bury it for good"—that today is the battle-cry of the American people.

"The elections of 1964", said US Communist Party's chief spokesman, Gus Hall, at a rally a few days ago, "have become so extremely crucial because the struggle around the basic issues of democracy or fascism, peace or war, civil rights or Jim Crow, have all become focussed in this campaign. The results of this campaign will, to a large extent, determine the direction of the resolution of these questions".

W. German Mercenaries In Tshombe's Gang

From P. KUNHANANDAN

BERLIN: More astounding facts about the West German participation in the white mercenary force recruited by Tshombe to fight the Congolese national liberation movement have come to light. (NEW AGE had already reported in its issue on September 27 that two West German soldiers were found dead in the battle in Congo and were identified by their iron cross and West German passport.)

VERWOERD - Tshombe - Erhard axis is firmly established. Under the heading "Run, Differ or Die" the West German illustrated Magazine Revue again published in its latest issue a several page report on the "heroic deeds" of the West German Captain Mueller and his white Tshombe mercenaries in Congo (Leopoldville). Captain Mueller under Mobutu's command and commander of the "Western army" has already been exposed as a war criminal. He is being paraded by the Revue as an almost "legendary German mercenaries leader".

The article said that members of National Liberation Army caught by white mercenaries were certain of a "slow, painful death". Characteristic in detail the sadism of the mercenaries the paper went on to write, "At first they cut off their ears, then the nose, the tongue and so on".

This report in Revue confirms revelations made by the German Democratic Republic on the employment of West German mercenaries in Congo (Leopoldville) and the cruelties committed by them there. At the end of August, a GDR foreign ministry spokesman in a statement had raised sharp protest against Bonn's assistance in the struggle against the national liberation movement in Congo.

The existence of a secret recruiting office in West Germany for Tshombe was disclosed in September in the UAR Weekly Rose el Jussef. The weekly had stated that already 500 had been recruit-

ed, most of them former members of the French foreign legion. The paper said that they were brought into the Congo via South Africa.

In South Africa, Major General Von Vellenthin, former head of counter espionage in the fascist Afrika Corps serves as the go-between for the West German government on the one hand and the Verwoerd regime and Tshombe on the other. His real function is camouflaged under his present title "Representative of Lufthansa (West German airline for entire Africa)".

Mellenthin himself has already gathered 2,000 former Nazi officers and channelled a number of them to Tshombe. On August 22, it was reported from Stanleyville that these mercenaries have shot 83 soldiers of the Congolese liberation army taken prisoners north-east of Stanleyville.

This Mueller was jailed after the collapse of Hitler regime in 1945 for his war crimes but was released by West German government. According to West German paper Freiheit which quoted Captain Muller's interview with a South African paper, he himself and his soldiers have killed dozens of Congolese patriots. Mueller said, "Every one of us has a small private cemetery. I have two passions: war and light machinegun".

By K. U. WARIER

largest hydroelectric power station being built in Bratsk on the Angara river as well as a number of other projects. A few days before our visit a team of Indian engineers from Bhakra had stayed in Bratsk for a week and their appreciation had appeared in the hydel station paper The Lights of Angara.

"Communism is Soviet power puls electrification of the whole country"—these famous words of Lenin written across the Bratsk station caught our eyes as we set out on a bright morning to see the station. The Director of the station, Comrade Knyazev who received us in his office explained the work of the station and answered all our enquiries.

The Bratsk station produced its first electricity in the autumn of 1961. At present it has a capacity of three million kw, and

other station", the Director explained.

We took time to see the control room of the station, the tunnels and the huge turbines roaring against the powerful thrust of the Angara and then made a long detour by car to the top of the dam. The dam reaches to a maximum height of 128 metres and its length 5 kilometres. The reservoir of Bratsk is much bigger than Aswan. Incidentally, the control room of this biggest station is manned by only six people in a shift, an engineer, a technician and four others.

Bratsk however is only one of the six hydroelectric stations to constitute the Angara cascade. Apart from the Irkutsk plant which is already completed and Bratsk nearing completion, the Angara's network of hydel stations include the Ust-Ilim, Boguchanskaya, Tolminskaya and Sukhovkaya. When all these stations go into

RAJASTHAN BY-ELECTION

* FROM PAGE 8

comrades were hesitant to take such a step of withdrawing their support. This hesitation was not justified and should not have occurred.

The SSP also was supporting Hariram, but they were not disturbed by these developments and continued as before. The Tenaal leaders like Sheopat Singh and Hariram Chandra addressed joint meetings with Gayatri Devi and Hetram Benival praised the Maharani as our country's Devi!

All this naturally went in favour of the Congress which made full use of it. They concentrated their fire on the Maharani and the Swatantra and appealed to the anti-feudal sentiments of the kisans, especially muslims and schedule castes who are also landless labourers.

The Congress won by a margin of 3,500 votes, where as

in the last election it had been defeated by the Communist candidate here by a margin of 12,000 votes. Hariram polled over 23,000 votes which was about nine thousand votes less than what his son had polled last time.

Those who talk tall and say that they have no faith in parliamentary system were ready, just for the sake of a seat, to enter into a pact with the swatantra leader Maharani Gayatri Devi and secretly receive jeeps and money from her and jointly address meetings with her.

No wonder that the rank and file of the Party were bitter. Many of them refused to make announcements for the Maharani. Poets refused to sing from the same platform with these feudals. Many of the comrades were bewildered, critical and bitter. They will probably assert now. The Hanumangarh election has shown that opportunism does not pay.

Background To Change In CPSU Leadership : More Details Revealed

From MASOOD ALI KHAN

MOSCOW, October 28: After the recent changes in the leadership here and the demands for more information and clarification expressed by a number of Communist Parties a series of discussions and vital exchange of ideas is taking place here.

S. A. Dange, Chairman of the CPI arrived here on Monday. Two days earlier arrived a delegation of the French Communist Party consisting of Georges Marchais and Roland Leroy both members of the Political Bureau. A three man delegation of the Italian Party led by Enrico Berlinguer, Secretary of the CC and Presidium member and Bufalini and Sereni, members of the leadership also came for discussions. Party delegations from Austria and Denmark are expected and probably others might be coming in due course.

Not long ago Mongolian Party leader Tsedenbal was here and recently a meeting between the Soviet and Polish leaders including Brezhnev, Kosygin, Gomulka and Cyrankiewicz took place near the Soviet-Polish border.

New Round Of Discussion

Thus, by the changes in Moscow a new round of discussion, stock-taking and clarifications and evaluations of events and policies has been set in motion. Here observers and political correspondents and foreign leaders and representatives of world Communist press are taking part in round the clock exchange of ideas and Moscow is seething with serious political debate and discussions.

The unexpected abruptness of the changes and the element of mystery surrounding the sequence of events and lack of fuller information gave rise to a series of rumours and conjectures, and the capitalist press taking full advantage of this created as much confusion as possible. First the bad health and old age of Khrushchov was given as the official reason for retirement. Soon afterwards Pravda's editorial not naming anybody suggested other reasons, mainly methods of leadership and what could be understood as the beginnings of another cult and violations of the principle of collective leadership and democracy.

Other Aspects

Now other aspects have been added to this by the information given to some Communist correspondents in bits; firstly, it has been vehemently denied that Khrushchov was brought under any kind of compulsion to Moscow to attend the meeting or that he was under house arrest. All this, it has been stated, are just inventions of the bourgeois press.

Inconsistencies in carrying out the policies of the three last Congresses of the CPSU and differences over Khrushchov's new proposals involving a reorganisation of agriculture and redistribution of the country into 17 administrative agricultural regions are also being cited. These new proposals were considered ill-advised as the reorganisation setting up farm production boards had not been completed. The boards had been functioning for little over a year and it was too early to start

further reforms as the previous one has not yet shown conclusive results.

One of the major mistakes, it is stated, was the reorganisation of Party into parallel industrial and agricultural organisations two years ago.

Other criticism claimed that Party policy of exposing and ending the personality cult had been largely restricted to personal denunciation of Stalin and its wider aspects had been overlooked. Khrushchov's intolerance of the views of others, the practice of calling extended meetings of CC where instead of 300 members upto 6000 attended and meetings became demonstrations and not the place for serious discussion has also been cited.

It has been said that the Presidium of the CC unanimously decided to replace Khrushchov on Tuesday, the 13th and on the 14th of October Presidium member and Secretary Mikhail Suslov gave a report to the Central Committee and the next day the CC agreed to Khrushchov's formal request that his resignation on grounds of health be accepted. It is not clear when and how the decision to hold a CC meeting was taken as even members who were abroad attended it.

Concern And Apprehension

The concern and apprehension among fraternal parties have been widespread and deep and like the CPI many have emphasised Khrushchov's services and merits and demanded a fuller evaluation of his work. The method and manner of bringing about the change have also come in for considerable criticism and it is asked why a less abrupt and more graceful method could not be found.

The Italian Party in its statement on October 23 said that mistakes were possible but today after the 20th and 22nd Congresses it cannot be said that only one person made mistakes. While for the last ten years we were told continuously that inner-Party democracy was growing, now in one day the most important leader had been accused and removed. Italian statement also criticised the fact that while first reason of health was given later other reasons were mentioned and at Party meetings only Khrushchov's mistakes were being mentioned.

Khrushchov's great personal contribution to affirm the policy of peaceful coexistence could not be forgotten; the sudden nature of the decision and the method used to carry it out "cannot but open discussion of more general problems regarding the development of debate and of political life in the socialist countries," the Executive of the Italian Communist Party said.

An article in the Soviet journal Party Life emphasised the need of control from below for all and the highest functionaries and deplored too much praise of leaders considering their every word a discovery and their actions infallible. It called for fully overcoming the harmful

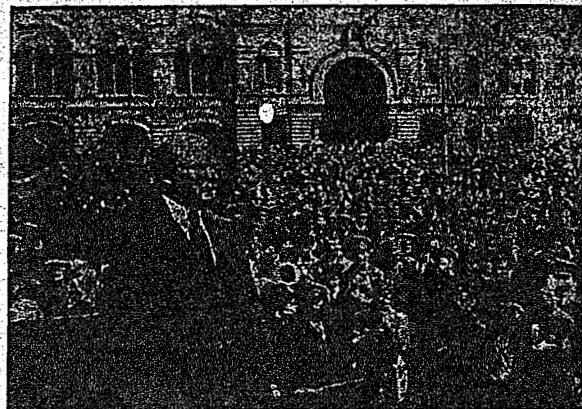
consequences of the cult of personality and said, "Life has shown that not all comrades have overcome fully the ways from and methods of work which arose during the period of cult."

The article called for strict adherence to the principle of collective leadership and Leninist norms of Party life. Even the most authoritative person could not be beyond the control of the leading collective, it said.

Panicky Reaction

The latest panicky reaction of petty-bureaucrats who with undue haste removed Khrushchov's pictures and white-washed his name on walls, cut all scenes showing him with Gagarin in old films, removed photos showing him with foreign dignitaries from journals going to press and objected to mention of his name in connection with the development of friendly relations between India and Soviet Union, etc. all this confirmed the above evaluation of the article in Party Life.

For what are these but an expression of the psychology of the period of the cult of old days when the memory of the people removed from office had to be immediately wiped out and their name obliterated. The reaction of the over-zealous petty-bureaucrats was actually a rumbling of the past, a hangover and a reminder of the cult period.



NEW AGE

SPECIAL NUMBER

The Next issue of NEW AGE will be a special number carrying articles and photographs to mark the 47th anniversary of Russian Revolution and the developments taken place in the Soviet Union since then.

Readers and agents are requested to took their orders immediately.

criticism at all levels. There is no doubt that overglorification of Khrushchov, flattery and quotation-mongering were taking place. Chinese theories of intermediate zone and rift making, China rejected Soviet proposal of peaceful settlement of border and

FACTS SHOW NO CONCESSION TO CHINESE LEADERS

It is obvious that attempts at rewriting old history cannot be made at every turn and people who are reluctant to pronounce Khrushchov's name making it almost an unmentionable word are still living in the past. Such things happened earlier during Khrushchov's term of office also (I have a 10-Volume Encyclopedia in which Molotov is not to be found) and this approach hindered the full and deeper analysis of the cult phenomenon.

It is obvious that Khrushchov's name cannot be forgotten while the basic correct and popular policies adopted under his leadership are to continue.

It is being asked here especially by the youth that why too much praise for persons in office and sudden opposite changeover for persons removed cannot be given up for more normal traditions in the manner of change of responsibility. Why is it that the cult of Stalin appeared in Russia, the cult of Mao in China and now in Soviet Union we had some revival of another cult?

And what is collective leadership if not collective responsibility for the successes and the mistakes committed. The article in the Journal 'Party Life' is certainly right when it stresses the need of criticism and self-

The tendency to make one man authority on all and very diverse matters had appeared. It often occurred to many that why was it that no one ever quoted some other prominent Soviet leader for having said something important or sensible in some connection; although it was obvious that they were also engaged on important work and were responsible for many vital matters.

For those who want to interpret the change as a victory for Chinese dogmatism it would be useful to ponder over the reaffirmation of a number of Soviet basic policies which have been under constant Chinese fire: the 20th and 21st and 22nd Congresses of CPSU; the anti-cult line; the Programme of CPSU to build Communism, while the Chinese say it reverts capitalism and that Communism will take hundreds of years to build; disarmament which the Chinese said was a deception, the role of non-alignment which the Chinese do not appreciate etc. etc.

The Soviet side has again stressed the need for the unity of all the anti-imperialist forces, for unity of socialist countries, proletarian of capitalist countries and the anti-colonial liberation struggles and does not agree with

territorial disputes, Soviet Union has again put it before UN. Soviet side still considers Yugoslavia to be a socialist country while China does not.

WFTU Meeting

The recent meeting of General Council of WFTU in Budapest also showed that China's attitude had not been modified in the least and that they attacked all policies and the Soviet Union with the same vehemence as before. They voted against the report of the General Secretary along with usual allies and the Indonesia delegate with their approval even declared that the policy of peaceful coexistence was wrong and the correct thing was confrontation of newly liberated countries with imperialist countries, that there could be no peaceful coexistence between them.

Some even suggest here jokingly that the Chinese should reciprocate by making similar changes and denouncing their cult so that ground for understanding and unity may be cleared. Anyway for world Communist unity Chinese policies will have to change and there are no signs of it yet.