

UPHOLD PARTY UNITY

MEET SPLITTERS'

CHALLENGE

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NEW AGE

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The Central Secretariat of the Communist Party of India issued the following statement to the press on April 1:

THE Central Secretariat of the Communist Party of India is deeply concerned at the serious threat to disrupt and split the Party which has been openly and publicly made in a concerted and pre-planned manner by certain members of the Central Executive Committee and the National Council.

Several of the State Committees of the Party have adopted resolutions calling for immediate action to save the unity of the Party and to discipline the splitters.

EMERGENT MEETING OF NATIONAL COUNCIL

The Central Secretariat has decided to convene an emergent meeting of the National Council on April 10 to deal with this grave inner-Party situation. Party members and supporters can be confident that the highest organ of our Party will take all necessary steps to foil the attempts at disruption and split and to vindicate the honour and integrity of the Party.

The entire Party is fully aware of the splitting activities being carried out today on an international plane at the behest of the leadership of the Communist Party of China, which has given the call for split in open articles and radio broadcasts. In some Parties, the Chinese leadership has already succeeded in its objective and has split them.

OPEN CALL TO SPLIT CPI

The Communist Party of India has been a special target of the leadership of the Communist Party of China. As long ago as March 1963, the Chinese leadership came out with its attack on the Party in the article titled "Mirror For Revisionists". The Party was denounced as an agent of Nehru and of imperialism.

This attack was followed by the foul and pernicious slanders against our Party made by the Chairman of the Indonesian Communist Party in October 1963. And again in its latest call for disruption issued on February 4, 1964, the Chinese leadership has once more launched a special assault on our Party.

Each of these attacks, particularly that of February 4, is an open call for the establishment of a rival "Communist" Party of India.

The present phase of the inner-Party situation cannot be divorced from this context. For several months now, certain leading members of our Party have been actively campaigning against the Party's policies and slandering the Party's leadership. Party members are fully aware of these activities.

With the new line of open split of every Communist Party decided upon by the Chinese leadership and given expression to in its February 4 article, the supporters inside our own Party of the ideological positions of the Chinese leadership, have evidently now decided to split the Indian Party also.

AGITATION AGAINST ACCEPTED LINE

To that end they are now carrying on public agitation against the accepted line of the Party, organising press conferences for vilifying and denouncing the Party leadership, holding open meetings and conferences of Party members of their point of view on an all-India scale to chalk out the political and organisational tasks and future line of action of their "rival group".

They have resorted to the totally unprecedented step of setting up a rival candidate to the official Party candidate in the Rajya Sabha election in Andhra Pradesh. Indeed, as some of them have admitted in press statements, they have been functioning as a separate party for some time past.

The campaign of slander launched recently against Comrade S. A. Dange is only the highpoint of these splitting and disruptive activities—the excuse which is being made for the line of split and disruption.

EXCUSE FOR DISRUPTION

The Central Secretariat of the Party has already made its position clear in regard to the letters alleged to have been written by Comrade Dange to the British authorities forty years ago.

The entire public record of Comrade Dange for the last forty years, the positions of trust he has held all along inside our Party, his seventeen years in prison, including thirteen years' in British jails, and the great working class movement he has built, are testimony enough to his political integrity and his devotion to the cause of our Party. The vast masses of the Indian working people, who know Comrade Dange's record, naturally treat these slanders against him with the contempt and revulsion they deserve.

NO JUSTIFICATION FOR SLANDER

No circumstances whatsoever can justify the public and open slander campaign launched by certain members of the Central Executive Committee and the National Council during the last few days against the Party and its Chairman. If there were the slightest genuine ground for their apprehensions regarding the authenticity of the alleged "letters", it was open to these members to discuss the question with the Secretariat and call for an immediate meeting of the National Council, where they could put forward any appropriate proposals.

The very fact that they did not do this, but instead rushed to the press in an organised manner through a series of statements is proof of their determination to split and disrupt the Party.

STABBING MASS MOVEMENT IN BACK

This is a moment when the entire Party is engaged in the biggest national mass campaigns in the entire history of our Party, when millions are taking part in these campaigns under the banner of our Party.

Disruptive and splitting activities, slanders against our Party's Chairman at this time amount to nothing less than stabbing the mass movement in the back and betraying the struggles of the working people.

The Central Secretariat will place before the coming meeting of the National Council a detailed report on the splitting activities of certain leading Party members and will recommend drastic steps against them.

THE PARTY CAN AND MUST ANSWER THE CHALLENGE OF THE SPLITTERS. THE UNITY AND INTEGRITY OF THE PARTY IS IN PERIL. ALL PARTY MEMBERS AND UNITS SHOULD RISE TO THE OCCASION TO TAKE STRONG STEPS TO SAVE THE PARTY FROM SPLIT AND DISINTEGRATION.



Under the leadership of the CPI, people are fighting for their demands in every part of the Country

Deal with BTM Under All-Out Attack

BY OUR PARLIAMENTARY CORRESPONDENT

The deal with the Bell Telephone Manufacturing Company of Belgium for the supply of equipment for the new automatic cross bar telephone exchange was again the subject of much probing and criticism in the Lok Sabha when the House discussed the demands for grants of the Department of Posts and Telegraphs (see also New Age dated March 15).

THE deal was criticised from both Communist and Congress benches on the ground that not only was the acceptance of the BTM tender irregular but also the deal with this company might involve security risks.

Dr. Ranen Sen who initiated the discussion recalled the earlier occasion when the subject was raised in the House by way of a question and said he would like to raise again some aspects of this deal. Ranen Sen pointed out that the BTM equipment for 48,000 telephones will cost Rs. 50 lakhs more in foreign exchange than the quotations given by the Japanese firm, the Nippon Electric Corporation.

Added to this, 30 per cent will have to be paid by way of customs duties etc. Then there are government charges which include five per cent interest on loan, 15 per cent on technical maintenance etc. The result is that ultimately it would go up to nearly one crore of rupees more. It comes to nearly Rs. 40 per telephone as recurring expenditure.

Ranen Sen also disputed the argument by the Minister that the factory would be cheaper. Firstly the BTM has not guaranteed the prices of machinery or of raw materials. The BTM will not supply the machines for which they have quoted a lower price and the government may have to purchase them from outside at much higher cost. Ultimately therefore it will be costlier.

He asked why the government accepted the advice of one officer, Vasudevan, and rejected the advice of the two other officers who dealt with this matter. "Is it because of the fact that this officer is a near-relative of our Finance Minister? Is it due to the pressure of the Finance Minister on the department that the recommendation of this officer has been accepted, and the position taken by the other two officers was not considered at all?"

Counterpart of Spy Company

He then pointed out that this Belgian firm was a counterpart of the French company CGCT which had engaged in espionage work in Tunisia. All these companies are affiliated with or subsidiaries of the American company, the International Telegraph and Telephone. Why should the government engage the services of such a company? Ranen Sen said that the matter was serious from both the economic and political angles and it is a completely undesirable deal.

Strong criticism of the deal and the danger to national security involved in it were voiced by K. K. Warior also in the course of the discussions. He recalled the espionage activity of the French counterpart of the BTM in Tunisia and asked whether our government had cared to get reports from the

friendly Tunisian government and placed them before the Cabinet before a decision was taken in the matter.

The foreign technical personnel will be in charge of the exchange system for a number of years until our own technical hands take over the work from them, he pointed out. Suppose the Defence Ministry gives a message which is secret to one of its offices through the exchange. That can be connected by a link to the American or other foreign intelligence departments working here.

Therefore if for technical know-how we depend upon these people entirely, how are we sure that messages will not be passed on to other countries, he asked. Warior maintained that there was possibility of a security risk in this deal and that the government should pay attention to it.

Warior then alleged that notice of the question on this deal had been given much earlier before the Cabinet took a decision but it came up in the House only after the Cabinet decision was made. If the question had come up earlier, he felt the Cabinet might have been better apprised of the implications of this deal and it might have taken a different view.

Warior also raised the question of the officer, Vasudevan, overruling the opinion of technical experts. Another point he raised was whether the P&T Board had been taken into confidence in the matter.

P&T Board Not Consulted

He said there are reports that the P&T Board was not actually consulted in the earlier stages and that "the whole thing was hatched up afterwards for a final approval or something". He urged the government to review the deal.

Another strong critic of the deal was Harish Chandra Mathur, Congress member who said that this matter should immediately go to the Vigilance Commissioner appointed by the Union Home Minister. Mathur said that it had been brought to the notice of members of Parliament that very vital information regarding this contract was suppressed and that the view of the Technical Member of the Board who had given a particular assessment was suppressed.

"I lay a very serious charge that facts were suppressed and if what I am informed is correct, this contract would result in a serious loss to the government apart from the political aspect of it," Mathur said.

Asoke Sen in his reply said that the Japanese offer was not accepted, though it was cheaper, because only the Swedish firm, Ericsons and the BTM had tendered for the "compelled multiple frequency system" which was the choice of the experts.

He however admitted that one member of the committee which examined the offers had opted

ities. But their offer was not accepted only because their system was not preferred.

"The Swedish was out of the question because of the difficulty of foreign exchange availability, equity participation and various other considerations, which weighed heavily with the Finance Ministry." And so both the Japanese and the Swedish offers were turned down.

As to the allegations about espionage in Tunisia by the French counterpart of BTM, Asoke Sen dismissed them and said that the French company was not implicated in it but only some French employees of a corporation running telephones in Tunisia. The French subsidiary of the IIT had only supplied equipment to this corporation and they were not running the telephones in Tunisia, he maintained.

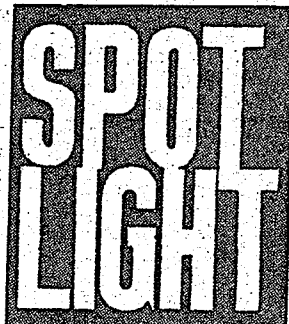
Another defence by the Minister was that "in any event, if the French subsidiary was suspect, their own subsidiary, the British subsidiary, had set up a cable factory at Ruppurayampur, and we know how they have worked." Asoke Sen said that their work had been "extremely satisfactory."

COMMUNISTS IN PARLIAMENT

Apart from this deal with the Bell Telephone Company, the Communist members' criticism also included the deterioration in the efficiency of the P&T Department due to lack of proper working conditions in the post offices in the cities and towns. They are in a horrible condition of overcrowding and great congestion and the people working in the post offices are overworked because enough staff is not provided for the increasing volume of work.

Ranen Sen drew attention to the grievances of employees regarding housing conditions, no improvement in labour welfare, payment of arrears of dearness allowance and also victimisation for participation in the 1960 strike. Warior criticised the change effected in the out-station allowance. He urged a review and enhancement of the

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Golwalkar's Externment

solving the communal problem, what it has to do is "to warn the Muslims against their raping and bombing propensities."

The communal bigotry of the Guru and his disciples is shown up in two salient features of their propaganda during the present riots.

While playing up the atrocities in Pakistan, there is studious avoidance of any reference to the many episodes in which members of the majority community came forward to protect the Hindu minorities and many even laid down their lives in the process.

Martyrs of East Pakistan

We already have heard of martyrs like Ameer Husain, Kazi Rauf and Emdad Khan, but they will, I am certain never figure in the Sanghites' galaxy of heroes. The avoidance serves the double purpose of bolstering up the thesis that every Muslim is a scoundrel and of incitement against the Muslim community as a whole.

Secondly, the patriotic appeal that the majority community must realise its greater responsibility in the matter of combating the disturbances is completely blacked out in their preachings and propaganda.

Guru Golwalkar's propaganda undertakings are especially dangerous because he poses as an authority on the Bharatiya culture and history despite his stupendous ignorance of these subjects. According to him culture and history do not represent a dynamic process, but are a static category. For him Bharatiya culture and history ceased to exist after the passing of the "Hindu era."

The weekly mouthpiece of RSS-Jan Sangh in Delhi has, however, come out with a plea that great injustice was being perpetrated in keeping Gopal, Nathuram Godse's brother, still in jail. It has bewailed editorially that punishment in this case "was being related not to crime but to the subject and object of the crime."

Significantly, it omitted to add that the subject of the crime in this case was so heinous that it still fills Indian hearts with horror. The editorial has revealed how blood is thicker than water.

-GARUDA

HYDERABAD: N. Rajashekhar Reddy, secretary of the Andhra State Council of the Communist Party of India, has stated that P. Sundarayya "went back on his promise" and "raised a revolt against the Party" in the Rajya Sabha elections from the state.

IN a statement issued here on March 28 Rajashekhar Reddy said that Sundarayya had issued a press statement on the subject "which contains many distortions and untruths" and therefore it had become necessary for him to make public everything that happened in this connection.

He described the sequence of events as follows: The executive and the state council of the CPI were convened for March 8 and 9 respectively to discuss the Rajya Sabha elections and the satyagraha movement.

Soon after receiving the notice of these meetings, Sundarayya wrote to Rajashekhar Reddy and C. Rajeswar Rao objecting to the state council discussing the question of the Rajya Sabha candidate.

Sundarayya "asserted that the Rajya Sabha seat was given on a group basis in the past and so this time M. Hanumantha Rao who belonged to his group should be given a chance."

In case this was not acceptable, the sitting member, K. L. Narasimham should be allowed to continue. "He threatened the council that he would set up Hanumantha Rao for the Rajya Sabha if the council did not accept his

proposal. He also wrote that he and his followers would not attend the executive and council meetings."

The executive and the council met according to schedule, but "Sundarayya and his followers did not attend. Sundarayya's letter as well as the letters of Prasad Rao and Basavapunniah were read out to the council which rejected their allegations and refused to set up candidates on a group basis. It decided unanimously to set up Yella Reddi as the Party's candidate."

"It chose him precisely because he did not belong to either of the political trends in the Party and it was hoped that his candidature would be acceptable to all in the Party. "Makhdoom and Sadasivan were deputed by the council to meet and convey this decision to Sundarayya and report back his opinion. Sundarayya told them that he would accept Yella Reddi's candidature and would not set up Hanumantha Rao."

He also told them that after the votes of those MLAs who stood by the state council were cast he would give the votes required for Yella Reddi's victory from among his followers. The surplus

directions to the Tamilnad unit, and it was now for the Tamilnad unit and the National Council to review whether the directives have been carried out and also to review the election results.

Conclusions arrived at could be made known to all Party members and the public.

Against Our Practice & Policy

Contrary to this practice, no Party member, even if he is a member of the National Council, has a right to go over the heads of a state unit of the Party, criticise it and openly question its policies," said the resolution. It added: "The statement of Gopal that with a view to breaking the monopoly of the Congress party in the Kerala, the Communist Party should ally itself with the Muslim League in the forthcoming elections runs counter to the accepted policies of the Communist Party."

"The Party Congress had clearly laid down that the electoral strategy and tactics of the CPI should be governed by the sole consideration of simultaneously realising the three aims of breaking the Congress monopoly, of defeating the com-

Allocation of Rajya Sabha Seat

How Confusion Was Deliberately Created

Statement of Rajashekhar Reddy

votes, he told them, were his and he would cast them to whomsoever he chose.

"Sundarayya had told Kadiyala Gopala Rao who had met him earlier that he would accept Yella Reddi's candidature."

"It is an extraordinary thing for any leader to say that the surplus votes belong to him. Since Sundarayya had promised to give all the votes required for the Party's candidate, the council did not wish at that time to question his extraordinary attitude."

After saying that Yella Reddi had agreed to stand only after Sundarayya had accepted his candidature, the statement said:

"But on March 16 morning Sundarayya met Gopala Rao and Yella Reddi and told them that their decision had changed and that Hanumantha Rao was not going to withdraw.

"After that Sundarayya went about saying that there would be two Party candidates, thereby trying to confuse the people who the Party's candidate was and who the rebel candidate was. He even told many people that there was a chance of both the candidates winning. Thereafter all his efforts were only to secure votes for Hanumantha Rao."

After explaining how it was impossible with the Party's voting strength of 58 for two candidates to win, the statement said that if Sundarayya had really believed that it was possible for two Party candidates to win, he should have put this before the state council or said it in the letter to Rajashekhar Reddy and Rajeswar Rao.

"Then we could have collectively tried to get additional votes for Hanumantha Rao after allocating the minimum to Yella Reddi. But Sundarayya's main purpose and effort was to wean away Party voters from the Party candidate. He succeeded in weaning away about 22 such votes.

"Gopalan's statement is fundamentally opposed to this concept. Such statements of leaders of the standing of Gopalan will only undermine the foundation and unity and discipline of the Party and weaken it. The state council appeals to Gopalan to desist from and not repeat such and similar pronouncements."

"The state council termed the statement by five Communist legislators criticising Gopalan's statement as also K. P. R. Gopalan's statement as "improper". The resolution concluded with an appeal to all Party members to resolve their differences on policies through discussions within the Party units and to desist from open controversy among themselves.

The council, which had met under the chairmanship of E. Gopalakrishna Menon, viewed with concern the grave inner-Party situation and decided to postpone the convention scheduled to be held at Muvattupuzha. The council will hold a meeting at Trichur on April 4, 5 and 6 to discuss the situation obtaining inside the Party.

Rajashekhar Reddy also re-

"He also told them that Basavapunniah had told him on the phone that their 'central committee' had decided to get Hanumantha Rao elected and also to defeat Bhupesh Gupta in Bengal. He told them that this decision was taken to frustrate the 'rightist conspiracy'."

"This is how the whole question was reopened and the whole Party was put in confusion. This stand of Sundarayya was disapproved of not only by those comrades who do not belong to either of the two political trends in the Party but also by some of his own followers. Attempts were made to persuade Sundarayya to see reason and keep his word, but he was adamant.

Referring to Sundarayya's stand that the selection of the Rajya Sabha candidate should have been made only in the executive, the statement said that "the situation inside the Party being what it is, the authority of the executive is not enough" and that "if the situation in the Party was better, decisions of not only the executive but also that of the secretariat would have carried weight."

State Council Meeting Called

"What is more, four of the candidates under consideration including Yella Reddi and Hanumantha Rao are members of the executive committee which is more or less evenly divided. In such a situation the executive would not have been able to take a decision and reference of this question to the council would have become necessary. That is why the council was convened to meet a day after the executive.

"But Sundarayya boycotted both the meetings and raised a revolt against the Party. If he could raise a revolt against the council which is the supreme body between conferences, what is the guarantee that he would not have revolted against the decision of the executive? After all, the executive is smaller and less authoritative.

"A big majority of the Party MLAs resisted Sundarayya's pressure and voted for the Party's candidate. They have defended the honour of the Party. I congratulate them.

"Sundarayya's action in violating the Party discipline, damaging the Party's prestige and going back on his own promise are all very serious matters and unprecedented in the history of the CPI. The state council will meet in April and take appropriate decisions regarding this."

EVIDENTLY, Guru Golwalkar emitted so much stench during his recent tour that even the weak-kneed Bihar government had to ask its officers to throw him out of the state.

The RSS fuehrer is noted for his buoyant reactions to communal killings whenever these occur in the country. When there is a communal disturbance, the Guru feels braced. He sniffs the befouled atmosphere with evident pleasure, and his gyration increases.

Last time when there was widespread communal rioting in the Uttar Pradesh, we found him touring that state. Returning from there to his headquarters in Nagpur, he praised the Hindus for "not always taking a beating."

He declared: "Events had shown that the Hindu society can on occasion manifest indignation, that it did not always take beating." He added that the Muslims were "attempting to have a whip-hand." Completely justifying the "punishment" meted out to them during the riots, he declared that they were "scheming to engineer a countrywide revolt."

This time again he has seen "Muslim aggressiveness" in the trouble that has brewed over and is surely happy that the "Hindu Society" has not proved itself "supine."

The communal outlook colours every fibre of his being. His philosophy and the organisation that he has set up are based precisely on it. He has openly preached that the Muslims are "thieves inside the house" in India.

His disciples openly told the National Integration Committee that it "must not beat about the bush" about

Indian cultural heritage, it evokes amusement in those who know. India's ancient thinkers, I am sure, will be shaking with laughter at this queer caricature.

It is astounding that action to prevent Guru Golwalkar's attempts to fan the raging fires by his inflammatory preachings should have been objected to by some on the ground that "he commands a good following."

Stories of how his followers helped engineer or fan riots have started trickling in. Getting into refugee relief committees at many places, they took part in incensing people and organising communal riots.

In spite of all this, if the Guru gained some misguided support outside his own periphery, it is urgent that government should disseminate true information about his preachings and doings. The RSS textbook, "Hindu Rashtira", written by Golwalkar, is an already known incriminating document. It will be better still to let the people know the speeches delivered in the secret sessions of the Sangh shakhas. These will thoroughly disillusion the dupes, and strengthen government—if it really means business—to deal firmly with the communal bigots and revellers in orgies of rioting.

The murder of Mahatma Gandhi was no ordinary crime and those condemned in the case can never evoke any human sympathy.

The weekly mouthpiece of RSS-Jan Sangh in Delhi has, however, come out with a plea that great injustice was being perpetrated in keeping Gopal, Nathuram Godse's brother, still in jail. It has bewailed editorially that punishment in this case "was being related not to crime but to the subject and object of the crime."

Significantly, it omitted to add that the subject of the crime in this case was so heinous that it still fills Indian hearts with horror. The editorial has revealed how blood is thicker than water.

When Guru Golwalkar moves about with the air of a sage despite his possessing such poor knowledge of the

solving the communal problem, what it has to do is "to warn the Muslims against their raping and bombing propensities."

The communal bigotry of the Guru and his disciples is shown up in two salient features of their propaganda during the present riots.

While playing up the atrocities in Pakistan, there is studious avoidance of any reference to the many episodes in which members of the majority community came forward to protect the Hindu minorities and many even laid down their lives in the process.

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All Set For Non-Aligned Conference

The preparatory meeting for the second conference of nonaligned countries, which has just concluded in Colombo, has taken unanimous decisions regarding the agenda and the dates of the conference.

DESPITE the wishful forecasts of the enemies of nonalignment, the meeting was a powerful demonstration of the unity and solidarity of nonaligned governments, and of their growing influence in the world.

The agenda itself is an indication of the vital significance of the conference in the struggle for world peace and national independence. After the first item—a general discussion of the international situation—is over, the conference will go on to the second and third items, which cover the most significant questions of the day. The agenda's second and third items read:

2. The safeguarding and strengthening of world peace and security and the promotion of positive trends and new emerging nationalist forces in international affairs.

(a) Peaceful coexistence and the codification of its principles by the UN, respect for the sovereignty of states and their territorial integrity, problems of divided nations.

(b) Colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism.

(c) Racial discrimination and the policy of apartheid.

(d) Settlement of disputes without the threat of use of

force, in accordance with the principles of the UN Charter and particularly the right of self-determination.

(e) General and complete disarmament, prohibition of all nuclear weapon tests, establishment of nuclear free zones, prevention of dissemination of nuclear weapons and abolition of all nuclear weapons.

(f) Military pacts, foreign troops and bases.

(g) The UN, its role in international affairs, implementation of its resolutions and amendment of its Charter.

3. Economic development and cooperation and the ef-

fects of disarmament on world economic development and the UN conference on trade and development.

The inclusion of India in the Standing Committee is a recognition of our coun-

try's role in the nonaligned world. The attempts by the enemies of nonalignment to create a wall between India and other nonaligned countries obviously failed.

It is to be hoped that the Government of India has been able to appreciate and absorb the anti-imperialist fervour of nonaligned Afro-Asia, and will do all it can to brighten its image, which had been somewhat dulled in recent months, as a consequence of the government's vacillations on such key issues as those of the VOA deal, the air exercises and more recently the Seventh Fleet.

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Defeat The Conspiracy Of The Splitters : Defend Unity Of Communist Movement

editorial

THE LEADERSHIP OF the Communist Party of China has published this week the eighth part of its so-called "reply" to the open letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU of July 14, 1963. While the full text of this document has not yet been received in India, it is clear from the extracts published in the daily press that the Chinese leadership has given through this article a final call for splitting the international Communist movement.

The seventh comment, which appeared on February 4, was rightly characterised by several Communist Parties of the world as an open directive to the dogmatist supporters of the ideological positions of the Chinese leadership to split their national parties and establish rival groups and "parties."

The period since February 4 has been used by the Chinese leaders to pursue their splitting activities in more and more parties. Even where only a small group supports their ideological position, the Chinese leadership insists on their constituting an anti-Party group with a view to giving themselves the title of a "Communist Party" in the future.

The spreading of anti-Soviet slanders and attacks by the Chinese leadership and their supporters have also reached a new stage. In the recent session of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Council at Algiers, the Chinese delegation openly attacked the Soviet government as virtually an "imperialist" power.

The latest eighth comment of the Chinese leadership, issued on March 30, not only slanders the Soviet leadership as Trotskites and revisionists in the same breath, but challenges all the fundamental positions accepted by the Communist Parties of the world in their meetings of 1957 and 1960.

It is with a view to calling a halt to the activities of the splitters and taking collective decisions to frustrate their designs, that several Communist Parties have now publicly proposed that immediate steps be taken to prepare for another world conference of Communist Parties.

Every Communist Party, which earnestly desires the unity of the world Communist movement, will fully support this proposal. The task of preserving the unity of each Communist Party will be greatly facilitated by the arrival at common decisions by the Communist Parties of the world.

The activities of the splitters-help only the imperialists and the worst reactionaries—the enemies of the working people of every continent. A conference of the world's Communist Parties must be held in the nearest future, to put a strait-jacket on the splitters and strengthen the unity of the international Communist movement—the mightiest weapon in the hands of every Communist.

TIME speaks of "India's evident leadership vacuum" and describes the Prime Minister as "a waxen, drowsy figure.... hunched over..."

It says: "about the only thing reminiscent of the dynamic Nehru of old was the red rose in his white tunic."

Evidently anxious to see the end of the Prime Minister TIME talks of "the struggle over the succession" and says boorishly "Nehru will probably cling to the title of Prime Minister."

NEWSWEEK has a main feature titled "The Leadership Crisis in India." It quotes

joyfully the abusive anti-Nehru slogans of the Jan Sangh demonstration, and the criticisms of the Prime Minister's ill-health by a socialist MP in Parliament.

NEWSWEEK has made up its mind that Nehru is gone, there is a "loss of leadership."

The American journals are acting as though they are now about to name the successor.

It is time to tell the US imperialists once again that India is not their colony: it is not they who decide who is to be the Prime Minister of this country, and who not.

Since August last year workers and trade unionists in the country have been very much disturbed by the rising cost of living and the gradual fall in the price indices. The indices failed to reflect the real state of prices of commodities.

THE index fraud in Bombay and Ahmedabad proved the apprehensions of workers and trade unions. The governments of these states had to admit that workers were deprived of the due DA and there was a case for further investigation.

The government and employers did not accept the claims of trade unions of AITUC, INTUC and HMS as to the extent of the fraudulent index but yielded to the united demand of the workers and had to pay the difference between the old and new DA following the report of the Lakdawala Committee in Bombay. Ahmedabad followed suit.

In MP state, in spite of industrial backwardness, the workers organised in the textile industry (the largest and oldest in the former Madhya Bharat area) had led the first big strike-struggle against rising prices during the Second World War period.

The textile workers of Indore first secured the link-up of DA with the cost of living followed by other textile centres in MP.

The following are the pattern of calculations for the payment of DA.

Indore: Cost of living index numbers prevailing in August 1939 at Bombay, Ahmedabad and Sholapur are taken as the base

linked up with cost of living indices of other centres outside the state. The utter hoax of this calculation is admitted by government itself.

"At present many of the industrial units especially in textile industry have linked DA with consumer price index numbers of centres of other states which do not reflect accurately prices in the industrial centres of MP. It is therefore not very scientific to link DA with those centres."

(MP Labour Gazette, July, August, Sept. 1963)

Apart from the quarterly averages of Bombay, Ahmedabad and Sholapur assumed as the cost of living index at Indore and other centres, the rates fixed per point of index for each centre is still more irrational:

The rate of DA in Bombay is 2.09 pias per day per point, while in Ahmedabad, it is 2.84 pias and in Sholapur, it is 1.75 pias per day per point.

The average of these rates works out as 2.23 pias per day

per point i.e., for 20 days it is Rs. 44-0 per point.

The following table shows how the workers in MP have been steadily cheated due to this

for Nagpur. Rajnandgaon is same as Burhanpur.

(Labour Information Handbook, Part I, 1962)

Thus it can be seen that DA in the textile industry in MP state is

D.A. Rates in Rs.

Year	Bombay	Ahmedabad	Sholapur	Average	Indore	Difference
1947	41-2-10	56-3-1	41-1-7	46-2-6	37-10-3	8-8-3
1952	58-4-1	70-14-3	58-3-10	62-2-1	50-13-9	11-4-4
1956	68-12-4	63-15-0	57-10-10	63-7-3	48-0-0	15-7-3
1963	87-10 nP.	86-14 nP.	71-50 nP.	88-25 nP.	66-25 nP.	20-00 nP.

2 Ratlam: Since September 1951, DA is paid on the basis of DA paid at Indore with a time lag of one month.

3 Gwalior: Formula adopted at this centre slightly differs from the formula used at Indore. Taking the average of the index numbers of Bombay, Ahmedabad and Sholapur during August 1939 as base (100), the index numbers of these three places for the preceding quarter are averaged and from this average figure, the base average is deducted to reflect the rise and then assuming the base average to be equal to 100, the figure of rise is converted to the base to give the index figure of Gwalior. On the basis of this index, the quantum of DA is calculated at a uniform rate of annas 0-3-0 per point of rise. Same is the system at Ujjain.

4 Manasaur: At this centre DA is paid at a flat rate of Rs. 18 per month.

5 Dewas: The amount of DA paid at this centre is 90 per cent of the rate paid at Indore.

6 Bhopal: The amount of DA paid at this centre is less by Rs. 0-4-9 to that paid at Ujjain.

7 Burhanpur: The DA is paid at the rate of 12 pias for rise of every point above 100 in the three monthly moving average of the consumer price index number

Bank and Insurance Employees' Associations and more than a hundred other trade unions have swung into action. A broad-based committee has been formed to mobilise the support of the public and the entire working class.

The strike committee has received, till now, Rs. 30,000 in cash. The peasants of 24 Parganas district have given 30 maunds of rice. Some time ago, 25,000 workers participated in a solidarity rally on the Calcutta Maidan. Another rally is scheduled for April 6.

On March 18, thousands of workers and employees demonstrated their active sympathy with the strike by wearing badges. On the same day, several thousand Jay workers demonstrated in front of the offices of the ANANDA BAZAR PATRIKA and YUGANTAR, Bengali dailies, protesting against the systematic black-out of the news of the strike in their papers. Demonstrations were held on March 31 in support of the striking workers.

The leaders of the Left parties issued a statement a few days ago demanding government's immediate intervention to bring about a just settlement of the dispute. They also appealed to the public to render all help to the Jay workers and build up a movement in their support.

The BPTUC, the Mercantile Employees' Federation, Engineering Workers' Federation,

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And now the police has openly come to the aid of the employers. Many worker-volunteers of the strike committee have been arrested on flimsy charges. The Security Officer of the company is reported to have threatened the workers with arrest.

COMMUNAL and vested interests, who provoked widespread riots in West Bengal in January last, also tried their utmost to drown the workers' struggle in fratricidal clashes. But neither the Hindu nor the Muslim workers of Jay factory fell victims to this provocation.

The Labour Department of the state government has intervened in the dispute all these months. All Opposition parties in the Assembly repeatedly demanded that the government should bring about an honourable settlement. But what the government wants is "negotiations" on the employers' terms!

No news of this three-and-a-half months old strike find

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Can Ideological Debate Be Settled By Votes and Numbers?

Should the present ideological debate in the world Communist movement be settled by a majority vote? If so, would it not be correct to count votes according to the membership of different parties? (S. PRABHAKAR, Zaheerabad, Andhra)

Since the dissolution of the Communist International in 1943 there is no world Communist organisation as such where disputes can be settled by voting. All Communist Parties are independent and equal and have full freedom to accept or reject any policies or formulations with which they are not in agreement. Above all, in drawing up policies for the solution of the problems confronting the revolutionary movement within a given country, the Communist Party concerned has complete sovereignty and any interference from anywhere cannot be tolerated.

But the principles of independence and equality do not exhaust either the duties or the rights of Communist Parties vis-a-vis the world Communist movement. The banner of proletarian internationalism has to be upheld by all Communist Parties, all of whom have to do their utmost to maintain the unity of the world Communist movement. Our class, our ideology and our objectives cannot be shut up into narrow national compartments. They are part of the world process of the transition from capitalism to socialism.

Hence, mutual understanding, mutual support and strenuous attempts to work out a common world tactical line are as essential for all Communist Parties today as ever before. This is as important as the principle of independence and equality.

The form of proletarian internationalism, its specific application, may differ from period to period but it remains a fundamental principle guiding the Communist Parties everywhere. It is as basic as the very existence of the world Communist movement.

UNITY: PRIME CONSIDERATION

Hence, whenever any dispute arises in the world Communist movement—especially on questions of ideology—all Communist Parties need to exercise the greatest restraint and caution. All Parties need to proceed from the position of so conducting the debate that the unity of the world Communist movement is unimpaired and becomes stronger as a result of the overcoming of these disputes.

Certainly, the present ideological dispute cannot be settled by voting. If this dispute could be so settled there would have been no problem since the overwhelm-

ing majority of Communist Parties in the world consider that the Communist Party of China is deviating from the Moscow Declaration and Statement and sticking to dogmatic positions. If it was a question of voting, a world conference could have been convened and the overwhelming majority, a good 90 per cent or more, could have condemned the CPC.

Precisely because this is not the way of settling disputes other methods have been and are being tried. Bilateral talks, private and public criticism, plea for stopping polemics and so on, have been entered upon. The basic standpoint is to protect the unity of the world Communist movement, to uphold the commonly evolved world tactical line and to make the CPC see the error of its views and actions.

GLORIFYING ISOLATION

Unfortunately, the CPC leadership does not look at things in this way. It glorifies its isolation from the overwhelming majority of fraternal parties. Day in and day out it unilaterally declares that now this Communist Party and now that has ceased to be a Communist Party. Ceaselessly, it calls for the overthrow of now this Communist Party's leadership and now that.

It has gone to the extent of openly declaring that it is prepared to set up a new "world Communist movement" consisting of "true" Marxist-Leninist Parties, i.e., of those who are prepared to submit to its ideological dictates. The CPC leadership does not want to conduct ideological discussion but to ostracise and excommunicate all with whom it disagrees.

Sectarian politics inevitably lead to sectarian organisational methods. A wrong and narrow approach to the allies of the working class leads inevitably to a wrong and narrow approach to Communists who differ from you.

What about voting according to the membership of Communist Parties? Firstly, as stated earlier, votes cannot settle ideological disputes in the world Communist movement, unlike the majority-minority rule inside individual Communist Parties, no matter the form of voting.

Secondly, all Communist Parties are equal and this principle has to be reflected in the form of voting. Any other principle than one Party-one vote violates

the principle of equality. It puts some Communist Parties in a superior and some in an inferior position.

Moreover, why should numbers be taken as the point of differentiation? Why not the number of years of existence of different Communist Parties? Why not the richness of experience or the stage of social development at which a given Party works? Once we want to adopt "selection" principles we can land ourselves in a whole number of absurd positions.

Thirdly, if we are to proceed on the basis of numerical strength a machinery of scrutiny has to be set up. What would otherwise happen if one Communist Party accuses another of inflating its membership in order to get more votes?

Now if a world scrutiny commission is to be set up, how is it to be elected? On what principles? And should this hurdle be crossed somehow, how would this scrutiny commission set about its work? Would it start going from country to country and check up membership registers; call for complaints, interrogate individual members over the heads of any leadership of the Communist Party concerned? What about underground Parties, how is

YOUR QUESTIONS ANSWERED

VIOLATION OF SOVEREIGNTY

There would be inter-state difficulties—such political interference would be a gross violation of the principles of peaceful co-existence. Ideological and political struggle is quite compatible with peaceful coexistence but certainly not such organisational "check-up."

Besides, what happens to the principle of the independence and sovereignty of Communist Parties? The membership records, etc., are exclusively the business of the Communist Party of a given country, if independence and sovereignty are to mean anything at all.

Finally, if votes—no matter the form of voting—are to decide ideological or political disputes some machinery has to be devised to enforce decisions on such Communist Parties which find themselves in a minority. And ways and means will have to be found to remove the leadership of any Party that violates such decisions. All this would grossly violate the principle of sovereignty of all

Communist Parties. The Communist International with its uniform discipline and binding decisions belong to a past phase of the world Communist movement, the phase of its formation. Now with 90 Communist Parties in all continents and with the growth and maturity of the world movement as a whole and each segment of it, as well as the extreme complexity and diversity of the world situation and the situation in individual countries, it would be quite inappropriate to attempt to revive, in one form or another, the Communist International.

In today's situation bilateral meetings, regional or world conferences are the only way to evolve a common approach and to settle disputes. Should the leadership of any Communist Party persist in its mistakes it can only be called to order, in the final analysis, by its own rank-and-file. The world movement can only help by way of criticism and suggestions. Each Party has, therefore, to work with an unprecedented sense of responsibility to its own people and to the world movement as a whole.

—MOHIT SEN



Paramount necessity for the formation of health

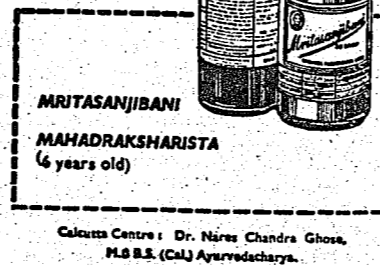
You feel tired to work... do not get energy to work or suffer from colds... or perhaps you have not a desire for food or what you take does not digest even.

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

SADHANA AUSADHALAYA—DACCA
36, Sadhana Ausadhalaya Road
Sadhana Nagar, Calcutta 46

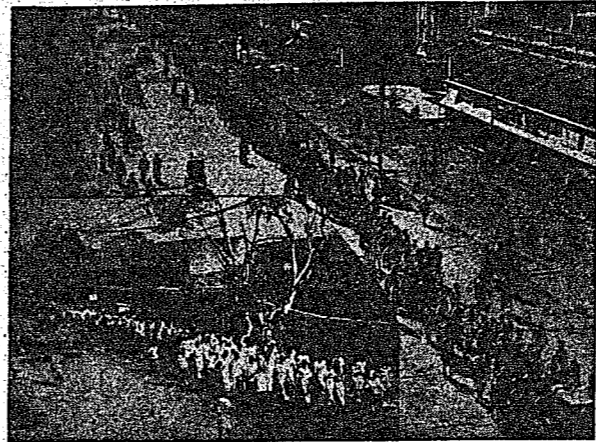


Adhyaksha Dr. Nagesh Chandra Ghosh,
M.A. Ayurved-Sastr, F.C.S. (London)
M.C.S. (America) Formerly Professor
of Chemistry, Bhagalpur College.



"The Andhra working class and trade union movement is now at an all-time high. The readiness for action and the level of consciousness is unprecedented" said N. Satyanarayan Reddy, general secretary of the APTUC, in an interview.

He announced that over 150 Andhra Pradesh at the national satyagraha before Parliament. The batch would be led by Makhdoom Mohiuddin and would include APTUC vice-presidents, T. B. Vittal Rao, M. V. Bhadram and M. Lingam. He emphasised that the satyagrahis would be drawn from the different districts and would be absolutely representative in character. Another notable feature has been the spurt forward of the movement of the middle class employees. The bank employees have been extremely active, responding to the calls of their all-India organisation and being in the forefront of the campaign for the nationalisation of banks. Now eight organisations—the NGOs, class IV and secretariat employees, the teachers' organisation, etc.—with a total membership of 2.5 lakhs have decided to take the



Andhra Workers Demonstrate

2,000 WORKERS THROWN OUT

From OUR CORRESPONDENT

RAJHARA: More than two thousand contract workers engaged in raising and loading iron ore in the Rajhara mines have been thrown out of employment.

These workers were previously employed by Messrs Manohar Lal Jain, who retrenched them on February 29.

After a sustained agitation for alternate employment, the Agent of the Rajhara Mines promised to give them alternate employment till the Bhilai Steel Project started departmental raising.

From March 22, however, they have again been thrown out of jobs.

The two thousand workers squatted for the whole day on March 23 before the mine manager's office demanding alternate jobs.

On March 24, they again squatted before the office from 9 a.m. to 7 p.m. awaiting the arrival of the agent. But nothing happened.

The contractor has also not made payments in accordance with the interim relief award of the mines wage board which had recommended that a miner should get a minimum of Rs. 2.50 and an incentive rate of 30 p.p. a day.

Despite protests by the Samyukta Khadan Mazdur Sangh, neither the management nor the concerned Ministry has moved in the matter.

Workers' Agitation

Not only the contract labour, but other workers in Rajhara are also agitating for the realisation of demands.

A huge demonstration in which women workers participated in large numbers was held on March 23 to demand 25 per cent reduc-

TOILERS OF ANDHRA ON THE MARCH

Initiative to call an Anti-Price Rise Convention as soon as possible.

From MOHIT SEN

March 20 was observed throughout the state by these organisations as their demands day with the central rally over 5,000 strong held at the Pratap-girji Kothi in Hyderabad. A further round of demonstrations has been planned for April 9.

The Confederation of Central Government employees has suggested that the convention be held before the end of April and has also recommended that other states also organise similar conventions culminating in an all-India convention. This would be an effective form of the widest possible mobilisation and could fit in with the other actions which are being planned.

Apart from this, the APTUC general secretary drew attention to certain big actions of the workers.

The Jute workers' strike at Eluru started on February 24

continues as also that of the Gun-tur jute workers which commenced on March 2. The workers demand is the simple one of the implementation of the Jute Wage Board decisions, which were made on a unit-wise basis.

The management is offering terms which amount to 50 per cent implementation now and the rest over four years with a concomitant acceptance of increased workload. It is odd that the government is pressing the workers to accept these niggardly terms rather than enforcing the wage board decisions in spite of the employer's recalcitrance.

The one-month strike of the bidi workers has been called off, following an agreement where the wages earlier fixed by a government order—which was struck down by the High Court—have been accepted by the employers.

The government remained a silent spectator, except when it turned its engine of repression against the workers, when what was being demanded was the implementation of its own orders.

The 4.5 thousand workers of the Azamjahi Mills have been locked out for 20 days. The union is led by a Congress MLA and has a Communist as the vice president.

The hospital employees have served a strike notice after conciliation had failed. The chief demand is the recognition of the union which has been declared the most representative one by the Labour Commissioner after verification some seven months ago.

The state government is flagrantly violating the Code of Discipline, just as it did with the Highways workers' and electricity workers' unions who are awaiting recognition for 18 months after verification had proved their representative character.

BIHAR TUC DEMANDS RELIEF AGAINST RISING PRICES

Morcha Before Assembly On April 8

From OUR CORRESPONDENT

PATNA: The Bihar State Council of the AITUC has decided to organise a big demonstration before the state Assembly on April 8 to demand relief to the people from the effects of high prices.

In a statement issued here the council has described the reply given by Finance Minister Ambica Saran Singh to the all attention motion of Sumit Mukherjee in the Assembly on March 9 as "a pathetic attempt to justify the government's failure to protect the interests of the non-gazetted employees in the face of rising prices."

The statement said that the Finance Minister "sanctimoniously declares that if the government raises the emoluments of its own employees in full proportion to the rise in the cost of living, it will appear to be discriminatory to persons in outside employ-

ment." The minimum wage in the steel industry in Bihar is Rs. 60 per month to its own cement industry Rs. 97, in the sugar industry Rs. 72, in the coal industry Rs. 88 and in the jute industry Rs. 82. When the pay scales in "outside employments" are such, "how does the Finance Minister justify the discriminatory minimum of Rs. 60 per month to its own employees?"

The demonstration was in response to the call given by the Calcutta Division Life Insurance Employees Association. Earlier, the employees paraded the main streets of Calcutta.

This marks the beginning of the movement which the All India Insurance Employees Association has chalked out to realise the employees' demands.

At the time of the settlement of the charter of demands of the LIC employees in January 1963, it was agreed by the AIEA and the LIC authorities that all outstanding points like medical aid, housing scheme etc. would be discussed in the last quarter of 1963.

But the LIC authorities have been silent over this issue despite repeated representations from the AIEA. The issue was discussed at length at a meeting of the zonal secretaries of the association in New Delhi on March 11 and 12.

The meeting of the zonal secretaries had decided to demand an immediate increase in DA at the rate of 7.5 per cent of the basic salary in the case of Class III employees and 10 per cent in the case of Class IV employees.

The LIC's recent decision to reorganise its setup has also caused considerable difficulties to the employees, besides the inconvenience to the policy holders. Thousands of LIC employees will be uprooted from their place of work. The AIEA has demanded scrapping of this reorganisation scheme.

It was in this context that the AIEA decided to launch a countrywide movement for the realisation of their demands.

But the LIC authorities

vision of pay is made, it is necessary carefully to isolate the factors responsible for the rise in prices so that it is possible to know whether the factors are only temporary or of a longterm nature, and appropriate steps might be taken by the government.

"We are unable to understand why uncertainty about the causes of price rise being temporary or of a longterm nature should cause any difficulty in giving relief to the employees.

"Let the government link up the dearness allowance to the cost of living index as has been done in many 'outside employments'. If the price rise is due to temporary factors the cost of living index would fall and the dearness allowance would automatically be reduced."

L.I.C. EMPLOYEES' DEMONSTRATION

CALCUTTA: About five thousand employees of the Life Insurance Corporation in Calcutta and neighbourhood held a demonstration before the LIC zonal office in the city on March 25.

The demonstration was in response to the call given by the Calcutta Division Life Insurance Employees Association. Earlier, the employees paraded the main streets of Calcutta.

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LATIN AMERICA

A Socio-Economic Study

By LAJPAT RAI

pp. 236 Price: 7.50

Available with

Institute For Afro-Asian & World Affairs
14-B, Janpath Barracks, New Delhi-1

Employment Situation In Indian Industries

The annual Report of Directorate General of Employment and Training under the Labour and Employment Ministry for the year 1963-64 has summarised the employment situation in the country on the basis of information collected from all employers in the public sector and private employers employing 25 or more persons.

THE employment market studies have shown that employment in the organised sector increased by 11.2 per cent, from 12.09 millions at the beginning of the Third Plan to 13.45

millions at the end of June, 1963. Employment in public sector showed a rise of 14.5 per cent while in private sector it went up by 8.7 per cent. The total number of persons employed in

public sector at the end of June 1963 was 8.06 millions. Comprehensive information about the private sector was however not available. Studies undertaken by the Directorate have revealed that shortages of man-power were experienced for professional and technical personnel as well as for craftsmen and production process workers. They were mainly reported for civil, mechanical and electrical engineers, overseers, surveyors, medical and surgical specialists, nurses, pharmacists, and secondary school teachers, fitters, turners, moulders and electricians. Some employers reported shortages of stenographers and typists.

The Report has summarised the performance of the 369 Employment Exchanges in the following table:

April-December 1962	April-December 1963
Registrations 30,88,413	32,02,399
Vacancies Notified 6,29,025	7,03,512
Submissions 25,09,369	27,67,941
Placements 3,61,729	4,14,562

Pay Boycott By Ministerial Officers

SHILLONG: The All-Assam Ministerial Officers' Association—an organisation of the state government employees stationed in the districts—has decided to observe what it calls "no pay day" from April 1 to 3.

ACCORDING to this decision, employees who are members of this organisation will not accept their pay for the month of March on those three days. They will also attend office wearing 'hungry badges'.

This decision has been taken to press for the demand for enhanced D.A. equivalent to fifty per cent of the present pay. Without this, it is maintained by this organisation, the impact of the current rise in cost of living cannot be negated. It may be noted that some-time back the state government

appointed a Pay Committee to go into the pay structure of its employees. The work of the committee was suspended following the proclamation of national emergency. However, last year the employees pressed again for expediting the work of the committee.

It resumed its work towards the later part of last year and finalised its report in February last. But the government has not yet come to any decision about recommendations of the Pay Committee. This has naturally incensed resentment among the government employees.

West Bengal MLAs Observe One-Day Protest Hunger-Strike

From JNAN BIKASH MOITRA

CALCUTTA: On March 23, the entire Opposition in the West Bengal Assembly, with the exception of an independent, staged a walk-out, and 56 MLAs belonging to different Opposition parties started a 24-hour hungerstrike in the lobby of the House.

THESE actions followed a statement by the Chief Minister, rejecting the Opposition demand for a judicial enquiry into the death of Bhudev Sen, a Calcutta student who was killed in police firing during the communal riots in January last.

On March 19 and 20, the Opposition had persistently raised the demand and at times there was so much confusion and uproar in the House that no business could be transacted.

The Chief Minister stated that on the advice of the Advocate General he was "unable to accede to the request for a judicial enquiry."

His statement was resented with cries of "shame, shame" from the Opposition benches. Jyoti Basu, leader of the Opposition, strongly criticised the government's stand and said that if it adamantly struck to its attitude, the peo-

The MLAs stayed in the lobby overnight and attended next day's session of the Assembly.

The token hungerstrike was the first step in the mass movement planned by the seven Left parties—the CPI, RSP, Marxist Forward Bloc, RCFI, Bolshevik Party, Workers' Party and Socialist Unity Centre to focus public attention on the four demands referred to by Jyoti Basu in the Assembly and to force the government to accept them without delay.

A mass demonstration was organised on March 25 under the joint auspices of these parties. The demonstration paraded some of the main thoroughfares of Calcutta.

Other steps proposed to be taken by the seven Left parties in the course of next few days are a 24-hour mass hungerstrike in a public park in the city on March 30 and a deputation on April 3 and 4 to the Union Home Minister, G. L. Nanda, and the Minister without portfolio, Lal Bahadur Shastri, to press for the immediate acceptance of demands.

Since then the primary teachers repeatedly appealed to the government to honour the promises made by the late Dr. Roy and to accept

The Live Register of the Exchanges continued to show a rising trend, as in earlier years. At the end of December, 1963 the all-India Live Register was having 25,18,463 persons on the rolls. The number of applicants having qualifications of matriculation and above was 7,39,066. The number of Scheduled Caste/Tribe applicants rose from 3,04,699 at the end of December 1962 to 3,30,051 at the end of December 1963. The figures for women on register in December 1963 was 1,97,989.

OCCUPATIONAL PATTERN

A study of occupational pattern of employees in the private sector was undertaken by collecting information from over 20,000 establishments employing 25 or more persons throughout the country. Similar information was collected from nearly 70,000 smaller establishments in 156 selected areas.

The study revealed that in the bigger establishments, the labour force comprised of 40.8 per cent of unskilled workers and 37.8 per cent of craftsmen and production process workers. In case of smaller establishments, the unskilled workers represented 29.6 per cent and craftsmen 23.0 per cent of the total employment.

In the public sector there are proportionately more craftsmen and production process workers in manufacturing industries than in the private sector as a whole;

84.0 per cent of the total labour force employed in manufacturing industries were craftsmen and production process workers as against 37.8 per cent for private sector as a whole.

A study regarding employment of women showed that 4,84,154 women were employed in the public sector. Of these 42.6 per cent were employed in local bodies and 40.0 per cent in state government establishments, 42.9 per cent of the women employed in the public sector belonged to professional and technical categories.

In the private sector, women comprised 17.2 per cent of the total employment in bigger establishments, 41.4 per cent of those were employed in manufacturing industries alone. 78.5 per cent of the women in public sector were engaged in services while in private sector their proportion was nearly 80 per cent in manufacturing and plantations.

During the year under review the Directorate released a report for the year 1961 of the census of Central Government employees. According to the census, the total number of Central Government employees as on 31 March 1961 was 20.84 lakhs.

Of the 19.88 lakhs as regular employees, 54.1 per cent were drawing a basic pay of less than Rs. 100 per month, 36.5 per cent in the pay range of Rs. 100—Rs. 200 and the remaining 9.4 per cent were in receipt of a basic pay of Rs. 200 and above.

—IPA

Primary Teachers' Massive Demonstration

CALCUTTA: On March 24 the West Bengal Primary Teachers' Association organised a massive demonstration of primary teachers in Calcutta to press for their demands for a thorough re-organisation of the existing system of primary education in the state and improvement in the deplorable service conditions of the teachers.

their demands. The present Chief Minister, P. C. Sen, unequivocally admitted before a deputation of the teachers that their demand for a minimum basic salary of Rs. 100 a month was entirely just. But precious little has been done so far to meet the teachers' demands.

The teachers, therefore, were left with no other alternative except taking to the path of direct action. The demonstration of March 24 last was the first step in this direction.

Main Demands

The main demands made in the memorandum, referred to above, are:

- ★ Introduction of free and compulsory education for boys and girls in the 6-14 age group;
- ★ Scrapping of the Primary Education Act of 1930 and enactment of a comprehensive legislation in its place;
- ★ Setting up of a democratically constituted Primary Education Board, with one-third of its members representing the primary teachers;
- ★ Taking over by the government of the responsibility for primary education in urban as well as rural areas;
- ★ Provision for a minimum salary of Rs. 100 plus Rs. 25 as D.A., and another Rs. 25 for teachers working in urban areas;
- ★ Stopping of arbitrary and vindictive transfers of teachers to distant places;
- ★ Regular payment of salaries within the first week of every month;
- ★ Provisions for pension, medical treatment and other social security measures for the primary teachers;
- ★ Introduction of the system of elections of representatives on School Boards by primary teachers;
- ★ Exempting primary teachers from payment of the education cess;
- ★ Conferring on primary teachers the right of voting in the elections to the West Bengal Legislative Council.

The wave of communal killings that hit some of the industrial areas of the country last week like a tornado, leaving behind misery to the people and a tarnished image of the country, was the subject of press comment. There was revulsion at the recurrence of the communal trouble and universal demand for ruthless action to stop the rampage of the poisonous elements.

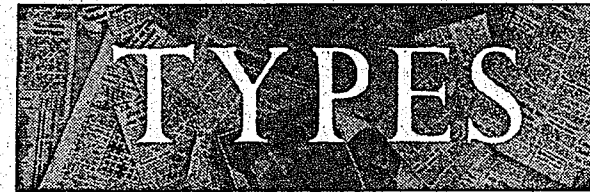
BUT there were exceptions and among them was Calcutta's AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA. The paper has been writing a series of editorials on the communal riots and allied subjects such as Indo-Pakistan relations, the problem of infiltrators, and the plight of the refugees. On every subject it had a new angle to offer.

Thus, while the proposed Indo-Pakistan Home Ministers' meet brought a flicker of hope to all others—THE STATESMAN said March 27 that it was "good news, the first for months in Indo-Pakistan relations"—PATRIKA, mouthpiece of a minister of West Bengal, had something else to say.

When the meeting was proposed by the government of India to devise, in the words of PATRIKA itself, "effective methods to restore communal peace in the subcontinent and the Prime Minister followed it up with a personal letter to President Ayub Khan" the paper wrote (March 24): "It is sickening to see the government of 440 million people prostrate itself time and again before Pakistan's military president."

"What is one to say of a government that repeatedly abases itself before a military president who has launched on a planned programme of mortification and extermination of the Hindus and Christians stranded in East Pakistan and whose basic policy is based on hatred and malice against India", asked the paper.

It declared: "No self-respecting Indian wants, the government of his country to stoop to the level of Pakistan and be as uncivilised as the Ayub regime. But he does not



at the same time want to see the Government of India throw honour and dignity to the winds in pursuit of a policy of appeasement."

When Pakistan agreed to the proposal, PATRIKA wrote (March 28): "President Ayub Khan's acceptance of New Delhi's proposal for the holding of a meeting of the Home Ministers of the two countries may be greeted with enthusiasm in London and Wash-

Spotlight on Amrita Bazar Patrika PRO-MINISTRY PAPER FANS COMMUNAL FIRE

ington, but the reaction of the Indian people is loaded with fear and pessimism.

"The difference in tone between the two letters, Prime Minister Nehru's letter to the President of Pakistan and the latter's reply, cannot be missed. It is as between 'I implore' and 'I accuse'." It added that "New Delhi's proposal is ill-tim-

lot." And the advice: "It is no good running after a mirage."

On March 30 the paper returned to the subject to say that "serious complications might arise if the meeting led to an agreement which public opinion could not endorse. Delhi is not unaware of the troubles caused by its undertaking to cede Berubari to Pakistan. Those troubles might be multiplied thousandfold if the proposed meeting ran counter to public opinion."

The paper was critical that "although Parliament was in session and the problem of migration figured in debate almost daily, the legislators were not allowed to know that the Prime Minister was making a fresh proposal to the President of Pakistan." And, "a large section of the public entertains serious misgivings about the manner in which the meeting has been arranged as also about its likely results."

The editorial also dealt with the problem of illegal immigration. Said the PATRIKA: "No state can allow illegal immigration on a large scale for ulterior political purposes... Yet that is exactly what Delhi has been doing for years in the face of persistent public criticism. Viewed in retrospect, it was a timid, senseless policy which betrayed the security of the country."

SHEER OBSESSION

The problem of infiltrators is almost an obsession with AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA. A whole series of editorials has been written on the need for stern and effective measures to deal with this problem in its generality and again referring to it in particular contexts like Home Minister Nanda's visit to Assam.

So much carried away is the paper with the "infiltrators" that even while offering a lukewarm support to the Union Home Minister's determination to put down communal violence, it would not help adding that this "should have been coupled with an assurance of stern and determined action against Pakistani agents who are provoking communal violence". (March 25)

All the communal carnage and orgy in the eastern states is just the handiwork of Pakistani agents: "Our government allows spies and saboteurs to utilise the facilities of democratic citizenship; but when their sinister activities result in loot, murder and arson, it launches stern action which naturally penalises many people irrespective of the nature and extent of guilt."

The accusing finger directed against the government for not dealing sternly with infiltrators was evident in another editorial on the same day. Regarding the Home Minister's plans to deal with infiltrators it said:

"There is always a slip between the cup and the lip where New Delhi's deal-

ings with Pakistan are concerned. And the slip in this case may well be a sudden waving of olive branches by President Ayub to whom our Prime Minister recently addressed a letter..."

The paper quoted Biju Patnaik, who "spoke with the authority of an eye-witness and on the basis of an intimate knowledge of the locality", as saying "at all key points the enemies' agents were at work". But, it said (March 27) "the Union Home Minister was quite silent about the role, if any, played in the disturbances in Jamshedpur, Rourkela and other places by the Pakistani agents provocateur."

NANDA CHIDED

And it took him to task for this: The Home Minister "tends to be carried by his first impressions and has not the patience to go below the surface of things".

To support its contention, the PATRIKA went back to the Calcutta riots: "His first impression of the Calcutta disturbances—which he assiduously broadcast to the world—was that they were a one-sided affair, the wrong-doers coming from the majority community and the wronged or the victims coming from the minority community. But the truth, as hospital records would show, was quite different."

On March 29 the paper again came back to the subject. It said that "unlike in Assam, a large number of Pakistani nationals are employed in essential services and vital defence installations in West Bengal. Yet, strangely enough, this grave security menace has not yet caught the notice of the Centre."

The Pakistani infiltrators came into the country "without any let and hindrance and find a safe shelter in the homes of members of the minority community who mostly inhabit the border areas. Then they spread out throughout the state posing as Indian citizens for espionage and sabotage. And this has been continuing for years together."

Writing the same day on "Safety of Plants", the paper said in another editorial that "safety and security not only of the national plants and other vital organisations but of the entire nation demands quick detection of these Pakistani agents and prompt and deterrent action against them. There is however no indication as yet of such intention on the part of the government."

"On the contrary, it seems to be softening in its attitude towards these agents and that is proved by its agreement to discuss with Pakistan the issue of Pakistani infiltrators. Unless and until this attitude is thoroughly changed, measures to ensure safety and security of the national plants—and many other things—will not be easy to find through discussions and conferences."

★ On page 19

TTK's Guests Are Coming



T. T. KRISHNAMACHARI's "incentives" to foreign private investors seem to be bearing fruit.

The United States' "Business Council for International Understanding", which is said to be a "non-profit" organisation, established during the presidency of General Eisenhower, and which is credited with an abiding "interest" in expanding industrial production abroad, particularly in the less developed countries, is despatching post haste to India a delegation of top-ranking executives of about 30 prominent American corporations at the invitation of the Indian Investment Centre.

And what an awe-inspiring list of corporations they represent, ESSO, Union Carbide, Du Ponts, Morgans, Rockefeller, all are out for "international understanding". Even Koppers, who had long had their covetous eyes on

Bokaro, and International Telephone and Telegraph whose affiliate, of doubtful antecedents, had wangled a controversial contract from our P&T authorities have not lagged behind in lending a hand in this "noble" mission.

But the composition of the mission—frightening as it is—is not even half as sinister as are the objectives they have in view. The "understanding" they seek is for establishing "specific industrial projects", and that too in lines which are on the "priority list" of the government.

Reports mention oil, fertilisers, petrochemicals and a number of other items in this connection, but it is evident

that they would want to make inroads in other vital—defence—sectors as well. And it is no meaningless gesture they have made but a "bold" bid—complete with "forms of co-operation"—to show their "interest" in the development of our less developed economy.

These "forms" include such classical modes of penetration as the setting up of wholly-owned enterprises, like their present oil refineries, as well as "modern" variants like the government transferring the ownership of its projects to private hands, which will then be free to seek assistance from the American corporations.

It is thus not merely in new industries that they seek a niche, but also in existing state enterprises which they want to be 'exploited' jointly by themselves and their indigenous brethren.

What prompted them to be so bold as to come out with outrageous suggestions? Evidently nothing but TTK's open declaration that the door for foreign capital needed to be opened wider. When in following it up by granting incentives to foreign investors he gave evidence of his earnestness, it is natural that the would-be "invitees" should not consider it improper to offer suggestions about the forms of cooperation.

But the storm of protest this "invitation" raised made TTK more circumspect. He tried to make amends for his earlier rashness by declaring that the government's policy on the question remained unchanged. It is, however, no secret that

his Ministry has been busy spelling out "considerations" for deciding upon foreign majority participation in new, including public sector, enterprises.

In fact, it is not only from the Americans that such "participation" is being sought but from West Germans, Canadians, French, and any other investors who have a mind to make hay while TTK's sun shines.

A high level French delegation had recently been on a visit to New Delhi to seek avenues of "co-operation" in promoting trade as well as in setting up industries. The Ambassador to West Germany has been persistently trying to persuade the government to go back on its earlier decision to reject Bonn's demand for special guarantees for its investors.

And now the Canadians, under the banner of Vancouver Board of Trade, have landed to offer collaboration in power development, paper and pulp. It is in fact a regular swarming of the "investors" to offer "co-operation" and seek "understanding" from TTK and his Ministry.

The logic of "widening the door" to foreign investors is coming home to roost. It is time that the policy is reversed to save the public sector and the economy from strangulation at the hands of foreign and indigenous monopolists.

—ESSEN

(March 31)

AFRO-ASIAN CONFERENCE REAFFIRMS ITS PRINCIPLES

GENERAL POLITICAL RESOLUTION

Noted with satisfaction that this meeting held in the capital of heroic Algeria is a token of an important development of the national liberation movement of our two continents.

UNDERLINING that the revolutionary struggle waged by the Algerian people has been a brilliant example for the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America as well as for other oppressed peoples in the world in their struggle for their liberation, warmly greets and congratulates the Algerian people for the great victory which they have scored under the leadership of the F.L.N. headed by President Ahmed Ben Bella.

—Considering that the international situation is developing in a very favourable way for the peoples of the world who have recorded successive victories against imperialism and colonialism, old and new;
—Hails the broad united front formed by the peoples of Asia and Africa in their struggle against the imperialist forces of war and aggression, for national liberation and peace.
—Considering however that

political prerogative of our peoples;

—Reaffirms that the main task which falls upon our peoples is the strengthening of their solidarity in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

To this effect, the Vth Session of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Council,

—Hails the creation of the Organisation of African Unity after the historic conference of Addis-Ababa as well as the charter and resolutions adopted at this conference;

—Hails the Summit Conference of the Arab countries which has contributed to the

—Notes that the USA and their imperialist allies established military bases in many countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, continued to promote neo-colonialism in these three continents through armed repression, political control, economic and cultural infiltration;

—Notes that the people of South Vietnam suffer an atrocious war of aggression waged by those very imperialists;

—Notes that the Palestinian people continue to be victims of an unjust usurpation of their territory for the benefit of Israel and Zionism.

—Considering that an armed intervention of the colonialist forces endangers the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus;

—Considering that the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, so-called Portuguese Guinea and Equatorial Guinea still suffer the massacres perpetrated by the Portuguese colonialist forces and their allies;

—Considering that the peoples of South West Africa and Southern Rhodesia know the most abject racism established by the clique of Verwoerd and his like;

—Considering that Latin America confronts the perfidious manoeuvres of imperialism and neo-colonialism;

—Calls upon all peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America to raise high the anti-imperialist, anti-old and new colonialist banner, to unite with all anti-imperialist forces in the world to wage a resolute struggle, through various forms, until the final achievement of complete independence, economic and social emancipation and total liquidation of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and the establishment of peace.

—Recalls the necessity of consolidating our independence everywhere in the world by utilising mainly our own resources in order to build and develop an independent and prosperous national economy.

—Hopes for the speedy evacuation of the UN troops from Congo-Leopoldville.

—Hails the evacuation of the Bizerta base in Tunisia after a heroic struggle of the Tunisian people, and considers that the victory scored at Bizerta is not only that of the Tunisian people but also that of all Afro-Asian peoples struggling for the evacuation of foreign military bases.

—Hails the victory attained by the peoples of Zanzibar and the Congo-Brazzaville against reactionary and imperialist forces.

The Vth Session of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Council

—Reiterates, the deep aspirations of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples to a real and lasting world peace;

—Demands all anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist forces to continue to wage an effective struggle for general disarmament, for total ban of nuclear weapons in the experimentation and transportation, testing, manufacturing, stockpiling and distribution as well as destruction of existing weapons.

The Vth Session of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Council expresses its determination to strengthen the great anti-imperialist alliance of all Asian-African and Latin American peoples in their historic struggle against all imperialist policies of exploitation, war and aggression, for independence and peace.

GENERAL DECLARATION

The Vth Session of the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Council, held in Algiers from March 22-26, 1964, having discussed and examined the recent events since the last meeting of Nicosia (Cyprus); eager to consolidate and express in reality the principles of the historic Bandung Conference;

SOLEMNNY reaffirms its complete adherence to the resolutions of the Cairo, Conakry and Moshit conferences;

—Convinced that the problem of the struggle for national liberation is the main task of our movement;

—Convinced that no real peace can be achieved without the total liberation of Afro-Asian and all other peoples, in accordance with the important declarations of President Ben Bella at the opening of this conference;

—Convinced also of the necessity of general disarmament for the realization of world peace;

—Desirous to promote understanding among peoples and coexistence among states of different political and social systems on the basis of the ten principles of Bandung;

—Urgently calls upon the Afro-Asian Peoples:

★ To exert all necessary efforts to facilitate the formation of a common front for struggle in order to allow better coordination of our creative action for national liberation;

—To aid effectively the fighters for liberty in both the material and moral fields;

★ To intensify the struggle against colonialism, neo-colonialism, imperialism and racial discrimination, the struggle that is the only guarantee for the progress of the true liberty of our peoples actively engaged in the struggle for national and total independence.

On the other hand, the Sixth Session of the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Council notes with satisfaction that the international situation has positively developed in favour of the Afro-Asian peoples in their decisive struggle against the forces of evil, arch-enemies of liberty and peace.

This situation has allowed us to strengthen the front of struggle of the peoples of Africa and Asia by accomplishing unprecedented victories over colonialism and imperialism in all its forms.

In this respect, the Organisation for African Unity of Addis Ababa constitutes a historic symbol for Africa and the world.

The recent summit Conference of Arab States has greatly contributed to the struggle for unity and national liberation.

However, despite the recorded successes in Africa and Asia we must remain vigilant, for imperialism has not thrown its arms and will do all it can to perpetuate its domination by means of its economic presence.

The Afro-Asian countries must unmask these manoeuvres in order to become the absolute masters of their wealth and destiny.

In conclusion, in condemning of foreign cases, and the aggressive military pacts, in rejecting categorically imperialism's interference in our own affairs with the aim of sowing the seeds of dissension and discord in our ranks;

In denouncing the aggressive war policy of imperialism;

The Sixth Session of the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Council reaffirms once more its unshakable faith in the historic solidarity of Afro-Asian peoples, a solidarity which is one of the factors capable of ensuring true peace and unity of our peoples for progress and prosperity.

**DOWN WITH IMPERIALISM,
DOWN WITH COLONIALISM,
DOWN WITH NEO-COLONIALISM,
LONG LIVE AFRO-ASIAN SOLIDARITY.**

Khrushchov's Message

I warmly greet the participants in the Sixth Session of the Council of the Organisation for Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity on behalf of the Soviet people and on my own.

THE fact that representatives of more than 50 Asian and African countries have come together at this session itself attests to the outstanding successes of the national liberation movement. This is also an expression of recognition by all progressive people of the common struggle against colonialism and imperialism.

The Soviet people and their government have firmly and consistently supported, and are supporting, the heroic struggle of the Asian and African peoples for their national liberation. They fullheartedly acclaim the great victories which have already been scored in the struggle against colonial slavery.

The crushing blow at the imperialist colonial system has been delivered in the course of the people's selfless struggle with the determined support, which has been given and is being given by all progressive forces—in the first place by the peoples of the socialist countries—to the struggle for the achievement and strengthening of the national independence.

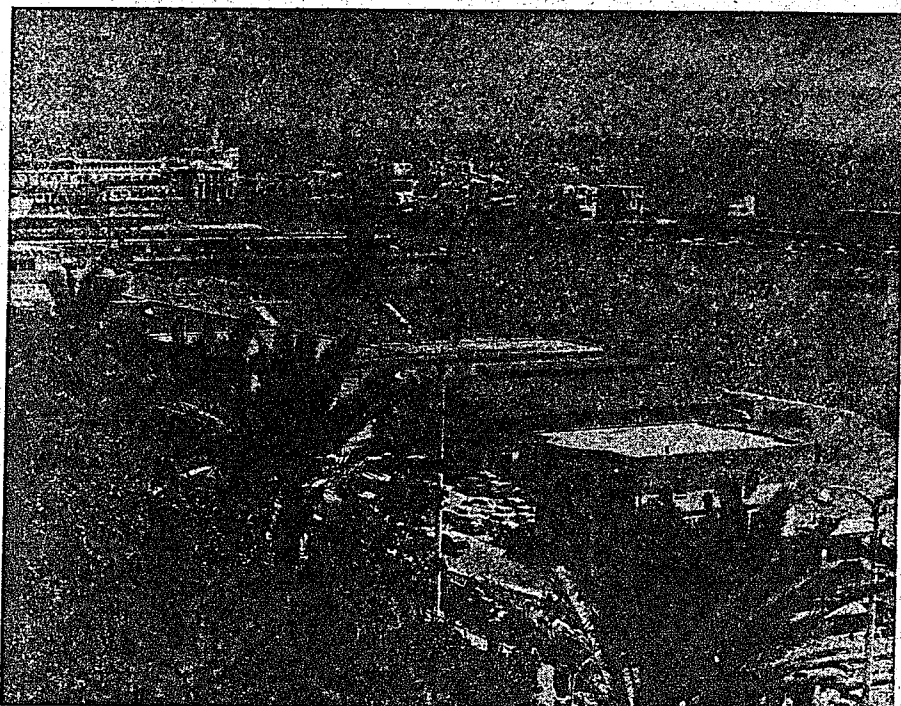
The freedom-loving peoples are resolutely opposing the attempts of the imperialists to prevent the national liberation of the peoples of Angola, "Portuguese" Guinea, Mozambique, Southern Rhodesia, South Africa and other enslaved countries.

They cannot tolerate the intervention of the American imperialists in South Vietnam, the provocations of the colonialists against Cyprus, the attempts to spread hostility among the peoples, the

of world socialist system and all revolutionary forces.

This unity will secure success in the final abolition of colonialism and racialism, in the reinforcement of the independence of newly-liberated countries, in the strengthening of peace and freedom on earth. The Afro-Asian Solidarity Movement is called upon to plan an important part in the earliest attainment of these lofty goals.

I wish the session participants to cope successfully with the tasks confronting them.



Algiers, Capital of Free Algeria

—Considering that the 3rd Conference of Afro-Asian Solidarity held in Moshit last year has been an important contribution to the cause of unity of the Afro-Asian peoples against imperialism;

the imperialists are deploying desperate efforts to oppose the people's struggles by means of bloody repressions and that they continue to exert their interference and control over the economic and

struggle for unity and national liberation;

—Supports the convening of the 2nd Conference of non-aligned countries and the 2nd Conference of Afro-Asian countries;



President Ben Bella Reviewing the Algerian National Liberation Army



Algiers, Venue of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Council Meeting

PUNJAB STATE COUNCIL MEETING

JULLUNDUR: The Punjab State Council of the Communist Party of India has approved the characterisation by its secretariat of the new weekly LOK LEHAR as "a disruptive, anti-Party paper, started with the aim of waging open struggle against the political line and leadership of the Communist Party of India".

THIS was done through a resolution passed at the four-day meeting of the state council which concluded here on March 23. The meeting was presided over by a presidium consisting of Satish Lomba, Vimla Dang and Shamsher Singh Josh MLA.

The state council also approved a political report detailing the activities of the Party for the last four months and an organisational report of the executive placed before it by the secretary, Avtar Singh Malhotra.

A resolution passed by the state council denounced the intrigues of the American and British imperialists on the Kashmir issue, their attempts to use the United Nations organs to pressurise and blackmail India and

By another resolution the council condemned the state government's callous failure to give any relief to the peasants hit by the damage to crops and demanded substantial and immediate relief to the kisans affected by scarcity and drought, especially in the Harijani region.

The state council expressed grave concern over the recent wave of communal riots in some leading industrial centres and declared that such riots could only help the imperialist-abetted Pak provocations over Kashmir and endanger the minority in Pakistan and weaken the secular democratic forces in India itself.

Through another resolution the council demanded the release of Communist leaders still in detention in some states. Their continued detention for the last 16 months without trial was a grave crime against the democratic rights and liberties of the people enshrined in the country's constitution, it said.



HOW THE REVOLUTION RESTORED DIGNITY TO ITS CHILDREN

By ZIA-UL HAQ

Visiting the Los Pinos people's farm in Pinar del Rio, the western-most province of Cuba, we walked unannounced one morning into one of its 506 single-storied houses that the Revolution had built for the farm-workers there in its very second year.

It was a three-bedroom house with a sitting room, kitchen and bathroom attached, with a bidet too in the bath! The bidet was there perhaps to emphasize that what had been a necessary comfort for the upper classes was no freakish luxury for the oppressed once they came into their own. There was a small compound and a lawn in front.

Only the lady of the house was in at that hour with her three children—two daughters twelve and eleven years of age; and a son of five. The husband was away at work.

Taken aback at first, the Senora was soon answering our questions. Before the Revolution she and her husband were working on this very soil. The land belonged then to Dictator Batista's son and they got work only for two months in the year, when sugarcane was being harvested.

Between the two of them they would earn 1.50 to 1.75 pesos (dollars) a day. For the rest of the year they had no work and had to starve or somehow keep body and soul together. They had no roof over their heads.

Then came the Revolution and "night changed into day."

Now the two of them together earned 130 pesos a month, she working only part time.

From Darkness To Light

Then came the Revolution and "night changed into day."

Now the two of them together earned 130 pesos a month, she working only part time.



Two of the former garbage-heap dwellers of Santiago working now in a blacksmith shop in one of the new factories.

They had this excellent house to live in and the two daughters were going to school where no fees were charged and books, uniform, breakfast all were provided free. They could not have dreamt earlier that their children would ever be able to go to school. They now get even a month's holiday with pay and are able to go to a holiday resort for vacation.

Travelling round Cuba one would come upon a number of these new housing projects

built by the Revolution to house those who never had any roofs worth the name over their heads before.

There is the Ciudad Pesquera (Fishermen's City) with 610 houses in the outskirts of Manzanillo on the south-eastern coast of the island. Calling on 32-year old Placido Villegas Reyes, father of five children, at his home I became acquainted with the moving story which is typical of the fishermen of Cuba. Before the Revolution Placido lived in a muddy hovel in a slum area in Manzanillo called Minglar. He recalled the million-strong army of mosquitoes that would descend upon them every night in that hole of a room.

Toiling For A Pittance

He was one of about eighty fishermen employed by a man called Juan Gonzalez. There was an overabundance of fish yet there was no market for it in those days when everything used to be imported from the USA. They would work for only five months in the year earning about forty pesos a month.

For the rest of the year they would be seeking work on the farms or go in for casual labour in the city. He had never been to school.

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nary government, a very capable veteran of the Sierra Maestra, Justo Nunez Martinez by name.

Placido Villegas now earned 160 pesos a month and paid 15 pesos for his three-room house. Since the Revolution he had been to school and had learned to read and write. Being an exemplary worker, his fellow-workers had recommended him to be enrolled a member of the Party and now he was a member of its municipal committee and an assistant to the administrator.

End Of Colour Bar

Ciudad Pesquera started building in the very first year of the Revolution. It kept on growing. Twelve houses were being added to it this year. In external appearance none of its two houses were the same. Well-laid out with lawns and flower beds, situated on a slight elevation it commanded an excellent view of the sea.

Still more moving as an act of social justice and one righting an age-old wrong was the way the Revolution tackled the question of the "Jhuggi-Jhoppri" dwellers of Santiago, the capital of the Oriente province. Most of them were Negroes and therefore subjected to the worst social oppression in pre-revolutionary Cuba. They were outcasts and pariahs and used to have no work at all and had no skills of any sort either.

The Revolution bodily lifted them from what was literally a garbage heap in which they lived. There were 600 such families rotting in one particular area. A whole new colony of single-storied houses was built for them and they were transferred in their entirety to this. 250 persons from among them, men and women, were first given literacy courses and general education lasting in some cases a whole year.

Meanwhile a whole new complex of small engineering works to manufacture articles of daily use like cutlery, nuts and bolts and many other things came up close-by. Machinery came from the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic as well as from Britain and Belgium and all the 600 garbage-heap dwellers and a lot more were absorbed in the new factories, each of them earning round about 4.25 pesos a day. They had learnt their jobs well and kept on improving day by day.

Talking to these people whom the Revolution had rescued from slow extinction and sure death one could not help being infected by their gratitude and devotion to its cause. In the case of Negroes and coloured people who together constitute one-third of Cuba's population this gratitude and devotion is doubly reinforced. They have been rescued from a double slavery—economic and social—which were both inevitable concomitants of their of the old order.

It is a most remarkable achievement of the Cuban

Revolution—the way it has done away with racial discrimination and hatred that used to be rampant there too like it is in the United States. Only ninety miles from the shores of the latter it is an entirely different world so far as the Negro is concerned.

While the black man is despised, hated and hounded in the heart of the "Free World" that is the United States, across the Gulf of Mexico in the little island of Cuba which according to Dean Busk's latest state-



Sitting before his new home Placido Villegas with one of his children discusses a point with co-op administrator Justo Nunez.

ment once again is a standing threat to "freedom" of the whole Western hemisphere, the black and coloured man is an equal among equals—not merely on paper but in actual fact.

All places of entertainment, posh hotels and restaurants, parks and beaches which were closed to him and his women-folk in the days of North

tory because they have restored to the Cuban people their dignity of which US imperialism and its puppets had robbed them. It is one of the key reasons why loyalty to the Revolution runs so deep among its children, overflowing to all over Latin America and no attempts of the Yanqui imperialists can shake it.

(To be continued)

American domination receive him now with open arms. No-body dare look down upon him or humiliate him or insult him in anyway. All avenues of advancement are equally and in fact a little more open to him than to the rest of the population.

The swank Miramar beach of Havana which used to be reserved for whites only and that too really for the monied tourists from the dollarland is now renamed PATRICE LUMUMBA and swarms with people of all colours. Afro-Cuban culture which was so far a hidden stream is now coming out more and more as a powerful current enriching the Cuban cultural heritage.

Dignidad (Dignity) is a word which one comes across all over the New Cuba at every turn. The Revolution and its leaders have carved an eternal niche for themselves in his-

In Hungary today one thing is evident: the political rallying of the Party Members as well as of those outside the Party, people of various occupations and training, some of whom in some questions may still hold divergent views, for the building of socialism.

WHEN we speak about the people with divergent views we are not thinking of the rallying of the people who profess directly opposing views but we think of the many complicated questions of life to which millions of people do not find identical replies simultaneously.

People of approximately my age were born as subjects of Emperor Franz Josef. Then the Austro-Hungarian monarchy fell, the 1918 bourgeois Revolution came, after it in 1919 the Council Republic and then the 25-year period of the counter-revolution culminating in the most shameful terror reign of the Arrow-Cross bandits.

Our people had to live through two world wars, in two world wars they had to bleed for foreign interests and for slayers removed from their way of thinking and their heart.



JANOS KADAR

We must realise that the fate of an individual is inseparable from the fate of the people and these various historical deviations, tragedies, dramas have left their traces in the people's thinking. This is what we mean when we say that people professing differing views in different questions gather and rally.

Differing Outlooks

Ideologically there are also differences, since there are believers and non-believers among us. Training, views, habits, family education, profession can all give birth to differing views. This reminds me of a friend from County Vas, a priest by profession, who explained our cooperation in this way:

"There is a difference between us and at the same time there isn't. The difference between us is that one of us writes God's name with a small letter and the other with a capital letter. The identity is that we both write Man's name with a capital letter."

This, symbolically, is how, in what way we can cooperate. But to be strong and united a joint political belief is necessary. This luckily exists: we all profess that the future of our people, its goal, its road to prosperity is a socialist society.

Internal squabbles, discord, the thousand-year old Hungarian curse, disappeared into the past. What was a dream in the past is becoming reality today. The basis for true national unity exists. It's up to us to coordinate and mobilise every force of our working

society for the uplifting of the nation.

Alliance of Working Class

The alliance of the working classes has an unequivocal socialist content and the aim of their cooperation now is the complete upbuilding of socialism. Every class and all important strata of our society are directly interested in building socialism, so this co-operation covers the whole nation.

We have nothing to be ashamed of regarding the material well-being of our people. Friend and foe can see: our population is well-fed, properly dressed, lives and looks into the future in a healthy cultured and calm way.

We know that the standard of living of some working people is below the average but we cannot yet meet every just requirement by a long chalk. It is our duty to link the understandable demand for an increase in the standard of living with creating the material conditions to do so.

The superiority of socialism over the old exploiting societies is characterised among other things by the fact that it brings about purer and loftier morals. A socialist society realises all the general principles of humanism and justice which the working people developed during the course of the history of humanity. But these general moral principles could never be realised in a society based on the suppression and crippling of the workers. The realistic conditions for social practice to be in harmony with the general practice of humanity and justice have come about for the first time in a socialist society.

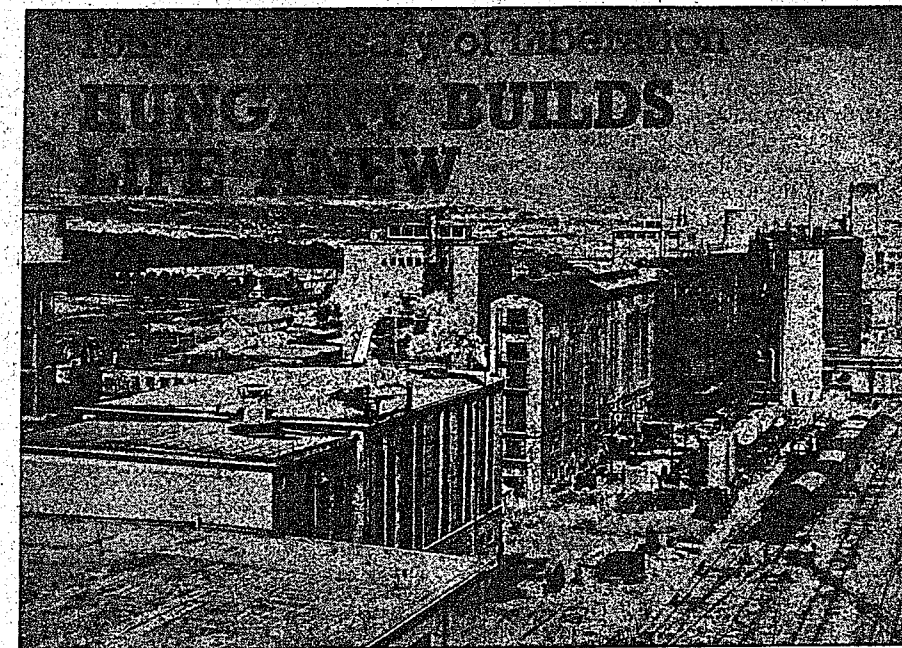
The main political basis of our state, the worker-peasant alliance has become stronger, our nation has become more united. Reaching this historical milestone made it possible for our government to give a general political amnesty. This as proved also by experience since, was wise and does not change the fact that nobody can attack our socialist state unpunished nor under any slogan whatsoever in the future.

Main Basis of State

Our state has suitable well-organised forces, its army frontier guards and a self-defence institute of our society, the workers' militia. True patriots watch over the inviolability of our frontiers, the peace and security of our people's building work. Nevertheless I must emphasize that the greatest support of our system is the correct and true. Communist policy, which our people know and support as their own. The main support of our system is the agreement and support of the people.

The policy of the leading force of our society, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, will not change. Nor the class alliance which has come into being under the leadership of the working class in building socialism, the close cooperation between the working class the peasantry and the intellec-

THE Hungarian People's Republic will be celebrating its 19th anniversary of Liberation on April 4. On this historic day in 1945, the brave Hungarian people won their freedom after years of suppression under Hitlerite occupation. These 19 years have been very significant in the life of the country. The Hungarian People's Republic is today one of the most highly industrialised countries in Europe. Its contribution to the cause of peace and progress of mankind have been acclaimed the world over. The following extracts from the speech of Prime Minister Janos Kadar of Hungary, delivered on the occasion of the Third Congress of the People's Patriotic Front, a few days ago, give a bird's eye view of the country's past and present.—Editor.



petual continues. The urban petty bourgeois find the field of their own useful activity in satisfying actual requirements of society and thus, through their own honest work, their prosperity. Our present policy of alliance is necessary as long as the lines separating the working classes exist.

The wagon of the country cannot be pulled to the right. Those who believe that the fulfilment of our socialist democracy means "liberalisation" and that it gives hope to the smuggling back of capitalist elements into our system deceive themselves with false hopes. We are further developing our socialist democracy but the means of production will remain common property for ever. Exploitation of man by man will never return. There will be socialism in Hungary and our people and society are developing towards a communist society.

Burial of the Cult

Everybody must also understand that we have finally buried the cult of personality. Hungary's soil will not be available for "left-wing" adventurers. Our Party is not changing its policy either to the right or left.

The mission of the dictatorship of the proletariat is to be a force and power against all attempts of capitalist restoration. It should also be the organiser for building a socialist society.

Those who look upon the question of dictatorship in a primitive way must be embittered nowadays because extremely few people are imprisoned in Hungary today for political reasons. There are some such bitter people. But those who have too little knowledge to undertake the slightly more arduous and lengthier method of conviction and whose whole "science of leadership" consists of the prescription "expulsion-imprisonment" can make no headway any more in our public life and can do so even less in future.

We believe in our ideals,

believe that people develop, their views change and that they become socialists and do not change backward. There are and can still be grave times and difficult situations. We would like to educate our people in a spirit that if it is necessary they should be ready to die for a new world and for their future. But we do not work with a phrase of "dying". We believe in life and say: live and work for socialism.

Naturally cultural relations are needed and must develop because we believe in friendship between peoples. Mutual knowledge about each other belongs to this. We must get to know each other's art, music, sculpture, painting, literature.

But to tell the truth it seems that the government of the USA and the British government prefer to import goose liver from us than Communist ideas. And we also say that we could rather import good chemical installations than capitalist ideas. All the more so because we still have some dusty reserves of such ideas in the corner of our cellars and first we must sweep those out.

Peaceful coexistence naturally goes hand-in-hand with taking some risks. There is a "risk" in art and there is a "risk" in comparing the two systems but we gladly take these risks because when one discusses the systems then in the main questions our opponents have nothing to say. Because the main question is whether the means of production should be in possession of private capitalists or in public ownership.

Material Incentive

In our eyes it is not a crime if, while building socialism, people also seek their material prosperity. The true impetus for building socialism is present when both the idea and the interest drive in the same direction.

Lenin said that a socialist society cannot be built with imaginary people. A socialist society can only be built with people who exist and are alive. To give a clearer example: our peasantry has taken the road to socialism. They join co-operatives and lay the foundations for a socialist agriculture and want to see the result of their work. Is this a crime? It is not a crime. Not every peasant is a Marxist and if a work unit is worth only 16 forints then a non-Marxist peasant will believe in socialist agriculture accordingly and if it is worth 42 forints then he will believe in socialist agriculture accordingly, too.

We respect and apply the coincidence of idea and interest. We fight for a better life and those who want to create a better life for themselves come with us. We Communists if necessary will in fact die for our Party but we know that our people do not want a socialist society just because once upon a time there was a man called Karl Marx who wrote that capitalist society will be followed by a socialist society and now it has been ticked-off on the shopping list that this has been done.

About cultural relations—I must say that some people in

the West would like if first there would be more cultural relations and less economic relations with them.

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We face all the dangers of peaceful coexistence on every level calmly, be it in the field of commerce or in the field of cultural exchange, in the field of comparison between systems and methods. All this we do in conviction that our idea is the true idea, our system is the better system and it will be victorious over capitalism also in peaceful competition.

Those who approach us with the honourable intention of cooperation find understanding readiness. Those who attack our system or start subversive work, get suitable answers.

We know that our people desire peace, this is their main interest therefore, it is our duty to persevere in our foreign policy work for peaceful coexistence.

IN THE CONTEXT OF GENEVA MEETING: INTERNATIONAL TRADE ORGANISATION: AN IMPERATIVE DEMAND OF TIMES

The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development now meeting in Geneva is called upon to discuss the establishment of a genuinely universal international trade organisation to guide and regulate one of the vitally important spheres of economic and political activity. On the solution of this question will depend the actual outcome of the Conference and the fate of its decisions.

SUCH an organisation is necessary to remove the abnormal practices which have been accumulating in world trade since the war and have now become an impediment to further economic, social and political progress.

Negative tendencies appeared in world trade in the early post-war years, when the world was confronted with the task of seeking ways and means of reviving international economic life and promoting international trade. But the attempts to solve this task were wrecked by the expansionist, aggressive designs of the American monopolies.

America's position was in crying contradiction with the development of world trade as a whole, and ran counter to the interests of the war-ravaged countries which regarded trade as an important means of re-establishing and advancing their economy.

That explains the strong opposition encountered by the US drafted ITO (International Trade Organisation) Charter from many less developed nations and a number of West-European states during its examination in the Preparatory Committee of the UN Conference on Trade and Employment in 1946-47.

A bitter struggle developed around the ITO Charter. In the four months of the U.N. Conference on Trade and Employment in Havana (November 1947-March 1948), more than 800 amendments were submitted and examined.

Compromise Charter
The Charter endorsed by the Havana Conference was a compromise, with practically every rule accompanied by numerous exceptions. But for all its defects, owing to which the Havana Charter could not serve as a reliable and effective guarantee against US economic expansion, it nevertheless contained many important provisions in the sphere of trade, industrialisation, economic development, etc., attributable mainly to the collective efforts of the participating countries.

The bill on ratification of the Havana Charter, submitted to US Congress in April 1949 (a year after the Havana Conference), was subsequently withdrawn by the US government; at the close of 1950 the U.S. Administration officially announced its refusal to ratify the ITO Charter.

It will thus be seen that the United States itself wrecked ratification of the Havana Charter and the establishment of an International Trade Organisation.

In this situation the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), which entered into force on January 1, 1948, remained the only international treaty regulating capitalist foreign trade. This multilateral tariff agreement, originally signed by 23 countries on October 30, 1947, was likewise initiated by the United States.

Thus, already on the eve of the Havana Conference the

US ruling quarters seeing that its ITO draft was meeting with opposition from most of the countries, began to look for another instrument that could further America's economic expansion. And sure enough, in the first few years of its operation GATT proved quite effective in this respect, enabling the USA to wrest important tariff concessions from its trading partners.

GATT Is No Substitute

However, GATT could in no way serve as a substitute for an International Trade Organisation, all the more so since many of the original contracting parties regarded it as a temporary means of adjusting tariffs and certain other commercial arrangements pending the adoption of the ITO Charter. Moreover, GATT was not even an organisation, but merely an agreement concluded by a limited group of countries.

An attempt to strengthen GATT organisationally was undertaken at its 9th session in 1954-55, where an agreement was signed to establish an Organisation for Trade Cooperation (OTC) for supervising the fulfilment of GATT decisions.

Other functions of this organisation, specified in the 21 articles of its charter, were to facilitate the arrangement of inter-governmental consultations on questions pertaining to international trade; organise international trade negotiations; study various aspects of world trade and commercial policy and, whenever necessary, work out appropriate recommendations; collect, analyse and publish information and statistical data on international trade and commercial policy, with due account to the activity of other international organisations in this sphere.

OTC Depends On USA

The OTC agreement was expected to enter into force after its ratification by the states accounting for 85 per cent of the aggregate volume of trade conducted by GATT members. What this meant in practice was that in the final analysis the founding of OTC depended on US consent.

On March 21, 1955, America's representative appended his signature to the OTC agreement. But this time, too, influential US business interests did not relish the prospect of being bound by definite commitments and inspired Congress opposition. Under monopoly pressure the US Senate postponed ratification of the OTC agreement, thereby dooming it to sterility.

Failure of the attempts to establish ITO on the basis of the 1948 Havana Charter and to found OTC by no means signified that the idea of creating an all-embracing international trade organisation lost all meaning. And if it has not been created to this day, the reason for this is undoubtedly revealed by the history of the postwar struggle for its

establishment: an influential group of Western-Power reactionary circles has been furthering its own selfish aims, completely disregarding life's requirements and the interests of economic development of all countries.

The development of world trade in the past 15-20 years clearly reflects the historical processes and deep-going changes

that have taken place in world economy since the war. The emergence of the world socialist system, which led to the establishment and rapid expansion of the world socialist market, was a factor that exerted considerable influence both on the extension of the volume of trade between the socialist countries and on the growth of world trade as a whole.

Profound changes have taken place in the system of international trade ties owing to the uneven development of capitalism, which is attended by a relatively rapid growth of production in individual countries and by further extension of international division of labour.

A fundamentally new element was injected into this system by the emergence of dozens of newly independent states.

Population Factor

And finally, of great importance for the extension of these ties were such factors as the growth of the world's population, the unprecedented expansion of technical facilities in the sphere of communications and exchanges, the discovery of new sources of power, raw materials, etc.

In 1962, the capitalist world's aggregate volume of trade amounted to 252,400 million dollars, as against 159,000 million in 1951. But the increase in the socialist countries' foreign trade was still more impressive—more than three times over between 1950 and 1960; last year the socialist community's share in the world's total amounted to approximately 13 per cent, compared with 8 per cent in 1950.

However, parallel with absolute growth in the volume of world trade, the rate of its annual increase is exceptionally unstable, while in recent years it has even shown a marked tendency towards deceleration. This tendency is basically determined by those unhealthy phenomena which must be eliminated by the joint efforts of the countries concerned, through their representative forum—the International Trade Organisation.

One of the most dangerous among these negative factors is the progressive deterioration of trade conditions for the economically less developed countries which account for two-thirds of the world's population. This tendency is directly connected with these countries' unequal position in the system of world capitalist economy and the very pattern of their economic relations with developed capitalist countries.

The imperialist powers are seeking for additional means of deepening non-equivalent exchange. To achieve their ends they resort to monopoly high export prices and monopoly low import prices, institute and raise

customs duties on raw materials and finished goods imported from developing countries, dispose of so-called strategic supplies of raw materials and food "surpluses," strangle the young states' nascent industry by flooding their markets with foreign industrial goods, etc.

Another factor seriously hampering normal development of international trade is the establishment by the Western countries of exclusive economic alliances like the Common Market. They tend to aggravate the competitive struggle in the world capitalist market, which develops into veritable "trade wars" inevitably resulting in more drastic discrimination policies towards third countries.

This discrimination, which is practised first and foremost by the Common Market, constitutes an especially grave threat to the young states with their as yet feeble economy. Neocolonialism is undoubtedly a characteristic feature of the Common Market and similar associations.

All sorts of discriminatory restrictions and bans practised by the Western countries, notably by the United States, in trade with the socialist nations serve to undermine normal economic relations between states. The countries of the world socialist system and of the capitalist West possess the biggest economic potential. Their aggregate share comes to 86.1 per cent of the world's industrial output, but the volume of trade between them now accounts for only 4,500 million dollars, or about 2 per cent of the world's total.

The deleterious effect of the above-mentioned factors on international trade is further aggravated by multifarious discriminatory practices in the sphere of trade, shipping, transit, etc.

All these problems have become especially acute in our days when the role of external trade in the economic advancement of all countries has grown as never before. From the point of view of internal economic development it has become life's prime requirement. It has also acquired exceptional importance in promoting international economic cooperation, making it possible to utilize more fully the advantages of international division of labour for accelerating economic development and raising the standard of living in every country.

It stands to reason that the application of the most-favourable-nation principle with due consideration for the specific interests of developing countries, normalisation and development of trade without discrimination and artificially erected obstacles and barriers cannot but hold an important place in the ITO Charter.

In the process of drafting the Charter provisions it would be expedient to draw on the useful clauses of the 1948 Havana Charter, duly considering the political, social and economic changes that have taken place in the world since then.

Lastly, international trade provides a good basis for improving political relations between different countries, for the strengthening of peace and international confidence.

The efforts of one country or a group of states are not enough to provide favourable conditions for unhampered development of international trade in the interests of the whole world. This goal can be achieved only by a collective approach, by the joint efforts of all countries.

Systematic efforts to promote international commercial intercourse on a basis of equality and mutual benefit, non-interference in internal affairs and non-discrimination will be precisely one of the paramount functions of an all-embracing International Trade Organisation.

The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are in favour of founding an International Trade Organisation which will be universal both as regards its composition and character of activity. The universal character of ITO implies that this organisation must take up all aspects of world trade and should be open to all countries without any discrimination.

To the Soviet proposal on establishing ITO the Western Powers oppose the idea of making GATT the basis of an international trade organisation at the same time admitting the possibility of a definite reorganisation of such U.N. agencies as the General Assembly, Economic and Financial Committee and the Economic and Social Council.

Political Relations

This idea cannot enjoy support among the socialist countries and is opposed by many underdeveloped nations. The 15-year history of GATT has convincingly demonstrated its organic defects and shortcomings which do not allow it, even in its modernised form, to provide an organisational basis for the solution of major world trade and economic development problems.

At the 18th U.N. General Assembly the Brazilian representative declared in the Second Committee that "the principles embodied in GATT... do not serve the aims of trade as a means of economic development."

ITO's main object is to promote world trade as an effective instrument of economic development of all the nations of the world. The underlying principles of its activity should be universality, equality and sovereignty of all member-countries, non-interference in internal affairs, mutually beneficial commercial relations, mutual respect of trade requirements and economic development.

It stands to reason that the application of the most-favourable-nation principle with due consideration for the specific interests of developing countries, normalisation and development of trade without discrimination and artificially erected obstacles and barriers cannot but hold an important place in the ITO Charter.

In the process of drafting the Charter provisions it would be expedient to draw on the useful clauses of the 1948 Havana Charter, duly considering the political, social and economic changes that have taken place in the world since then.

Lastly, international trade provides a good basis for improving political relations between different countries, for the strengthening of peace and international confidence.

According to the NEW YORK TIMES (March 8) a common Latin American policy to be adopted by the Latin American countries in the UNCTAD was discussed in Alta Gracia, Argentina, by 300 delegates from 18 countries. Besides the delegates, a team of US observers as well as observers from some Afro-Asian countries also attended.

THIS Conference caused a sensation in the ruling circles in Washington. For the first time since the war—perhaps even for a much longer period—representatives of Latin American governments were able to discuss independently, without US pressure, vital problems and work out policies aimed at protecting their interests and developing their national economies.

The conference adopted a political statement and two economic resolutions and also resolved to "act in a united front" in the UNCTAD.

The conference in the economic resolutions demanded the following: (1) renunciation by the imperialist powers of their discrimination policy of low prices on the minerals, raw materials and agricultural produce, that make up the bulk of Latin American exports; (2) abolition of monopoly in shipping and insurance; (3) changes in the patterns of international trade and (4) no political strings to be attached to foreign loans.

The conference also discussed trade with socialist countries and urged its extension.

Evidence of New Trends

The Alta Gracia decisions are no doubt an evidence of new trends in Latin American foreign trade policy. Up to this day, through a system of shackling bilateral agreements, USA practically controlled all Latin American trade, prevented closer ties with other countries and ignored all demands for a fairer price structure.

The examination of the present Latin American trade patterns shows that unless Latin American countries evolve a completely new trade policy they are bound to live on the mercy of the United States and suffer financially and economically in numerous ways as a result of it.

Latin America exports well over 15 per cent of its output

which is a high proportion as compared with 5 per cent for USA and India and less than that for Russia and China. These exports provide about 10 per cent of the total exports of the entire non-Communist world. In 1956, the total value of these exports was 8,600 million US dollars representing about a 6th of its total output.

These exports are nearly all primary products.

Moreover, most of the Latin American countries rely mainly on exports of a single commodity which provides the greater part—anything from 50 to 90 per cent of their export earnings.

Clearly the prices obtained for these exports are of great concern for these countries for they determine whether a country would be prosperous or otherwise in a given time period.

A number of countries recently have been trying to reduce their dependence on exports by making themselves more self-supporting, replacing imports by local products. This implies not only development of manufactures, but also diversification of agriculture.

However, despite progress made in developing industries and raising production of food-grains most countries are still dependent largely on imports from outside world.

Actually, industrialisation makes necessary larger imports of capital goods, raw materials and fuels, while rising urban incomes increase the demand for imported consumer goods. According to ECLA survey, between 1948 and 1955 imports into the region increased by 25 per cent while exports increased only 10 per cent during the same period. This rise in imports would surely have been greater but for the foreign exchange difficulties caused by the failure to expand exports.

Latin American countries, practically all of them, depending on the export of primary products were some of the worst sufferers.

The United States holds a dominant position in Latin American trade, accounting for (on the average) about one-half of total exports and imports in 1957, compared with about one-third before the war.

Dominant Hold

The United Kingdom's share in Latin American trade has been fairly constant in recent years at about nine per cent of the region's exports and five per cent of imports. West Germany however, has been able to increase its share after 1962 (about 17 per cent) and Japan has also entered in the field. France, West Germany, UK and Japan are now trying hard to wean away a part of Latin American trade from the US while the latter is trying hard to resist this attempt.

It is clear from the reaction in US circles to the recent visit of General de Gaulle to Mexico. Commenting on this visit of the French President, Harry Truman, former US President laid the following to say:

"Let de Gaulle keep his nose out of Latin American affairs where he is trying to undercut our influence, or he

LATIN AMERICAN TRADE

Attempts to Break Imperialist Shackles

By LAJPAT RAI

This has led to serious difficulties in the balance of payments situation. Another important fact, which the Alta Gracia conference has pointed out is the question of the monopoly in shipping and insurance.

Most of the Latin American countries are a long way off from the major markets and the exporting centres of the world. Although a number of Latin American countries have expanded their merchant navies in recent years, most of the imports and exports of the region are carried in foreign ships and have to be paid heavily for transport and insurance. In 1956, ECLA (Economic Commission for Latin America) estimated that the region's net payments in respect of maritime freight and insurance amounted to over 800 million US dollars out of which Brazil had to pay 175 million dollars, Argentina 138 million and Venezuela 140 million. This further causes difficulties in the balance of payments position.

Political Strings

The Alta Gracia conference drew attention also to the fact of granting of loans with political strings attached by "some governments" (obvious reference to US) which strike at the very root of international cooperation. No better example of this can be given than the loans promised to some Latin American countries by the US government under the Alliance for Progress programme.

At Punta del Este, the US representative Dean Rusk demanded from the OAS members to cut off diplomatic and trade relations with Cuba. When Venezuela broke off relations with Cuba, a loan of 20 million dollars was announced for that country through the Inter-American Bank. Similarly no sooner Dr. Frondizi of Argentina signed the decree breaking off diplomatic relations with Cuba, than he was promised 150 million dollars under the Alliance. For making the same gesture Colombia was given a 20 million dollar loan under the Alliance. For progress, and Ecuador promised a loan of 5 million dollars to be given under "Technical Aid" and so on.

Brazilian President Joao Goulart has stated: "Latin America countries should be given guaranteed purchase quotas for their major commodities and some kind of Stabilisation Fund should be established which would be turned over to Latin American countries whenever commodity prices dropped too sharply and that this should be paid by the nations which are purchasing commodities in Latin America etc., etc. These are very sound proposals and are bound to be put forward before the UNCTAD by the Latin American countries."

In the period between 1950-52 and 1960-62, the price of a unit of goods exported from the industrialised countries rose approximately by 5 per cent, while the price of a unit of goods exported from the primary exporting countries fell more than 15 per cent.

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It is clear from the reaction in US circles to the recent visit of General de Gaulle to Mexico. Commenting on this visit of the French President, Harry Truman, former US President laid the following to say:

"Let de Gaulle keep his nose out of Latin American affairs where he is trying to undercut our influence, or he

is likely to have his nose chopped off." (N.Y. TIMES, March 17, 1964)

Latin America's internal trade, i.e., trade between the Latin American countries themselves, is surprisingly very small i.e., only 10 per cent of the total.

Trade with socialist camp countries is relatively very small. In 1955 it accounted for less than 300 million dollars or under 2 per cent of the total. But anxious to break the US monopoly in trade Latin American countries are now developing their trade contacts with socialist countries.

Ways Out of Vicious Circle

The result is that—even as the Latin American trade increases, so do its trade deficits. According to ECLA between 1950 and 1960, the area's total terms of trade deficit jumped from a yearly average of 840 million dollars to 2.7 billion.

According to the chairman of ECLA, the eminent Argentine economist Dr. Prebisch, there are ways to break this vicious circle. He suggests that:

(1) Latin America as well as other developing areas must receive preferential treatment in world trade.

(2) It must be permitted to export its simple manufactured goods to industrialised countries, which means the developed world must lower its tariffs on Latin American goods.

(3) Latin American countries should be given guaranteed purchase quotas for their major commodities and some kind of Stabilisation Fund should be established which would be turned over to Latin American countries whenever commodity prices dropped too sharply and that this should be paid by the nations which are purchasing commodities in Latin America etc., etc. These are very sound proposals and are bound to be put forward before the UNCTAD by the Latin American countries.

ERHARD'S DREAM OF THIRD REICH

The West German Chancellor Dr. Ludwig Erhard still dreams of the old empire of Germany as it existed in 1937.

HE said in Bonn on March 22 that his government did not accept the boundaries of states as exist today. "We do not renounce and cannot renounce, in view of our responsibility to the German people, an area which was the birthplace of so many of our German brothers and sisters."

The reference was unmistakably to the territories east of Oder-Neisse line, i.e., a large part of Poland, and the whole of German Democratic Republic, besides another 40,000 sq. miles further east. Chancellor Erhard's demand confirms the fear expressed that the Federal Republic of Germany was

striving to upset the territorial boundaries of post-war Europe. No other government in Europe advances such a claim and the unjustified claim of FRG government will disturb peace.

The Oder-Neisse line is a fact of history and accepted by all concerned except the revanchist West German government. It still aims to revise its old glory through the monstrous methods of war practised by Hitler. But Erhard will have to remember that the world of 1937 is not the same in 1964 and should be made to understand that his wild dreams can never be fulfilled.

MORE ON THE GREAT DEBATE

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OPPRESSED PEOPLE FIGHT FOR LIBERTY

South-West Africa or West Azania—which is the African name of that territory—situated on the west coast of the African continent lies sandwiched between Angola in the North and South Africa in the South. On the East it has Bechuanaland, a British "protectorate" and on the West the Atlantic Ocean.

It covers an area of 824,000 sq. kms. and has a total population of 554,000 people, comprising 484,000 Africans and coloureds (people of mixed descent) and 70,000 whites.

Before the First World War, South-West Africa was a German colony. With the defeat of the Germans it became a mandated territory of the League of Nations, which entrusted its administration to the British. The British government later transferred that right of administration to the Union of South Africa, which was a Dominion of the British Crown.

However, when after the Second World War the UN established the Trusteeship system in 1946, the Government of South Africa refused to submit a report to the Trusteeship Council and to this day all efforts of the UN to recover the unlawfully annexed territory from the grip of the Pretoria racials have been in vain.

Illegal Annexation

Not even the verdict of the International Court of Justice to the effect that the annexation was illegal has had any effect and, for all practical purposes, South-West Africa is today a colony of the white supremacists of South Africa.

Like their brothers in South Africa the Africans of South-West Africa are kept segregated in Special Reserves and are deprived of even the most elementary rights. They have no civil rights, no right of thought, expression, assembly and organisation—and not even the right to freely move about in their own country. As in South Africa, the Pass Laws are there to spy and restrict all their movements.

The Pass Laws, the Group Areas Act, the draconian Sabotage Act, the Bantu Education Act and all the rest of the innumerable apartheid laws and the savage machinery for their implementation operates in South-West Africa to safeguard the wholesale lot of its wealth.

Miserable Life

Land hunger, unemployment and the consequent grinding poverty have been made the normal conditions of the life of the people of South-West Africa.

The African has no right to choose his work or to decide or bargain about his wages nor to leave the work if it does not suit him. He is there just to be disposed of as best suits those who need his labour.

The African labourers are recruited in a mass in the Reserves and sent to work in the local mines or to South Africa. Not even the minimum respect due to humans is found necessary to be extended to them. In trains they are transported to their place of work herded together in cattle-vans, with labels round their necks. At the place of work they are at the mercy of their employers who have the full freedom to do with them as they like.

Any remonstrance or resistance means flogging and even being shot dead. There is no law, no justice to protect them. The Pass Laws, the Sabotage Law, the Anti-Communism Act etc., are the only laws that they know and which are meant for netting Africans for forced labour.

Uprooting People

The resettlement scheme known as "Katutura", the counterpart of the South African "Bantustan", provides for the uprooting of whole population from where they have their settled homes to others fixed by the government. This means losing their homes and being further deprived of land. It seeks to divide and segregate the Africans on tribal bases as a means of disrupting the South-West African national struggle. In short, the notorious old policy of divide and rule is in action.

Education is a misnomer. The Bantu Education Act of 1953, of the authorship of Verwoerd himself, who was then the Education Minister of South Africa, takes good care that just so much education is doled out to the Africans as might not jeopardise the interests and profits of the white supremacists and their patrons by depriving them of unskilled cheap labour.

Sub-Human Standards

In the words of Verwoerd, himself: "there is no place for him (African) in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour." That is, by law the African must not be trained skilled labour. No African can be employed for doing skilled work even if he is capable of it.

And so, as in the Salazar-ruled Portuguese colonies, as in South Africa, poverty, hunger, disease, ignorance and endless anguish is the only lot of the Africans of South-West Africa.

Nevertheless, in spite of this horrible predicament, it should not be supposed that the people of South-West Africa have resigned to the humiliating situation.

The struggle of the people of South-West Africa against the unlawful annexation of their country by the South African thugs and against the savage apartheid policy has been going on for years, marked by riots and strikes, actions that involve dire consequences.

The voice of the people of South-West Africa has echoes in the UN, under whose administration they have asked their country to be put as a preliminary step to independence. The right has already been recognised by the World Body though it is not yet implemented.

With the mounting rout of colonialism in Africa and the rising number of the independent African states in the UN, the South African white oppressors of the people of South-West Africa are getting more and

more isolated and their patrons more and more exposed.

In December 1961, the UN General Assembly in its 16th session proclaimed "the inalienable right of the people of South-West Africa to independence and national sovereignty." On March 8, 1962, the Tunisian President of the General Assembly announced that a commission was to be sent to South Africa to discuss the problem with the South African government.

The South African government found itself in an embarrassing position. But friends were not lacking. The British collaborated with its fascist anti-freedom policies quickly hurried to its assistance. A bill was rushed through the British Parliament and South-West Africa was proclaimed "an integral part" of the Republic of South Africa.

No commission of the UN got entry into South Africa and its probe into the state of affairs in South-West Africa was further obstructed by the refusal of the British to allow the representatives of the UN to enter Bechuanaland on their fact finding mission.

Notwithstanding these imperialist obstructionist antics, the UN was able to hear representatives of the people of South-West Africa and the General Assembly in its resolution of November 13, 1963, on the recommendation of the Trusteeship Council, not only reaffirmed the right of South-West Africa to independence but recommended investigation into the activities of the international mining and other companies in that territory.

This no doubt, represents a great defeat not only for South Africa but to the whole colonialist caucus in the UN. However, the final and real defeat is still ahead.

Mineral Wealth

South-West Africa has valuable deposits of diamonds and manganese. It has also zinc, lead, tin, silver, copper and uranium. It is one of the world's biggest exporters of diamonds. And the diamond industry is the monopoly of Britain.

All of South-West Africa's immense wealth is concentrated in the hands of the white settlers and international monopolists and mainly of the British and American companies, like the British-owned Consolidated Diamond Mines and the American-owned Teamb Corporation, who extract fabulous profits from the mineral resources of South-West Africa. To the share of the Africans, the lawful owners of that wealth, falls only the job of producing it with hard but cheaper labour.

Behind Verwoerd's intransigence and savage insistence on ignoring the signs of time, lie these huge and easy made profits.

South-West Africa is today, for all practical purpose, an "integral part" not just of South Africa—as the British imperialists pretend—but of the last bastion of colonialism which the Verwoerd-Salazar-Welensky dominated territories represent. The arrogance and manoeuvring of those three have the collective backing of world imperialism and colonialism. Nato guns are ready behind the three furies to protect them.

South-West Africa also occupies an important place in the strategic plans of the white dominators and international monopolies. Linked with the Simonstown naval base in South Africa is Capriol, the South African military airfield which lies on the borders of South West Africa and Angola.

With the growing resistance of the people of South-West Africa—under the leadership of the South-West African Peoples Organisation—against their oppression by the South African supremacists, is growing also the panic of the fascist criminals of Pretoria and with it their diabolical machinery of suppression and war.

The situation in South West Africa today threatens the very security of the new free African States and world peace. The speedy removal of all obstacles to the implementation of the UN decisions is of paramount importance.

Uncle Sam's umbrella under

FRYING FISH IN FISH-OIL

THE ways of the Uncle are hard to discern and mind you, he plays the role of philanthropic Uncle even when engaged in cutting one's throat.

Take the case of dam building in British Columbia (Canada). The Uncle needs electrical power and therefore he entered into an agreement under the terms of which British Columbia would build three dams and the USA one—all within the territory of British Columbia.

As a cost for these dams, the Uncle generously agreed to pay to British Columbia \$274.8 million and an additional \$69.6 million as compensation for the areas that would be flooded.

Canadian officials were very happy because according to their calculation, the USA would pay on this account a total sum of \$501 million. But the US press reported that the total payment would be around \$344 million only.

But the joke is not that. It was realised later when it was found that the value of dam building has been assessed by the Uncle by taking into account the interest that will be earned on the cash payment!

So, while the Uncle would get electrical power from Br. Columbia, he would also earn a nice little amount of interest for the money he paid as cost of construction of the dams. And, of course, British Columbia won't be able to save any thing out of that money because

there would be hardly any margin of profit both in the construction of the dams as well as in power supply. That's the Uncle's way!!!

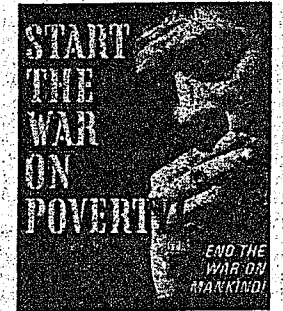
Battle Of Words

American citizens are rapidly coming to realise that the slogan "War on Poverty" in the USA so widely tom-tommed by US senate and the President, is more a battle of words than of deeds.

A couple of weeks back, Mayor Wagner of New York, the best dressed city in the world, made his solemn declarations about waging the war on poverty.

Mayor Wagner's pledges have been described by the WORKER as the firing of a popgun in the war, since there will hardly be any appreciable increase in the welfare benefits now available, after the Mayor's words are translated into practice.

Meanwhile about two million poor in New York wait for the



date when they would be earning \$2,000 per head that has been set out as the minimum requirement for an individual for a year at the barest-need level.

It is a grim irony, as the Chicago Peace Walk statement has pointed out, that in the USA over 30 million people live at a poverty level; they do not have enough to eat, dress and house themselves. Yet, at the same time, the USA has 7 tons of TNT in nuclear bombs for every man, woman and child in the world. Is it not an American tragedy?

Aid To Prosperity

Here is an interesting example about the typical pattern of US economic aid. This should open the eyes of our public as regards the ills of US investments, particularly because our country will be the host to representatives of 30 top business tycoons of USA soon.

During the last two years Latin America received \$603 million dollars from the USA, of which it returned to the USA \$350 million of the principal and \$142 million as interest. The net receipts thus amounted to only \$111 million.

During the same period US monopolies pumped out \$1,600 million in net profit from Latin America. This works out roughly as a sum exceeding 14 times the investment. Not a bad bargain, eh!

—CHARVAK

"STAUNCH ALLY" Rocked By Countrywide People's Struggle

PAKISTAN'S AUTHENTIC VOICE CALLS FOR COMMUNAL PEACE

Richard Nixon, although he came to sell coca-cola or Seven-Up or some other soft drink to the Pakistanis, is a salesman of something more than a brand of a mere soft drink manufactured in USA. He had a two-and-a-half hour luncheon meeting with President Ayub on March 25 at Rawalpindi. He declared after the meeting that Pakistan continued to be a staunch ally of the West.

THE former US Vice-President who might be running for the US presidency in November declared that he had found no weakening of Pakistan's alliance with the United States.

These declarations are far from being formal and devoid of significance. The US is determined to keep what it has and use what it has to acquire more. With Pakistan, firmly in its grip its endeavour is to get an equally firm grip over India. That is what it is going about trying to achieve.

The US at the moment is keen to give the impression that it is not interested in applying pressure against India. It has seen what disastrous results such an impression can bring about.

Nevertheless as the Indian Express correspondent in Washington reported on March 27, "yet another American effort, more discreet than in the past, is expected to 'defreeze' the relations between India and Pakistan."

Same Old Fable

Such 'defreezing' when it is announced with fanfare as an American or British goal is always something planned on the famous pattern of the monkey sitting in judgment over the dispute of the two cats in the fable of Aesop.

It is to seek advantage for themselves that US and Britain adopt from time to time this pose of

the situation. The people of Pakistan, their urges and their struggles, constitute a very vital factor in the whole situation.

This is something which the communally blinded mind of an Indian reactionary bigot can never grasp. The struggle of the people of Pakistan against imperialism and for democracy has no meaning or relevance for the Indian rightwing reactionary.

People's Struggle

It is not merely a question of certain inter-wing tensions in Pakistan which could be exploited, as some bourgeois commentators seem to suggest sometimes in their columns. The fact is that the people of Pakistan, whether in the East or in the West, have been fighting with varying degrees of consciousness and organisation against the despotism and obscurantism that have held them down for so many years.

This fight has been waged all these years in the most difficult conditions of repression, slander and isolation.

The tragedy has been that while the ruling circles of Pakistan and their patrons have always been active trying to turn this struggle into a fight against India, the democratic movement in India has failed in its elementary duties by turning a blind eye to the struggle of the people of Pakistan.

In the difficult conditions it faced, the struggle of the Pakistani people made very slow progress and suffered many setbacks. Still the present situation today is that the Pakhtun, Baluch and Sind areas of West Pakistan are held down by sheer military and police terror, with air bombings of recalcitrants and with the most emi-

nent of their leaders held in prison for years.

The Eastern wing is in open revolt, having raised the banner against the marginal franchise and indirect electoral system that is sought to be imposed as the new Constitution of Pakistan.

The riots in Khulna coming in the background of this struggle were no spontaneous outburst but a deliberately engineered and organised affair, with special efforts exerted by Minister Sabur Khan. They clearly used the non-Bengali Muslim immigrants as the main instrument for the butchery and vandalism. The East Bengalis still resisted this plot to drown their struggle for democracy in a communal orgy. A number of them laid down their lives defending their Hindu brethren.

Battle For Democracy

The struggle for democracy could not be held back by these engineered communal riots. Once again we find the people and particularly the students out in the streets demanding adult franchise and restoration of democracy. The convocation at the Dacca University had to be held without the students who walked out and forcefully voiced their protest.

Now all public meetings and processions have been banned,

hundreds have been jailed and the press has been gagged. The last public meeting held in Dacca (March 29) before the present ban was imposed, was one urging people to maintain communal harmony at all costs. Held under the auspices of the All-Party Committee of Action for Adult Franchise and Direct Elections, the meeting declared that communal peace was necessary for the country's political, economic and social growth and stability.

The meeting at the same time urged the government to take back the "black franchise Bill" and called upon the people of Pakistan to come forward "with all sacrifices to win back the inalienable right of direct elections through adult franchise and all other democratic rights." The meeting condemned the repression let loose by the Pakistan government by the indiscriminate arrests of political leaders, students and workers all over the province.

The heroic and arduous struggle of the people of Pakistan that has reached a new high despite the communal diversion needs all solidarity and support from all over. The least that we the Indian people can do to help this struggle is to resist and defeat at all costs the present wave of communal riots being worked up in our country.

—SHARIF

LOGIC OF SPLIT

*FROM BACK PAGE

the meeting which is to take action against him."

A correspondent wanted to know whether "they" (Basavapunniah and his friends) would walk out if the majority in the National Council supported Dange. "That is to be decided then", was the reply.

To support his claim that the "letters" were genuine, Basavapunniah had this much to say: "Not only Dange's signatures are there; they are in his own handwriting. I know him for a long time. I know his handwriting. I had taken samples with me and compared. The handwriting is the same. I also know Muzaffar Ahmed's handwriting. A letter from Muzaffar Ahmed found in the file is also genuine."

He had also this to say: "I found that one letter looked fresh—you know, the paper and ink and all that. So I looked at the other letters. I wanted to be sure that it was not put in at some later time. But I found that Muzaffar Ahmed's letter is also as fresh as the other. All are written on the same stationery."

So, in the ardour of his "revolutionary vigilance" Basavapunniah overlooked the fact that whoever committed the forgery would have been clever enough to make it look genuine. The "letters" looked fresh and were written on the same stationery. And yet he decided they were genuine, because of the very same clues which make them extremely suspicious.

Basavapunniah also found no motive for such forgery! "I am thoroughly convinced that in 1924 nobody would have thought of forging these to blow him (Dange)

up in 1964. Nobody then thought him to be such a big revolutionary as we see him now."

Basavapunniah also took the opportunity to release a "Draft Programme of the CPI", signed by himself, P. Ramamurti and Harkishen Singh Surjeet. This was done though it had not been submitted or discussed in any of the Party organs including the drafting commission appointed by the CEC, of which both Ramamurti and Basavapunniah are members.

The reason given for this was that some "distorted versions of the 'real document' had appeared in some of the anti-Communist papers and also a pamphlet issued by the notorious anti-Communist "National Marxist Association."

Preference To INDIAN EXPRESS

Copies of the "draft programme" were given to two news agencies and the INDIAN EXPRESS. The Goenka paper was shown the favour perhaps because of the publicity it has been giving in recent weeks to the activities of the splitters.

Basavapunniah disclosed that the document had been distributed to about 250 "like-minded" people and that 50 of them were going to meet in New Delhi from April 2 to 7 to discuss "all these things." As if this was not enough to indicate the launching of the parallel party, came the last question and reply. A correspondent asked: "Is this the first press conference of the general secretary of the new party?" Basavapunniah smiled in assent at the gathered press-men.

ACTION COMMITTEE DECIDES TO INTENSIFY SATYAGRAHA MOVEMENT

From MOHIT SEN

HYDERABAD: The Andhra kisan satyagraha became nine-week old on March 31. So far over one lakh and forty thousand people have participated in the satyagraha. More than 20,000 people have been arrested.

THE three-day meeting of the extended plenum of the Action Committee ended its meeting here on March 29. The meeting decided to intensify the movement since it considered that the government was showing no indication



Mass satyagraha of Andhra Peasants

of repealing the Additional Land Levy Act nor substantially modifying it. The offer of the government concerning banjar land was also considered vague.

The meeting therefore formulated a seven-point programme. It includes plans for mass fasts, peaceful picketing and wherever possible withholding of land revenue payments. Mass scale satyagraha will continue before taluq offices once every fortnight.

It has also been decided to form action committees at taluq level and demonstrations will be held in front of Congress MLAs demanding their opposition to the government measures. Villagers will be moving from one village to another and wherever ministers will be visiting, they will be confronted with demonstrations.

GENEVA MEETING PILLORIES WEST ON TRADE

From KUNHANANDAN NAIR

GENEVA, March 28: The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development opened at Geneva on March 23, in the Assembly Hall of the Palais des Nations. 1,500 delegates from 120 countries, majority of them underdeveloped and developing countries, and observers of international organisations are attending this conference which will deliberate for three months. There are 400 journalists from all over the world covering the conference.

THIS conference has already reflected the chief contradiction of the present day world: the contradiction of uneven development and conflicts between imperialism and developing countries. The United Nations Secretary-General U Thant in his opening speech asked the delegates and countries to turn this conference into an "instrument of action." He stressed the role of socialist countries in international economy and commerce. The Secretary-General appealed to seek new ways in world trade making it possible for nations neglected in the past to overcome poverty and receive a just share in world trade.

U Thant said that hitherto the influence of powerful blocs on world market had frustrated the endeavour of governments of underdeveloped countries to achieve economic stability. He appealed for a review of trade policies and for creation of suitable instruments for implementation of new policies.

Soviet Premier Khrushchev and US President Johnson have sent messages to this conference. Khrushchev said our time is characterised by the striving of independent countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America to put an end to economic backwardness as quickly as possible.

He appealed for elimination of artificial barriers and discriminations, to ensure all countries a worthy place in the international division of labour, to work out practical measures for the expansion of international trade and economic cooperation and creation of effective organisations to implement conference decisions quickly.

Materials and memoranda circulated in the conference clearly show that poorer lands of Africa, Asia and Latin America are getting a raw deal under the present structure of world trade dominated by imperialist powers and their trade blocs. One major problem before the conference is the adverse trends in terms of trade of these countries.

KEY TO IMBALANCE

That is, the cost of what the underdeveloped countries purchase from the industrial powers is constantly rising, prices dictated by the monopolies' maximum profit greed, while the prices the poor countries get for the commodities they sell—chiefly raw materials keep falling. This is the key reason for the adverse trade balance of many Afro-Asian and Latin American countries.

This question was graphically illustrated by the head of Nigerian delegation, Zana Dipcharima in his moving speech. He spoke of the weight of imperialist trade gadgets such as brokerage fees, customs plunder, high shipping cost and maritime insurance, etc. He demanded a basic change in the existing structure and institutions of world trade which he said are "weighted against poorer lands."

The speech of the Indian Minister for International Trade, Manu-

bhai Shah contained a 16-point programme to promote the trade of underdeveloped countries. He said that GATT did not contribute to improve the international trade at present. Yet his solution was through the GATT, suggesting to broaden it to include socialist and all other countries.

Unfortunately he did not make a powerful case against our imperialist adversaries of trade, he did not agitate or illustrate our greatly adverse trade balance, the tremendous drain of foreign exchange for which the unequal trade agreements and pricing policy of imperialist countries like USA and West Germany are chiefly responsible.

MANUBHAI'S OMISSION

Manubhai Shah could have very well shown that our trade with socialist countries is well balanced and sound because it is based on bilateral rupee agreements. If the Western countries too agree to conclude rupee agreements or at least care to balance their trade with an equal amount of purchases from our country, raw materials as well as products of our young industry, as socialist countries are doing, our difficulties could be much reduced.

Interesting figures available in the UN office here show the persistent trade gap of poor countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. An analysis of these charts shows that West Germany and USA are the two powerful monsters that depress the economy of developing countries.

The prices of export items sold by countries of Africa, Latin America, West Asia and the Far East have from 1950 to 1962 continuously dipped while prices of import purchases have gone up. The need of capital goods for developing countries, the dependence for these chiefly on Western countries, have widened the international payments deficits. The imperialists using this need of the developing countries have increased the prices of industrial goods manifold.

Many countries are debtors to imperialism now. Among the debtor countries, India tops the list with an external debt of nearly \$3 billion dollars. Our debt in 1955 was only 0.3 billion dollars. In seven years our outstanding debts have gone up to this amazing amount. The second biggest debtor to imperialism is Brazil with 2.4 billion and the third is Argentina. Many foreign journalists asked me: Have you mortgaged your country?

From the very beginning the United States had taken an indifferent attitude to the convening of this conference. In the first place Washington did not want this conference to be held at all. When Khrushchev forced the issue in the UN, Washington dared not say no. For that would isolate it from the developing countries that have lot of complaints against USA in trade discriminations.

The cut-throat attitude of U.S. imperialism, was also clear from

the speech of US Under Secretary George Ball at this conference. He urged the backward nations to open their doors to foreign capital investors and forget the "clashes" of the past. He spoke like a Shylock and told the poor countries, "It is hard to be rich."

Ball's speech disappointed many Latin American, African and Asian delegates. He threatened the emerging countries with cut in capital flow in case they restricted their private industrial sector. He said the attitude of governments of developing countries to private sector would determine whether foreign capital and technical aid from abroad would continue or not.

Cuba's Industries Minister Che Guevara, youngest hand-

some bearded economist, in his olive green battle dress of the Revolutionary Army, condemned the US blockade of Cuba. He said, "We challenge the US delegation to say whether their actions are in accordance with international law, to say if economic aggression is legitimate."

The US delegation did not accept the challenge.

France in her quarrel with US imperialism tried to score Ball's speech and offered the world's underdeveloped countries a demagogic plan to help them out of poverty. Expanded trade and higher prices are the two sides of the French counterfeit coin. French Finance Minister who submitted this plan divided the world into areas of prosperity and areas of misery. American sources called it a bluff of de Gaulle.

Most positive and concrete proposals for the speedy development of trade and economy of underdeveloped countries came from Soviet Union. Nikolai Patolitchev,

USSR Minister for Foreign Trade in his speech promised more trade and aid without any strings to develop underdeveloped areas. He showed many avenues through which the Soviet Union will help these nations.

He said Soviet imports of products from underdeveloped countries would rise eight-fold by 1980. He proposed a new world organisation to deal with all international trade problems and an international agreement among the industrial powers to make loans at less than three per cent interest to underdeveloped nations. He condemned the present discriminations practised by trade blocs created by imperialism.

The main struggle in Geneva is between imperialism and national interests of developing countries, between policies of monopoly trade restriction and free and unfettered world trade proposed by USSR and supported by large number of newly independent and developing countries.

Price Situation Serious

From Page 2

maximum allowance of 50 nP. given to sorters which is very inadequate.

About the extra-departmental staff, he said that in many states the recommendations of the Rajan Committee have not been implemented properly. He asked for a review of the allowances for the extra-departmental staff. He also demanded that they should be assured some permanency of tenure.

Another Communist member Prabhat Kar spoke about the delay in the transmission of telegrams. He said that ordinary telegrams should not be received because they are invariably sent by post and only express telegrams should be received which should be sent by telex.

It is no use confusing the people by saying that the telegram has been sent, whereas in fact it is sent as an ordinary letter by mail. The ignorant public should not be made to pay the extra money for such a telegram.

COMMUNIST member Sarjoo Pandey initiating the discussion on the de-

mands of the Food and Agriculture Ministry in the Lok Sabha last week warned that the situation on the food front was far from such as to justify any complacency and unless the government took some drastic measures, it might get out of control.

Despite assurances given on behalf of the government, the prices of foodgrains and cereals had risen high and the situation was worsening day by day. It was not correct to say that it was only a seasonal rise. As things stood at the present moment, there was every possibility of the prices going higher in the coming months.

He criticised the way schemes were being implemented in the field of food and agriculture. A lot of money was being wasted on animal husbandry, fisheries, vana-mahotsavas and similar other things, since most of the schemes were on paper only. In certain places in UP, money had been granted for developing fisheries,

but there was neither any pond nor any fish. It is high time the government stopped spending money on schemes which produced no results.

The 'Rourkela fertilizer that was sold in the market was adulterated. He demanded that government should make an enquiry into the matter and see that those who were responsible for the adulteration are punished. The price of fertilisers is so high that an ordinary farmer could not purchase them.

Criticising government's failure to encourage cooperative farming Sarjoo Pandey said that the attitude of the bureaucracy has been hostile to cooperative farming with the result that no progress has been achieved in that direction. Among other points he raised were the question of land reforms to see that land was given to the actual tiller of the soil and also the inadequacy of irrigation facilities.

The Food and Agriculture Department should be responsible for irrigation also and there should be better coordination between all the official agencies in providing facilities to the farmer. He reiterated the demand that the state should take over wholesale trade in food grains.

Regarding sugar, he pointed out that it was wrong to say that there was shortage of sugar. The government was not being given the correct information by the manufacturers. The fact was that there was enough sugar but it was hoarded. The only remedy would be for government to take over sugar trade into its own hands.

He also criticised the policy of imposing restrictions on the movement of gur and said it was unimaginative. Smuggling of gur was going on on a large scale on the borders of UP and Bihar. The restrictions must go as they did not serve any purpose, but only encouraged blackmarketing.

Renu Chakravarty, participating in the discussions referred to length to the prevailing high price of rice in West Bengal. She said that the harvest in West Bengal is almost over by the end of January and prices should normally come down. But the price of rice had not gone below Rs. 37 or 35 per maund. This is an extraordinary situation when there has been a bumper crop.

She demanded that some sort of state trading should be undertaken. Also she pointed out that the wisest thing for procurement or for building up a buffer stock was to give the small peasant credit, and that also in time when he needs it most so that he is not left a victim in the hands of the usurers.

A scene in Paris during the recent strike of French workers.



Lot of people all over the world are wondering these days as to what the present US foreign policy really adds up to?

It is said that this is the election year and the Johnson administration having come to shoulder responsibilities in extraordinary circumstances for only a part of the term cannot be expected to make any significant changes or take any far-reaching decisions.

Curiously, however, one finds that all the marking of time and the not-so-significant changes that are being brought about step by step are only in one direction—that of digging in and advancing further on the road of aggression and encroachments on other people's sovereignty and national rights.

At the disarmament Conference in Geneva, India is attacked by US for advocating acceptance of principles underlying Soviet proposals, principles which the US and its allies had earlier given the impression of accepting. Once again it is the same old story of resiling from an earlier position when the other side shows willingness to accept that position as basis for working out an agreement.

Add to this the espionage flights, the usual denials and the laboured explanations, and you see the refusal to change.

At the UN Conference on Trade and Development the US representative tells the victims of the West's one-sided trade policies in brutal

threatening language with ultimatums that no change in terms of trade and no re-organisation of the mechanism of world trade to meet the needs of the developing nations should be expected.

In the tenth year of its war against the people of South Vietnam—no longer so undeclared—the US starting with threats to expand it and carry it to the North, decides to intensify it further, brushing aside all proposals for neutralisation and return of peace to the people of South Vietnam who have now had 25 years of more or less uninterrupted war.

With the latest eruption in Panama already three months behind, the US has managed with bluff and bluster, to stick to its positions there, refusing, in the last analysis to vacate its aggression, working overtime to prevent that possibility becoming real.

The enunciation of policy towards Latin America by the Eisenhower man brought back by Johnson as his trouble-shooter, the arch reactionary Thomas Mann. The presence of support for democracy for Latin America which in any case was formal is openly discarded and a policy of shameless aggression, interference and installation and maintenance of blood-thirsty military dictatorships to defend US monopolies' interests in those countries is proclaimed.

WORLD



By OBSERVER

U.S. CLINGS TO OLD MYTHS

To cap it all is the Dean Rusk Statement in reply to Senator Fulbright's call for taking a new look at foreign policy. "We are clinging to old myths in face of the new realities," Fulbright had said.

Declaring Socialist Cuba to be a "threat to this hemisphere", Rusk reiterated his government's resolve to continue to work for its strangulation and extinction by every possible means.

Kennedy's Secretary of State retained by Johnson repeated the usual song that "insuperable obstacles to anything like normal relations between the Castro regime and the other nations of the Western hemisphere were his military and political connection with Moscow and his attempt to interfere in the affairs of his neighbours."

The US imperialists' persistence in their refusal to accept Sihanouk's proposal to call a conference of Geneva powers to guarantee anew the neutrality of Cambodia, to end US-directed aggression and depredations against Cambodia from South Vietnam.

Rusk has also announced a plan to supplement the bankrupt Seato and Cento military pacts with other "limited" regional groupings that would be manipulated by the US and its allies. The Seventh Fleet in the Indian Ocean, the effective dangling of military aid before India and the half-hearted response to various pressures by the Government here have all emboldened the US imperialists to announce such a plan which can result only in enhancing the threat to the independence and sovereignty of the countries of South Asia and East Africa.

A mere catalogue of these recent US foreign policy declarations and decisions, however partial, goes to show that the old purposes are far from having been abandoned. They are being more determinedly pursued, with certain necessary adaptations to a changed international situation. The peoples everywhere see through this game.

The Asian, African and Latin

American countries are going forward individually and collectively to resist these manoeuvres and threats from the US imperialists. Whether it be the UNCTAD at Geneva or the Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference in Algiers, or the preparatory meeting in Colombo for the second Conference of the nonaligned countries, or preparations for the second Bandung, the main content everywhere inevitably has to be the recognition of the continuing and fresh threats to the newly independent countries from US and the West and the searching of ways to fight them.

President Sukarno correctly reflected this fighting mood of the peoples when a few days ago, answering the US threats to stop aid, he told the US ambassador in Jakarta that the US could very well go to hell with its aid.

India has to catch up with this spirit, in spite of all her peculiar difficulties.

AGGRESSION AGAINST YEMEN

THE British are not to be left behind their elder brothers in aggression against independence-loving peoples. A brutal air bombing of Yemen is the latest on their everlengthening list of crimes.

This bombing by eight British fighter aircraft with cannon fire and rockets took place on March 28 admittedly on the orders of the C-in-C, Middle East Command and with the approval of the British Prime Minister. It is sought to be justified by them on the pretext that Yemen had launched an air attack on Belhan, a member of the British-sponsored South Arabian Federation. The alleged Yemeni attack on Belhan according to the British themselves is supposed to have taken place on March 13.

One wonders why the British took such a long time to launch their "attack in reprisal", indulging in cold-blooded murder of innocent women and children. Why could they not raise it at the UN? Was it to punish

Yemen for its President Sallal's visit to the Soviet Union and to reiterate Britain's resolve not to recognise the Sallal government? Was it to cow down the people of the South Arabian Federation who have all along refused to accept that imposition?

The story of an alleged second attack by Yemen on Belhan territory on March 27, resulting in the killing of some precious camels put out by the British High Commission is clearly an after-thought. The reason has to be found in British imperialism's persistence in its attempt to topple the revolutionary Sallal government.

The British press itself admits that "truth might well be some truth in Yemeni charges... that the state of Belhan has been helping the Royalist elements in the Yemen who are still fighting the republican government of President Sallal." (Sunday Times, March 29).

WHY IS HOME MINISTRY SILENT?

* From Page Nine

That the PATRIKA considers the "infiltrators" more dangerous than the communal carnage in the various parts of the country was clear when it wrote on March 26 that "the army instead of being called in to the aid of the civil authorities for dealing with disturbances every now and then should be sent to the border" to check entry of infiltrators.

The reason for the government's lack of enthusiasm was "fear of Pakistan's reaction and the tendency to make a fetish of secularism,"

according to the paper. It said on March 22 that these have "so far prevented New Delhi from rising to the occasion. But appeasement has only encouraged Pakistan to be more hostile and over-dramatised secularism has endangered the security of the country."

May one ask what the Home Ministry is doing about this kind of incitement? And what about the self-appointed custodians of the code of conduct for the press of the so-called All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference—Have they taken note of this series of editorials of the AMRIT BAZAR PATRIKA of Calcutta.

Leave Military Pacts, Have Friendly Relations With All

Izvestia's Call To Pakistan

March 23 is the national holiday of Pakistan. On this day in 1956 Pakistan was proclaimed a Republic.

UNDER the mighty pressure of the national liberation movement of the peoples of India, the British colonialists were forced in 1947 to leave this country which was called "a jewel in the British Crown." However while leaving they managed to divide the country into two states—India and Pakistan.

The division was made on the artificial religious basis those areas where Muslims were more than 50 per cent went to Pakistan. As a result of such a division the young states were faced with numerous complicated problems from the very first days of their existence.

Specially Pakistan was in a difficult position. The territory of this country consists of two different and unequal parts separated by 1500 kilometres of Indian territory. From the economic point of view Pakistan in 1947 was the most backward part of the underdeveloped Indian sub-continent.

During the life of the Republic, Pakistan has achieved some successes in the field of economic development. But many important problems which faced Pakistan at the very beginning of her existence remain unsolved to this day.

The agrarian problem awaits a radical solution. The tempo of development of industry

and the whole national economy is much lower than in other liberated lands of Asia, e.g., India, UAR, Burma.

This is one of the results of the one-sided pro-Western foreign policy of Pakistan, the ruling circles of which tied their country in 1954-55 to the war blocs of SEATO and CENTO.

Having become dependent on USA and other Western powers Pakistan is forced to spend more than half of its annual budget on war needs. More than half of the economic development plans of the country depend on foreign sources of finance.

Such a situation is in obvious contradiction with the national interests of the Republic. Ever wider circles in Pakistan are beginning to realise this. The influential organs of the press, reflecting these moods to some extent, demand more and more firmly a reconsideration of the foreign policy of Pakistan, abandonment of the war blocs in favour of a neutral policy and development of friendly relations with all, including the socialist countries.

Pakistan is a neighbour of the Soviet Union. From old times trade and cultural ties have existed between the peoples of our lands. The Soviet Union, guided by the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence in her foreign policy,

tries to develop friendly and good neighbourly relations with Pakistan.

Economic, trade and cultural relations between our countries have widened during the last few years. In 1961, an agreement was signed to give Soviet technical help to Pakistan for oil and gas prospecting. According to this agreement the Soviet Union gave credit to Pakistan. At the present time more than a hundred Soviet specialists are conducting the work of geological survey.

In the total foreign trade of Pakistan, trade with the Soviet Union still takes an insignificant place. However, its volume is increasing. In 1963 the trade between Pakistan and Soviet Union nearly doubled compared to the previous year. In this the barter trade deals had an important place (Pakistan jute for Soviet cement and railway sleepers).

In October 1963 an agreement was signed to establish an air link between the two countries. Two months later the planes of the Aeroflot started flying between Moscow and Karachi.

"Life has shown"—said N. S. Khrushchev—"that the natural aspiration of peoples for mutual understanding, mutual relations and cooperation cannot be long checked by such artificial barriers as war blocs." The experience of the development of Soviet-Pakistan relations once more confirms the correctness of this conclusion.

(Izvestia, March 24)

THE LOGIC OF SPLIT

BASAVAPUNNIAH'S PRESS CONFERENCE

On March 26 M. Basavapunniah, member of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India, took the extraordinary step of calling a press conference in New Delhi to hurl certain wild accusations against the chairman of the CPI, S. A. Dange. The bourgeois press has naturally given considerable coverage to these charges, and it is not necessary to repeat all of them.

NEVERTHELESS there were several interesting aspects of this press conference.

Apart from the fact that Basavapunniah's action was a gross violation of Party discipline there was plenty in what Basavapunniah said to indicate that his press conference was meant to mark an open split in the Party.

First of all, the press conference was not held at the residence of Basavapunniah or at that of the co-signatory to his statement P. Ramamurti. It was held at 4 Ashok Road, the residence of A. K. Gopalan who was not in New Delhi on that day. Journalists asked: was this to show that this was the headquarters of the new "Party"?

Among the documents which Basavapunniah released to the press were also letters written by a Communist MP, R. Umanath, to the central secretariat and the CEC, challenging the secretariat statement denying the allegations in the Current and demanding a meeting of the CEC to discuss the alleged "letters" and asserting that the "letters" were "genuine".

Basavapunniah said that he had sent all the material which he was giving to the press to all members of the National Council with a covering letter. He read out this covering letter and said that he was not giving a copy of it to the press "because of propriety".

Propriety For Whom?

Certainly, it must have been a queer sense of propriety which he had when he could challenge the national leadership of the Party of which he is, still a part, slander the Party chairman in public and flout all the accepted norms of Party functioning even while he was talking about "propriety".

Even the correspondents found his action to be extraordinary. One of them asked why he was taking this extraordinary step of talking to the press without raising the matter inside the Party. Basavapunniah's reply was: "An extraordinary situation has been created. The Current published the letters; the sec-

retariat issued the statement and the Hindustan Times wrote an editorial. All these created confusion in the public mind. My hands were forced."

"Hands Were Forced"

This is perhaps the first time in the history of the CPI that one of its leader's "hands were forced" to go to the press to malign the leading functionary of the Party and challenge the leadership just because an anti-Communist journal published a canard and another wrote an editorial.

And that, despite the fact that the secretariat of the Party had categorically denied the allegation.

In the attempt to prove that his "hands were forced", Basavapunniah made a revelation: "I got them (the alleged letters) three months back". What had he been doing about them all these months, some pressmen asked. "I had not done a thing about it. I tried to verify them in my own way." What his "own way" was left unexplained.

But "when the Current published them, the secretariat issued the statement and the Hindustan Times wrote the

editorial, I had to move". And so, he went to the National Archives on March 16; 17 and 18. He did not do so earlier because he was out of Delhi—that is, between the publication of the "letters" and his visit to the Archives.

One correspondent wanted to know, if he had got the letters three months back, he must have had them before the last meeting of the CEC. Why didn't he raise the matter in the CEC meeting? Basavapunniah's reply was revealing. He said: "I got them before the CEC meeting. But I took into confidence only those in whom I could confide. I showed them to Sundarayya, Gopalan and others. You know how things are in the Party today. I am not even on talking terms with some of them."

Depth Of Crudity

To a question whether "this issue" would lead to a split in the Party, he replied: "If you relate all our differences into one episode, you are not recognising the depth of our differences. If

PLEASE NOTE

The next issue of NEW AGE will carry an article by S. A. Dange on the inner-Party situation. Agents and subscribers are requested to book their copies in advance.
—Editor

the National Council behaves in the interests of the Party and punish the guilty, the Party may stand united. Otherwise, we don't know."

He went on to explain: "You know that the Party is sharply divided. There are virtually two parties functioning. Even at Vijayawada there was sharp division between the two, with only five or six centrists, like Namboodiripad. How can you expect anything to be solved in such a situation?" Basavapunniah again made a reference to this functioning of a parallel party at a later stage in the press conference. While attacking the secretariat for "not showing a sense of urgency" by calling a meeting of the National Council, he said: "Things you see today—running parallel papers and propagating rival ideology—all these are results of waiting and waiting to settle issues."

He also graciously explained for the benefit of the press his and his friends' plan of action: "I will challenge his (Dange's) right to preside over the meeting (of the National Council). The accused cannot sit in judgement. He cannot preside over

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U.P. Demands Firm Action Against Disruptors

LUCKNOW: The secretariat of the Uttar Pradesh State Council of the Communist Party of India has passed a resolution recommending severe disciplinary action against M. Basavapunniah, P. Ramamurti, P. Sundarayya and others who have been engaging in splitting activities.

THE secretariat has forwarded the resolution to the Party centre. It has addressed a circular to all Party members in the state discussing the issues involved in the attack on the Party and calling on them to defend the unity of the Party.

Kali Shankar Shukla, Jharkhande Rai, Chandrajeet Yadav, Ram Asrey, Ramesh Sinha, Gur Prasad and Harish Tewary, members of the secretariat, and S. S. Yusuf who attended the meeting of the secretariat by special invitation, also issued a statement on behalf of the secretariat.

The statement said: "P. Ramamurti and M. Basavapunniah in a press conference in Delhi and P. Sundarayya and T. Nagi Reddi in another press conference in Hyderabad have made slanderous allegations against the chairman of the Communist Party, S. A. Dange, and repeated the allegations made earlier in the columns of the Current, a Bombay weekly.

"They have deliberately repudiated the statement of the central secretariat of the Party contradicting the canard issued by the Current and lined up with the

have chosen to grossly violate the principle of the Party organisation. To say the least, their conduct is anti-Party and is directed at splitting the Party."

After describing how the "slanderous and libellous canard" against Dange was no

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HYDERABAD ASKS FOR STRONG STEPS

HYDERABAD: The executive committee of the Hyderabad city council of the Communist Party of India has condemned the splitting activities engaged in by certain party members.

In a resolution passed at its meeting on March 30, held under the chairmanship of Makhdoom Mohiuddin, the city council said that "the imperialists and Indian reactionaries are deliberately utilising the situation (following the publication of the so-called letters written by S. A. Dange to British authorities in 1924) to split the Party and demoralise its friends."

This has come "at a time when the mass movement of the toilers against imperialists and Indian monopolists and the reactionary policies of the government is surging forward under the leadership of the CPI."

The resolution recalled that the central secretariat of the CPI had categorically denied the authenticity of these letters and nailed them as vile fabrications.

"But some factional and splitting elements in the Party are openly challenging the

central leadership of the Party on this count and taking the legal in spreading these vile fabrications and bringing damage to the mass movement and Party unity," it said.

The city council declared that "those who are engaged in the criminal activity of splitting the Party cannot be allowed to take cover under these slanders and avoid facing disciplinary actions on their activities."

The activities reached their climax in the recent Rajya Sabha elections in Andhra "when Sundarayya and his friends openly revolted against the Party and put up a rival candidate with a view to defeat the official candidate of the Party, even against his own earlier assurance of support."

The resolution said: "The city executive urges on the Central Executive Committee and the National Council to take stern disciplinary measures against these comrades for their splitting activities."

"The Hyderabad city executive appeals to the people not to be taken in by these diversionary manoeuvres of imperialism, Right reaction and splitters. It appeals to them to consolidate their unity and intensify their struggle against high prices and tax burdens."

RESEARCH SCHOLAR'S STATEMENT

BOMBAY, March 31: Today's SANDHYAKAL, an evening daily associated with the Congress daily NAVAKAL, publishes an interview with a well-known research worker and scholar regarding the "letters" alleged to have been written by S. A. Dange to the British government in 1924. SANDHYAKAL says:

A well informed local research worker-scholar expressed the view that that letter of Dange is forged. When asked by our representative about the same, it was stated that no copy of that letter is in the Bombay government archives.

According to the rules of those days a copy of every letter was sent to the province concerned, but no such copy of this letter is there in the Bombay state archives.

Therefore the letter is forged.

Many letters connected with Com. Dange are there in the Bombay archives. But this letter is not there.

It was stated further that between 1924 and 1926 several letters were forged but the government then did not make use of them and the letters remained in the archives in Delhi and therefore naturally copies of these letters are not present in the provincial archives.