

# BIGGEST MASS ACTION FOR FOOD

LAST YEAR, SEPTEMBER 13 SAW THE BIGGEST ALL-INDIA MASS DEMONSTRATION EVER ORGANISED BY THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA—THE GREAT MARCH.

TODAY we are on the eve of the mightiest nationwide action for people's food. This will be the biggest national action, embracing all parts of the country, ever undertaken by the Communist Party of India—or, for that matter, by any party since independence.

Details regarding this all-India action are being hammered out by the Central Secretariat of the Party, which is consulting by the quickest possible means members of the Central Executive Committee and the state councils.

An indication of the forms of action proposed can be had from the decisions taken by a number of state councils to organise mass satyagraha, backed by strikes, demonstrations and other forms of protest against the pro-hoarder policies of the government and the vested interests responsible for hoarding and speculation.

The effectiveness of the Communist Party's campaign will be greatly enhanced by giving the movement a centralised direction—with concerted action planned at the same time in all states.

## TENALI BROTHERHOOD

So, at last, the splitters of the Communist Party have held a "convention of the Communist Party of India" at Tenali in Andhra Pradesh from July 7 to 11, 1964. They have decided to "reorganise the Communist Party" and hold the "seventh Party congress."

LONG ago they had declared that they were the "true Marxist-Leninists" and they alone were the real Communists. We of the National Council had ceased to be Marxist-Leninists and hence they left us.

But even having met as "true Communists" in their very first resolution, they "want to assure those comrades and friends who are concerned at the possible consequences of this step that it is not a pleasure for us that we have been forced into this position."

Why this anxiety at the possible consequences and what can they be, when one is heroically "restoring the banner of true Marxism-Leninism, when one has the backing of the 'overwhelming majority' of the Party membership and when the world outside the Tenali walls is only a "rump of revisionists"?"

It looks the pleasures of splitting were after all not without concern and not so pleasurable, with that inspiring audience in front. That was just the beginning.

Then they decided to call the "seventh congress of the Party" and began to fix the agenda. And the convention that is its inner core almost broke on the very first item on the agenda.

The most important subject before any gathering of Marxist-Leninists today is that of the ideological questions in the international Communist movement. Any Communist worth his salt has to have an opinion on those questions because they are the essential questions of Marxism-Leninism.

When these splitters were among us and when we fixed the agenda for the seventh Party congress, we all unanimously agreed that the question of ideological differences in the international Communist movement is the first and

most important item on the agenda. And there it is, on our agenda of the seventh Party congress.

Not only that it was put on the agenda, but the National Council now and several times before has adopted resolutions on the subject and put forth a document for the Party congress.

But when the "true" Leninists of Tenali came to the subject they had such violent irreconcilable differences, such threats of a further split among the splitters, that the most important subject of Marxism-Leninism and the present day world Communist movement was "dropped" from the agenda of the congress of the splitters.

No wonder, it was "no pleasure" to split and meet at Tenali. The first consequence is to run away from the most important subject and serious problem before the Communist movement.

And how could they agree to face it? They have innumerable lines and contradictory positions among them. And like a warring faction, whose unity rests solely on splitting the Party, they dared not take a decision by majority.

They wanted to observe the "principle of decision only by agreement". With at least three known factions among them being publicly admitted on the ideological questions, agreement was an impossibility.

So the first casualty of the so-called "principled" positions was that the "overwhelming Party membership" following these "true Marxists" of Tenali are asked not to think of that subject at all and to omit it from the agenda. So questions of the strategy of world revolution, war and peace, peaceful coexistence, path of transition etc. will not be on their agenda.

Not that they have no documents on that vital subject. There is one by Jyoti Basu, there is one by E. M. S. Namboodiripad, there is another by M. Basavapunniah and so on.

But they are so hopelessly divided that there can be no agreement among them and they surely dare not decide by majority. At least not in their first meeting.

May be, the fountainhead of world splitters may suggest a solution by the time they meet in next October.

All our Party members should take a careful note of this bankruptcy of principles among the leading lights of the splitters. This one thing is enough to tear off their mask of Marxism and to show them in their true colours.

This much about their internationalism and policies. Now let us see their organisational purity and honesty.

—by—

S. A. DANGE

While they were in the Party they insisted that the membership valid for the next (seventh) Party congress should be the membership of the Vijayawada congress, that is the membership of the year 1959. The National Council considered that such a membership roll, that is of 1959, would be too outmoded for a congress meeting in 1964. Hence we took the membership of 1962, after which no new membership campaign was undertaken by the Party.

But these comrades refused to agree to the resolution and insisted on going back to the Vijayawada membership. Not that they had any majority in the rolls of Vijayawada. They did it in order to shut out all the new ranks that had come to the Party after 1959. Also, who could vouchsafe for the rolls of 1959 in the year 1964?

Now when they split and as usurpers they decided to call their own meet as the "seventh Party congress", do they do it on the basis of the Vijayawada membership? They do not. Now they want the membership of DECEMBER 1963 and to enroll

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### Labour Ministry Climbs Down On ILC Agenda

LAST week NEW WAGE pointed out that the Union Labour Ministry has put forward an agenda for the Indian Labour Conference beginning on July 29 in Bangalore which in its main content is anti-workingclass.

The trade unions have taken strong exception to the Labour Ministry's attitude and condemned the noninclusion of the burning issues that confront the working class today in the agenda of the ILC.

Seeing the mood of the workers and the firm stand of the trade unions on these issues, the Labour Ministry started a climb down.

First, a couple of days back a spokesman of the Labour Ministry explained that the Ministry would have no objection to the discussion in the ILC of issues like the recommendations of the Bonus Commission, price rise etc., if the representatives of the

trade unions raise them in the conference.

As we go to press, news has just arrived that the Labour Ministry has dropped from the agenda two items.

One of them is the proposal of the Commerce Ministry for raising weekly hours of work in the cotton textiles from 48 to 54 and the other is the question of treating 'go slow or malingering' as major misconduct.

This climb down shows that the Labour Ministry only at a late stage reacts to the situations and does not show initiative to tackle the problems boldly.

The proceedings of the next ILC will be worth watching and if the trade unions put up a united front, then retrograde moves of the employers and the government concerning the working class can be defeated.

The first round of victory has been won; now the workers are waiting for the next round.

them on their rolls till SEPTEMBER 1964.

They claim that they are carrying the "overwhelming" Party membership with them. Then why not stick to the Vijayawada rolls about which they created such a deadlock in the National Council and bring that "overwhelming" mass of Vijayawada to their party congress? Why hunt for new recruits till September 1964?

This again exposes the true motives of the splitters when they argued about the Party membership that should be valid for the congress and the walkout and split that they engineered on this issue. This is another example of the "true" Leninist principles of organisation as practised by the Tenali convention.

The third example of the true colour of their revolutionary patriotism, impartiality and love for peace is their resolution on India-China border dispute.

They refer in their resolution to the note of Sirimao Bandaranaike suggesting that without prejudice to their claims no posts of India and China should remain in the demilitarised area of Ladakh.

It is well-known that the Government of India is agreeable to the proposal. But the Chinese are not.

The Tenali resolution, however, fails to say that the Chinese also should accept the proposal. It only asks once again the Government of India to "directly communicate with the Government of China for breaking the deadlock and starting negotiations..."

While no one underestimates the need for peaceful negotiations and settlement, why this reluctance to tell the Chinese to accept the proposal and break the deadlock?

It is known that E. M. S. Namboodiripad, when he was in the central secretariat, had agreed to telling the Chinese to accept the Colombo proposals, of which the suggestion of Sirimao Bandaranaike is only an elaboration. It is known that Jyoti Basu also wanted China to accept the Colombo proposals and break the deadlock.

Why were they silent at Tenali and agreed to this one-sided resolution? Because, if they had not agreed, the splitters themselves would have split, because WHAT UNITES THEM IS NOT HONEST POLITICS AND PRINCIPLES BUT THE BATON THAT TELLS THEM TO SPLIT.

And lastly, they appointed or elected (?) an executive and a secretariat. The thing worth noting in this is that having found four "true ones" in the persons of Basavapunniah, P. Ramamurli, A. K. Copalan and Harkishen Singh Surjeet, the splitters got stuck up on the fifth one, who had to be provided either by E. M. S. Namboodiripad or one from Bengal. Naturally between Namboodiripad and Bengal, the latter must get precedence, and got it.

But then came the hurdle as to which one out of the three "redoubtable pures" should be

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# A NEW FOREIGN MINISTER

The announcement of the appointment of Sardar Swaran Singh as India's Foreign Minister came suddenly over the weekend. The timing of the announcement coincided, not by accident, with the uproar in the country against the mishandling of India's case by the Finance Minister at the Commonwealth conference.

THE appointment is meant to assure the critics of the government's bungling in foreign affairs, which reached a climax with T. T. Krishnamachari's performance in London, that from now on all will be well, for at last we have a Foreign Minister to look after the External Affairs Ministry exclusively.

With the Prime Minister's ill health compelling him to reduce his work, the appointment of a Minister in charge of External Affairs alone has been lobby-talk in New Delhi for some weeks.

The Rightwing cannons had been pressuring the Prime Minister and Congress President Kamaraj, to give this choice plum to S. K. Patil. Fortunately for this country, this pressure was successfully resisted. To appoint Patil as Foreign Minister would mean an open declaration of the end of the policy of non-alignment.

It was Sardar Swaran Singh, who led the Indian delegation to the preparatory meeting for the Second Bandung, where he led the battle for the Soviet Union's participation in the Afro-Asian conference. The Indo-Pakistan negotiations were also conducted this year by the new Foreign Minister.

Unfortunately she was unable to play any role of significance in London; and Krishnamachari claims she was present through-

out the conference beside him, and therefore as responsible as him for all the mistakes made.

In any case, it has been stated that she was unwilling to shoulder the heavy responsibility which the Foreign Affairs portfolio inevitably entails.

To mainly, the name of Education Minister Chagla appeared as an obvious choice, particularly after his excellent work during the Security Council debates on Kashmir. But the rightwing opposed Chagla's candidature vehemently; their main argument was that the Pakistan government would never negotiate with Chagla!

The appointment of Sardar Swaran Singh has generally welcomed. He has an excellent record of carrying out his brief meticulously whenever he has been called upon to speak for India in international negotiations.

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Of course, on all these occasions when Sardar Swaran

Singh had been drafted into work for the Ministry of External Affairs, he merely acted on the basis of policies already worked out by Prime Minister Nehru and the top officials of the Ministry. Now, as Foreign Minister, he will be responsible for working out the policies himself.

It is not easy for anyone to step into an office held for so many years by Pandit Nehru. International affairs are complicated and India's role needs to be carefully worked out on all issues—if we are not to force again the kind of debacle we faced in the Commonwealth conference.

The Foreign Minister can count on the full support of all patriotic Indians in any efforts he makes to continue and strengthen the policy of nonalignment, peaceful coexistence and opposition to colonialism and imperialism, which has guided India in external affairs all these years.

The reactionary pressures to change these policies have grown in recent weeks. To the extent that Sardar Swaran Singh resists these pressures in the working out of his policies will he be successful in the onerous responsibilities which have fallen upon him.

## TTK'S DEFENDERS

THE fact that the Finance Minister's performance in London is being

# Comment

defended so vigorously by those reactionary elements which are advocating a sellout on Kashmir is added proof of the serious errors committed by our delegation in the Commonwealth conference.

Mino Masani, boss of the Swatantra Party, addressing a Rotary Club meeting in Delhi on July 21, said he "could not understand why there was so much hullabaloo over a harmless sentence in the communique issued at the end of the Commonwealth conference" (Hindustan Times, July 22).

Jaya Prakash Narayan (who is a close associate of the Rajaji-Masani Swatantra as far as advocacy of the surrender of Kashmir is concerned), speaking at Bangalore on July 20, said it was "unfair to blame the Union Finance Minister... for the reference of Indo-Pakistani relations in the communique... Why should there be such sensitiveness about it?... A climate has been created which is unfair to Mr. Krishnamachari. He has done nothing wrong." (PTI)

The monopoly press had fallen in line. Birla's Hindustan Times editorially describes the

anti-TTK storm as "Much Ado" and defends the Finance Minister to the hilt. Coenka's Indian Express waxes eloquent, of course, about TTK's excellent work in London.

All this is not unexpected. The Right reactionary imperialist parties and groups are delighted with TTK's performance; they believe the door is now open for surrender on Kashmir. They would like the nation's endorsement of TTK's work in London.

Such an endorsement would mean that the Indian people are ready for a shift in our Kashmir policy in the direction the imperialists and Right reactionaries desire.

The Indian people must demonstratively make it clear that they are not prepared to accept the Finance Minister's "explanations" of his conduct, nor the arguments of the reactionary gentlemen, who have risen to defend him.

—Romesh Chandra  
(July 21)

# Economic notes

Lately, however, it is beginning to have second thoughts about the real nature of this "approach" which—divested of its frills—is crudely conditioned by the interests of the western powers.

According to a report in the ECONOMIC TIMES, New Delhi is concerned about the "stiffening attitude" of the World Bank towards its loan applications for development projects and that a number of projects, for which the Bank's assistance had been taken for granted, have got bogged down.

And why this "stiffening" or "cooling off" of the Bank's attitude? According to the same report, a reason for it could be the Bank's unwillingness to provide assistance for projects which "tend to be competitive with industries in developed countries in the West."

Again "there seems to be an anxiety (on the World Bank's part) that established markets in the west should not be disturbed" through its aid.

The cat is thus out of the bag and even New Delhi's blinkered eyes seem to have noticed it. The Bank is prepared to give aid but only up to a point and for projects which do not injure its masters' interests.

And yet it is permitted to evaluate every year the progress of our Plan, presumably to help it decide when to smile or frown on our development programmes.

—ESSEN

(July 21)

# "OPEN SESAME" CLEARANCE

FINANCE Minister T. T. Krishnamachari's overtures to foreign private investors, made in his budget speech, had evoked widespread response in the United States and other Western countries.

But as is the habit with these gentlemen, they made TTK's invitation a jumping ground to covet new industries for their domain.

Their task was made easy by New Delhi's "flexibility" in relation to policy on foreign investments, which, in the name of "pragmatism," did not need to protect even the basic industries from encroachment by foreign interests.

The permission given to the American giant, General Electric to participate in the equity capital of a new heavy electricals project was the first poisoned fruit of the TTK line which, as it unfolds itself, threatens to claim a number of other basic industries among its victims.

The need for this preamble has arisen because of the new Steel and Mines Minister Sanjeeva Reddy's outrageous statement in an interview to THE STATESMAN that he was not averse to associating private foreign capital with future steel development.

Reddy knew that his stand was contrary to the Industrial Policy Resolution. He was therefore quick to add that what he said was his personal view and that a decision on the subject could be taken only by the Cabinet.

But then why was it necessary for him to give vent to his personal view, especially when he knew that it marked a departure from the established policy? Was he putting out a feeler to gauge reaction to his view, or making a deliberate bid to carry forward the TTK line?

Whatever be his reasons for this statement, there is little doubt that he has started on his new job on a wrong note. But as we have indicated earlier, Reddy's is no individual aberration but part of a plan to slide back on our basic policies.

According to THE TIMES OF INDIA, like Reddy, the Petroleum and Chemical Minister Humayun Kabir has "responded favourably" to a proposal, presented to him by the US Ambassador Chester Bowles that a group of six major American private manufacturers of petrochemicals and fertilisers should be allowed to participate as a consortium in India's fertiliser production programmes.

A team of representatives of the interested companies is expected to arrive in Delhi early next month to hold direct talks with the government.

And so great is the interest taken by the Government of the United States in the proposed ventures that it is reported to be ready to permit its Agency for International Development to guarantee 75 per cent of their foreign exchange investment.

And what is the reason for this "interest" evinced by the US government and firms in setting up fertiliser, steel or other projects in vital industries in India? According to the CAPITAL it is none else but the lure that India offers as an "export base." The foreign investors, says this journal, "are clearly hoping to gain from low labour costs, typical of a developing country, to make their goods more competitive in third markets."

And as India is anxious to increase exports they hope to cash on its legitimate desire to augment its export earnings to establish their empires.

This then is their design as divulged by a journal which has always been close to foreign interests. Yet, TTK, Reddy and Kabir continue to behave as if in allowing foreign investors into our key industries they are conferring a boon on our nation.

When will they learn that the price of freedom is eternal vigilance and that to go back on a policy which Jawaharlal Nehru had evolved to protect the nation from the covetous eye of the foreign monopolists is not merely a sacrifice to his memory but a positive disservice to the country?

## WHO PULLS THE STRING?

THE World Bank has for long been known to be a handmaiden of the western powers.

Yet, our government, which has had numerous indications of this fact, has continued to have faith in its "friendly" approach towards our country.

# CPI's Strength In West Bengal

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Council have very strong pockets in various districts.

● A very important point to note is that there is a larger body of intellectuals inside and around the Party in West Bengal than in any other state. An overwhelming majority of this intelligentsia, whether Party members or sympathisers are with the National Council.

Among student Party members, particularly among the post-graduates, the supporters of the National Council have a comfortable majority. This good and conscious base in the intelligentsia is a positive feature.

We have every reason to be confident that the newly-constituted secretariat under the authority of the state council will be able to carry out the tasks.

The state council has outlined the following programme for the coming period:

- (a) Proper district committees will be organised by the first week of August in those districts where the majorities in the council have gone over to the splitters;
- (b) Programme for Party conferences;
- (c) Call to collect Rs. 20,000 as Party funds;
- (d); Campaign on the food front.

# WAR ON CORRUPTION

## Editorial

NOBODY WOULD LIKE to criticise any organisation or individuals who seriously take upon themselves the task of combatting corruption in all its forms. Home Minister Nanda and his Bharat Sadhu Samaj and Bharat Sevak Samaj are making big plans for an all-out war on corruption. Sadachar Samitis are to be established at different levels. The Home Minister's house is open to complainants.

If any concrete results are obtained they would naturally be welcome. But the way in which the Home Minister and his organisations appear to be tackling the problem lead to serious misgivings.

A Bharat Sevak Samaj "survey" has evidently led to the remarkable conclusion that ONE CRORE Indians are corrupt. If this is the corruption the Home Minister and his band of "honest men" intend to combat, they are being led up the garden path by those interested in confusing issues.

It is true that in every day life, the common citizen is found again and again with the necessity to pay a bribe to persuade someone to do something for him. Nobody considers this bribe-giving nor the bribe-taking by the petty official.

But if corruption is to be combatted effectively, the start must be made at the top. The Das Commission and the removal of the Kairon set-up gave hope that government intended to act in the only way corruption can be fought, namely to attack the disease at its root in the highest seats of power.

The reports of enquiries being made into charges against the Chief Minister in Orissa also gave an indication that Kairon was not to be an isolated instance of governmental action.

The Communist Party has made specific proposals in regard to the assets of ministers and their relatives. Any acquisition of property or wealth after the taking of office by a minister and during his term, must be confiscated by the state.

Chief Minister Ram Kishan of Punjab is reported to have declared his assets and those of his family members on taking office. But his example does not seem to have been followed by anybody else. What is necessary is the endorsement of a rule for the further declaration of assets by all ministers and their families. The start must be made at the Centre. This alone would give confidence to the country.

Again, the tremendous corrupting influence of big business must be fought by making the most stringent rules regarding relations between big business houses and ministers and high officials. The scandalous state of affairs in which so many high officials, on retirement, join big business companies on fat salaries, must be ended. No business jobs for the top officials on retirement—must be made the rule. The assets of these officials must also be made known publicly; and explanation given for all property and wealth acquired.

Corruption cannot be fought by penalising the small man while the real culprits—the monopolists and the men in power at the highest levels—go scot free.

More Das Commissions are needed. The preaching of "the good life" and the setting up of Sadachar Samitis may be useful additions, but they cannot be a substitute for resolute action at the top. The danger of unscrupulous elements worming themselves into the Sadachar Samitis and misusing their positions also cannot be ruled out.

It is a pity that the Home Minister has not yet thought it fit to consult other democratic forces and parties in regard to his war on corruption. Extensive reliance on the professional cadre of the Sadhu Samaj and Sevak Samaj will, in the long run, not yield the results for which he hopes.

(July 1)

## Splitters' Claim Is Exaggerated

# CPI HAS STRONG BASE IN W. BENGAL

For quite some time now, a consistent canard is being spread among the people and the rank-and-file of the Party that in West Bengal there are only a handful of Party members who stand by the National Council of the Communist Party of India.

A spokesman of the split-away group of the Party, P. Ramamurthy, in his enthusiasm to establish their fictitious claim tantamounted at the Tenali confabulations, informed the press that an overwhelming majority of Party members were behind the splitters.

In fact, he tried to give the press a sort of comprehensible idea of the splitters' strength. He boasted that they have fifteen annas out of a rupee!

In West Bengal, particularly, where the Party machinery was controlled by the splitters, there was virtually a situation existing where the decisions of the National Council could not be implemented.

The suspended members did not give out the real position to the Party members in general and tried to keep them in dark as regards the Party's organisational and ideological positions.

The last meeting of the National Council took a grave note of such defiance of the splitters, who, by virtue of restoration of the state council by the Party after their release from jail, exercised control over all Party machinery, and decided to set up a Party machinery in West Bengal for leading the Party and the mass movement.

It authorised the Central Secretariat to convene a meeting of the West Bengal state council and take organisational steps to restore the council as a functioning body.

Myself and P. C. Joshi were entrusted with this task and we reached Calcutta on July 9 and stayed there till July 15. The organisational steps taken in the meeting of the state council convened by us are reported elsewhere in this issue, and therefore I need not dwell on that.

## Heartening Feeling

What gave me the most heartening feeling was that through my personal experience gained, in several meetings and talks with comrades, I came to a firm conclusion that the claim of the splitters was grossly exaggerated and a very firm support to the policies of the National Council is embedded among the Party members, sympathisers and well-wishers of the Party.

During our stay, we attended the state council meeting, addressed a meeting of the leading cadres from different districts of West Bengal, a general body meeting of the Party members of Calcutta, apart from meetings with the cadres from districts.

We clarified to them the position of the National Council, explained the stand we have taken and outlined as to what they should do in regard to the formation of a rival party by the splitters.

We also met several so-called centrist leaders and a number of intellectuals who are with the Party and acquainted them with the real situation.

The state council meeting was attended by 23 members, four among whom were MPs—Hiren Mukherjee, Renu Chakravarty, Mohammed Elias and Indrajit Gupta. There were such old and trusted leaders of the Party as Dharam Goswami and Abdur Razak Khan attending the meeting. One centrist leader Gopal Banerjee MLA participated in the meeting.

It became clear to us through reports that the strength in the former state council of the followers of respective positions were: With the National Council 24, with the splitters 49 and with the centrists 28. The position in the state Assembly: 13, 29, and 6 in the preceding order. Out of

24 Parganas, Birbhum, Hoogly, Nadia and West Dinajpur districts, the relative strength of the splitters and National Council supporters is almost 50:50. In Midnapur district, the splitters are in a hopeless minority. In Calcutta, Howrah, Bankura and Jalpaiguri districts, the supporters of the National Council have very substantial influence.

In Calcutta proper, the CPI has a very strong base in the trade unions. But the splitters' wield influence among the residential localities and among the refugee population. The strength of the so-called centrists also stems mainly from the trade unions.

The 1962 enrolment of Party members shows a total strength of 3,517 in Calcutta. According to an important member of the Calcutta district council who has closely studied the relative disposition of Party members according to the described divisions, about 700-800 members are no longer available to the Party for various reasons. Out of the available members the

By C. Rajeswara Rao  
Member, Central Secretariat of the CPI

18,300 members in West Bengal (the pre-Vijayawada membership), about 7,000 are with the National Council, about 9,800 with the splitters and about 1,500 with the centrists.

The meeting of the leading cadres held on July 12 was extremely important in more than one sense. About 150 members attended this meeting, among whom 100 had come from various districts in West Bengal.

On July 14 there was a meeting of the Party members of Calcutta which was attended by 500 members. The attendance of 500 members was considered significant by the state council leaders in view of the dislocation of transport services due to heavy rains.

In these two meetings, we tried to give a clear picture of the Party strength from state to state. We also exposed the political and organisational slanders about majority leadership of the Party carried on by the splitters. We exhorted the Party members to defend the Party against splitting activities, to adopt principled stand on various issues and to carry on intense mass work and not get sidetracked by the provocations of the splitters.

These meetings enthused the Party members and many openly expressed their happiness that now at least they have a Party organisation through which they can effectively function and rally the masses and lead the movements.

As far as districtwise strength is concerned, it is assessed that only in six districts really the splitters can claim majority. In

splitters have hold on about 1,500; National Council on about 700 and the centrists have influence on the rest.

In the Calcutta district council out of 92 available members, 36 support the National Council, 38 support the splitters and rest take a centrist position.

Among the middle class employees and intelligentsia, the splitters have influence among the lower middle class and secondary school teachers. But the overwhelming majority of pro-Party intelligentsia are with the National Council.

Taking the state in its entirety, we have gathered the firm impression that the claim of the splitters is highly exaggerated. Our overall assessment is that the situation is quite hopeful.

We summarise the situation as:

★ The section of the comrades with the National Council are politically firm and they have the confidence that they can hold their own and build the movement.

★ In most places, the rank-and-file sections behind the National Council are already demarcated from the general mass of Party members.

★ The sections of Party members who follow the National Council have considerable influence in the industrial centres.

★ In the rural areas, the state taken as a whole, the splitters have substantial influence compared to the National Council. But the supporters of the National

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# Andhra State Council Reviews Situation Campaign Plan Charted

From MOHIT SEN

HYDERABAD: The seething discontent of the people was a marked feature of the situation in Andhra, which was reviewed by the State Council of the Communist Party of India in its four-day sitting from July 14 to 17. This is manifested in numerous movements of the people over various issues.

THE working class has undertaken many actions in the past three months, since the Council last met. The more noteworthy of them are the almost four months strike of the Bajrang Jute Mill workers at Guntur and the recently concluded action at the Vishakapatnam port.

The Council considered that the focal problem facing the masses is the galloping inflation of food prices and the utter complacency of the government which refuses to lift a little finger against the hoarders, both of the trading and the landholding variety. Indeed, it surrenders to these forces.

The State Council called upon all Party members and units to mobilise people on the widest united scale to protest against the policies of the government and to put forward their people's plan for cheap and sufficient food. It appealed to all democrats, regardless of party affiliations, including those in the Congress, to come forward and work together with communists to help to solve this most burning problem of people's livelihood.

The State Council has decided to organise meetings and demonstrations throughout the state culminating in a statewide day of protest on August 9. It has decided to take the initiative in convening all-party conferences at different levels to discuss the problem and try to evolve a common charter of demands of the people. The Council reiterated the demands for state trading, nationalisation of banks, punishment to hoarders, fixing proper prices for producers and consumers and procurement from producers.

## Review of Panchayat Elections

The Council reviewed the panchayat elections. It sharply condemned the heinous methods used by the Congress in the form of large-scale purchase of votes, kidnapping and abduction



S. A. Dange addressing the Political Camp

14 panchayats to the CPI in the whole district.

Explaining the discussions in the State Council, Rajasekhara Reddy, secretary, told NEW AGE how the splitters had joined hands with the reactionaries to work for the defeat of the Communist Party in the panchayat election.

In Tirumalgi village in Nalgonda the splitters had allied with Jana Sangh to try to defeat the CPI. In Srikakulam district the splitters had lined up with the Swatantra Party. In eight villages in Guntur they had tried to defeat the CPI through an open alliance with the Congress.

In Ongole taluk, the joint secretary of the splitters' students organisation had openly acted as the agent of the Congress to help defeat the local secretary of the CPI.

Rajasekhara Reddy said that

of candidates, free use of liquor and largescale intimidation. The root cause of many of these undesirable phenomena is the indirect nature of the elections from the samiti level upwards. As a result of these methods the landlords have strengthened their hold on the panchayats and represent a challenge to the democratic forces.

If this is considered a victory by the Congress, if it wants to own up these worst reactionaries as its flagbearers, it is welcome to do so. However, the people know that this so-called victory is no index of the strength or the popularity of the Congress.

There is no doubt that one of the factors facilitating the victory of the reactionaries was the split in the CPI and the tactics pursued by the splitters. The CPI tried its best to ensure democratic unity so as to defeat the most reactionaries, it instructed its members and supporters to vote for the candidate of the splitters wherever they had sufficient strength.

Unfortunately, the leading splitters did not reciprocate but allied with the landlords, the Jana Sangh and Swatantra, as well as reactionary Congressmen, to defeat the CPI candidates wherever they could. It is a heartening feature that in some places—though they are only a few—these factional instructions were not followed by the rank-and-file of the splitters.

In spite of all these tactics, the splitters could succeed only in some 400 and odd panchayats, whereas the CPI won some 619 panchayats. Of course, true to their Coebellian technique the splitters are putting out their own figures. But the panchayats exist objectively and so do the victories and defeated candidates. Facts cannot be wished away.

For instance, in Guntur district whereas in one taluk alone, the CPI had won 15 panchayats, the splitters' chief had conceded only

while the splitters regarded the CPI as their enemy number one, the CPI was anxious to ensure the defeat of the rabid enemies of democracy. He added that the CPI was certainly willing to cooperate with the splitters, as with democratic Congressmen and others on the basis of a common programme to tackle the food problem.

In this connection he cited two examples of the way in which, on their own, the people were moving into action on the food issue. In a village in Suryapet taluk in Nalgonda the villagers had gone to a hoarder and compelled him to sell some 130 bags of paddy to them at a fair price.

In Nagaram village in the same taluk similar action resulted in the sale of 80 bags of paddy. In another place the starving people stopped the lorries of a hoarder which were carrying away food-grains and bought the whole lot at a fair price.

Rajasekhara Reddy complimented the people for their militant action, which was at the same time thoroughly disciplined and fair. He was confident that there would be tremendous response to the food agitation. If the government still remained unmoved the people would have to take recourse to peaceful forms of direct action.

The State Council also reviewed the position in the Party.

The splitters' onslaught has been met and the CPI has withstood their offensive. A district by district survey revealed that 19,000 members have stood by the CPI; 11,000 have gone over to the splitters and about 1,000 have remained neutral.

The Council is confident that as time goes on and as the utterly disruptive and wrong policies of the splitters fully reveal themselves and as the great lie about the CPI having gone over to the Congress gets exposed, many more members will once again take their place within the CPI, whose doors will always remain open for them.

The State Council decided on four immediate campaigns. The first priority is that of the food campaign. In addition there will be a political explanatory campaign; a drive to increase the circulation of VISALAANDHRA daily and three-day education schools for Party cadres. The VISALAANDHRA would shortly open a discussion forum to enable all Party members to give their views and suggestions on the Party programme.

The Council has also fixed a time table for Party conferences—block and taluk conferences to conclude by September; district conferences to conclude by October; and the Andhra Pradesh conference to be held at Guntur from November 15 to 20.

# U.P.'S SUCCESSFUL POLITICAL CAMP

## S. A. Dange Explains Party Stand To Members

From RAMESH SINHA

LUCKNOW: Never in the history of the Communist Party in Uttar Pradesh was held a political camp so big and so successful as was held on July 6 and 7 at Varanasi.

LIKE every state, UP has also been a field of the disruptive and disreputable activities of the splitters. They have made special efforts to undermine the strength of the Party in eastern UP, where the Party has got some of its strongest bases.

No lie and no unscrupulous act has been regarded too mean by the splitters for being used in pursuit of their Peking directed anti-Party crusade.

Therefore, the state Party had decided to organise a two-day political camp of the leading Party cadres in the eastern districts at Varanasi. CPI chairman S. A. Dange was requested to speak at the camp.

## Splitters' Discomfiture

The splitters have claimed and tumbled in the whole country that Varanasi is one of their impregnable strongholds. So they were greatly upset when they heard of this camp.

The rump that has gone with them launched a virulent campaign against the meet. Frantically they tried to prevent people, specially friends and sympathisers of the Party and other democratic citizens who were greatly enthused by the prospect of Dange visiting their city, from cooperating and rendering help to the Party.

They twisted our workers to hold the camp on the terrace of the district Party office and not waste resources and energy on arranging a bigger place for it, because "not more than a handful of persons would attend it."

At the last moment they sent out "news" to all the neighbouring places that Dange would not be coming to Varanasi and hence

Despite heavy rains since early morning, more than 20,000 people gathered in the evening at the Town Hall maidan to hear the Communist leader explain the Party's policies. It was one of the biggest meetings held in Varanasi by any Party in the recent years.

The meeting was addressed by Dr. Z. A. Ahmed also.

For the camp itself, breaking all records, 1500 Party workers had turned up from Ghazipur, Ballia, Azamgarh, Deoria, Gorakhpur, Jaunpur, Mirzapur, Allahabad, Raibareilly, Pratapgarh, Faizabad, Basti, Varanasi and other places.

Party secretary Kali Shankar Shukla, who presided over the meeting, explained the purpose of the camp. And then Dange addressed the comrades in two marathon sessions of four hours each.

He spoke on the ideological controversy raging in the Communist world, on the Party split and the politics of the splitters, on the political situation in the country and the tasks of the Party.

He took up almost every important question which has been raised in the discussions or slander campaigns of the splitters and answered it straightforwardly and most convincingly. Listening to him was a political treat for the Party workers, most of whom had never seen him, but had heard so much for and against him.

He was given a long and tremendous ovation when he ended his address on a highly confident note. His support to the satyagraha was greeted with thunderous applause.

After this, it was no more necessary for anyone either to have doubts about the strength and deep roots of the Party among the people, or about the correctness of the policies being pursued by it or about the success of the Party's cause.

The Central Secretariat of the Communist Party of India issued the following statement on July 18:

All sections of patriotic opinion in the country are seriously disturbed at the virtual betrayal of our national policies and interests by Finance Minister T. T. Krishnamachari at the Commonwealth Conference in London.

Their failure to object in an effective and decisive manner to the raising of the Kashmir issue in the conference by President Ayub Khan and their acquiescence in the inclusion of references to Indo-Pakistani differences have earned for the representatives of the Government of India the condemnation of all right-thinking people in our country.

The Communist Party has always maintained that all disputes between India and Pakistan can and must be settled by peaceful negotiations between the two governments without the entry of a third party. The Communist Party, therefore, had always supported any statement to that effect made by government spokesmen.

But the mention of that subject in the text of the communique and its being followed by a paragraph on mediation and conciliation in the disputes between Commonwealth countries is certainly objectionable, especially in view of the wellknown stand of the British imperialists on the question and

## GEMS FROM TTK'S LIPS

HAVE before me the "official" text of TTK's notorious speech in London, at the luncheon given in his honour by the Indian Journalists' Association on July 7. This was the speech which NEW AGE attacked in a front-page splash two weeks ago—one week before the rest of the country rose in an angry storm against TTK's performance at the Commonwealth Conference.

Here are just a few gems from this "official" text, distributed to the press so proudly by the External Publicity Division of the Ministry of External Affairs (and you can take it, there was enough time to censor the biggest bloomers, because though the speech was delivered on July 7, the text was distributed only on July 18):

"I do not mind even if I am called a sycophant, as some people in India admit, we owe much of the success of the democracy in India to the British tradition which has been implemented in India."

It was precisely this sycophancy (and TTK shamelessly pats himself on the back for it), which led to the disastrous surrender all down the line by the Indian representatives at the Commonwealth Conference.

As for British "democracy"—even as TTK talked, the "democratic" army and air force of British imperialism were engaged in teaching the people of Aden and Southern

Arabia the meaning of "democracy" in the same sort, we learned from Democrite Dyer at Jallianwala Bagh and elsewhere.

★ But when I speak of the virtues of "our" foreign policy, I know that there are faults which could be found against it, particularly in the light of the circumstances in which we now live, namely with the threat from our northern neighbour.

To say that the policy has "faults", particularly in the light of circumstances of the Chinese aggression, is in fact to say, precisely what the Right reactionaries and their imperialist masters say—namely to advocate a change in the policy of "monalism". There is no other meaning in this subject and apologetic treatment of our foreign policy, despite the formal declarations which TTK made that "broadly" and "by and large" the policy "will remain the same".

TTK wore his dignified heart on his sleeve... and his bias was obvious in the United States Statement.

★ Yes, in America, socialism may not be necessary; social security, a high standard of living, a reasonable rate of employment and a quick rate of progress—all makes up for what people want in socialism.

No... This is not Goldwater or Henry Ford... It's TTK talking to the world. And I am quoting the official text.

No comment is necessary on the fervour with which India's Finance Minister be-

# CPI CENTRAL SECT. DEMANDS

## Enquiry Into Conduct of Indian Delegation to Commonwealth Conf.

THE Communist Party of India has demanded that the Government of India immediately make a public declaration at the highest level reiterating that Kashmir's accession to India is final and irrevocable and that on no account will the government permit any foreign intervention of any sort in the guise of mediation between India and Pakistan on disputed issues.

The Communist Party considers that the Indian representative stand on the Kashmir question is in line with the stand taken by him on all the other vital issues before the Commonwealth Conference.

The dominant impression of India's role at the conference was one of total failure to take a lead on any issue whatsoever. India took a backbench in the conference, a complete contrast with the role played by India in previous conferences when the late

## A PATRIOT'S NOTEBOOK

believes in socialism, nor on his definition of the conditions which make socialism "not necessary". Even the US administration itself has launched a war on poverty in the USA, but for TTK, the Land of the Dollar has already reached the state of paradise.

★ The Communist menace is there, we have Communists amongst us. The British jurisprudence, which we follow, doesn't permit us to put them in prison, it is not possible.

TTK forgot to mention the DIR and the Preventive Detention powers, which British jurisprudence (glorious, glorious British "democracy") taught the Congress rulers to use against those who champion the interests of the toilers.

That apart, what really is interesting is the bitter anti-Communist venom in the words used—all the worst cold war phobias, naked and unashamed.

## "Democratic Socialism"

MADRAS has been celebrating the 62nd birthday of Congress President Kamaraj with the kind of pomp and glory which scarcely fits in with the image of the strong, silent simple man, which had been formed in people's minds.

Among the special guests from outside Tamilnad were:

★ JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN, who inaugurated the Seminar on "Democratic Socialism" and promptly questioned the efficacy of the slogan of nationalisation, and

★ S. K. PATIL, who was the star performer at the public rally on the concluding day of the tamasha.

Sadoba will leave for the United States shortly after the pleasant gathering of the caucus in Madras. I am looking forward to his speeches in the Land of the Dollar. He is going after all to complete the joyride he had promised in June, and which he had to cancel because of Pandit Nehru's death and the joyride is a "lecture tour". Manubhai Shah got off scot-free after his speech in New York, and this has assuredly emboldened Sadoba. We can count on him to let his tongue wag.

If the Bhambhaniar "socialism" of which Kamaraj spoke so eloquently not so long ago is the "socialism" of JP, SKP and Co., it is time to wake up.

Progressive Congressmen and democrats certainly look askance at the manner in which men like Sadoba and Atulya Ghosh appear to have wormed themselves into the innermost group round Kamaraj.

Another member of the inner-caucus Sanjiva Reddy has distinguished himself this week by openly advocating the participation of private capital (and it is known that this is to include the PL 480 Funds) in the steel industry.

Kamaraj has a record of firm opposition in Tamilnad against the Right reactionary parties. The sooner he learns that it is not possible to fight the Right outside the Congress with the help of the Right inside the Congress, the better it will be for all concerned.

—Romesh Chandra

July 18



# CPSU Central Committee's Open Letter To Chinese Communist Party

The following is a short summary of the Soviet Reply to the Chinese Leadership's demand for an indefinite postponement of the proposed World Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties

**THE** tenth issue of **KOMMUNIST**, theoretical and political magazine of the CPSU Central Committee, carries a letter of the CPSU Central Committee, dated June 15, which was sent to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China in reply to a letter from the latter dated May 7, which is also reproduced in the magazine.

As stressed by the editorial board of the magazine **KOMMUNIST**, the CPSU Central Committee letter sets forth the Marxist-Leninist attitude of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to the basic problems of the international Communist movement.

## AFRAID TO FACE WORLD FORUM

Although you vigorously flaunt your indifference to the opinion of other Parties and declare that you are unafraid of a "resolute rebuff" from them, in fact you are afraid of attending a world Communist conference because you are anxious to evade a fair and straightforward discussion, and a comparison of your erroneous platform and the line of the world Communist movement.

The CPSU Central Committee is perfectly aware that the divergencies between the CPC Central Committee and other fraternal Parties are very serious and have gone far. A good deal of extraneous matter, of artificialities which hinder mutual understanding, has accumulated in the relations between the two Parties.

A whole series of fundamental differences over highly important problems of today and of the policies of world communism have emerged and have become acute. It is possible, therefore, that whatever the efforts which the Marxist-Leninist Parties may make, the conference may not fully succeed in arriving at a common view on all matters. The CPSU Central Committee is convinced, however, that even such an outcome of the conference will not amount to a split, which the CPC leaders persistently forecast.

Even in a case like that, we think it possible to reach at the conference an agreement that the Communist Parties commit themselves to take account of the opinions of all the conference delegates, all the Marxist-Leninist Parties, to co-operate conscientiously in those fields in which their positions and interests will have turned out to be common, and refrain from any further action aggravating the

ing of "preparatory work", means something that is the exact opposite of it, namely, the intensification of factional, disruptive activities, and the utmost exacerbation of polemics; frankly speaking, that is, in effect, the true reason for the Chinese leaders' stalling.... At a time when the struggle is becoming more and more acute, it counts, as everything seems to indicate, on forming a bloc of Parties and groups subservient to Peking. Another fact indicating this is that you are now openly trying to secure invitation for fellow-thinkers you have recruited in various countries to the meeting.

## COMPOSITION OF MEETING

Since the CPC Central Committee is turning the question of the composition of the meeting into another point of difference, we consider it necessary to state our attitude to it. We are of the opinion that all those Parties which took part in the Meetings of 1957 and 1960 and signed their documents are entitled to attend. This is all the more so because the differences in the Communist movement concern the interpretation of the Declaration and Statement.

Obviously, only a forum of the

country to decide. If you persist in this sort of "preparatory work" for the meeting, i.e., strive to extend factional activities, you will only confirm the established opinion that the CPC leadership is taking matters directly towards a split.

The striving of the CPC Central Committee to aggravate the open polemics in the Communist movement has long become obvious. The propaganda campaign started by it has gone beyond the framework of any ideological polemics and developed into an open political struggle against Marxist-Leninist Parties. It has nothing in common with an elucidation of the truth, with the working out of pressing problems of the theory and policy of our movement.

The content, methods and tone of your statements show that you deliberately try to expand the range of disputable issues, distort the real stand of the Marxist-Leninist Parties, slander their leadership and turn the masses against it. It is patently clear to everybody that this is not polemics any longer but a fomenting of differences and enmity. It shatters friendship among the peoples of the socialist countries, sows confusion and distrust in the ranks of the revolutionary working-class and national liberation movement

## Why Must We Hold Immediately The International Conference

difficulties and gratifying none but the class enemy...

The letter of the CPC Central Committee of May 7 deals with a number of other problems, both concerning a world meeting and having no direct bearing on it. Among them is, for example, the question of the procedure of convening the conference.

The CPC Central Committee asserts that in present-day conditions no one has a right to call a world conference since there is no permanent body of the Comintern type. From the point of view of the democratic principles on which the Communist movement is based, it must be recognised that any Party or group of Parties is free to take such an initiative. In that event it is the duty of the other contingents of the Communist movement to carefully examine and support that initiative, provided it benefits our common cause.

As for the CPSU, it will be recalled that the fraternal Parties have placed on it a special responsibility with regard to the convening of world meetings. The decision adopted by the 1957 Meeting reads: "Entrust the Communist Party of the Soviet Union with the function of convening meetings of the Communist and Workers' Parties in consultation with the fraternal Parties." This decision was passed unanimously, with the CPC delegation participating.

What is more, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, who spoke at the afternoon sitting of the meeting of November 14, 1957, said that "it is necessary to recognise the CPSU as the Party which should take the initiative in calling meetings..."

Everything suggests that the CPC Central Committee, in speak-

Parties which formulated and signed those documents would be in a position to interpret them correctly. Only the conference itself has the right to decide whether any new participants should be invited. In the years that have passed since the last world meeting there have arisen in several countries (including some African countries) Parties which agree with and implement the general line of the Communist movement expressed in the Declaration and Statement and are the recognised spokesmen of the working-class movement of their countries. Naturally, those Parties are entitled to expect an invitation to attend the new international meeting.

But when the CPC Central Committee poses the question of inviting new participants to the meeting, it is thinking not of those Parties but of the anti-Party factional groups which it has brought into being and which it designates by the high-sounding name of "Parties". However, those groups do not represent the working-class movement of their countries but have been artificially set up from outside...

The CPSU Central Committee cannot overlook the attempts the letter from the CPC Central Committee of May 7 makes to defame the tested Marxist-Leninist Parties of Australia, Brazil and India. We emphatically reject the unworthy methods by which the leaders of one Party, the Communist Party of China, lay claim to a special position in the Communist movement, to the right to pass judgment on Parties as a whole and their leaders and arbitrarily decide issues that are only for the working class of the given

and compromises world socialism. The CPC leaders thereby bring grist to the mill of the aggressive circles of imperialism, who are eagerly helping to circulate Chinese propaganda materials...

It is clear to all the participants in the Communist movement that by postponing a world meeting to a remote date, the CPC Central Committee hopes in that time to increase the number of its supporters, turn them into obedient tools of its policy and thereby attempt to create favourable conditions for itself at this future meeting.

One does not have to be a prophet to forecast the complete failure of these calculations. We have not the least doubt that with time life will prove with increasing force the indefensibility of the ideological and political platform and tactical line that the CPC leaders are trying to impose upon the Communist movement.

The unseemly objective pursued by the Chinese leadership will become increasingly clear and those who have been temporarily deluded will see the light. It goes without saying that the splitting activity of the CPC Central Committee can inflict, and has already inflicted, harm on the Communist movement, particularly on those of its contingents that are waging a struggle for the cause of the working class, against imperialist reaction in the capitalist countries under difficult conditions.

But each step forward in the struggle of the working class and each new success in the development of the world socialist system will deal a blow at the erroneous and unrealistic propositions of the

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PAGE SEVEN

# Serious Situation In Coal Mining Belt

By KALYAN ROY  
General Secretary,  
Indian Mine Workers' Federation

A critical situation is developing fast in the mining belts in India following a sharp rise in prices, widespread unemployment, largescale retrenchment, closure of mines and attack on democratic and trade union rights. The government, fully armed with the Defence of India Rules, with the power to arrest and keep in prison without any trial indefinitely, is either callous or siding with the mineowners against the miners.

**MINEOWNERS** are having the best of their time. They are utilising the situation to their great advantage. They are putting pressure on all concerned and gaining concessions after concessions. The government meekly succumbed to their pressure and hastily increased the prices of higher grade coal to the great satisfaction of coal monopolists who control and produce over 90 per cent high grade coal. Distribution of lower grade coal and soft coke has been decontrolled.

On the other hand, largescale retrenchment continues unabated in mines all over the country. For example, retrenchment of over 200 miners in the New Damagoria colliery in West Bengal, belonging to one of the biggest monopolist concerns of India, Chanchani group, spread to the adjacent mine—the Chaptoria colliery, a quarry. One-third of the total labour force has been served with the notice of retrenchment.

These two retrenchments took place within three months, April to June, 1964. The government even refused to send the dispute of the New Damagoria colliery to adjudication.

And all these retrenchments are being done in the name of alleged stagnation in the market. The strange thing is while the government denies of any overpro-

duction or stagnation in the coal market, it refuses to interfere in the devilish plot of mine owners.

Thousands of miners, many of whom have put in 20 to 30 years underground, are being thrown out of jobs on medical grounds. They are being labeled as "medically unfit". As there is neither pension nor gratuity scheme in the mines, these workers are served with 24 hours notices to leave their quarters with a few rupees in their pocket.

## Medical Dismissal

While the labour strength is thus being greatly reduced, the vacancies are not filled up. It is not true of the private sector alone. The Coal Workers' Union at Giridih in Bihar has served a strike notice on the National Coal Development Corporation against its policy of what is known as "medical dismissal". Five hundred workers were thrown out in this area in 1963 alone.

If maximum profit cannot be secured by reducing the labour strength, then the mine owners close down the mines. Or they make the underground condition so unsafe that the Department of Mines is compelled to order them to close the mines.

Three big mines, producing

high grade of coal, have been closed down in Asansol belt (West Bengal) alone during last few months. They are West Jamuria and Akhalpur collieries belonging to Surajmal Nagarmal and Begunia colliery belonging to Karam Chand Thaper. In each of this case the managements have flatly refused to pay more than three months salary to anyone.

It is the common practice in the mining areas to close down the mines for some months or years, drive the workers out of the mines who generally leave in search of jobs elsewhere, only to restart the mines later on with new hands who remain at the mercy of the owners. For years together they are kept as temporary and badli or substitute.

The Central Government Industrial Tribunal pointed out to this sordid affair in a mine named Khas Chhalpur belonging to Raja of Searsole, a Congressman, where when the mine was reopened after nearly two years, the old workers were evicted forcibly in the middle of night without a pie and new hands were put there. The Tribunal ordered reinstatement of old hands with back wages. The award was published in early 1963 and was raised in Parliament more than once. But until now the govern-

ment has not taken any steps to compel the management to implement the award.

All these are taking place when the Wage Board for the Coal Industry is considering the demands of the unions for higher wages, pension, gratuity, shorter working hours etc. There is a rumour of total deadlock in the Wage Board over the question of price rise and employers are demanding a clear assurance from the government that coal price would be increased to their satisfaction before they agree to any scheme to revise wages. No one knows how and when this impasse will be solved.

The trade union representatives are remaining silent and the Board is continuously touring all over India, perhaps in order to kill time. Since the setting up of the Wage Board in August 1962, oppression on miners has been intensified.

The position of miners in mines other than coal is even worse. Here too a Wage Board has been set up for workers of iron ore, dolomite and lime stone mines. And the Board has given an interim wage increase a few months back. Barring a few mines, most of the mines in the private sector have failed to implement it. The contractors who employ a very large number of miners in these mines have totally violated it. The contractors in the state owned mines are no better. Under pressure from employees the recommendation on interim relief was referred back to the Wage Board.

The unrest in the coal and non-coal mines is being sought to be crushed by gangsterism and mass scale victimisation. Where both fail to scare the workers, they rely on the police force, the Defence of India Rules and the Security Act. In Asansol coal belt in West Bengal alone, twenty-one leaders of local unions belonging to the ATTUC are in prison. Among them are general secretary, treasurer, office secretary and executive committee members of the Colliery Mazdur Sabha.

Far from withdrawing D.I. cases against the trade union leaders, who are in jail since November, 1962, the government is trying utmost to convict them and government prosecutors and employers' lawyers are openly working together in Asansol court. While their bail applications have been summarily rejected, colliery owners and officials, caught redhanded in underpaying miners, are given bail on the spot.

Only a few weeks back, director, manager and cashier of the Babulsole colliery near Durgapur were arrested by the sub-divisional officer, Asansol while they were paying less amount to workmen

than what was shown in the pay registers. Illiterate workers were forced to give their thumb impression on fictitious payment. The arrested men were given bail on the spot. The management retaliated by mass scale stoppage.

Besides the mine owners, the other groups which are having a boom time are gangsters and hoodlums at the pay of mine barons. While old skilled workers are being retrenched and union activists are being victimised, notorious gangsters are in great demand. There is a regular scramble among mine owners to recruit them. The local police who know all about it, do nothing.

## Gangsters Let Loose

These gangsters are used against the union leaders and utilised to recruit blacklegs and terrorise the miners. Murderous assaults on union leaders and attacks on workers have sharply increased.

On June 13, S. K. Sanyal, general secretary of the Samyukta Khadan Mazdoor Sangh was seriously beaten up at the Majri colliery on his way back home after a discussion with the manager of the colliery.

In the last week of May, the manager of the Selected Sankla, Asansol belt, opened fire on miners who went en masse to the office to protest against low payment and other malpractices. A reign of terror prevails in the colliery.

In the middle of May, armed hoodlums led by some senior officials of the New Damagoria colliery management, near Kulti (West Bengal) attacked the workers' quarters. The workers immediately reported the matter to the local police. Next day, the police instituted a case against leading members of the union. Not even enquiry was made into complaints lodged by the workers.

Amidst this gathering cloud, the shining feature is the firm determination of miners who are becoming more union-conscious and showing more zeal and courage to combat this offensive of mine owners backed by the government. There is a new urge for united action. Despite this oppression and terror and attacks and slanders by employers and reactionaries against the All India Trade Union Congress, more and more miners are joining its ranks, contributing money, defying all threats.

The miners have come to realise that future lies in action and united action. They only regret that the government which assured them of protection at the beginning of "EMERGENCY" have betrayed their pledge.

# Hyderabad Index Faulty TUs Demand A Probe

The inaccuracies in the consumer price index numbers in Hyderabad city have been recently brought to light by the trade unions in the city. They highlight glaring mistakes in the method of compilation of data.

The unions have requested the state government to appoint an expert committee to undertake a probe in this matter and recommend rectification in the index, on the lines of the action taken by Maharashtra and Gujarat governments in similar situations.

The decision to compile cost of living indices for industrial workers in former Hyderabad state was taken by the then government during 1942. Accordingly, family budget studies were undertaken for six important centres namely, Hyderabad city, Warrangal, Nanded, Aurangabad and Gulbarga during 1943-44.

Though the government collected data for 6,447 family budgets, only about 4,400 were finally analysed. No reason was given for not taking into consideration the remaining more than two thousand families. The Labour Bureau while pointing out the limitations of these enquiries stated, "full details of the enquiries are not available as these enquiries were utilised only to the extent of compiling the weights for the cost of living index numbers."

but in practice while collecting the data many deviations have taken place from the original specifications.

For instance, in case of rice which carried 14.78 per cent weight in the food group the original specifications mentioned collection of price data for Desi and Kichidi varieties of rice which was later on changed into rice only. Similarly, in case of commodities like wheat, vegetable, ghee, curd, instead of taking averages of all the commodities mentioned in the original specifications the state authorities quietly combined them and introduced one single item of consumption. On what basis this was done was never explained to the trade unions.

With regard to some food items the authorities in charge of compilation of index introduced inferior varieties which ultimately failed to reflect the comparative rise in the prices of these commodities.

In clothing group also inferior varieties of cloth were introduced on the plea that earlier varieties were not available in the market. But while substituting new varieties of clothing items proper care was not taken to introducing the same variety with the result that index for certain clothing items like pant, ganji, coat, shirt, shirt and cap during 1962 was actually lower than 100. While it is an established fact that prices

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# India And Possibility Of National Democracy

Q. Is peaceful transition to national democracy possible in India? (M. A. Ansari, Lucknow)

A. Fundamentally, the problem that has been posed does not differ from the broader one of the possibility of peaceful transition to socialism in the new epoch. The answer to it is also basically similar. Peaceful transition to national democracy is certainly a possibility in India today.

It has to be recalled here, for the benefit of the revisionists and dogmatists alike, that the question we are discussing is one of the forms of revolution that may become a reality as the Indian people surge forward to complete their unfinished national-democratic tasks.

The CPI, certainly, does not advocate the possibility of making the transition to national democracy without a revolution and a radical change in the class character and structure of the present Indian state.

The struggle to shift India from its present path of capitalist development to that of non-capitalist development is not a matter of some economic or trade union or peasant struggles.

It is, above all, a struggle to break the present monopoly rule of the bourgeoisie, which is in alliance with the landlords and which compromises with imperialism. The present ruling class and the present Indian state cannot carry to completion the national democratic tasks of the present phase of the Indian revolution.

The political role and weight of the working class and of the worker-peasant alliance has to undergo a qualitative increase and become the basis of a broad national-democratic front.

Differentiation in the bourgeoisie has to reach the stage of a break of the present political and economic alliance between the monopoly and non-monopoly sections.

The monopoly capitalists and the landlords as well as the imperialists have to be divested of their present enormous political and economic power.

## Production Relations

The masses under non-monopoly national bourgeois influences as well as their leaders have to be brought into the national democratic front.

In place of those relations of production which block the growth of productive forces—monopoly capita (Indian and foreign) and landlordism—other relations of production have to be developed and in some cases, brought into existence, the totality of which will make up the non-capitalist path of development.

Such a transformation of production relations and of class power, together with their mutual interaction, is nothing short of a revolution. This is the socio-economic class content of the changes India needs and the CPI

anti-imperialist forces that determine the main trend of world developments today. Previously, imperialist intervention played a major role enabling the reactionaries to impose a civil war on the people and compelling the latter to take to

## YOUR QUESTIONS ANSWERED

arms in order to advance the cause of revolution. Imperialist export of counter-revolution was one of the basic causes of the inevitability of civil war and non-peaceful transition. Today, as in the past, there is no question of the export of revolution, but the export of counter-revolution becomes increasingly difficult and even impossible.

The second factor making for the possibility of a peaceful transition in India is the broad united front which not only has to be built but also can be built for the implementation of the tasks of the national democratic revolution. The social base of revolution has widened and the social base of counter-revolution has narrowed considerably.

The Indian people have evolved new forms of mass struggle and action in the national movement. They have fought for and won a

The working class, the peasantry and the urban middle class are of course to be included in the national democratic front. This in itself is broader than the working class-poor peasant alliance which Lenin had postulated prior to the 1917 November revolution in tsarist Russia.

In addition, the non-monopoly national bourgeoisie, that is, a section of the present ruling class, is a component part of the front.

The imperialists, landlords and monopoly bourgeoisie are the enemies of

system of parliamentary democracy and civil rights. They have powerful mass organisations and a fairly developed party system, as well as the experience of three general elections and innumerable other forms of election.

None of all this is invulnerable and we must always reckon with the possibility of the flouting of democratic rights, as well as of the total subversion of the democratic system by the forces of right reaction.

Yet democracy has established itself in India and given opportunities for the revolutionary advance of the people in forms and at a tempo that was not available to the masses in China or tsarist Russia.

The fourth factor making peaceful transition possible in India is the fact that it is a nonaligned country, keeping free of military entanglements and bases of imperialism.

Nonalignment not only helps world peace and raises India's stature in the world but also provides a barrier to imperialist interference in our internal affairs. It helps the consolidation of democracy in the country and promotes the unity of the national-democratic forces.

All these factors together give us only the possibility of peaceful transition in India. The other possibility is also open.

To realise peaceful transition a great deal of work has to be done, above all by the CPI, to promote mass struggles, mass unity and to bring into being the national-democratic front.

—MOHIT SEN

## African Communist

THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST, Editor: Ellis Bowles, January-March and April-June 1964 issues, London. Price 1 s. 6 d.

THIS quarterly journal published by the South African Communist Party has been coming out for more than four years now and is one of the most important periodicals in the English language dealing with the continent of Africa.

Apart from regular features like very ably written Editorial Notes and Documents, reproducing important speeches or statements, the journal claims among its contributors P. Tiale, the South African economist, Henri Alleg, the famous editor of the Algiers daily Alger Republicain, Sol Dubula, the veteran Idris Cox of the Communist Party of Great Britain, Jack Woddis, J. W. Musole, K. Nkosi and others. No wonder the standard of the journal is uniformly high.

The January issue contains the extremely important article on "Sanctions Against Apartheid", in which, after giving the history of the recent developments in South Africa and the struggle at the United Nations against the apartheid regime, P. Tiale takes up the economics of the boycott movement and shows the stakes of Anglo-American imperialism in South Africa, and its conspiracy in the face of

gress in industry and agriculture.

A very important item published in the January issue is the statement by the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party on the struggle for the preservation of world Communist unity, in which that party takes its stand against the attempted disruption of the world Communist and progressive movements.

Similarly in its editorial comments on the recent Algiers meeting of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organisation, the journal has exposed in the sharpest possible manner the Chinese attack against the Soviet Union as "a certain outside force", and their misrepresentation of the latter as advocating "peaceful coexistence with imperialism", and "general and complete disarmament" (which means according to the Chinese "that the oppressed nations must forever suffer imperialist plunder and enslavement" and that they should "lay down their arms in their struggle against imperialism").

The journal comments: "No Communist, Soviet or otherwise, has ever, of course, advocated such puerile nonsense".

Invaluable material for all Communists and progressives interested in the problems of Africa.

—BAREN RAY



## BOOK REVIEW

titutes a centre of fabulously profitable capital investment for the imperialist monopolies. With British capital investment estimated at 1,100 million pounds and that of the USA at 700 million dollars, in 1960 the value of the production of manufactured goods (i.e. excluding mining products and services) by US direct-investment enterprises operating in South Africa alone amounted to 306 million dollars, although the total US exports to South Africa were not more than 200 million dollars.

In the April issue, Jack Woddis gives an exhaustive analysis of Ghana's changing economy, her Seven Year Plan and her pro-

Following is the text of the resolution on certain organisational steps adopted by the West Bengal State Council of the CPI in its meeting on July 12:

THIS meeting of the state council, convened by the Central Secretariat in accordance with the resolution of National Council adopted on June 14, notes that ever since the suspension of 32 members of the National Council, there has been no proper functioning of the Party apparatus in West Bengal.

Meetings of some members of the state council had been convened by the suspended secretary in contravention of the Party constitution, the National Council has been publicly disowned, the anti-Party statement of the 32 suspended members endorsed, and a centre challenging the authority of the National Council sought to be established.

The National Council correctly noted that any further delay in proper functioning of the Party in West Bengal as a loyal unit under the National Council would help to disintegrate and paralyse the Party in West Bengal and render it incapable of discharging its responsibilities to the people and carrying out the decisions of the National Council.

The National Council,

therefore, decided to convene a meeting of those members of West Bengal state council who accept the authority of the National Council to adopt organisational measures necessary for functioning as the state Party Centre.

Such a step, though long overdue, was delayed in order to win the active participation of all the members of the state council who have not yet taken a definite stand in this respect. But the reorganisation of the Party Centre can no longer be delayed because any further delay will keep the Party paralysed, both in relation to people's movement and in relation to the preparation for the Party congress.

This meeting is painfully conscious of the fact that at the present moment when the acute distress of the people calls for a strong and united Communist Party to fight for their cause, a section of the Party has split to form a rival organisation and to call rival party congress. The council even now hopes that they will recognise the harmful effect of their attitude, and respond to the call of the National Council which assures them a reasonable satisfaction of all legitimate disputes and full

## CPI National Council Resolution Implemented

# NEW STATE COUNCIL IN WEST BENGAL

freedom to conduct inner-Party struggle on ideological, political and organisational differences, once they return to the Party fold, dissolve or disassociate from rival organisations and abide by Party discipline.

Some comrades who are opposed to a split and who consider that a correct line can be evolved through a principled inner-Party struggle under Party discipline and democratic centralism, have not yet come forward to cooperate in functioning the Party in West Bengal under the National Council. The state council appeals to them to realise the gravity of the situation and to take their due share at all levels of Party organisation in functioning the Party according to normal Party forms, thereby strengthening the mass movements and also the forces of unity inside the Communist ranks. The state council

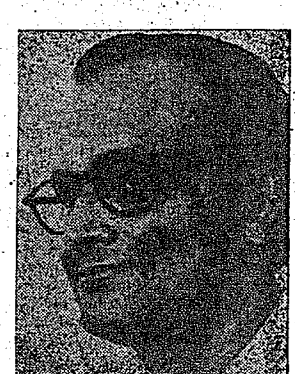
will make earnest efforts to secure this unity.

Thus keeping the door open to all those comrades who may not actually participate in the activity of the state council at this stage, the meeting of the state council resolves to set up a secretariat consisting of 9 members and directs it to discharge all its functions with full powers in terms of the provisions of the Party constitution as the secretariat of the West Bengal state council of the Communist Party of India. It is resolved that the secretariat be composed of the following comrades:

(1) Bhowani Sen, (2) Somnath Lahiri, (3) Biswanath Mukherjee, (4) Renu Chakravarty, (5) Indrajit Gupta, (6) Gopal Banerjee, (7) Sukumar Gupta, (8) Mohammed Elias and (9) Jadu Gopal Sen with Bhowani Sen as secretary.

including the rival party bodies in advancing the unity of mass organisations and it expects of the rival party bodies not to extend the split into the mass organisations but cooperate with the Party to preserve the unity thereof.

It appeals to the rank and file members of the mass organisations, such as, the trade



Bhowani Sen

The state council leaves the question of the formation of the executive committee of the council open till other comrades take their place in the state council. It further assures that when other comrades join, the state secretariat may also be suitably reorganised.

## Three Tasks

The state council takes upon itself the fulfilment of the three-fold tasks, namely, to carry forward the people's movements, to prepare for the Party congress and to achieve Party unity.

The state council calls upon the secretariat and the Party ranks to make ceaseless efforts to preserve and strengthen the unity of mass organisations and movements of workers, peasants, students and other sections of the democratic people.

It is definitely the opinion that Party differences must not be allowed to weaken the unity of mass organisations and the council solemnly declares that it would cooperate with all in-

unions, kisan sabhas etc., to preserve the unity of the organisation and see that the split in the Communist Party is not extended to them.

The state council feels sure that the masses of the people who have looked upon the Communist Party of India as a friend and an instrument for defending their interests will realise that this instrument loses its effectiveness if it allows indiscipline and disruption to sap its very foundation.

It is only after all efforts for reasonable conciliation have failed that the CPI has been compelled to take steps for organising the West Bengal Party Centre as the only disciplined and loyal instrument of its policies and activities.

It confidently hopes that the people will continue to support and strengthen this West Bengal state unit of the CPI and rally to the movements and struggles organised by it and thereby strengthen the cause of Communist unity itself.

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—GARUDA

## SPOTLIGHT

### ★ Jitters Over Jain Report ★ Fanning Communal Fires

Do his gurus feel complimented?

THIS brings me to the subject of Jan Sangh's communalism which is its birthmark and bane both. Touched by the quick by the Jain Committee Report, Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya has come out with a long apology protesting that the Sangh is innocent of communalism. "We are neither aggressively pro nor anti-Muslim", he has said. Again: "We have never preached hatred against any section of the people."

No one will be happier than me if the Jan Sangh General Secretary had declared: "We will never preach hatred against the Muslims". That, indeed, would be a comforting assurance worth attaching some value. But in the long piece that Upadhyaya has penned (*Organiser*, July 13) he has refrained from making any such commitment, which, I think, is significant. He avers only about the past which has little value because it is a palpable falsehood (excuse the blunt expression). An aggressive anti-Muslim slant is precisely what has distinguished Sangh propaganda. The latest, pointed out at the outset, is just one instance of it.

The Jan Sangh has inscribed the word "secular" on its banner (vide its Election Manifesto) and its constitution even admits Muslims to its membership. But the RSS is hundred per cent "Hindu" and avowedly anti-Muslim. Is it paradoxical then that the two speak through the same mouthpieces, that the *Organiser* and *Panchjanya* are chief propaganda organs of both the RSS and Jan Sangh? No paradox is involved, in

my opinion. A glance at the genealogical tree makes that clear. It is the RSS which fathered the Jan Sangh, and strictly controls the son against any prodigality. So there is common character and common language. No paradox here!

Let Deendayal Upadhyaya deny that his Jan Sangh is a chip of the old block. If he cannot, he must stand in the dock with the well-recognised culprit—the RSS.

In his apology, Upadhyaya has referred to articles published in the *NEW AGE* "in which the RSS has been painted as a big force poised to strike." The most recent piece of *NEW AGE* writings is the one which appeared last month in the monthly, viz. "RSS Indoctrination For Communal Riots". It has been hailed as a fully documented exposure of the criminally communalist nature of the organisation which brought up Upadhyaya.

There is no merit in the Sangh General Secretary cavilling at the writing without seriously attempting to refute it. His attempt to make out that the communalism of the RSS is but a plot of the Communists (last resort of all advocates of decrepit briefs) is equally futile. This effort of his to kick up dust is no doubt heroic but can it blind people to the fact that the RSS is an organisation which has always thrived by preaching hatred against the minority communities?

So far as Jan Sangh is concerned, it can try to establish its secular bona fides only after leaving the mother Kangaroo's pouch. Will that ever be possible for it?



# COUNTRYWIDE FOOD CAMPAIGN GATHERS MOMENTUM

## Satyagraha Decision To Curb Price-rise

From RAMESH SINHA

LUCKNOW: The Uttar Pradesh state council of the Communist Party has decided to launch satyagraha against rising prices and the grave food crisis that has developed in the state as a consequence of the unabashedly pro-hoarder and pro-profiteer policies of the state government run under the tutelage of the notorious Gupta clique.

THE satyagraha will begin on August 10 in front of the Council House in Lucknow. On that day the first batch of satyagrahis, who are being enrolled in thousands all over the state, will break the ban and court arrest. The batch will be led by a senior member of the Communist group in the Assembly.

The decision to launch the struggle was taken at the meeting of the state executive committee of the Party at Varanasi in the first week of July, after hearing detailed reports of the grim food situation in the state. The decision was subsequently confirmed by a meeting of 1,500 leading workers of the Party from eastern UP who had gathered at Varanasi for a two-day political camp.

Later, a delegation of the Party met the state Chief Minister at Lucknow on July 13 with the Party's resolution. During the talk it was obvious to the delegation that the government was hardly aware of the catastrophe threatening the state. Chief Minister Sucheta Kripalani frankly expressed her inability to take stringent measures against hoarders and black marketeers, who are responsible for at least 80 per cent of the present difficulties. She said she could not interfere in the "seller's market" as that would further aggravate the situation.

Her line was not to take any "repressive steps" against the free-booting traders, but to give them all possible facilities and inducements. The lifting of the levy on

rice was a part of this suicidal policy of complete surrender before food thieves and blackmarketees.

In fact, the Chief Minister plainly said that she did not mind if the prices charged for foodgrains were high provided the traders made the food available to those who could afford to buy it in the open market.

Thus it became clear that the government was feeling helpless before the peddlers of hunger and death who have more or less wholly seized hold of the food distribution machinery in the state.

Even the huge stocks that are being pumped into the state by the central government (and about its quantum the Chief Minister did not have any complaints except that sometimes they are late coming) are, in a considerable measure, being cornered and whisked away into their flourishing black market by these anti-social elements.

These traders are in league with the supply officers and the fair price shopkeepers and bag the bags of grain issued to fair price shopkeepers as soon as they are delivered to them at the supply office.

The result is that the distribution system of the government has more or less collapsed. For example, in the eastern districts of UP 70 to 80 per cent of the fair price shops have closed down. Those few that still remain open have no rations to issue, or such little rations that they do not suffice even for a fraction of the population dependent on those shops.

All this was pointed out to the Chief Minister. She was urged to take steps to deboard the secret (though really not so secret!) stocks of the profiteers. She was asked to constitute all-parties committees at every level to help the government in checking black-marketing and corruption. She was asked to fix the prices of the foodgrains in the open market at a par or near-par with the prices in the fair price shops. She was asked to require the food traders to declare their stocks.

In all these respects, the Chief Minister expressed her helplessness to do anything.

Meanwhile, the situation in the countryside as well as in the towns and the cities is rapidly deteriorating.

Incidents of looting of the mandis (as happened in Agra) and ration shops (as has happened in Deoria) are increasing. There are reports that food traders and officials in conspiracy with them have been caught and belaboured by hungry crowds.

### Force Against People

Though the government is extremely reluctant to send their police against the blackmarketees they have not hesitated to employ force against the people. Hundreds of persons have been arrested in Agra and elsewhere. In many of the ration shops also, which still exist, police have been posted to protect the shopkeepers!

There are reports from several areas in eastern UP where people have had nothing to eat for eight, ten or even more days. Crowds of hungry men and women are roaming the countryside. From everywhere, particularly from the vast eastern, central and hilly regions of the state, alarming news of starvation and imminent famine is pouring in.

Even in the border districts of Pauri, Tehri, Chamoli, Uttar Kashi, Pithoragarh etc., near famine conditions have been created and the black shadows of hunger and death are hovering over these sensitive areas.

From Chazipur news has come that thousands of families of jawans, who are out on the front, are starving along with rest of the people in the villages.

The situation is so critical that even Congressmen have made urgent appeals to the government to take "military" measures to tackle the crisis. A number of city and district Congress committees like those of Deoria, Gorakhpur, Dehra Dun, Kanpur and Lucknow, have passed resolutions to draw attention of the government to what the people are facing.

Congress leaders like Agurai Shastri and Tarakeswar Pande have been outspoken in demanding firm government action to curb the prices and give food to the people.

At Varanasi the state executive of the CPI had not fixed the date for the beginning of satyagraha. However, after hearing the report of the meeting of Party representatives—Z. A. Ahmed, Bharkhande Rai, Ramesh Sinha, Chandrajeev Yadav and Chhangur Ram—with the Chief Minister, the secretary felt that to wait any longer would

## GENERAL STRIKE PLANNED IN KERALA

From S. SHARMA

TRIVANDRUM: The Kerala State Council of the Communist Party of India which met at Trichur last week has extended full support to the projected one-day general strike and hartal on July 31, called jointly by the state centres of ATTUC, HMS and UTUC against rising prices.

THE council called upon all parties, mass organisations and democrats to back the call of the trade unions for the July 31 strike and hartal. The Council directed all Party members and units to concentrate their efforts to make the proposed general strike and hartal a complete success.

The Council decided that the agitation against price rise should be further intensified and carried forward after the July 31 strike and it resolved to take steps to approach other parties to build up an all-party movement and united action to force the government to take effective steps to curb the prices.

The State Council discussed in detail the measures so far taken by the state and central governments to check price rise and to distribute more quantities of rice to card holders from the fair price shops for a short period, till the end of Onam festival. The Council was of the unanimous view that while these measures were welcome, they however did not go to the root of the problem or afford permanent relief to the people.

be to play with the lives of millions of the states' people.

Hence, on July 14 it decided to launch the satyagraha struggle from August 10.

After a week of satyagraha in the capital, the fight will be taken to the districts and then satyagraha and surrounding of the stocks of the hoarders will begin all over the state.

The Party has given a call to its members and friends to constitute, in cooperation with all honest elements, people's vigilance committees at all levels to catch blackmarketees and corrupt officials and bring them to book.

The Party has also given a call for immediate collection of an emergency Party fund of Rs. 10,000 for this struggle.

### United Action

It has further written to the other democratic parties in the state to make the struggle for food and reasonable prices the common struggle of all by joining in it.

It has appealed to Congressmen also to join in the people's committees which the Party is constituting at all levels. It has appealed to them to render help to this struggle so that the government may be persuaded to take the urgently needed steps for meeting the unprecedented crisis which threatens to disrupt all our economy and life.

The impact of the Party's decision to launch the struggle in the

"We feel that unless the government control the price and other essential commodities and take over the wholesale trade of such commodities, it will not be possible for them to hold the price line".

### Govt. Must Take Over

Among the demands put forth by the three trade union centres in their joint appeal are also control of price of rice while guaranteeing a fair price to the peasant, reduction by 25 per cent in the prices of all other essential commodities and linking DA with consumer price index and correction of mistakes in the compilation of indices.

Meanwhile, meetings and demonstrations are being held in all the districts to demand immediate effective action by government to check the price rise and also to mobilise workers and other sections of people for the July 31 strike and hartal.

A meeting under the joint auspices of the Communist Party and trade unions held in Cherai on July 12 condemned the enormous increase in the prices of all essential commodities and called upon the government to introduce state trading. After the meeting, a torch light procession was taken out.

Another meeting was held in Cochin under the auspices of the Communist Party to protest against the present price situation in the state. In Pappinisseri, a joint meeting of trade unions in the area discussed steps to make the general strike successful and decided to call workers' bodies and serve strike notices on the management.

### Widespread Agitation

A public meeting was held in Payyannur under the auspices of the Communist Party and the government's apathy in the face of runaway prices criticised by speakers. The meeting was preceded by a demonstration in the town. The toddy tappers of Meenachil taluk organised under the ATTUC in their annual general meeting held in Palai endorsed the call for general strike on July 31 against price increase and decided to take part in the joint action.

A special meeting of the state's Young Socialist League has decided to hold demonstrations in district centres on August 9 against soaring prices of essential commodities.

In Karunagapalli, a mass satyagraha in which about hundred people joined was held under the auspices of the Communist Party before the tahsildar's office on July 18. Also a memorandum was given to the tahsildar demanding government action to hold prices and measures to remove anomalies in the distribution of rice and sugar from the fair price shops.

Similar meetings and demonstrations have taken place in many other centres drawing ever larger sections of people into the campaign against rising prices.

## Government Inactive Food Racket Is On

From KASHI PURBEY

MADHUBANI: The Madhubani sub-division in the district of Darbhanga (Bihar) is facing a serious food crisis and there is an acute shortage of foodgrains in the markets.

FOOD prices have shot up beyond the reach of common people. Medium quality rice is sold at one rupee per seer and poor people are living practically on sweet potatoes and similar edible stuffs.

The local unit of the CPI, organised a big demonstration a few days back against the rise of prices of foodgrains. The meeting demanded immediate action by the government to curb the activities of profiteers and blackmarketees which have led to such scarcity and rise in prices.

The INDIAN NATION on July 15 has come out sharply against the inactivity of the government in controlling rise in prices. Under the heading Government Inactive, it writes: "No efforts are being made to stabilise prices... The official machinery is not active..."

### High Prices

According to the paper even sweet potatoes are being sold at five seers per rupee.

The local unit of the Communist Party has

come forward in checking blackmarket practices. Its volunteers kept vigil over a local flour mill and helped people to get 'atta' at controlled price. The local supply inspectors appointed by the government did not cooperate with the volunteers.

The callousness of the supply department is apparent from the way its officers are behaving. A consignment of wheat had arrived at Madhubani from the Shaharsa central godown some time back. No arrangement was made for taking its delivery and the government had to pay Rs. 3,000 as demurrage to the railways.

The CPI has demanded an inquiry into this affair.

## WEST BENGAL STATE COUNCIL CHALKS OUT MOVEMENT ON FOOD

CALCUTTA: The West Bengal state council of the Communist Party of India has decided to launch a statewide mass movement for bringing down prices of food articles and to make them available to the people.

THE council, at its meeting on July 12, directed the newly elected secretariat to prepare for a state food convention, to establish contacts with the Left parties and progressive individuals for a joint movement and to help Party units to organise mass rallies and demonstrations.

The council enjoined all Party members and units to organise immediately food rallies, food committees and volunteer forces for effective intervention in the market. It invited all pan-

chayats and municipalities to take effective steps in this direction.

The council has put forward a seven-point demands charter on food:

- ★ Introduction of partial food rationing all over the state and immediate substantial increase in the quantity of rice ration in Calcutta and other districts.

- ★ Stern measures against hoarders of foodstuffs.

- ★ Supply of all essential goods at reasonable prices in factory areas and villages through fair price shops.

- ★ Firm support to the consumer cooperative stores to be set up in all parts of the country.

- ★ Cleaning up of the administration, particularly the food department.

- ★ Advancing adequate loans to peasants and extending relief to poor peasants and agricultural workers.

- ★ Reduction of ration price to make them bearable by the common people.

In a resolution adopted on the food situation the council said that though the introduction of partial rationing in Greater Calcutta provided some limited relief to the people, the situation has again started deteriorating.

Neither the consumers nor the retailers are sure of obtaining supplies at controlled rates despite the government's repeated assurances in this respect.

In the rural areas, the situation continues to remain unchanged because the government has not yet taken any practical steps to introduce even partial rationing though a belated promise has been made to do so.

### Right To Adulterate

The situation with respect to fish and mustard oil has deteriorated still further. Supply of fish is deliberately restricted by the black trade; adulteration of mustard oil has become a serious menace to life while the millowners claim their right to adulterate unless the price is raised still further.

Though a promise has been made for the introduction of state trading in foodgrains, it is reserved for the occasion of the next harvest, thereby making no change in the present grave situation.

The resolution demanded firm measures to regulate the market and stringent action against hoarders and profiteers. It also demanded nationalisation of banks and introduction of state trading in foodgrains.

## TRIPURA FACES GRAVE FOOD PROBLEM

From AJAY RAY

AGARTALA: While the deepening food crisis and soaring prices in West Bengal, Bihar, Kerala and other places has received wide notice in the press and elsewhere, the grave food problem of Tripura, a landlocked state surrounded by Pakistan on three sides, has tended to slip unnoticed.

THE food situation in the state has become so worse that the people recently observed a complete hartal in protest against the ever-rising prices and scarcity of daily necessities of life.

The whole of the hill areas in the state is famine-stricken, especially the Amarpur, Dharnagar, Kailsahar, Khowai, Belonia and Subroom subdivisions.

In other subdivisions also the soaring prices have sent essential articles like rice beyond reach of common people.

In the hill areas, tribal people are dying out of starvation according to reports reaching here. Epidemics are also taking toll of human lives.

Manu Valley, Jampol Hills and Raina Sarma Valley are some of the worst hit by famine. While touring these areas this correspondent came across many tribals who were mere skeletons and skins, miserably waiting for death to end their pathetic existence.

Recently at a meeting at Kumarghat tribal lea-

ders vehemently attacked the government's food policy. They accused that the government was not opening fair price shops in remote hill areas.

One tribal leader of Kanchannur told me that even ration rice is being sold at higher prices than fixed by the government, and that too in the presence of government officials.

The ruling party is watching this ghastly situation helplessly. No action to arrest the rising prices or meet the scarcity condition has been taken by the government.

Growing discontent among the people has had no effect on the government, to put the matter charitably. The official complacency has only added to the grimness of the situation.

How complacent can the government grow is shown by the fact that the Food Minister is currently away in Kashmir, attending a tourist conference. He wants to make Tripura a tourist centre!

Probably, he is thinking of making the bodies of people starved to death

one of the biggest tourist attraction in the country!

It is not the fault of the Food Minister alone. The tussle in the Ministry has resulted in the Ministers blaming each other for the deteriorating food situation in the state.

Not only has the government not taken any action to redeem the food situation, it has launched an offensive against the people who are agitating for food.

In Ampi, Communist MIA Bhulu Koki was arrested because he started a campaign against high prices and scarcity of foodstuff.

The government's answer to the hartal, organised by the Communist Party in cooperation with all democratic institutions, was to arrest Agore Deb Barma, leader of the Opposition in the Tripura Assembly.

But the repressive measures of the government are not going to keep the people in check, for empty stomachs do not heed bullets and bayonets.

The agitation of the people of Tripura for food is gaining momentum as days pass by. They are also demanding release of their leaders who are kept in detention, including Communist MPs, Dasarath Deb and Biren Dutta.

# MASS PROTEST GROWS



# SPARK THAT LIT UP A CONTINENT

## 26TH JULY—AN ABIDING INSPIRATION

By Zia-ul Haq

Eleven years ago when July 26 was a Sunday like it is this year and the cold war was at its height and McCarthyism and reaction were rampant, the perspectives of the world progressive movement were still clouded in a twilight haze, quivering between the dead past and the unborn future, an event occurred in the far-off sprawling Caribbean island of Cuba which at that time passed almost unnoticed in the rest of the world. A handful of young men, along with two women who were equally crazy, committed the "foolhardiness" of launching an attack on the military barracks at Moncada, at the outskirts of the eastern province's capital of Santiago de Cuba.



Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, Minister-President of INRA, National Institute for Agrarian Reform, in deep conversation with Fidel Castro.

THE assault was a dismal failure. Although only three of the 165 men were killed in actual fighting, a good number of them were seized and subjected to the most brutal tortures and murdered in cold blood. A few of them managed to make good their escape but even these could not hold out for very long and were soon prisoners. Among them was the leader of the daredevil enterprise, Fidel Castro, who escaped instantaneous

death only through the connivance of his captor, Lieutenant Sarria, that poor man getting the sack for that serious lapse of duty, charged with "lack of cooperation"—that is, not allowing Fidel to be killed on the spot.

That insignificant event of almost infinitesimal magnitude at that time in comparison with things then happening around the world grew into significance with the passage of months, till

a bare six years later it had become "the hope of a hemisphere" and an inspiration all over the world.

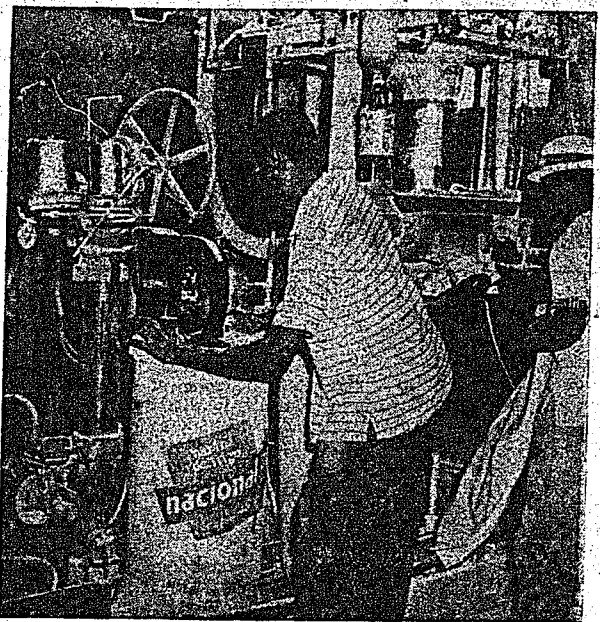
Visiting early this year that central scene of the action that gave birth to the 26th July Movement the present writer found there the "Ciudad Escolar 26 de Julio", an educational campus of considerable size, with a student population of 7,000 going through the primary and secondary stages of learning. The whole "Ciudad", what had once been the grim and bloody Fort Moncada, was humming with life, with groups of teen-agers strolling all over, carefree and zestful.

Some of the walls still carried the bullet marks, and down in the basement where the school's text-books store was functioning one was reminded that this used to be the torture chamber, which had seen Fidel Castro's closest comrades murdered with indescribable brutality. It is today a place of serene calm and utter repose, symbolising the great transformation.

Santiago de Cuba where 26th July is traditionally the carnival season is the cradle of the Cuban Revolution. The apostle of Cuban freedom, Jose Marti, lies buried in its soil and around here Fidel Castro was born and started his revolutionary life.

Here on October 16, 1953, before the so-called Emergency Tribunal, Fidel turned the tables upon the tyrannical Batista regime. His defence plea, History Will Absolve Me, clandestinely circulated all over the island, inspired the Cubans to rise up against their terrible lot. It gave them new insight and faith, amidst the gloom that had engulfed the land following Batista's seizure of power and destruction of the constitutional regime that had till then existed.

The dictatorship became more despotic, corrupt and murderous with the passage of time. During the five years, five months and four days



Inside a Cuban sugar mill.

that elapsed between the assault of the Moncada and the entry of the Rebel Army into Havana, it is calculated that 19,000 Cubans were murdered by Batista and tens of thousands fled into exile.

The spark of 26th July has now become the beacon light of all Latin America, the first socialist state of the western hemisphere which has stood the assaults of North American imperialists with courage and wisdom and forbearance. Fidel Castro's latest interview to New York Times, carried by the Times of India on July 11, has shown once again

how realistic and principled, firm and flexible the Cuban revolutionaries are.

The US imperialists dare not accept Fidel Castro's offer to normalise US-Cuba relations just because it is the example of Cuba that they are afraid of; it is not any threat of aggression or subversion that they keep shouting about. It is Cuba's firm resolve to pursue the path of peaceful socialist construction and show results that has become the nightmare of the yankees and victory will be theirs however much the gringos squirm and squeak.

## THE PRISON BARS DID MELT



DAVID ALFARO SIQUEIROS, the great mural painter, Member of the Central Committee of the Mexican Communist Party, unjustly imprisoned since 1960 was released on July 14 by special amnesty. He hopes to visit India again in the near future, he declared on release.

Czechoslovakia is one of the countries in the world where the proportion of expenditure on social security in the national income is one of the highest.

It covers widest sections of people: old people, widows, invalids, disabled, orphans, and so on. It extends to co-operative farmers too. In addition, a new range of people i.e., the former private farmers and workers who were not entitled to any pensions earlier, have been brought within the purview of the social security scheme. In 1963, about 6.5 million people were beneficiaries of social security.

In 1949, the average old-age pension for all groups of employees was 379 crowns (1.5 crowns=1 rupee) per month and in 1962 it increased to 710 crowns per month. It was further increased in 1963.

In 1962, the average old-age pension for employees in the third category was 805 crowns, in the second category 1,466 crowns and in the first category 1,804 crowns.

In 1963, expenditure on all pensions amounted to 13,800 million crowns and if state expenditure on other forms of care for the aged and disabled is added to it, the amount will exceed 15,000 million crowns. In 1964, the state has allocated a total of 16,000 million

crowns for pensions though all kinds of pensions taken together will be about 14,700 million crowns, which is three-and-a-half times more than before the Second World War.

The above figures prove that the value of social services has already reached a very high point in Czechoslovakia and if other urgent needs have to be met, then expenditure on social services cannot go on increasing. It is with this view that the Czechoslovak government has

## Socialist World

recast the social security system. A redistribution of the available funds has now been made to ensure fairer shares for the persons with lower income without reducing the total budget on this account. According to the new arrangement, from July 1, at least 1.5 lakh of low pensions have been raised. The funds

# Social Security In Czechoslovakia

for raising these low pensions and for other measures have been found by taxing the middle and high pension groups.

All pensions from 700 crowns upward are now liable for taxation. The rate has been set according

In addition, the period of employment necessary for claiming a full retirement pension has been raised from 20 to 25 years and this would include periods of strike, lockouts, persecution on political grounds and uninsured employment under the old capitalist regime and during the Nazi occupation.

The retirement age limit for women has been differentiated according to the number of children. Till now the general retirement age for women was 55, but under the present system, a childless woman will retire at the age of 57, with one child—56 years, with two children—55 years, with three or four children—53 years. There are other benefits on special reasons, such as looking after children up to the age of 3 years etc.

From April 11 this year, substantial changes have also been made in the ma-

ternity benefit regulations. Paid maternity leave has been extended for all employed women from 18 to 22 weeks. Mothers who give birth to twins or more children will get eight months' paid leave. The paid leave period in the case of first-time mother will be 26 weeks.

Moreover, every employed mother is now entitled to extend her maternity leave until her child reaches the age of one year, though this additional leave will be without pay.

Also under the new system, maternity benefits for the first 18 weeks will be paid according to the existing rate i.e., 90 per cent of the earnings, while for the remaining period, it will vary between 60 to 40 per cent according to the number of children.

—Sadhan Mukherjee

## Bridges Of Amity

### Barauni

### On Stream

ON July 15 the first phase of the construction of the Barauni refinery was over and its atmospheric vacuum unit for distillation and refining of crude oil went into operation. And with this achievement, a new chapter has been added to our national oil enterprise.

The present capacity of the Barauni refinery is one million tons and its products per day now will be worth Rs. 2 lakhs. When fully commissioned, it will turn out products valued at Rs. 25 crores per year.

After the second stage of the refinery is complete, which is expected within a few months, the refining capacity will go up by another million tons. Then will follow the completion of the third stage making Barauni the largest refinery in the public sector. The refinery is being built with Soviet cooperation and will be a big step forward in India's independent oil industry.

### New Furnace At Bhilai

ON July 6 an agreement was signed in New Delhi between the governments of India and Soviet Union for further expansion of the Bhilai Steel Works. Under this new Soviet assistance, a sixth blast furnace complex will be set up at Bhilai.

Bhilai till now is the most paying steel unit of the public sector: its gross profits for 1963-64 exceeded Rs. 117 million. The quality of products has improved and simultaneously the cost of produc-

tion has come down by 4.8 per cent.

### Czech Equipment For Hatia

THE foreign trade corporation of Czechoslovakia, TECHNOEXPORT, has already despatched to our country about 1.5 lakh tons of metallurgical equipment which will be used at Hatia, our biggest metallurgical plant. More equipment are coming for this plant from Czechoslovakia.

TECHNOEXPORT has also signed an agreement recently with our country on so-called invisible exports. Under this contract, our country will receive from Czechoslovakia planning advice, technical aid and special services needed for the machine tool industry. The new contract is worth Rs. 4 crores.

### Indian Paintings In GDR

DELIGHTFUL paintings by Indian children are among the 400 prize-winning paintings and drawings now on exhibition in Berlin. They have been chosen from a total of 20,000 entries from 41 countries in response to an international children's paintings competition jointly sponsored by the GDR League For Friendship Among The Peoples and the GDR Commission for UNESCO work.

After the Berlin exhibition, the paintings and drawings will be shown in other GDR towns and cities.

## Southern Rhodesia And India

Decisive and demonstrative steps by India in support of the Southern Rhodesian freedom movement are urgently necessary to wipe out the disgraceful performance by T. T. Krishnamachari in London. Despite all his later "explanations", the Finance Minister's statement that India's policy on Southern Rhodesia is not "out of alignment" with the British Government's, still stinks in the nostrils of every Afro-Asian anti-imperialist, and particularly the Southern Rhodesian freedom fighters themselves.

IT was good that I. G. SILUNDIKA, representative of Joshua Nkomo's Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) met Indira Gandhi in London and acquainted her with the real situation in Southern Rhodesia. He has told the press of ZAPU's satisfaction with the discussions, during which an assurance was given of India's full support for the freedom movement.

Silundika has also told the press in East Africa that he and his colleagues of ZAPU, who met the Indian Ministers in London, raised the question of the closure of the Indian Commission's office in Salisbury. The Hindustan Times correspondent in Nairobi, reporting what Silundika told the press, says:

"The ZAPU leaders described the old Indian argument that the Indian mission (in Salisbury) is accredited to London as 'a technical dodge which does not take account of the political realities'. Mr. Silundika said 'the Indian mission has all its dealings with the Southern Rhodesian government...' (Hindustan Times, July 16)

Three weeks ago, NEW AGE wrote in this column, urging the breaking off of diplomatic relations with the racist Southern Rhodesian government and the closing down of the mission in Salisbury. It is unfortunate that the Ministry of External Affairs failed to respond to this suggestion before the Commonwealth Conference.

If at least there is a positive response now to the request made directly by ZAPU to the Indian Ministers and if the office in Salisbury is closed, it would certainly help in restoring the brightness to the image of India, which TTK and Co. darkened so miserably at the Commonwealth Conference.

## Solidarity With S. Africa

THE birth of the Indian Campaign for Release of South African Political Prisoners will be warmly welcomed by all opponents of apartheid. The Governing Body of the Campaign is headed by Dr. V.K.R.V. Rao, the

well-known economist and member of the Planning Commission, and includes a large number of leading personalities, MPs and leaders of the Peace and Afro-Asian Solidarity movements.

Broad Reception Committees are being formed in nearly all the States to receive the two world-famous leaders of the South African freedom movement—YUSUF DADOO and J. B. MARKS—who will tour the country, as guests of the Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity, during September this year.

A fund is also being opened with a view to assist the African National Congress to open and run an office in India.

The movement of solidarity with the South African liberation movement has been launched. Cables were sent by the Release Campaign and by the All India Peace Council to the Commonwealth Conference, demanding economic boycott and an arms embargo to bring the Verwoerd regime to heel. Solidarity meetings have been held in different states.

The movement will be successful in the measure that it brings before the Indian people the truth regarding the reason for the continued and brazen defiance of world public opinion by the racist gangster government of South Africa. And that reason is the support which the South African government receives in goods, capital and arms from certain governments, and above all from the USA and Great Britain.

(July 18)



Members of the National Leadership of the United Party of the Socialist Revolution of Cuba (PURSC) study the performance of Soviet cane harvesting machines. Seen in the picture are Premier Castro, President Dorticos, INRA President Carlos Rafael and HOY editor Blas Roca.



# TOWARDS WORLD FORUM OF YOUTH AND STUDENTS

A World Forum of Solidarity of Youth and Students in the Fight for National Independence and Liberation, for Peace will be held in Moscow from September 16 to 23.

THE Forum will be devoted to the promotion of solidarity and unity of action of youth and students of all countries in the struggle for liquidation of the remnants of colonialism, for national liberation and strengthening of national independence, for speedy economic, social and cultural progress of the newly-liberated countries, for democracy and lasting peace.

The decision to hold the Forum was taken at a meeting in Moscow in April last. This meeting was attended by representatives of 103 youth and student organisations from 62 countries of Asia, Africa, America and Europe.

Delegations from the World Federation of Democratic Youth, the International Union of Students and some regional organisations also participated in this meeting. An international preparatory committee for the Forum was elected by the meeting, which has since then sent out invitations to youth and student organisations all over the world.

The meeting also worked out and approved resolutions on the programme and agenda of the Forum and issued an appeal to the youth and students of the world and their organisations and to statesmen and public figures to give support to the Forum.

Discussions at the Forum will centre on five themes:

★ Youth and students in the fight for national liberation, for winning and consolidating political and economic independ-

ence, and against colonialism, neo-colonialism, imperialism and racial discrimination. Diversity of forms and methods of attaining national independence, experience of the fight against colonialism, neocolonialism and imperialism in various conditions. Joint fight of all progressive forces in the world (socialist countries, national liberation movement, working people and democratic forces in capitalist countries) for national independence and liberation, for peace, democracy and progress, against reaction and imperialism.

★ Problems of economic independence and national reconstruction, the role of youth and students in economic, social, agrarian reforms and industrialisation. The struggle against neo-colonialism, domination of foreign monopolies, all forms of economic expansion by imperialism and against vestiges of feudalism. Economic aid and cooperation in economic development. Cooperation of the youth in economically developed countries with the youth of developing nations in the cause of national reconstruction.

★ The role of youth and students in the development of political consciousness of the masses; the role of youth and students in revival and development of national culture, elimination of illiteracy, training of national personnel. International cooperation in the field of training of personnel for developing countries. The struggle against vestiges of colonial past in the field of culture and education, and ag-

ainst penetration and imposition of ideology of imperialism.

★ The contribution of national liberation movement to universal fight for peace; economic and political aspects of international detente, peaceful coexistence of nations with different systems; total and general disarmament, total banning of nuclear tests, prohibition of proliferation of atomic weapons, creation of atom-free zones in connection with the national liberation struggle.

★ Consolidation of unity of action and solidarity of youth and students of the world in the fight for national independence, liberation and peace, against colonialism, neocolonialism and imperialism. Concrete measures to strengthen solidarity and intensify moral and material aid to peoples fighting for liberation and national independence.

Preparations for the Forum have now entered a new stage. The youth and student organisations in various countries are studying the resolutions of the constituent meeting and discussing the practical side of participation in the Forum. Support to the Forum has come

forth from many lands and many youth and student organisations. Some of the organisations which have declared support are:

The Gambian Young People's Educational and Cultural Union, the APC youth section of Sierra Leone, the Ceylon National Union of Students, the Iraqi Federation of Democratic Youth, the Democratic Youth of Portugal, the Somali Youth Union, the General Union of Students of Africa under Portuguese Colonial Rule, the United Democratic Youth Organisation of Cyprus, the National Union of Students of Cameroon, the Federación de Centros Universitarios of Venezuela, the Federazione Giovanile Socialista, Partito Socialista Italiano, the Union Nationale des Etudiants de Lebanon, the Union Nationale des Etudiants of France.

The Union of Students of West Africa, of which Kwame Nkrumah and Jomo Kenyatta were once members, has in a letter to the preparatory committee declared that the Forum will be "an important landmark in the consolidation of the international youth movement."

From India, the All India Youth Federation and the All India Students' Federation will send delegates to the Forum. It is expected that the Youth Congress will send some delegates to it, too. Plans are also being made to hold a National Forum in India in early September.

The Soviet youth is also prepar-

ing for the Forum. A Soviet preparatory committee has been formed and youth all over the country are enthusiastically supporting the Forum.

A Forum Assistance Committee has been formed, the members of which include M. P. Georgieva, secretary of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, A. I. Adjubei, editor-in-chief of the IZVESTIA, cosmonauts U. A. Gagarin and Valentina Tereshkova, writer M. A. Sholokov, composer D. D. Shostakovich and poet Mirzo Turzunzade.

The Soviet government will issue a postage stamp dedicated to the friendship and unity of the young generation of the earth, to mark the Forum.

Despite such world-wide support for the Forum and its aims, one country has been obstinately keeping out of it and slandering it. And that country is none other than People's Republic of China.

This self-imposed isolation of China from the joint effort of the world youth to reach common understanding about the tasks in the fight against colonialism and for peace has evoked considerable resentment among the youth of the world.

China did not participate in the April meeting which drew up the plans for the Forum nor has she sent anybody to work in the international preparatory committee, though a seat has been kept vacant for the Chinese delegate.

## CPSU LETTER TO CPC

\*FROM PAGE SEVEN

Chinese leaders and will prove the correctness and vitality of the Leninist line of the Communist movement.

In its letter, the CPC Central Committee touches upon certain points of its ideological and political differences with the CPSU and other Marxist-Leninist Parties. Our Party has repeatedly set forth its stand on these points. We, therefore, do not find it necessary to return to them again in this letter, especially as your letter contains nothing new. For a long time, you have subsisted on outright abuse and on sticking labels, substituting this for an honest discussion of questions on which the CPC Central Committee has its own special opinion.

Do you seriously hope to find simpletons who would believe such slanders? The real purport of your assertions is that you want to delude the masses of China, set them against the Soviet people, who are the friend and brother of the Chinese workers and peasants. Evidently, you do not even notice the extent to which the letter of the CPC Central Committee of May 7 is permeated with the ideology of the personality cult. Your demonstrative disregard of the will of the fraternal Parties, your undisguised attempt to avoid a collective discussion of the problems that have arisen and your methods of conducting polemics by piling up all sorts of political insinuations and the most fantastic accusations, your intolerance and bitterness with regard to comrades-in-struggle bear the indelible imprint of personality cult practices.

The seminar on education has thus become timely and should provide immense benefit both to student movement as well as the educationists who will be associated with the commission's work. Invitations have been sent to prominent educationists, teachers and leaders of student movement to participate in the seminar. It is expected that Dr. Kothari himself would be able to participate in it.

NEW AGE

The extent to which manifestations of a split in the Communist movement, in the socialist camp, bring joy to the imperialists is seen by their attempts to find some way of effecting a rapprochement with those who are causing this split. Have the CPC leaders paid attention to the fact that today when Chinese propaganda is shouting loudest of all about "revolution" and "struggle against imperialism," the ruling circles of these powers are displaying special readiness to establish closer relations with Peking?

Today, it is becoming increasingly clear to Marxist-Leninists throughout the world that "leftist" phrases on the lips of the CPC leaders mean nothing but a screen for great-power designs and claims to hegemony, which manifest themselves with growing clarity in their practical actions in the world and in the Communist movement. We should like to warn you, comrades, that the road you are taking is extremely dangerous, that you are gambling with the destiny of the people of China and with their revolutionary gains.

## FRIENDSHIP FOR CHINESE PEOPLE

You are trying to portray criticism of your anti-Leninist views and stand as an "anti-Chinese campaign". You know perfectly well that in all of our Party's documents special emphasis is laid on the heartfelt friendship of Soviet communists for the Chinese people, to whom we have rendered aid and are prepared to continue to render the utmost aid in the building of socialism. The CPSU Central Committee is not engaged in stirring up among our people distrust and hostility towards China, towards its great people and towards the peoples of other countries.

We reaffirm our stand with regard to the need for convening a world meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties as a reliable and tested method of securing the unity of Marxist-Leninist Parties.

We suggest that in the immediate future we should agree in principle that a meeting must be convened and that it should not be put off for long, and that agree-

ment on its specific date as well as on its agenda and composition should be reached through further consultations with the fraternal Parties.

The CPSU Central Committee considers that at the present stage the main effort should be concentrated on holding a preparatory conference. We reiterate our proposal that a preparatory conference should be convened and attended by representatives of the 26 Parties nominated by the World Meeting of Communist Parties as members of the drafting commission in 1960 and representing the interests of communists in all the main regions of the world. We consider it necessary to reach agreement with the fraternal Parties on the specific date of such a conference in the immediate future.

As before, the CPSU Central Committee expresses its readiness to hold a bilateral meeting of representatives of the CPSU and CPC on any agreed date. This question can be decided at any time by agreement between the CPSU and CPC.

A collective examination of problems of the Communist movement is at present the only true method recognised by all Communist Parties. Therefore, no Party can, without breaking with internationalism, hinder the convocation of the meeting or unilaterally dictate terms under which such a meeting must be held. All Parties are equal and, on the basis of the democratic principles proclaimed in the Declaration and Statement, jointly decide questions concerning our entire movement.

In conclusion, the CPSU Central Committee considers it necessary to emphasise that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will firmly continue to follow the Leninist line laid down for it by the 20th and 22nd Congresses and consistently implement the general line of the world Communist movement as set forth in the 1957 Declaration and 1960 Statement.

The CPSU Central Committee should like to hope that the CPC Central Committee studies the proposals made in this letter with all seriousness, once again weighs all the possible consequences of the stand taken by it and, on its part, takes steps that would lead to unity with all Marxist-Leninist Parties rather than to a split.

JULY 26, 1964



Indrajit Gupta speaking at the INDOXCO workers' conference.

## AIBEA Ban On Overtime Work

The All-India Bank Employees' Association (AIBEA) has decided to "ban" overtime work in all banks. This is intended to step up pressure for a general wage increase by 20 per cent, improvement in the increment rates, P.F. deduction on full salary and abolition of Area Four.

THE "ban" will be observed by the AIBEA members from July 26, it is learnt. If the "ban" materialises, which is most likely considering the influence of the Association, it will lead to serious dislocation in banking operations since most of the banks do require the overtime work by most of the staff to cope up with the volume of business.

The non-cooperation movement by the AIBEA is also intended to press the authorities not to extend the life of the Desal Award which expires towards the end of this month. Further wage revisions can be bargained only after the validity of the Desal Award expires.—(IPA).

## SOUTH BRITISH CO. STRIKE CALLED OFF

The 25-day old strike of the employees of the South British Insurance Co. Ltd., Bombay, reported earlier in NEW AGE, has been called off following a settlement of the dispute between the company and the union.

THE employees of this company had resorted to indefinite strike on June 22 against victimisation of active trade union workers. The agreement arrived at between the company and the General Insurance Employees' Union provides for reference of the main dispute to adjudication. The company has agreed to withdraw all charge sheets issued to trade union activists and employees so far.

The Western Zone Insurance Employees' Federation representing more than ten thousand LIC and General Insurance employees in Bombay had taken a decision to go on a one-day general strike in the third week of July to support the employees of this company. Following the settlement the Federation has called off the proposed general strike.

## Hyderabad Index

\*FROM PAGE 6

rose considerably during the period, the index of these commodities should show a decline makes one feel suspicious about the data itself.

Since 1944 the index on house-rent was kept constant at 100 for nearly 17 years despite substantial rise in the house-rent in Hyderabad. With growing industrialisation in the city during fifties the housing problem became more acute. For want of sufficient house-building activity the rents were pushed up further which however did not find any reflection in the index.

The family budget survey in 1948-49 found the rent paid by a

JULY 26, 1964

# INDOXCO Workers' Annual Conference

The eighth annual conference of the workers of the Indian Oxygen Co. concluded on July 15 in Calcutta. Jyoti Basu MLA presided over the open session of the conference and Indrajit Gupta MP, secretary of the AITUC, was the main guest.

THE conference began on July 11 attended by 182 delegates representing about 2,000 workers from various branches of the company. The conference received greetings,

among others, from S. A. Dange, general secretary of the AITUC, WFTU, TUI of Public and Allied Employees, R. Palme Dutt, Oil & Chemical Workers' Union of USSR, Central Councils of Trade Union of Poland, GDR, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Sardar Hukam Singh, Speaker of the Lok Sabha, Indra Gandhi, Minister of Information and Broadcasting, Ajoy Mukherjee, president of West Bengal Congress etc.

In his report to the conference, Benoy Roy Chow-

dury, general secretary of the Indoxco Workers' Union, elaborated the efforts of the workers of the company towards increasing production since the Chinese aggression. He also made special mention of the attempts of the company to disrupt the unity of the workers and urged upon the members to consolidate their unity. The conference unanimously adopted his report.

The conference adopted several resolutions on working class unity, high prices, corruption, workers' participation in management, recommendations of the Bonus Commission, non-implementation of agreement by the company, etc.



NEW AGE

## Calcutta Demonstration July 24

THE West Bengal Committee of the AITUC has called for a central demonstration in Calcutta on July 24 to demand immediate opening of fair price shops and to campaign for:

- ★ State trading in wholesale foodgrains trade;
- ★ Increase of dearness allowance and linking of DA with actual cost of living;
- ★ Formation of Vigilance Committees at all levels consisting of representatives of democratic organisations; and
- ★ Modified rationing in mofussil areas and test relief in distressed areas.

enforcement of the Bonus Commission's recommendations. The general strike, apart from its economic importance, will mark a significant event in the tussle between the established Textile Labour Association affiliated to the INTUC and the newly launched but rapidly growing independent trade union movement on militant lines.—(IPA)

## AUG. 15: GENERAL STRIKE IN GUJARAT

THE Sangram Samiti of Gujarat, a body uniting industrial workers and other sections of employees for militant action on their economic demands, under the leadership of Indulal Yagnik MP, has called for a one-day statewide general strike on August 5.

The demands of the Samiti include effective measures to hold the price line, DA on the basis of corrected price index and

NEW AGE

## AITUC Decision On ILC Session

The Secretariat of the AITUC issued the following statement on July 17:

THE All-India Trade Union Congress had suggested to the Ministry of Labour that the question of rise in prices, correction of cost of living indices, linking of dearness allowance with cost of living index, and implementation of the Bonus Commission Report should be put on the agenda of the forthcoming 22nd Session of the Indian Labour Conference.

However, the agenda circulated by the Labour Ministry does not contain any of these items which are of vital interest to the working class and instead it is loaded with items which are against the interests of the workers. As soon as the agenda was cir-

## U.P. PAY COMMITTEE

THE Government of Uttar Pradesh has appointed a Pay Committee to review the wage structure in state government services and to recommend changes required in the pay scales.

THIS is the second Pay Committee to be constituted by the state government to fix the wage scales of its employees. The previous wage revision was done in 1947. Since then, there have been only ad hoc increments in DA.

The committee is expected to recommend changes in the wage structure in the light of the limited resources of

NEW AGE

## AISF-AIYF Jointly Call NATIONAL SEMINAR ON EDUCATION

NEW DELHI: A seminar on education will be held in New Delhi from August 21 to 23, jointly sponsored by the All India Students Federation and the All India Youth Federation.

THE seminar will discuss such problems as finance and management of education, manpower planning in education, education for national integration, elementary education vis-a-vis basic and non-basic systems, pattern of secondary education and allied problems, higher education and examination system.

The seminar is expected to give a perspective to the whole educational pattern in India. Student movement in the past has experienced many difficulties, particularly because without a proper and comprehensive understanding, it has embarked on piecemeal movements spurred by momentary considerations.

With the changing face of the country and industrialisation, more and more young people are going in for technical education, but this often results in agitations for admission in colleges due to lack of proper planning on the part of the authorities.

Post-independent India had two education commissions—the University Education Commission (1948) and the Secondary Education Commis-

sion (1952). But even their recommendations have not been implemented uniformly throughout the country.

With the fast growing urge of people to send children to schools, the whole system of education needs revision and the conclusions and recommendations of the previous commissions also need review.

Eradication of illiteracy has become urgent; women's education has to expand by leaps and bounds. Technical bias has to be given to secondary education and higher education has to be planned in such a way that all those who come out of the institutions are absorbed in the economic set-up.

It is in this background that the government has set up an Education Commission consisting of experts and headed by Dr. D. S. Kothari, chairman of the University Grants Commission.

It is a welcome step since the commission will survey the entire field of education, from the primary stage to university level. This is the first time that such a comprehensive survey would be made.



# WARSAW EMERGES FROM WAR-BUINS

On July 22, 1944 when the war of liberation was still going on in Poland and Warsaw and a large part of the country were still in Nazi hands, on the walls in towns and villages of the small liberated area appeared a manifesto issued by the Polish Committee of National Liberation, which made it known to the people of fighting Poland and to the world at large that the much devastated and tortured land was throwing off the shackles of fascist domination and that the people were assuming power over the country.

The manifesto was a programme of a people's state founded on workers and peasants' alliance and laid the foundation for a socialist transformation of society. Ever since this date is celebrated in Poland as a national holiday.

The tasks which faced the liberated people after the war were tremendous; one required herculean courage and determination to face the formidable problems after the utter ruin and devastation of the land and the unimaginable losses in manpower and national wealth due to the most cruel and most ravaging war in human history, of which the Poles got the worst share.

Everything lay in ruins; it was difficult to decide from where one had to begin. The list of war and calamity made a somber and tragically long catalogue of devastation.

Many towns like Glogow, Kostrzyn, Kolobrzeg, and others were almost completely destroyed. Wroclaw was 75 per cent destroyed; Szczecin and Gdansk were a heap of rubble.

In terms of money, the losses in housing alone amounted to 680 crores of pre-war zlotys. Out of 10,707 kilometres of railway track, 7,583 kilometres was useless; out of 60,620 bridges 33,355, including the biggest and most important, had been blown up.

Industry was 70 per cent destroyed and out of 9,225 industrial enterprises 6,727 lay in ruins. Mines were sown over one-third of the total cultivated land, 35 lakh hectares. Most of the cattle, pigs and horses, specially in the western regions, had been killed.

And the losses in human life were no less formidable. Poland had lost six million of its citizens, nearly one-fifth of its population, of which 5.3 millions were murdered by the nazis in prisons, concentration camps and mass executions. The list is very long indeed.

Hitler's Boast

And Warsaw, "the heart, the brain and the treasure-house of Poland", as the poets and historians loved to call her, was no more a town. Warsaw is no more than a geographical term on the map of Europe. Hitler had boasted to the Nazi Reichstag.

In January 1945, the city lay dead, deserted. It was a huge cemetery and an enormous field of rubble, some 20 million cubic metres of rubble as a matter of fact.

I shall never forget my first impression of Warsaw. It was five years after the war in November 1950, when much work had gone into the making of the capital habitable, that I arrived for the second World Peace Congress which had to be suddenly shifted from Sheffield be-



Nazi soldiers razing Warsaw. Ghetto areas (1943)

these burnt up, crumbling ruins and this vast sea of stark desolation behind?

Most of the population had either been killed by the Nazis or had left the ruins of the exterminated city. After the war they trickled back to the ruins, then more and more came home as life had to go on; after all, the war was over and the enemy was on the run.

There was no transport, no machines to help remove the debris, to clear the streets, no water, no food and nowhere to go, no roof over the head. But Warsaw must rise from the ashes, this was the will of the victorious people.

The miracle had to be performed by an exhausted but determined nation, which had shown a tremendous determination to survive through centuries of oppression and attempts at extermination, and which had even proved itself equal to this last greatest trial of all.

Yes, work had to begin, and it had to begin with bare hands. All young and old and even children, joined the army of the builders of Warsaw. The leaders of the people's government were among the people to show the way, and



Adam Rapacki with the late Prime Minister Jawahar Lal Nehru (Delhi-1963)

Peeped through the fog, hunting and despoiling. But People's Poland had come into its stride then.

Now, nine years later, in June 1964, my train entered the suburbs of Warsaw, and I saw the beautiful, colourful, elegant rows upon rows of modern, tastefully decorated houses, the quaint built houses and green parks and lovely sweeping curves of clean roads lined with flowerbeds, it was an exquisite, splendid city really risen out of ashes.

For someone who did not see it 14 years ago in ruins, it would be impossible to understand, the joy I felt, and it would be difficult to feel the first happy impact of admiration for the Poles and their loving rejuvenation of their capital from ruins.

These great social transformations led to the new awakening and the release of those tremendous latent creative energies of the freed, liberated masses and changed Poland and made it from a backward, illiterate, decrepit and broken-down peasant land into a modern industrialised country with a dynamic economy and rapid pace of development, with a people determined to outtake the most advanced nations of this world in the near future.

In 1950, travelling through a devastated land, I had seen how had been Oswiecim or Auschwitz, the huge mass-murder factory erected by Nazis which exterminated four and half million people by gassing and burning in the furnaces night and day.

But I had also seen a proud people taking the first steps after the cataclysm of war, the towns being rebuilt, Nowa Huta the metallurgical plant, was going up in mud and slush, often with bare hands and sheer audacity and defiance in the face of all odds. That was 14 years ago.

Then in 1955, at the time of the World Youth Festival, we had seen a happier and more joyful land, and Warsaw beginning to look like a normal town, but the ruined reminders of the crimes of war still

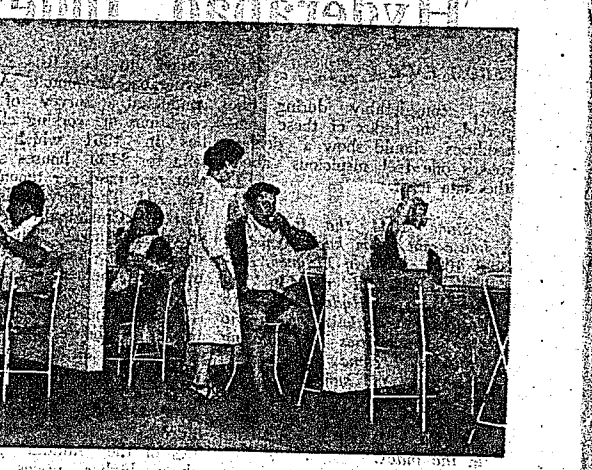
Today's Warsaw is the symbol of new Poland. It is a new city. You will understand the impact I felt when I tell you that nearly 70 per cent of all existing residential buildings, factories, schools, offices, hospitals and theatres etc., have been built anew, and two-thirds of the rest reconstructed in the course of the last 15 years. Even the population is new; of the 1,150,000 people, two-thirds were not inhabitants of the city before 1945.

But Warsaw is also an old city with seven centuries of history behind it. It has old monuments, its historic Old Town, its Baroque palaces and Gothic cathedrals. However all these buildings have been rebuilt virtually from scratch in recent years, and only some part of the wall, or some wrought-iron gate is genuinely old.

And this is what symbolises the spirit of Poland, this determination to restore and preserve the national heritage with great love and care in spite of all attempts of enemies through centuries to exterminate and destroy their national character, language and tradition, and

There is a creative spirit of discussion and inquiry abundant in all walks of life, and in all problems of contemporary living and socialist construction one finds this quest for bold new paths free from fossilised dogma.

(TO BE CONTINUED)



At a Polish Trade Union Sanatorium

To the numerous books and pamphlets already published in the Soviet Union about India, there has recently been added one more interesting study. The Soviet journalist P. Kutsobin in his *Modern India (Distribution of Class and Political Forces)*, traces the path along which India is now advancing and analyses its social and economic perspectives.

IMMEDIATELY upon liberation of their country from colonial oppression the people of India were faced with the problem of making a correct choice of foreign and domestic policy. The wish to protect her hard-won independence from imperialist designs against it prompted India to associate herself with other newly-independent countries that were following a policy of co-operation and friendship with all peace-loving nations.

And her peaceful foreign policy won her the respect and support of all democratic forces, gained the Indian people many friends, especially in the socialist countries.

The late Prime Minister Nehru's position on the choice of a way is made explicit in his statement that capitalism cannot lead forward 400 million people, for its principal doctrine is such as to establish a society of profit-makers in which each seeks every chance of oppressing the other.

Aware of the appeal socialist ideas had for the Indian people and of their antipathy to capitalism, the leaders of the Indian National Congress announced that they aimed to build a socialist society in India. The economic foundations of that society were to be a mixed economy, under which the state and private sectors were to develop harmoniously, class antagonisms were to be alleviated and gradually erased, material and social inequality was to be replaced ultimately by universal equality of incomes and rights, and, as a result, "social justice" was at last to reign in the country.

Other sources quoted reveal that at present more than half the country's national income falls to the share of 20 per cent of the population. A rapid concentration of capital is to be observed and monopolies are growing in many branches of industry.

The private sector of industry, trade and banking are largely in the control of a few families—the Tatas, Birlas, Singhanias, Jains and several others. Having gathered vast economic power into their hands, they are bent on steering the country into a political course advantageous to them.

India's capitalists make huge profits, for labour power is extremely cheap and the unemployed army very large. In 1956, just be-

Examining the results attained by the National Congress as the ruling party in the light of these theoretical aims, P. Kutsobin notes the following as positive.

General economic progress is indisputable. In the ten years

## CPSU WRITES TO JAPANESE PARTY

ISSUE 14 of the journal *Party Life* published two letters of CPSU to the Communist Party of Japan dated April 18 and July 11 this year.

The CPSU Central Committee points out that it cannot any longer leave the Party in ignorance of the situation when "the leadership of the Communist Party of Japan is increasing attacks on the CPSU on the one hand and on the other refuses to undertake any steps to eliminate the differences with the CPSU and declines to discuss our comradely proposals in this matter."

The letters point out that a delegation of CPJ came to Moscow in March for talks, one year after the proposal by CPSU for such discussions had been made.

"It avoided frank talk and refused to discuss questions of concerted line of action on the most important questions of our time. After ending the talks the CPJ delegation refused

to sign any joint communique with CPSU."

The long letter of April 18 brings out the amazing fact that while defending Stalin and his cult, the CPJ leadership brings accusations now against the CPSU of what Stalin had done: drafting of the Programme of Communist Party of Japan by Stalin at the request and with the direct participation of CPJ leaders which had met full approval of the Japanese Party, and publication of an article in the Information Bureau paper of January 6, 1950 on the situation in Japan on the initiative of Stalin.

The CPSU leadership today not only disapproves of such criticism of fraternal parties; it has strongly criticised Stalin's cult (which caused these deviations from Leninist norms.

Strangely those who glorify Stalin today charge Stalin's critics for his crimes! For them any charge if it mars relations with the CPSU seems to be good enough.

# CONTEMPORARY INDIA

## Study of A Nation in the Making

These contradictory aspirations found expression in a marked aggravation of the class struggle. At once, the choice of a path of development became India's main problem.

That choice depended primarily on the National Congress as the ruling and strongest political party in the country. Even after 1947 it continued, by tradition, to unite members of both the working class and the exploiting classes. The influence of the latter within the party was and is strong; they hold key party posts. And outside the party they receive strong material support from the propertied classes.

The agrarian problem was and remains one of the most vital and urgent. Seventy per cent of the able-bodied population are peasants. That agrarian reform was urgently needed was long recognised by the National Congress leaders and upon coming into power they immediately announced radical changes in the countryside as their purpose.

They began with abolishing the "zamindari" system, that is, semi-feudal privileged land tenure. Because of the resistance of the landowners, it took more than ten years to put this reform into effect. The expropriated land was to go to its former tenants—the landless and land-hungry peasants—but since the price fixed for it was high, the poor peasants could buy little of it while the village rich rounded out their possessions.

Later laws restricting land ownership changed little. To get around them big landowners fictitiously divided up their estates among their relatives.

And quite a few were not affected by them at all for the new laws did not extend to coffee, tea and rubber plantations, to big orchards, livestock and dairy farms, sugar cane plantations and other profitable farms involving big investments.

The result is that nearly 60 per cent of all the peasant holdings are dwarf farms of five acres at most, while 50 million farm workers and their families own no land at all.

Inevitably, the conclusion suggests itself that since independence India has made appreciable economic progress but the fruits of it are enjoyed chiefly by the rich. The reader finds in the book an analysis of the reasons why the National Congress leaders have not brought the country any closer to their proclaimed political aims in the more than 16 years of their rule.

Until August 1947, "each of the classes of Indian society pinned its hopes on independence.... That is why, despite their widely different class interests, all the forces of Indian society were able to get along together within a single loose organization—the Indian National Congress. Immediately after independence, however, a multitude of big and small problems, the diametrically opposed class interests came to the surface" (pp. 8 and 9).

The broad masses participated in the national-liberation movement in the hope of substantial improvement of their material condition. Many members of the big bourgeoisie hoped that after independence they would step into the shoes of the former foreign exploiters.

But manufacturers are ignoring the formal ban and building new factories in the above state-controlled branches of industry. So are many foreign capitalists, often in alliance with big Indian capitalists.

The book covers developments until the summer of 1963. What is happening in India today confirms the author's main conclusions regarding the results and trends of her socio-economic and political development. For instance, at its last congress in January the National Congress solemnly proclaimed the building of "democratic socialism" its chief aim. In its Democracy and Socialism resolution, as in the resolutions of many earlier congresses, it speaks of the need of "reducing the vast disparities in income and wealth which exist now."

### TTK's Budget

But only two months later Finance Minister T. T. Krishnamachari submitted to parliament a draft budget for 1964-65, reducing the taxes of a number of big monopolies and also the tax on the dividends of the numerous foreign concerns operating in India. In the heated parliamentary debates the Communist and progressive deputies won a small tax reduction for citizens in the low income brackets, but on the whole the budget, as passed, is designed to encourage private business.

### Price Issue Unsolved

Ever since independence the domestic policy of the ruling party has borne the traces of the unceasing conflict between its Right-wing and radical trends.

Soon after independence the National Congress met to discuss price ceilings for consumer goods—a matter of vital interest to millions. But at this Congress the representatives of the big bourgeoisie gained the upper hand and got the price restrictions introduced during the war lifted. Within the next few months consumer goods prices soared, with dire effect on the condition of the masses. To this day price control remains a burning unsolved issue.

Back in January 1948, at Nehru's initiative, a special committee of the National Congress declared it necessary to nationalise the main branches of industry and the communal services, to institute state control over monopolies and fix the maximum rate of profit at 5 per cent of invested capital.

The bourgeoisie met this with the threat to declare "a strike of capital" and demanded resolute counter-measures of its representatives within the Congress.

As a result, it was soon announced that only the defence and atomic industries and the railways would be placed under state control. In coal mining, iron and steel, aircraft and shipbuilding, mineral fertilizers, telegraph and telephone equipment, only big newly constructed plants would come under the state sector. All earlier existing concerns in these fields and also all other industries would remain in the hands of the capitalists.

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# New Benefits To People In Soviet Union

MOSCOW: The session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR which came to an end on July 15, once again demonstrated to the world the steady economic progress of the Soviet Union, the concern of the Communist Party for the welfare of the people, humanism inherent in the socialist system and its superiority over capitalism.

WHERE else in the world could the parliament of the land give a wage increase to 13 million people at one stroke, an increase of twenty, thirty and even forty per cent?

Where else could a comprehensive system of pensions for all the farmers and agricultural workers of the land be worked out on such a scale?

And which state could afford to give such big increments to such a vast number of people (about one fourth of the total working population) if the economy of the land were not developing at a fast rate?

Without going into statistics and figures of plan fulfilment it would be obvious to anybody that the new laws adopted by the Supreme Soviet are the best proof of the firm economic foundation, solvency and dynamic advance of the system.

The session of the Soviet parliament demonstrated that the CPSU is consistently and with great vigour carrying into practice the Party Programme for strengthening the economic might of the Soviet socialist system, increasing its national wealth and raising the living standards of the people.

It also showed that the Soviet Union is following the right path which will have great impact on the hearts and minds of people throughout the world, will make socialism an attractive force for the working people everywhere and ultimately defeat capitalism in peaceful competition.

As Khrushchov declared in the Supreme Soviet, "things are going well with us", and "the Programme of the Communist Party has had good start towards its fulfillment."

## Prospects Of Output

The Programme plans a six-fold increase of industrial output in twenty years, 1961 to 1980. This requires an average annual rate of growth of nine to ten per cent. In 1961 the increase was 9.1 and in 1962, 9.7 per cent. In 1963, in spite of the big drought and crop failure the gross industrial output increased by 8.5 per cent. In leading branches of industry the increase was 12 to 15 per cent.

During the first five years of the current seven-year plan industrial production was to increase by 51 per cent; it increased in fact by 58 per cent and during the first six months of this year the plan has been fulfilled 103 per cent.

During these five and half years wealth worth the colossal sum of 40,000 million roubles has been above Plan. It is expected that in the seven years of the Plan, industrial output would increase—instead of the 80 per cent provided by the Plan—by not less than 86 per cent.

## Programme Targets

What are the perspectives of overtaking the USA in this field? During the last six years the average industrial growth in Soviet Union amounted to 9.7 per cent whereas in the USA it was only 3.6. Ten years ago the volume of Soviet industrial output amounted to 33 per cent of the United States. In 1963 it was already 65 per cent.

Basing himself on these hard facts and not just good intentions, Khrushchov could declare: "Our industry is developing more quickly than that of the United States. That is why we have always said confidently that the Soviet Union will overtake and surpass the USA."

Now let us have a look at the state of Soviet agriculture, the favourite topic today of bourgeois commentators to gloat over alleged "crisis" or "failure" in this field.

There is no doubt that last year there was a very widespread drought in the country which led to crop failure in areas which depend on rainfall. But as Khrushchov pointed out, if one has even elementary knowledge of agriculture one knows that it is impossible to judge its development by the results of a single year and facts here give us quite a different picture.

If we compare the five year periods 1948-52 and 1953-57 we find that grain output was 177, meat 202, milk 176, butter 182 and sugar 228 per cent, taking the previous output as 100. And even in the worst year, the farms gave the state 2,735 million pounds of grain compared to 1900 million pounds in 1953.

Now the capital investment in agriculture has been sharply increased to six times that of 1953 and a huge programme of intensification of mechanisation of agriculture, irrigation and reclamation of land and of a big increase in output of mineral fertilisers has been launched. This is sure to bring a further big rise in agricultural production.

These measures are already giving initial results and much has been done this year to raise a fine harvest. The

picture in most parts of the country is promising and prospects show that the country's grain requirements will be met and substantial quantities will even be put in reserve. If the Soviet agricultural system were to blame this would not be possible as the system has not changed.

The consumption of food and other items is always a good indication of the standard of living. Here we find that sales of foodstuffs even in the bad year 1963 compared to 1953 were 153 per cent, 286 in meat, 188 in butter, 373 in eggs, 473 in milk and 218 in sugar.

Figures for the same years for consumer goods are: clothing 274 per cent, knitted goods 327, footwear 234, sewing machines 225, radio sets 294 per cent, TV sets 18.5 times, refrigerators 17 times, washing machines 605 times etc. This growth in commodity sales is a sure index of the development of industry and agriculture and the steady rise in the purchasing power of the population.

Now, it is in this background and over and above this standard that the new

law providing pensions for 6.5 million collective farmers, to the tune of 1,400 million roubles annually has been adopted. The collective farms will contribute about three to four per cent of their income, about 800 million, in 1965 and the rest will come from the state budget. No deductions will be made from the incomes of the collective farmers.

Pensions will be 50 per cent of earnings up to 50 roubles a month and 25 per cent of all earnings above that sum. The minimum old age pension will be 12 and maximum 102 roubles per month. Pensionable age for men is 65 with labour record of 25 years, for women 60 and 20 years respectively.

Disability pensions, maternity allowances and 112 days paid maternity leave, pensions for dependants after the bread-winner's death are also provided for the collective farmers. For this purpose an All-Union fund of social maintenance for collective farmers will be set up.

## Wage Increases

The second law provides big wage increase for people engaged in public education, health service, municipal administration, trade, public catering and other branches of national economy serving the population.

Teachers, doctors, nurses, other medical personnel, workers in housing and communal services and many

others—altogether 18 million of them—will get wage increases.

Teachers on the average 25 per cent, some up to 40 per cent, in health service on average 23 per cent (the country has 500,000 doctors), workers engaged in trade will have 15 per cent and in public catering 25 per cent average increase in wages. Many other categories also will get big wage increases.

Twentyfive per cent of all office and factory workers will get increments and in terms of one year it will amount to 3,300 million roubles.

While giving these increments the state will preserve the present prices for commodities and services. So no inflationary cycle will arise to eat up the wage-increase and a real rise in the standard of living will result.

Such are the benefits of socialism. But it seems they are not obvious to all, strangely enough even some who style themselves as Marxists-Leninists.

Khrushchov referred to those who claim that under socialism, improvement in standards of living means "turning bourgeois". The revolution was made for the sake of a better life, he said, and if communism did not concern itself with the standard of living of the people it would scare them away from itself and would play into the hands of bourgeois propaganda which tried to discredit socialism and praised to the skies the capitalist way of life.

# Zanzibar To Implement Revolutionary Reforms

From KUNHANANDAN NAIR

BERLIN: Reactionary politicians and the international reactionary press are trying to make out that Zanzibar has lost all its independent existence since the Republic's union with Tanganyika and that the revolutionary leaders won't hereafter be able to implement their revolutionary reforms in the island.

THIS contention is entirely wrong and an invention to undermine the significance of the revolution, the secretary-general of the Revolutionary Youth League of Zanzibar told NEW AGE correspondent in Berlin. The youth leader was here on a short visit invited by the GDR Youth Organisation.

The three-year-plan for Zanzibar which was announced on July 12 by the First Deputy President of the Union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar, Abeid Karume, contained a major project to bring civilisation to the island.

The building of an international airport in Zanzibar, a modern harbour in Pemba, a central post and telegraph office in Zanzibar and 16 new post offices on the two islands are envisaged in the three-year plan for the quick development of Zanzibar and Pemba.

These are vital investments for the island which is one of the very backward regions of Africa.

The government has already announced its intention to curb private building construction firms enriching on state orders. For this purpose a state building society and a state building industry were created recently.

Zanzibar's Minister for Labour, Hassan Nasser Moyo, announced recently that under the three-year plan, the roadways and the entire transport system of Zanzibar will be extended considerably. Agricultural production cooperatives are already working satisfactorily. Remotest villages will be electrified under the first three-year plan.

The Minister for Agriculture, Salem Saadalla, declared a few days ago that Zanzibar would no longer require to import rice after completion of three-year plan. He even hoped to export rice in 1968.

The clove is the main cultivation now. Sugarcane cultivation will be introduced on a wide scale reducing the clove area, so that sugar mills can be set up later. The Ministry of Agriculture has set apart two million pounds for the expansion of agriculture.

A sugar factory, number of factories for canning fruits and vegetables, factories for manufacturing cigarettes out of their own tobacco, coconut oil milling industries, factory for processing coconut fibre and leather are included in the first plan.

Socialist countries will give Zanzibar generous help to overcome her economic backwardness and put up modern industries.

A modern residential estate is now under construction in the African quarter of Zanzibar city, as a gift from the German Democratic Republic.

"A new life is heralding in our republic. The revolution has changed everything. The people are very enthusiastic. The rich-shaw pullers are no more on the streets. We have motor cars and transport buses for convenience. Come after three years. Everything will look better, richer and more civilised." There was confidence in the voice of the youth leader when he concluded in these words.

The candidacy of Barry Goldwater is now a fact; his presidency too is no longer such a distant prospect.

THE nomination and the beginnings of the campaign have already sent shivers through the heart of the Democratic Party, whose strategists are working out plans to "adjust" themselves to the "mood of the nation", reflected in the thumping victory of the Arizona Senator.

What this means, we can well imagine—a double-faced policy which would seek on the one hand to reassure the outside world that the Johnson administration would not succumb to the surge of "extremism", that is ultra-Rightism, and on the other assure the voters who will decide the fate of this administration that it is more than willing to go along with this so-called "mood of the nation".

Hence, whether he wins or loses, Goldwater is now the pole towards which the ship of official bipartisan policy will strain and strive. Goldwaterism is now a phenomenon with which the world will have to live for some time, till the efforts of the peoples and governments abroad and of the US electorate at home deal it a crushing blow.

## What Is Goldwaterism?

It is formulated in the Republican Party platform, in the candidate's interview to Der Spiegel and in his acceptance speech.

The platform is a plank hewed to fit the desires of the armament makers.

From the first section, with its vicious attack on the Johnson administration's hesitant and—till now—ineffectual attempts to seek peaceful coexistence, to the second portion, presenting the Republican "alternative", inherent in the foreign policy pronouncement of the GOP convention is the probability of war.

And this war, indicated and even advocated implicitly is not a "defensive" war as the result of another nation's "attack", but

an outright aggressive one. The ultra-Rightists now in the saddle in the Republican party are getting set to hoist the cross for such a "holy war".

Their line was bared for all to see in the opening of the foreign policy plank, which declared:

"The supreme challenge—is an atheistic imperialism—Communism.

"Our nation's leadership must be judged by the stand it takes towards Communism.

"That stand must be victory for freedom. There can be no peace, there can be no security, until this goal is won."

Spelled out in the platform are the steps to be taken to achieve this aim: end of trade with socialist countries; no more loans or financial dealings with these countries; barring China in the UN; threats to the UN itself.

Even more clear are proposals to expand the dirty war in South Vietnam; tearing down the Berlin wall; support to aggression by the West German neo-Nazis against Eastern Europe; increased pressure against any Latin American country's independence from Wall Street imperialism.

All of these, however, are only stepping stones toward the basic objective of an aggressive imperialist war. It is expressed thus in the GOP platform:

"Republicans reaffirm their long-standing commitments to a course leading to eventual liberation of the Communist-dominated nations of Eastern Europe, Asia and Latin America."

The line projected by the ultra-Rightist-controlled Republican convention would place the USA in opposition not only to the socialist nations and the nonaligned and neutralist countries, but even against the governments of Washington's "allies" in Western Europe and Asia, those which see peaceful coexistence with the socialist world as the only basis for the future.

That profit is really the crux of the demand for new



# SUPER-HITLER FROM THE WILD WEST

armament is disclosed in this affirmation in the platform: "We will end 'second-best' weapons policies. We will end the false economies which place price ahead of the performance upon which American lives may depend."

The foreign policy plank also reveals the arrogance of those generals and admirals, who refuse to subordinate themselves to the will and interests of the American people, through their elected civilian leaders. The ultra-Rightist Republican platform advocates:

★ Restoration of "the morale of our armed forces by upgrading military professionalism, and we will allow professional dissent."

★ "We will return the Joint Chiefs of Staff to their lawful status as the president's principal military advisers."

What Goldwater and his supporters mean by this was indicated in the interview given by the Republican Presidential candidate on the eve of the San Francisco convention to the West German news magazine, Der Spiegel, in which he indicated his opinion that the German monopolists and militarists lost the two world wars only because the direction of those two holocausts was left in the hands of civilians instead of the generals and admirals.

## Alliance with Neo-Nazis

GOLDWATER'S interview with Der Spiegel, was a brazen and calculated bid for an alliance with the revanchist unconstructed militarist and neo-Nazi elements of that country.

More, as presidential candidate of the Republican Party, he used that position to rally the atomaniacs, colonialists, racists, reactionaries and pro-fascists of Europe.

Goldwater thus made clear in that remarkably outspoken interview that his banner of nuclear war, anti-Sovietism and racism is an international one.

Not since the immeasurably costly war against Hitlerism has any prominent American public figure, and certainly not a presidential candidate, spoken in such admiring terms of Nazi Germany.

Goldwater well knew what he was doing when in the magazine with one of the largest circulations in West Germany he repeated the Nazi boast of German military invincibility.

Goldwater gave a boost to the revanchists—who claim

that Germany was never really defeated and who dream of another try—when he said "had not Germany in both wars been subjected to the supreme command of men or a man in any case who didn't understand war, I think Germany would have won both of them."

This is the kind of Germany with which Goldwater said an alliance is "imperative."

The ultra-Rightist leader did not deign to conceal his admiration for the aggressive Prussian militarism which has brought such untold suffering to the world.

## Brink of Catastrophe

Asked by Der Spiegel if he "would go to the brink of war," Goldwater replied:

"Yes, just as your country has used brinkmanship down through the years and done so very, very successfully."

Goldwater made clear the kind of brinkmanship he had in mind.

He was asked: "Do you still advocate helping possible uprisings in Eastern Europe by being prepared to move a task force equipped with appropriate nuclear weapons along with an ultimatum?" Goldwater answered "Yes".

In spite of this prescription for atomic annihilation, it would be a serious mistake to underestimate the campaign on foreign policy that Goldwater will pursue.

For this fascist-oriented leader of a major political party has indicated that he not only admires the military might of Nazi Germany but has learned something of the Geobelsian art of demagoguery.

Just as the early Nazis ranted against the big trusts of Germany and posed as the champion of the little man, Goldwater told Der Spiegel that his fight for the Republican nomination was against "the Eastern money interests, large banks and financial houses."

He said that he would fight to free US foreign policy from the domination of these interests who want to promote their "interest rates" and "gold balances".

Goldwater well knows the anti-Wall Street, anti-monopoly sentiment that exists throughout the US. He obviously intends to demagogically exploit the growing resentment and frustration against big business control of the government felt by millions of people in the USA.

Goldwater will not only seize upon every evidence of this domination, particularly in the Johnson Administration—and he will have plenty to grab hold of—but he will

press hard to get the present administration to make further concessions to big business.

Like all astute demagogues he intends to work both sides of the street.

## Two-Fold Objective

In this respect, Goldwater revealed that he had a two-fold objective in pressing the Johnson Administration for more aggressive atomic adventures in Vietnam, a similar policy in Berlin, Cuba and against the socialist world.

It is to force an adoption of some of his proposals, take credit for initiating them, and then capitalise on the mass resentment by crying "too little and too late."

This was made clear when he boasted in Der Spiegel that "every time I've shot from the hip, it has later come to be the accepted position of this country."

It is evident that this is his aim—particularly in Vietnam. This explains why he is so anxious to make the war in Vietnam a major campaign issue and is pressing for an "all-out" war against the heroic Vietnamese people. This is why he again, repeated in that interview the proposal that American generals there be given the power to use "low-yield nuclear devices" to "defoliate" the jungles of Vietnam.

Goldwater made clear in the Spiegel interview that they should be given "great leeway in the decision to use" tactical nuclear weapons.

Through Der Spiegel, he not only talked frankly to the reactionaries, racists and the fascist minded of the US but of Germany, Europe and the Western world.

In many respects Goldwater's interview in Der Spiegel sounded like his "Mein Kampf".

In his acceptance speech which was described by Rockefeller as "dangerous, irresponsible and frightening", Goldwater refused to yield an inch to the so-called Liberals of the GOP, standing up four square in defence of the John Birch Society and the like. Goldwater declared: "Extremism in the defence of liberty is no vice. Moderation in the pursuit of justice is no virtue."

Such is the philosophy of the man who might be sitting in the White House six months hence, holding the supreme power to rain thermonuclear death on this little planet.

He is no accident, of course. He is the last desperate refugee of reaction in its citadel, the USA, in face of the rising tide of the liberation struggle at home and abroad.



"I'm coming in!" Courtesy: Daily Worker, London.



# APOLOGIA FOR LONDON SELLOUT

## TTK MEETS THE PRESS

By K. U. WARIER

The unpleasant experience of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' conference should be a warning to New Delhi's policy makers of the dangers to national interests and prestige that come from a choice of bad emissaries to argue India's case in international forums, as much as from a too trusting faith in the goodwill of the imperialists—in this case Britain—with whom it might demonstrate but would not retaliate when necessary.

**C**URRENTLY its mood of irritation and embarrassment over the reference to Indo-Pak "problems" in the final communique after the Commonwealth conference is in complete contrast to the overfond tone of Prime Minister Shastri's statement before the conference expressing great distress and sorrow at his inability to visit London and meet the people and leaders of Britain—"with whom we have such close and friendly ties"—and also TTK's sycophantic talk in London on the British bequest of parliamentary democracy to India.

The communique and the Indian delegation's conduct in London came in for sharp criticism in the capital. Congress Parliamentary Party secretary Raghunath Singh's quick reaction with its implied criticism of the Indian delegation's part in the conference has posed embarrassing questions to the cabinet and the party meeting scheduled for Monday where TTK and Indira Gandhi are to appear has acquired the character of a cross-examination before a white washing.

Meanwhile, political observers in the capital have noted TTK's repeated attempts to dismiss the reference to Indo-Pak "problems" in the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' communique as something without significance. If that is so, it is asked, why such a reference was at all made when it has all along been the convention not to introduce such things into the communique.

It is recalled that never before had a Commonwealth Prime Ministers' meeting in its communique referred to Indo-Pak disputes and this, it is well known, was due to the strong stand taken by our late Prime Minister on all previous occasions.

The sinister implications of this reference are felt even more by those who point to the succeeding

paragraph in the communique where it refers to the possible role of Commonwealth countries in mediating disputes between member nations.

In spite of its careful wording, it is felt that this would facilitate British interference or so-called "mediation" in Indo-Pak disputes, particularly the Kashmir question, unless New Delhi promptly repudiates any such move.

Despite the VIP reception accorded to TTK at the airport on his return from London and the presence of Sardar Swaran Singh, the new Foreign Minister at his press conference as some kind of silent moral support, the anxiety and alarm caused to the Shastri Ministry by its representatives to the London conference have been all too marked. Indeed, the very gesture of cabinet welcome to TTK has exposed the predicament of the Prime Minister.

At his crowded press conference, TTK could not convince the press that he was in the clear. Instead, his faint attitude of shrugged shoulders, his cynical reaction to questions and the patronising tone of his replies only made him thoroughly unpopular.

As in London here too TTK maintained that the reference to Indo-Pak "problems" in the Commonwealth communique was innocuous, that it cannot be exploited by Pakistan to our disadvantage. But then there is no explanation for the kind of jubilation that the communique has caused for Pakistan's representatives.

After having acquiesced in the peculiar wording of the communique which has evoked such sharp reactions in this country, TTK's praise for the Commonwealth and his optimism for its future have naturally not found any response in the political circles in the capital.

On the other hand there is a more stronger section today, in-

cluding inside the ruling party, which views with deep suspicion our Commonwealth ties and which would support our quitting the Commonwealth.

This last Commonwealth Prime Ministers' conference has speeded up the process of disillusionment in the Commonwealth in progressive Congress circles in the capital, a process which had begun after the Chinese attack in 1962 when British along with the US forced the Government of India to enter into negotiations with Pakistan on Kashmir as a condition to Western military aid and which received a further push when Sir Patrick Dean took an openly hostile attitude towards India in the Security Council during the last Kashmir debate.

However, observers do not think that these strong sentiments are likely to lead to any immediate rupture, though it is understood that the Government of India has conveyed its displeasure over the communique to the British Prime Minister.

TTK has sought to defend his performance by pointing out that Pakistan had wanted a positive reference to Indo-Pak disputes in the communique but it did not succeed. Even so, the overwhelming opinion in political circles remains that our representatives failed to take a firm stand against an all too apparent collusion between

Pakistan and Britain and the resulting departure from convention.

It is rather clear that in the face of such collusion, TTK's pronounced preference for the West led him to acquiesce in to the objectionable wordings in the communique. This and what he himself admits as his inexperience should have put New Delhi on guard against possible embarrassments and defeats. That seems not to have been the case. Usually we are wise after the event.

Not only that, according to well-informed sources, TTK was on his own, the moment he left New Delhi and there was no consultation between our delegation in London and the Government of India till after the communique was released and the storm broke out.

### No Contact with New Delhi

It is stated that whereas on all previous occasions Prime Minister Nehru used to keep in constant touch with New Delhi and keep his cabinet colleagues informed of the developments as the conference proceeded, this time TTK who acted as the leader of the delegation did not bother to inform New Delhi of anything that was happening there.

Again, even though TTK at his press conference paid compliments to Indira Gandhi and said that she was by his side all along and attended all the meetings, the opinion in the capital is that she had very little to do with the conference.

There are even suggestions going round that she was not consulted on all points. There are many raised eyebrows in the

capital about the team spirit and work of the Indian delegation.

Another point which is currently discussed in official and political circles relate to the role of M. J. Desai, Secretary-General of the External Affairs Ministry who accompanied TTK to London and advised him during the conference.

Desai's pro-West leanings are too well-known to require any elaboration. Capital has not forgotten his part in the VOA deal. It is widely held that M. J. Desai did not warn TTK against this departure from convention in the communique and its full implications and it is reported that already a row has developed in government circles over this.

In this connection, it is also being talked about that Desai has hopes of getting recruited to the proposed Commonwealth Secretariat. If it is so, New Delhi would be warned well to be cautious, since it is hardly likely to promote India's best interests and non-aligned foreign policy inside the Commonwealth.

Incidentally, there is quite a strong view in official circles that the exalted post of Secretary-General ought to be abolished now since External Affairs has been taken from the Prime Minister's charge and put under a separate minister.

It will be recalled that the special post of a Secretary-General for the External Affairs Ministry was created under special circumstances when Jawaharlal Nehru, beside being the Prime Minister, used to be the Foreign Minister also.

With the separation of External Affairs from the cares of the present Prime Minister, the need for such a special post is no longer felt, it is pointed out.

## HOME TO ROOST

WHISPERING gallery

**A**N interesting sidelight of TTK's sell-out in London is the noisy controversy that has flared up over Raghunath Singh's condemnation in public.

Everybody knows this gentleman's Rightwing tendencies, and this criticism of TTK is from quite a different angle from the genuine criticism by democratic and patriotic sections in the country.

Raghunath Singh, Secretary of the Congress Parliamentary Party Executive, is not a chicken. This is not his first public statement on public affairs.

Indeed, Raghunathji has graduated himself into his present position by issuing press statements. He started rising in the Congress parliamentary hierarchy as a witch-hunter of Krishna Menon, and he would not himself remember now how many press statements he has so far issued.

But they are now coming home to roost. Because Raghunath Singh has chosen this time a target, who has the backing of the AICC centre.

Thus we see for the first time TTK's right hand man in the AICC office, Rajagopalan, asking for an explanation. Simultaneously we find Singh's colleague Panj hazari pitted against him.

To the best of my knowledge Panj hazari had never issued a press statement before on anything. He could talk to you on cabbage, but the Commonwealth is a different thing. At

any rate, he countered in public his senior colleague.

That is not all. A virtually non-practising lawyer, B. K. P. Sinha, another AICC favourite in the Rajya Sabha, came out with a seemingly innocuous press statement (a summary of his letter to the Prime Minister) pretending to protest against the unilateral expression of views by office-bearers.

All in all, Raghunath Singh's fat is on fire. He is being put on the dock instead of TTK. But the most interesting thing is that everybody in this melodrama is pretending that he is fighting for one principle or the other.

Principles among these gentlemen there are none; power politics, yes. Who does not know that Raghunath Singh was a valiant fighter on the side of Morarji Desai during the succession battle? Equally known is the position of Rajagopalan, Panj hazari and B. K. P. Sinha.

### Power Elite

**T**TK's stand in London has betrayed this country, but he is not going to be censured or penalised because the syndicate is behind him.

Rumour has it that the Prime Minister is not very happy that TTK gave in under what Indira Gandhi calls "Western pressure."

He is all the more puzzled that he got no report from TTK till he returned to Delhi. TTK himself says that eight

gruelling hours were spent on the draft of the communique. That was long enough time to get instructions from the Prime Minister. But, as TTK said at the New Delhi press conference, "It was the government in London."

TTK is sought to be protected not only by the syndicate but also by the entire big business press. At the press conference he was literally floored and TTK even lost temper more than once.

But the next day before the readers he emerged as a hero through the columns of the jute press.

Ramnath Goenka and his principal penpusher spent overtime to whitewash the guilt. That is quite understandable. Apart from anything else, after all, did not Ramnathji get a Rs. 85 lakh loan from the State Bank for his Express Buildings?

But the motivation of Shanti Prasad Jain's TIMES OF INDIA was entirely different. Multi-millionaire Shanti Prasad has been enjoying no shantli ever since TTK took over as Finance Minister after the Kamaraj plan.

TTK helps every other monopolist but has been treating the Jains slightly differently to keep up a favourable public posture. In the face of such an attitude, the Jains cave in and THE TIMES OF INDIA goes all out to please the Finance Minister and criticise his critics.

—INSIDER

## Tenali Brotherhood

\* FROM FRONT PAGE

on the secretariat—Jyoti Basu or Promode Dasgupta or Harekrishna Konar. The staunchest stronghold of splitters and of "true revolution" could not agree as to who should be on the secretariat. They were so united and so trustful to each other!

Since no agreement was possible, the place of Bengal is put in the resolution in this way: "and one comrade from the executive members from Bengal will attend the meetings of the secretariat."

Thus ended the great show of Tenali, the miserable expression of the quarrels, contradictions, distrust and disunity among the splitters themselves. Ideological questions got a go-by from the agenda of their next great show. Contradicting their earlier position, they hurriedly threw open their

rolls for new entrants, despite carrying away the "overwhelming" part of our membership. They dared not even request China to accept the Colombo proposals and break the deadlock. They could not even select a secretary from Bengal to sit in their secretariat.

That is the way they reorganised the Party at Tenali, as they say, in the "revolutionary traditions of the Indian people."

Well, let all Party members judge these splitters by their own words and deeds.

Meanwhile, let us go our own way in defence of the struggles of the toiling people, for food, for wages, for halting the onslaughts of the monopolists and hoarders against the people, for reduction in prices and for making the government change its policies that hit the masses and favour the moneybags.