

PEACE FOR VIETNAM—HOW?

GOVERNMENT'S FEEBLE ROLE SHAMES INDIA

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The US imperialists, driven to a corner by the heroic Vietnamese resistance to their aggression and by the anti-imperialist solidarity actions of the peoples of the whole world, are making desperate efforts to turn back the tide.

World public opinion will welcome all such nonaligned initiatives, as long as they base themselves on a clear understanding of the truth regarding the situation in Vietnam.

On the one hand, in the most callous and brazen manner, President Johnson has announced plans for the escalation of his aggression: the already huge number of US troops in South Vietnam is to be increased by another 50,000; all pretence of the US armed forces being in South Vietnam to help a so-called South Vietnam government is almost abandoned, with the US troops taking on virtually all the fighting themselves relying less and less on the South Vietnamese puppet army, which deserts to the National Front of Liberation in ever larger numbers.

war effort in increasing numbers. But these facts should not be exaggerated. A great majority of the American people are still so duped by the propaganda machine of the "free world", that they do not realise how criminal is the US aggression in Vietnam.

There can be no nonalignment between the US aggression and the victim of aggression. Any attempt to place the blame "on both sides" will result in complete failure to bring about that peace, which all mankind desires.

On the other hand, the Johnson administration has launched a hypocritical "peace" offensive, shouting out loud and repeatedly its willingness to negotiate anywhere, and "appealing" to the United Nations to intervene.

Again, the militarists of the Pentagon do not yet realise that their mighty venture in Vietnam is doomed, they still hope to conquer by pouring in more troops and intensifying the tempo and sweep of their aggressive war.

In this context, it is a welcome sign that the Indo-Yugoslav joint communique signed at the end of Prime Minister Shastri's visit to Yugoslavia, stresses two points in regard to Vietnam.

First, that the US bombings should stop; and second, that the National Liberation Front

fresh bombers, fresh airmen and fresh weapons of destruction.

parties concerned" to stop "warlike operations".

What is wanted is not a "pause" but the complete stoppage of the US bombings and with that, the withdrawal of US troops from South Vietnam.

This is indeed a shameful attitude. Any attempt to equate "both sides" is in reality playing the apologist for US aggression, and will be looked upon as such by the Vietnamese people.

There can be no peace unless the US troops withdraw. The Indo-Yugoslav communique makes no mention of this vital question. The reason is clear. The Yugoslav government and its leaders have repeatedly demanded the withdrawal of US troops as a precondition for peace in Vietnam.

It is such statements as these which have earned for India the suspicions of the Vietnamese people, evidenced in recent articles in the Hanoi press.

The peoples of the world deeply desire peace and an end to the US aggression in Vietnam. But when the thief shouts "stop, thief!"—it is necessary to be vigilant.

Therefore, the US "peace" offensive should not be taken, at this moment, to mean a willingness to stop aggression, for all the honeyed words used by Johnson and his colleagues.

By THE EDITOR

It is argued by some people that the latest "peace" offensive of the US imperialists is really a proof of the defeat of their aggression: it is a plea to save their prestige and their face. Therefore, it should not be dismissed merely as an attempt to mask the US plans for escalation of the aggression in Vietnam.

It is in this context, therefore, that the peace initiatives being undertaken by nonaligned countries must be seen.

of South Vietnam must take part in any peace discussions.

The recognition of the South Vietnam National Liberation Front is an essential necessity, without which there can be no settlement. The Front alone represents the people of South Vietnam, as has been demonstrated so vividly by its growing strength and its glorious resistance to the inhuman barbarism of the US aggressors.

The presence of the US representative Averil Harriman in Yugoslavia during Shastri's visit did not add to the stature of the Government of India or increase its authority as a possible initiator of a genuine move for peace.

This argument is not without basis. The US government is facing a debacle in South Vietnam; more and more parts of the country have been liberated and are now under the administration of the Liberation Front. Americans are opposing the Johnson

★ President Nkrumah of Ghana is making his own efforts; his representatives have just returned from Hanoi with a letter from President Ho Chi Minh and have announced cryptically enough that "peace moves are on hand".

The call for the stopping of US bombing is not a new call. There can be no talk of peace, as long as the bombings continue. But once again, as earlier the US authorities are talking of "responding" to this call by another "pause" in bombing.

If the Government of India sincerely desires peace in Vietnam, it has only to join the peace-loving governments and peoples of the world in demanding that the US troops quit South Vietnam and that steps be taken for the convening of a Geneva type conference, on the basis of the acceptance of the very reasonable four points of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the five points of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam.

★ The visit of Prime Minister Shastri to Yugoslavia has been the starting point for proposals regarding a new special effort by certain nonaligned countries. President Nasser is reported to be participating in this new effort.

As is well known, the Americans need a "pause" to regroup their forces and re-plan an intensified drive with

The Indian people must intensify their campaign for solidarity with the people of Vietnam, against the US aggression. They must demand that the Government of India acts with vigour to bring about the withdrawal of US troops. That is the only way to peace in Vietnam.

(August 4, 1965)

CALCUTTA TRAM STRUGGLE

Police Brutality Unleashed: More Pictures And Despatch On Centre Pages



Stop This Murder!

One more leader of the working people has met his death in a Congress jail. The passing away of S. V. Parulekar in Bombay has sent a wave of anguish and anger running through the entire democratic movement (obituary on page 15).

Repeated demands for the release of at least the ailing and the aged among the detenus have fallen on deaf ears. The Government of India refuses to change its inhuman policy, and death has taken its second victim.

The central secretariat of the Communist Party of India has in a statement condemned "the heartless and vindictive policy which the Government of India is pursuing in regard to the over thousand detenus belonging to the Marxist Communist Party, the Communist Party of India and others detained without trial".

Lack of proper facilities, lack of adequate medical treatment took the life of B. D. Parab only a few weeks ago. Such important leaders of the Marxist Party as P. Sundarayya, S. S. Mirajkar and K. T. Sule were released on parole only when their lives were in danger. Muzaffar Ahmad is 76 and in a precarious state of health. Several other aged and ailing comrades are in the jails in West Bengal, Punjab, Maharashtra, Gujarat, Andhra and Kerala.

The Communist Party of India has demanded that the Government of India should show "elementary human decency" and release at least all aged and ailing detenus immediately and unconditionally, so that they can be given proper medical treatment and their lives may be saved.

This is a national issue and not a party issue, and must be taken up by all who have a spark of humanity in them and who want to stop what amounts virtually to murder in the Congress jails.

FEED THE PEOPLE —OR QUIT



THE INDIAN PEOPLE have had enough of Congress promises of a rosy future. They cannot fill their stomachs with these promises.

To the hungry of the large cities, the latest promise is that statutory rationing will be introduced. The Chief Ministers' sub-committee has announced its decision. It will be confirmed by the Chief Ministers and then by the Central Cabinet. And then, as though by the swish of a magic wand, the ration cards will be there, and with them... FOOD...

The Communist Party and other democratic forces have been demanding that statutory rationing be introduced in the larger cities and heavily deficit rural areas, and informal rationing in the smaller cities. This demand appears to have been almost entirely met by the Chief Ministers' sub-committee.

But it is not enough to declare that rationing will be introduced. If the government is serious, it must make effective arrangements to see that it has enough stocks to provide adequate rations. There is only one way to do this, and that is to prevent the hoarders from cornering the stocks. This can be done only through state trading in foodgrains and monopoly procurement by government, with guarantees of a fair price for the peasants.

This is precisely what the Chief Ministers' sub-committee has refused to do. It has been kind enough to admit that the real solution would lie in state trading and monopoly procurement. But in the name of lack of administrative personnel and other "practical" difficulties, this solution is rejected, leaving the field free for the hoarders and profiteers to grab as much of the stocks as possible, in order to starve and fleece the masses.

The fact cannot be hidden behind the screen of wordy threats of action against profiteering, that the Congress regimes are as a rule too closely linked with the monopolists and hoarders, to be expected to take any effective steps for the solution of the food problem.

The Communist Party and the democratic movement have repeatedly pointed out that the nationalisation of banks is a necessary step for the solution of the food crisis—so that the bank owners can no longer assist, as they do now, in the hoarding and profiteering in food, which results in so much misery and hunger for the people.

But despite all the tall talk about a "national" food policy, in which the ruling circles indulge, there is complete silence regarding this essential question of the nationalisation of banks.

What steps are being taken against the food hoarders and thieves? Again promises, sometimes symbolic arrests (usually of the little fish, the sharks are too full of banknotes to be caught). But the arrested are out soon enough, release orders, cancellation of cases, and the loot can begin again.

The food problem is not a new problem. Rationing is meant to tackle the problem of distribution. But what about production? The Food Minister talks of plenty of schemes to increase food production. But the key question of the proper implementation of genuine agrarian reforms, the giving of land to the tiller, and the distribution of all fallow land to the landless—these are just conveniently forgotten, or lost in heaps of verbiage, carefully wrapped in endless files.

From all parts of the country come reports of action and preparations for action against the pro-hoarder and pro-landlord policies of the Congress Government, against the profiteers and food plunderers. Steps are being taken to coordinate all these actions and prepare for a mighty united all-India struggle for a real national food policy in the interests of the masses and against those of the money-makers and their white capped patrons.

The demand "Feed the People... or Quit" is rising from every corner of the land. A government which cannot feed the people forfeits the right to remain in power. (August 3)

NEW DELHI LETTER

Shelving Food Issue and Plan Slideback

In the midst of the growing scepticism and uncertainty about Plan policy itself and discontent over rising prices, the Chief Ministers' sub-committee which was appointed at Bangalore AICC announced on Sunday that a national food policy has been, after all, evolved.

But few are taken in by this tall claim and within a day of the announcement doubts are being expressed if any policy, much less a national policy on the food front has really been settled.

The fact of the matter is that the sub-committee's has been an exercise in political compromise between some Chief Ministers. It is quite on the cards that when all the Chief Ministers meet on August 6 to examine the sub-committee's recommendations, the compromise may blow up. Quite a few of the Chief Minister, who have a key role to play in the success of any food policy, being from surplus states such as Punjab and Orissa, had stayed out of the committee.

They are not eager to accept responsibilities under an overall national policy which would be directed firmly by the centre. Andhra, with its crucial position as the surplus state for the entire South was a reluctant participant in the committee's work.

The most important decision of the sub-committee was that statutory rationing should be introduced immediately in large cities with 3,00,000 and above population. Smaller cities and towns are proposed to be covered gradually over a period of 12 to 15 months.

It has not escaped notice that the Chief Ministers at about this time last year had also decided in favour of rationing in large cities. The decision was then to apply to only seven metropolitan cities. But Calcutta alone has been placed under rationing so far while in the case of others absence of adequate stocks has been pleaded as bar to rationing.

No Monopoly Procurement

While restating the same decision, it is odd that the question of stocks was allowed to be almost shelved. It is axiomatic that there can be no rationing on the scale proposed—it should be worthwhile to recall Kerala's tragic lesson in this connection—without large scale procurement. This was the crucial point of decision and was made the subject of a compromise.

Three definite proposals were before the committee—monopoly procurement as advocated by Finance Minister TTK and supported earlier by Chief Ministers of West Bengal and Bombay, compulsory levy of a sizeable portion of marketable surplus as recommended by the Dantwala Commission and open market

operations through the Food Corporation of India on which Food Minister places his whole reliance. On the first day the committee met, it was deadlocked precisely on procurement policy. West Bengal Chief Minister P. C. Sen was already shaken from his support for monopoly procurement at Bangalore by the opposition of his counterpart in Orissa whom he had consulted before coming here.

Madhya Pradesh Chief Minister qualified his support for this measure by so many ifs and buts that it did not amount to very much. Food Minister Subramaniam himself threw the wet blanket on it by making it known that the Centre would not extend financial support for the measure.

P. C. Sen's Retreat

P. C. Sen had experienced what this meant. He could not secure the necessary accommodation from the Centre when he proposed to go in for it in West Bengal.

It was at this stage that P. C. Sen urged that the manner and method of procurement might be left to the states themselves to decide. The decision to introduce rationing was thus set on the fragile ground that maximum procurement of wheat and rice would be organised by the states through means of their own choice and the Foodgrain Corporation.

As in the past, the so-called national food policy depends on the readiness of the state governments to implement it. Going on the basis of past experience, there can be little optimism that it would be.

A positive element of the Chief Ministers' sub-committee which might, however, be noted is the decision to invite the Planning Commission to prepare a national food budget—that is, the Commission would work out the surplus and deficit of each state and the movement of stocks from the surplus states and the Centre to the deficit states would be determined on that basis.

This should give a clearer picture of each state's responsibility in arranging supplies either from its own resources or from outside.

In evading the fundamental question of procuring the requisite supplies, however, political consequences for the leaders of the state governments figured not a little in the course of the Chief Ministers' discussions.

Considerations of elections loomed large before them

and in that context few believe that firm measures would be taken to wrest the control over stocks with vested interests—landlords, traders and millers—to make rationing on the scale envisaged possible.

While the evolution and implementation of a national food policy remains a mirage, the Plan policies and the general direction of economic development has been thrown into such utter confusion as has not been seen during the last 15 years.

With less than a month for the National Development Council to meet to finalise the basic outline of the Fourth Plan, all the premises on which the Planning Commission had been working so far in its preparation have been put in jeopardy.

It was left to S. K. Patil and J. R. D. Tata to make explicit the direction which foreign and Indian monopolists want our economic development to take.

Masani's had been an ineffective voice when he gave the slogan of "Plan holiday". With Patil and Tata himself taking up the refrain, in the context of demands put forward by World Bank Mission during its discussions in the Capital last month, it assumes sinister importance.

Shastri's Suggestion

Prime Minister Shastri had already lent weight to the idea that the so-called Plan holiday is being seriously taken up. He had not called for a Plan holiday but freezing or consolidation. The Planning Commission, under these pressures, initiated by The World Bank in more sophisticated form, has been obliged to take cognizance of them.

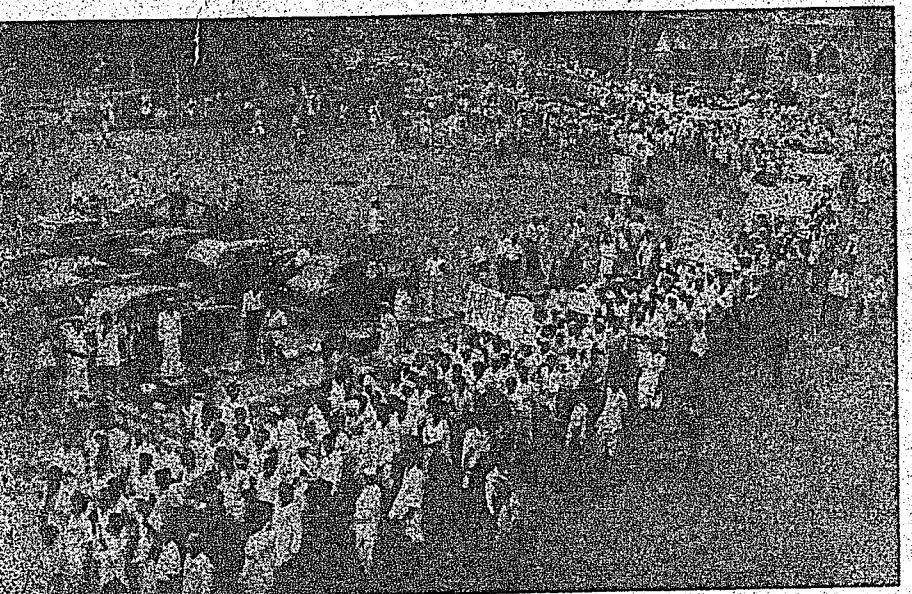
They are bound to figure for decision when the Planning Commission meets on August 9 and 10 for its full session under Prime Minister's chairmanship.

The whole concept, in the name of concentrating on agriculture, and correcting imbalances in the economy, is to stop capital investments in our economy; allow unrestricted inflow of maintenance imports from the West and give freedom to Indian big business to make profits by removing price controls so that goods reflect their scarcity value.

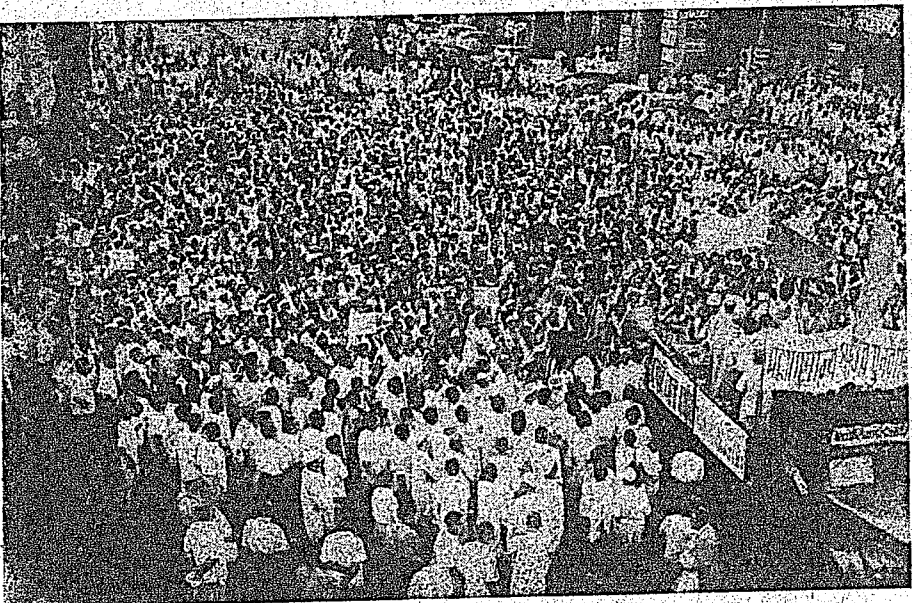
In other words, economic stagnation and unrestricted profiteering and exploitation of the Indian people. This is the recipe of the World Bank and the demand of vested interests within the country.

It is for progressive opinion and the mass movement to bestir in time to stop them having their way.

—B. M.



A view of the peasant demonstration in Bombay on July 29. Below, the meeting at Kala Ghoda



GOA MERGER : Karnataka CPI Unit Explains Stand

From OUR CORRESPONDENT

BANGALORE: The Karnataka unit of the Communist Party of India has come out categorically in support of the Goan people's right to determine their own future in a democratic manner.

POINTING out that the majority of the people of Goa had voted for merger with Maharashtra even in the last elections, the CPI unit says: "Let the people of Goa decide their future by themselves."

This view is contained in a statement issued by B. V. Kakkilaya, secretary of the Karnataka state council of the CPI. The statement says:

The decision of the central government to call upon the present Ministry in Goa to resign and immediately thereafter to hold an election to determine the position of Goa has met with severe opposition from the Mysore government.

Things have gone to the length of the Ministry holding out a threat of resignation and a statewide upheaval.

AUGUST 8, 1965

Goa is an integral part of India. While it is true that the late Prime Minister Nehru had said that for ten years Goa should continue as a separate administrative unit, one cannot ignore the fact that in the last elections themselves, the majority of the people of Goa voted for its merger with Maharashtra.

The Congress lost in those elections mainly because of its stand on this issue, which was one of postponement.

Nobody can be blamed if there was none to be found to propagate for the merger of Goa with Mysore and try to secure support of the Goan people for this viewpoint.

Disputes over borders of states and issues like Goa's merger should be solved in a democratic way. The sooner

it is done, the better it is for all.

Bearing this in mind, it would be in the interest of the nation if all those concerned accept the wishes of the people of Goa with regard to its future.

Instead of this, to say, as one of the Mysore Ministers has done, that the people of Goa have no experience of democracy and therefore, they should be given ten years to learn about it, is really ridiculous.

The less one speaks about the Congress Party giving lessons in democracy, the better it is for all.

The Mysore Ministry and some leaders of the Congress party are putting up a heroic appearance and talking of giving a rebuff to the injustice and insult meted out to them.

If instead of this, they showed their zeal in resisting the injustice done to Mysore in the matter of allocation of the steel plant, the fertiliser plant, the aluminium plant, etc. the entire people of the state will be behind them.

Maharashtra Peasants Demonstrate

From SARALA KARKHANIS

BOMBAY: The inadequate provisions of rehabilitation extended to people who are evicted from project areas were highlighted on July 29 when peasants and workers paraded the streets of Bombay with the slogan of "recognise the right of rehabilitation".

ABOUT six thousand peasants from all over Maharashtra had come to the state capital for the demonstration. Hundreds of workers from Bombay joined their peasant brethren.

The peasants had come from Sangli, Satara, Aurangabad, Poona, Sholapur, Nasik, Bhir and Parbhani districts.

Some of them are affected by projects which are already completed. Some others will be affected when new irrigation projects are undertaken.

TEN LAKHS AFFECTED

Their lands, their homes and their villages will be submerged under water when the reservoirs of these projects are full. And provision of alternate homesteads and land must be a first priority.

According to some estimates, the number of people who would be affected by the projects already executed and in hand would be about ten lakhs.

The slogans shouted by the demonstrators were, "immediate legislation for the right of rehabilitation", "we demand land for land", "we demand rehabilitation of villages".

The peasants and workers marched to the Maharashtra Assembly to present a memorandum. But they were stopped near the Kala Ghoda by a strong posse of police.

A deputation on behalf of the demonstrators met Chief Minister Vasantao Naik, Irrigation and Power Minister Shankarrao Chavan and Revenue Minister Rajarambapu Patil.

INSURANCE EMPLOYEES OPPOSE AUTOMATION

NEW DELHI: Strong opposition to the Life Insurance Corporation's plans to introduce automation was expressed at the tenth annual conference of the North Zone Insurance Employees Association.

The conference was held in Delhi on July 31. N. C. Chatterjee MP inaugurated the conference and Prabhat Kar MP and H. L. Parwana addressed it.

The conference passed a resolution demanding that the LIC give up its automation plans because it would not

The Ministers told the deputations that there was no need for a new legislation for the right of rehabilitation as the Ceiling Act had covered the subject.

However, the deputations were not convinced by this. Vasantao Tulpuke, secretary of the Maharashtra Irrigation and Rehabilitation Conference said:

"In our opinion this reply is unsatisfactory because the provision of surplus lands over and above the ceiling is not applicable to our problem. If the government has any goodwill to the peasants affected, it can solve the problem on the lines suggested in our memorandum."

The main provisions in the memorandum are:

★ A part of the area which would be newly irrigated as a result of the execution of the project should be distributed among those who would be uprooted from their land because of the project.

★ Publish the master plans of Godavari, Tapi and Krishna valleys and take the people into confidence before the schemes are finalised.

After the deputations returned, a meeting was held at Kala Ghoda. It was addressed, among others, by S. A. Dange, Senapati Bapat, Rajaram Patil, Nana Bapat, S. G. Sardesai, Krishnarao Dhanup, Manoj and Dutta Deshmukh.

The peasant leaders have declared that the agitation would be continued till the main demands are met.

They also said that they would not allow work on the projects to start till the right of rehabilitation is guaranteed.

serve the interests of policy holders and would hit the employees.

Another resolution demanding holding the price line, rectifying the fraudulent price index, reducing taxes and nationalising banks and insurance companies.

The problem of acute housing shortage of LIC employees was highlighted through another resolution which asked for ten per cent house rent allowance and housing loans at low interest.

Before the session started, about three thousand insurance employees came to the Durbar Hall, venue of the conference, in a procession shouting slogans incorporating their demands.

NEW AGE

PAGE THREE

Chinese Leaders' Latest Anti-Soviet Charges: TRUE or FALSE?

The press has been publishing news agency reports of the latest spate of Chinese articles, charging the Soviet Union with all manner of "crimes" against the Vietnamese people. What is the basis of these charges? Is there any truth in them? Or are they blatant lies?

THESE are questions which it is now necessary to answer, because the publication of these Chinese articles and their almost non-stop broadcast by Peking Radio in a multitude of languages, only gives encouragement to the US imperialists in continuing and escalating their barbaric aggression against the Vietnamese people.

Any division in the anti-imperialist camp provides grist to the mill of the bestial war plans of President Johnson and the Pentagon. When such a division comes into the open with as much drumbeating as accompanies the Chinese leaders' latest anti-Soviet fulminations, and when it is a division between the two major socialist countries, the delight of the imperialists naturally knows no bounds.

And further, let it be remembered that this anti-Soviet drive takes place at a moment when the US government has brazenly announced plans to step up its aggression by introducing into South Vietnam 50,000 more troops

By **ROMESH CHANDRA**

and by various other means. The anti-Soviet campaign in the Chinese press and radio at such a moment can only be seen as a green signal for the US imperialists to go ahead with their nefarious moves for escalating their aggressive war against the people of Vietnam.

Why then this anti-Soviet campaign, when its results in terms of encouragement to the US imperialists are so obvious? Let us carefully examine the latest "charge-sheet" published during the most recent period.

On July 27, the Peking newspaper **TA KUNG PAO** carried an article which was immediately circulated by the HSIINHUA (New China News Agency) and read *ad nauseam* over Peking Radio. This article, which claimed to deal with the Soviet Union's Vietnam policy, made the following charges against the Soviet Union.

"On certain occasions, they make the gesture of demanding the withdrawal of US troops from South Vietnam, while on others they keep complete silence on the matter."

"On the one hand, they give miserly aid to Vietnam, while on the other they divulge in advance the particulars about the aid to the Americans..."

"While professing opposition to the US imperialist aggression against Vietnam... they advocate peace talks so as to find a way out for US imperialism."

The article concluded by asserting that the Soviet leaders were "filled with awe" of US imperialism, were "cowed down" by it, were spreading

as the Chinese leaders insist, the Vietnamese would not say that the Soviet Union "by all possible means" is strengthening their national defence and enabling them to safeguard effectively their security and sovereignty.

If the Soviet Union were trying to scare the Vietnamese into ending their resistance to US aggression, as the Chinese leaders declare with so much "fury," surely the Vietnamese would not talk of the Soviet Union supporting them by all possible means.

The speech made at Helsinki by the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front delegation also mentioned by name the Government of the Soviet Union for its open offer "to send volunteers and arms to South Vietnam at any time at the request of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam."

Surely, if the South Vietnam Liberation Front believed what the Chinese press would have us believe about the Soviet Union's policy in regard to Vietnam, the Front's official representative would not have thanked the Soviet Union for its open offer of assistance, of volunteers and arms.

As a matter of fact, the truth is well known. Soviet defence assistance to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam is of crucial significance in the battle against US aggression. The Soviet missile sites act as a barrier of decisive significance against the aggressors.

If they have taken longer than otherwise in being put into commission, the blame does not lie on the Soviet Union but on those who refused to allow Soviet defence assistance to be flown by the only way to Vietnam.

But despite the delay, the latest defence weapons are obviously already in Vietnam, as is openly acknowledged now on all sides.

A word about the so-called Soviet support to the American "unconditional negotiations hoax". The Chinese charge is completely without any basis. At no point did the Soviet delegation at Helsinki even remotely or indirectly support a suggestion made by a US delegate for sending a "peace mission" on behalf of the congress to certain countries.

In fact, in the commissions, the Soviet delegates categorically stated that they did not support the idea of a "mission" for a whole variety of reasons.

The truth is that even in the formal speech made in the plenary session by Alexander Korneichuk, who led the Soviet delegation, a clearcut stand was taken on the US proposal for "unconditional negotiations." This is what Korneichuk said:

"We cannot take seriously the deceptive proposals about 'negotiations' which are made from time to time by the US and its allies. What sort of peaceful negotiations are there if the negotiators want to conduct them to the accompaniment of barbaric bombings of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam?"

ON PAGE 13

MULGAONKAR'S CASE

Revision Petition By New Age Admitted

The revision petition by D. P. Sinha, printer and publisher of **NEW AGE**, against the order of N. L. Kakkar, Magistrate First Class, New Delhi in connection with the defamation case filed by S. Mulgaonkar, editor of **HINDUSTAN TIMES**, was admitted by J. S. Mundal, Additional Sessions Judge, Delhi, on July 30. The judge has fixed August 7 for hearing and stayed the proceedings in the lower court for the time being.

THE revision petition was filed by D. P. Sinha against the order of N. L. Kakkar on July 17 disallowing the questions with reference to a photostat of a receipt of 45,000 francs executed by S. Mulgaonkar.

V. K. Krishna Menon who appeared for D. P. Sinha before the additional sessions judge argued that the magistrate ought not to have disallowed these questions.

He pointed out that the counsel for D. P. Sinha wanted to cross-examine S. Mulgaonkar with reference to this photostat to establish that Mulgaonkar had received in 1947 from S. R. Rana, an Indian revolutionary living in France, 45,000 French francs on trust to pay to Jawaharlal Nehru for being used by him for any purpose he chose but. Mulgaonkar never paid this amount to Nehru during the long span of 18 years till Nehru died.

Menon further argued that if cross-examination was not illegally disallowed, he would have brought the material on record that S. Mulgaonkar paid

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ON PAGE 13

MORE ON ANTI-SOVIETISM OF THE 'MARXISTS'

WE had raised a number of important ideological-political issues for consideration of **PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY**.

One of them was the attitude towards the Soviet Union, specially its disinterested aid to India in its independent economic development.

Here is its reply: "But there is one point which we want to take up just now and that is **NEW AGE's** dirty attempt to insinuate that we are anti-Soviet."

"It suggests that we are against Soviet aid to India. Any one who has read our Programme has to be either illiterate or dishonest to present our position in this manner" (**PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY**, July 11, p. 12).

We are glad that **PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY** professes that it is neither anti-Soviet nor against Soviet aid to India. But unfortunately this profession of **PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY** is exposed by **SWADHINATA** which is its own "Central Hindi organ".

It says on June 13 (p. 7): "...But Soviet leaders' callous unconcern to the barbarous acts of American imperialists in this Vietnam war, giving only threat instead of sending help, awarding 'Lenin Peace Prize' to all the Communists and opponents of China throughout the world, and giving not only open-hearted economic but also military aid to several such countries, among which India is prominent, which have embarked on capitalist development by shutting the Communists behind penal walls of jails are 'clear proof' that the present leaders of the Soviet Union have not deviated a bit from Khrushchev's policies." The

SWADHINATA of July 24, has also published a full page anti-Soviet article from London's Broadsheet which includes such anti-Soviet slanders as the following:

"Both America and Soviet Union were prepared to do something more than voting for each other in order to defeat China. Soviet Union's readiness to vote one-sidedly behind the facade of Vietnam crisis was a thing of great significance in the interest of America."

While **PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY** claims that the Marxist Communists stand for the unity of the Kisan Sabha, **SWADHINATA**, its central Hindi organ, makes the following announcement:

"The all-India Kisan conference was held at Vijayawada in December" (July 24, p. 3)

No member or office-bearer of the **AIKS** who is not a member of the Marxist Communist Party of India knows anything about this all-India Kisan conference.

Therefore, this announcement of **SWADHINATA** can mean only one thing: Marxist Communists have already split the **AIKS** and secretly set up their own Kisan Sabha.

We wish this announcement published in **SWADHINATA** were only a slip, and would be contradicted immediately by the Marxist Party. But if it is not a slip, then the **kisans** and **kisan workers** throughout India will like to know why this announcement is being made after seven months of the alleged all-India Kisan conference.

Why did no other paper carry any news about such an important event as this? Why is it that even the people of Vijayawada have no knowledge of this conference?

'Marxist' CP's Programme X'rayed

The Communist Party (Marxist) has damned the Programme of the Communist Party of India as "thoroughly revisionist", as laying the ideological foundations of "class collaboration" and "tailing behind the Congress". We can safely leave it to the reader of our Party's Programme to decide for himself the truth of these abusive remarks.

What needs examination, however, is whether the programme adopted by the Calcutta congress of the Marxist Communists late last year is as "revolutionary" as it claims to be.

We have to single out its fundamental formulations and analyse whether or not they are correct, that is, whether they correctly reflect existing reality and provide a true revolutionary perspective of action for the working class and the people.

In this context, we shall have to examine where these formulations differ from those of the CPI Programme and what the significance of these differences is. These differences are vital and of enormous practical significance requiring the maximum possible discussion and debate.

First, the question of independence. The CPI Programme hails the achievement of independence as opening a new epoch in the history of our people and as being of historic importance for all mankind.

The Marxist CP programme says "political power was transferred in India to the leaders of the Congress party on August 15, 1947. Thus ended the political rule of the British in India and a state headed by the Indian big bourgeoisie was established."

These formulations are grudging acceptance of an inescapable reality, but they miss the tremendous significance of India becoming free, and are completely out of tune with the national mood which rightly rejoiced at the coming of Independence.

Perhaps the leadership of the Marxist CP is afraid that full-throated welcome of the fact of freedom would "create illusions",

which could have carried the revolution to the end.

Third, the question of the building of the economic base of freedom. The straight question is: Is India's economy today resting on stronger, more independent foundations than in 1947?

To this question the programme of the CP (Marxist) gives the answer "the most glaring fact of our economic life today is that the country's economy as a whole is in many respects precariously dependent on western assistance and particularly US assistance. Far from this dependence getting reduced, it is actually increasing year by year" (p. 10)

This means that in 1944 India was more dependent on imperialism than in 1947.

This is a palpably absurd formulation. The new industries that have arisen, the new trade patterns that have emerged, the new technical personnel that have been trained—all cry out against this formulation.

Without the strengthening of the economic base, India would never have been able to take a step forward and pursue an in-

by **MOHIT SEN**

Marxist CP and AITUC Policy

The "Marxist" paper, **PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY**, dated July 25, 1965 has published a write-up "Sanjivayya's Two-Pillar Policy for TSU".

On the course of this, it is stated: "There is little difference between the prescription of the Minister and the much-publicised two-pillar policy which 'creative marxist' Dange put forward a few years ago at the Ernakulam session of the AITUC. How wonderfully the revisionists anticipate what the bourgeois want!"

"Revisionist" anticipation of bourgeois desires may or may not be wonderful. But the lack of regard for truth of the "Marxists" is really something brave.

At the AITUC session at Ernakulam in 1957, S. A. Dange not only put forward the two-pillar policy, but what the "Marxists" omit to mention, the same was unanimously accepted and acclaimed by all the delegates present.

Included among them were S. S. Mirajkar (who was elected as president at the same session), P. Ramamurti (elected as vice-president) and all those lesser luminaries of the TU front who have decided to cast their lot with the "Marxist" party.

The two-pillar policy of Dange was re-affirmed at the Bangalore session of the AITUC General Council in 1959 where all these "Marxist" leaders were again present.

The same policy was again accepted unanimously at the Coimbatore session of the AITUC in 1961 and enriched further through the experience of the years in which the TU movement had put it into practice. Again this was a unanimous decision.

Since the Coimbatore session of the AITUC, Dange's two-pillar policy (which, to put it correctly, is not Dange's policy though he was the first to formulate it, but the accepted policy of the entire AITUC) has been the basis and guiding line of AITUC

and it was in working out this policy that the glorious bands in many states and various other struggles of workers, on a united platform, have taken place.

It was in working out this policy that the united platform of action—the Kashitriya Sangram Samiti—has been evolved.

Perhaps the "Marxists" will claim that in initiating and carrying forward all these glorious working class actions—in all of which no "Marxist" like Mirajkar or Ramamurti was even remotely connected—Dange and his "revisionists" are again obliging the bourgeoisie by anticipating their desires.

From the text of the article, it is evident that the writer has no understanding of what AITUC's two-pillar policy has been or is or how, in the course of years, it has been flexibly used to advance the interests of the working class.

However, I do not wish to enter into a futile paper discussion with the writer who has preferred to remain anonymous.

I would only like to say that the followers of **PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY** among the trade unionists are at full liberty to attack this policy and put forward their own at any meeting of the AITUC including its session which will meet towards the end of the year at Indore.

We shall abide by any democratic decision regarding policy taken at the AITUC at any level.

We hope that the "Marxists" who swear by working class unity, while actually harming it the most in action, will also agree to abide by such a democratic decision.

And for the present, till the AITUC's policy remains as adopted by two successive sessions, we hope they will cease to publicly attack it.

Or is it their way of anticipating the desires of bourgeoisie by trying to disrupt the most militant and powerful organ of working class unity?

This negative attitude to socialist aid would mean that the dependent foreign and home policy. The question of independent capitalist development would not arise at all.

In order to be able to criticise the policies and the capitalist path pursued by the Congress, it is not in the least necessary to fly against facts and make out that India is "precariously and increasingly dependent on imperialism."

Nor is this necessary to take note of and warn against the dangers posed by allowing huge quantities of foreign private capital free entry and by going in for huge loans from the west, which the Congress government is doing.

While making all these criticisms and more, the CPI Programme categorically states that "India, no longer linked and solely dependent on the world capitalist market, has been able to advance along the road of independent industrial growth."

Fourth, the question of socialist aid. The programme of the CP (Marxist) recognises that socialist aid is disinterested, that it is of key importance but its basic approach is contained in the following formulation:

"With the emergence of the world socialist system, while utilising socialist aid for building certain heavy industries, it (the bourgeoisie—M.S.) actually uses it as an extremely useful bargaining counter to strike more favourable deals with imperialist monopolists." (p. 5)

If this is the significance of socialist aid, then neither the Indian people nor the socialist countries should be at all keen about it.

Why should they be particularly interested in the Indian bourgeoisie being able to strike better bargains with imperialism? Why should they be interested in increasing collaboration between the Indian and imperialist monopolists through more favourable deals for the former?

This negative attitude to socialist aid would mean that the

ANTI-LABOUR ASPECTS OF BONUS ORDINANCE

Many of the anti-labour provisions of the Bonus Ordinance have been examined in an earlier article. (NEW AGE, dated June 20) However, the problems which the unions have begun to face in the course of their negotiations for bonus and in court cases bring more and more points which militate against workers' interests.

THE Bonus Commission had recommended that the new law should have retrospective effect in case of all accounting years ending on any day in the year 1962 and subsequently. This meant retrospective effect for all financial years upto 1961-62.

Now the retrospective effect is valid only in respect of any accounting year commencing on any day in the year 1964.

Apart from changing the year from 1962 to 1964, the changeover from "ending" to "commencing" has the effect of depriving the workers of bonus under the ordinance (which really means minimum bonus) for a further one year because now the bonus would be due only for the year 1964-65.

Thus, not only 1961-62 and 1962-63 have been written off; 1963-64 is also taken beyond the purview of the retrospective effect by cleverly changing the recommendation regarding the financial year ending in a particular calendar year to a financial year commencing in a particular calendar year (Section 16).

The same clause has had another startling effect. It gives exemption from payment of bonus to new establishments for six years from the accounting year in which it sells products manufactured by them or from the year in which it makes profits, whichever is earlier.

SIX-YEAR HOLIDAY

With the audited balance-sheet having become sacrosanct for the ordinance, it is not difficult to realise that this means immunity for new establishments from paying bonus for six years.

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in accordance with the provisions of this ordinance."

The ordinance was promulgated on May 29. What happens to an industrial dispute which was pending in the sense provided for by the ordinance and decided on any date between September 2, 1964 and May 29, 1965?

There are cases in which industrial tribunals have dismissed bonus claims because according to the LAT formula, there was no allocable surplus. The ordinance now provides for a minimum bonus of four per cent of total wages. The awards of the tribunals have been published and have become operative. What remedy can the worker have?

By
SATISH LOOMBA

sought to be deprived of bonus for six long years.

Of course, the "closure" can be challenged as mala fide and unjustified. But that requires the raising of an industrial dispute, securing reference to adjudication from an unwilling government, long and tortuous process of legal wrangling, may be upto the Supreme Court.

Where the workers are unorganised, even this "remedy" is not available. And by the time the case is decided a new changeover may further prolong the no-bonus period.

According to the ordinance, each partner is entitled to Rs. 48,000 per annum as remuneration and this, without having to prove whether he is working for the establishment and what his qualifications, etc., are.

Previously, both these had to be proved and even after proof the adequate remuneration could be fixed by the court in its discretion.

BONUS FOR WIVES?

All that is now gone, and a "wife" who may not even have seen the factory is entitled to Rs. 48,000 as a matter of right simply because she is a partner. Hence the changeover from the husband to the wife does not even entail this risk of losing Rs. 4,000 per month.

Take Section 33. It says: "Where immediately before 2nd September 1964, any industrial dispute regarding payment of bonus relating to any accounting year ending on any day in the year 1962 and any subsequent accounting year was pending before the appropriate government or before any tribunal or other authority constituted under the Industrial Disputes Act 1947 or under any corresponding law relating to investigation and settlement of industrial disputes in a State, such dispute shall be decided

He can try his luck at claiming bonus through Payment of Wages Court, or under Section 33C(2) of the Industrial Disputes Act or can seek to raise a fresh dispute. In any case, the matter will be open and authorities concerned may take divergent views.

"SAVING" CLAUSE

The net result in such cases is, in fact, to deprive the worker, except may be at the end of a lengthy and costly process of law, of the minimum bonus due to him.

Then, what about a case for bonus which was pending on September 3 and afterwards but not on September 2, 1964? In such cases again, minimum bonus will be denied.

Much noise has been made by the employers about the clause which is said to save existing benefits.

The INTUC has been boosting up this saving clause as a great victory for the workers specially secured through its effort and even withdrew its earlier opposition to government's modifications of the Bonus Commission's recommendations on the strength of this saving clause assurance.

That, in fact, it saves nothing except "ratios" of total bonus to gross profits in the relevant year and the base year has been examined earlier. Now I wish to point out another aspect of the problem.

Section 32 of the ordinance read with section 34 has the effect of saving only those settlements in which bonus has been linked with production or productivity in lieu of profit-bonus. No award or settlement or contract of service providing a straight profit bonus is saved except as a "ratio".

This is with regard to existing settlements, awards, etc. What is even worse is

that, in future also, no settlement can be made on the basis of a straight profit bonus.

PRODUCTION ANGLE

Clause (vii) of Section 32 exempts those employees from the purview of the ordinance "a) who have entered before the commencement of this ordinance into any agreement or settlement with their employers for payment of an annual bonus linked with production or productivity in lieu of bonus based on profits; or (b) who may enter after such commencement into any agreement or settlement with their employers for payment of such annual bonus in lieu of the bonus payable under this ordinance."

Thus, in future, the road is cleared for employers to refuse to negotiate on production bonus unless it is in lieu of profit bonus. The courts may take a similar view. Similarly, any settlement for profit bonus will be refused unless it takes the form of production bonus.

In many concerns now, workers are getting both production bonus and profit bonus. In future, this will be ruled out.

The unions should be prepared also for a spate of "settlements" in which

Railway Casual Labour at Hubli Fight for Minimum Wages

From G. S. SATYANARAYANA

BANGALORE: Casual labourers engaged in the construction of the new Railway General Stores and remodelling of workshops at Hubli are waging an intense struggle against the anti-labour policies of the railway authorities.

The struggle is mainly for getting the minimum wages fixed by the state government and against indiscriminate retrenchment without payment of compensation.

Nearly 1,500 workers are at present engaged in these construction works at Hubli.

The railway authorities are paying these casual labourers only a starvation wage of Rs. 1.13 a day, though the minimum wages fixed at Hubli by the district authorities is Rs. 2.50 a day.

Even though the workers are entitled to get 15 days' wages

workers will "willingly" give up profit bonus for some production bonus scheme!

Obliging unions will be forced to enter into such settlements, in places some workmen will be cornered and in others bought over to sign settlements on behalf of all workers. And such documents will be used to ban the operation of the minimum bonus clause.

Specially in unorganised sections of workers, this development is likely to proceed rapidly.

The government is never tired of repeating how the ordinance is going to benefit lakhs of unorganised workers who never previously got bonus. But what it forgets to point out is the big door left open by it through which employers can walk out at will.

MERE EYE WASH

In view of this, the provision of section 34(2) became almost meaningless and a mere eye wash except where the workers through their struggle and unity succeeded in imposing them. Or except when the employers utilise them to deprive the workers of whatever benefits they may be getting even under this ordinance.

To cap it all is section 36 which confers on the appropriate government the power to exempt from the operation of the whole or any clause of this ordinance for any period it likes, any establishment or class of establishments if it is of the opinion that it will not be "in public interest" to apply the ordinance!

Another lucrative avenue for "contact men"!

The food problem still occupies the centre of attention. The first of two important policy developments has been the ad hoc purchase of one million tons of US wheat as a stand by till the new PL 480 agreement is signed, possibly, this autumn. The other is the report of the Agricultural Prices Commission. Both are menacing portents.

THE haste and the abject manner in which the Government of India went in for the new agreement even before a new PL 480 deal was signed is in itself alarming.

It obviously betrays the official outlook that the eight or nine million tons food-grains output increase—from about 97 million tons to 87 million tons—is not to be matched by a corresponding increase in internal procurement.

It is also a matter for the gravest concern that India has silently accepted the implied US rebuke manifested in delaying the signing of the new PL 480 agreement which should have been done in July.

There has been not the slightest protest from the Government of India's side, in sharp contrast to the attitude adopted by President Nasser when faced with a far more difficult situation.

Knowing India's difficulties, the US imperialists have tightened their screws still more tightly. The new concessions they have wrung out from the Government of India are likely to be followed up in the hard bargaining that will begin this autumn.

Until last year the freight charges for the wheat imported in US ships—US law demands that 50 per cent of all PL 480 cargo should be carried in US ships—used to be paid for in rupees.

Now these will have to be paid in dollars, though at the prevailing international rates. The US freight charges over and above these rates will be paid in rupees.

Under the new agreement, 75 per cent of the sales pro-

Economic notes

ceeds will be made available as loans to be disbursed as the governments of India and the United States jointly agree upon. Previously 80 per cent of the sales proceeds used to be so made available, half of them in the form of outright grants.

Instead of 15 per cent of the PL 480 counterpart funds, the US embassy will now have exclusive control over 20 per cent. Five per cent, as previously, will be loaned to private industries in India as per the Cooley Amendment.

What is even worse, the US embassy can sell Indian rupees to US citizens in India thereby cutting into our tourist foreign exchange earnings. There is no limit to the amount of such rupee hand-outs.

Further, the US government has the full right to use the counterpart rupee funds available to it to buy goods in India and then send them on to other countries as part of its "aid" programme.

All these will combine to exert a most adverse effect on India's foreign exchange

PL 480 Blackmail

earnings, quite apart from the enormous political danger posed to democracy in the country by the astronomical sums of Indian rupees at the disposal of the US embassy.

The present US AID Director in India, John F. Lewis estimated that by 1965 US rupee holdings in India will amount to close on Rs. 900 crores. This figure does not appear to include the funds under the immediate control of the US Embassy. If this is added, the sum will exceed Rs. 1,000 crores by a substantial margin.

If the government keeps going in for more and more PL 480 agreements, accepting ever more onerous terms, it will enormously increase US neo-colonialist penetration in our country.

It should realise that what is being sent to India are US surpluses which would otherwise rot in the various silos and warehouses where they are stocked at considerable expense to the US taxpayer.

Apart from amending its domestic food policies the government can well afford to be more courageous and drive a better bargain with the US imperialists.

The Dantwala Commission has made recommendations which the government can

accept only at its own peril and at the cost of accelerating the deepening crisis on the food front.

One need not waste too much time in going into the merits of its proposal that the single state food zones should be continued. This is a matter of pure administrative convenience once one accepts the principles of banning all private inter-state transactions, of an integrated price structure for foodgrains both for the producer and the consumer.

Where it has gone completely awry is in recommending first that there should be no ceilings on the wholesale prices of rice, and second in fixing 15 to 25 per cent of the marketable surplus of rice as the maximum target for state purchase.

The major part of such purchases, it suggests, would have to be produced through a system of levies on millers and producers.

It goes so far as to enunciate the principle that in India any state monopoly of the foodgrains trade would automatically lead to the major portion of the marketable surplus going underground. This is a counsel of despair and an advocacy of the class interests of the hoarders and profiteers.

It suggests that only the prices of the government purchases of rice should be fixed and the rest of the marketable surplus allowed to be sold at whatever price the market will bear. The government could then buy large stocks at the prevailing market price.

This means that between 85 to 75 per cent of the marketable surplus should be left to the mercy of laissez-faire practices or legalised black-marketing and continuous uncertainty.

No planned development worth the name can take place with the fate of the major portion of the marketable surplus hanging in the balance.

We have seen what happened only last year as a result of leaving the marketable surplus in the hands of the chain of large producers—millers—wholesalers syndicates.

Despite increased production there was an unprecedented price spurt of over 35 per cent, even according to official figures.

Grains were just withheld till the time was judged ripe to move in for the kill. On July 27, the Economic Times reported "that year market arrivals were comparatively meagre after the kharif crop. According to one estimate, only 40 per cent of the available surplus has been marketed so far".

Here we have brute facts smashing the facile optimism of the Dantwala Commission. On July 31, the same day that the Dantwala Commission recommendations were published, the same paper published an interesting article on the food situation by its research bureau.

It points out that "throughout this year the official index of food prices stood above the level of the corresponding period of 1964." Another price rise, it stated, was "imminent".

"The old practice of keep-

ing only workable buffer stocks to palliate the markets when they ruled high has proved completely inadequate. All indications suggest that year after year this country will have to face food crisis in the lean seasons and as a short term and medium term remedy huge buffer stocks will have to be built up at any cost—even if it involves widespread compulsory procurement.

"There is no cause for alarm if the government wields powers with regard to the procurement of food (the most important necessity of life) and the regulation of its distribution channels. Even in many advanced countries with absolutely no socialistic leaning there is social control on principal foodgrains. Canada, Australia, Italy, and Japan are outstanding examples." (emphasis added)

It has estimated that the big and medium cultivators form only 25 per cent of the total cultivators, while those with really big holdings constitute only 10 per cent. These, it states, should submit fortnightly returns of their stocks.

It suggests a compulsory levy in kind on the cultivator, adhering to the principle of progression according to the size of the holding and the yield. It also calls for extension of statutory rationing to many more cities.

In the meantime the Food Corporation chairman, T. A. Pal, announced on July 26 that it has finalised the scheme for purchasing foodgrains in case it is called upon to make purchases as the sole agents of the central and state governments.

It was also working on a scheme of monopoly purchase on a pilot basis in the district of Coorg (Mysore).

In his note to the AICC session in Bangalore, T. T. Krishnamachari had written "unless the government acquires a commanding position in the marketing of foodgrains there can be no assurance that foodgrain prices will be stable in the long run."

"Experience in regard to procurement shows that we should be prepared to move towards monopoly procurement on an increasing scale if we are to be in a position to control prices in the lean season or in years of adverse weather conditions." (emphasis added)

The Dantwala Commission has set its fate against such a course of action.

At the time of writing, the discussions of the high level meeting at Delhi to work out a national food policy are not available. Even after that meeting, the final word will have to be said by the conference of Chief Ministers scheduled at the end of the first week of this month.

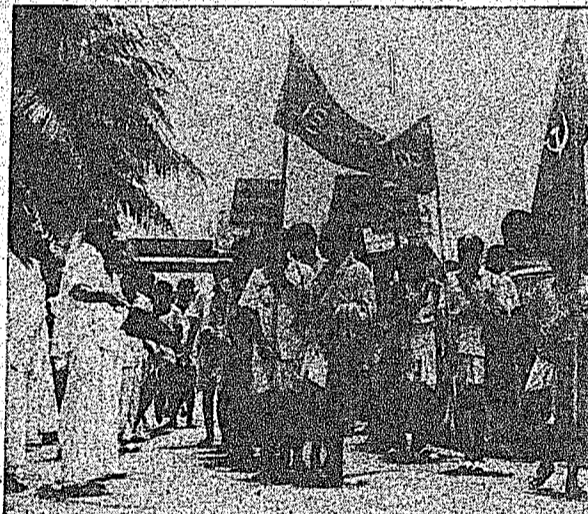
Unless popular pressure mounts, this gathering will be only too ready to fall in line with the Dantwala Commission.

Obviously we are considering here only the short term aspects of the food problem. The basic question of steeply raising food production is bound up with fundamental changes in India's rural set up which are outside the scope of the present notes.

—MOHIT SEN

KERALA HUNGER MARCH

These are two views of the hunger march organised by the Kerala state council of the CPI. The hunger marchers will reach Trivandrum, the state capital on August 9. The pictures are from Calicut.



CALCUTTA RESISTS TRAM FARE INCREASE

From AJOY DASGUPTA

CALCUTTA: The complete hartal in Calcutta on July 30 has given a fitting rebuff to the British-owned Tramways Company who, aided by the Congress government of West Bengal, has sought to impose increased fares on tram passengers.

WITH the successful hartal, the people's resistance movement against tramfare increase has entered a new phase, and the next stage is marked by the call of trade unions for a general strike on August 5.

The movement had begun on July 26, the day when the enhanced fares were to come into force, with a complete strike by the tramway workers themselves.

Earlier, the Tramways Company and the state Transport Minister had tried to pull a fast one on the people in order to push through their nefarious design.

Only a few days back the minister told a deputation of the United Left Front that the government had put some proposals to the Tramways Company in supersession of some suggestions of theirs, but the Company had not till then notified their consent. The Company on the other hand told their workers that they did not get the clearance from the government for fare increase.

But all on a sudden a notice appeared on the pages of the daily newspapers on Sunday, July 25 that the new fare structure would be put into operation from next day. The Company published a chart showing how by the "rationalisation" fares would be reduced in more stages than enhanced.

But the Company did not

think it necessary to inform the public that the 36 paise tickets sold only 1112 pieces a month, whereas the 7 paise tickets sold 142 lakh pieces a month and increase in one paise in that stage meant a clean sweep of Rs. 1.42 lakh more from passengers in a month, or more than Rs. 17

men and said that fare increase was absolutely necessary, as the Tramways Company was running at a loss. He also tried to assuage the feelings of the people by saying that the enhanced income would also provide for the nationalisation fund.

But neither the people at large nor the tramway workers were taken in by such subtleties. The United Left Front and the Workers Union exposed the myth of extra expenditure on workers' enhanced DA. The Union showed that on the other hand, by enforcing the new fare

structurally and deliberately showing losses.

The United Front of Leftist parties demanded setting up of an enquiry commission and keeping the new fare structure in abeyance till the findings of the commission were available. This most reasonable demand which found support in the press and among the public was however not listened to by the company or the government. They were intent on introducing the new fares.

The people's resistance to

Police in Action in Calcutta



laks a year. And this, the lowest stage of fare, is paid by the poor and middle class passengers.

The Company also put out an assurance that some new cars would be constructed and put into service. The Transport Minister also echoed the same thing to the newspaper-

structure the Company and the government were trying to sabotage the agreement for automatic increase in DA for workers, which was entered into last year. Daily newspapers in the city also came out with facts and figures showing that the Tramway Company had been systema-

lically arbitrary measure began immediately. The tramway workers, heroes of many a battle, gave the lead by a total strike on July 26, the day from which the enhanced fare was to be imposed.

The leaders and workers of the left parties held innumerable meetings at tram and bus depots and terminals and important street corners to tell the people why the tram workers had struck work and urging the people not to pay the enhanced fares. Though the trams were on the streets the next day, the people's resistance to increased fares was also manifest.

The volunteers of the United Left Front urged the people not to pay the enhanced fares. The response was very good, particularly in the second class where the incidence of increased fares was heavier. Sale of tickets was going down rapidly as the day progressed. By midday the Company withdrew tram services following an incident precipitated by police action.

The incident took place near the Vidyasagar College, where the students were asking people not to pay more fares. As large number of students were on the streets on both sides of the tramcars, the trams could not move freely. The police lathi-charged the students and entered the Vidyasagar College premi-

ses and even manhandled the Vice-Principal of the college.

The news of this atrocity at the Vidyasagar College spread and students from various colleges came out in the streets. The trams were then withdrawn. The Students Federation (both wings), DSO, PSU and many other students unions jointly decided to call a strike the next day, July 28, and to lead a mass deputation to the Chief Minister against tram fare increase and police atrocities.

The next day the resistance of the passengers also increased and ticket sale fell by about 90 per cent in the second class and 75 per cent in the first class. Many people did not travel by trams and even in peak hours many trams were plying many empty. The movement was shaping towards boycott of the trams.

In the noon, after a complete strike in schools and colleges a huge demonstration of students started from the College Square and marched towards the Raj Bhavan. As usual, the police stopped the procession and a deputation of four student leaders went to meet the Chief Minister. But for quite some time they were asked to meet officials which they refused. Then after much delay, they met the Chief Minister who pleaded for the British company and advised the students not to meddle in the affairs of politicians.

The students pointed out that they would have to pay more fares while their long-standing prayers for concessional rates for students had not even been considered. They also demanded punishment of the guilty among the police for the previous day's incident in the Vidyasagar College and they also wanted a categorical assurance that in future police would not enter any educational institution. The Chief Minister only said that he would enquire about the Vidyasagar College incident.

Meanwhile, the students waiting for their leaders to come back and report became restive with the delay. Rumours spread that they were arrested. The student mass then decided to go to



A section of the students demonstration on July 28

—Photos by: Shambhu Banerjee

the head office of the Tramways company and when the procession was turning that way, the police attacked from the rear, on the plea that brickbats were thrown on them.

tacked again. This sparked off throwing of brickbats by a section of people. The police were ready and were itching for a fight, as was evident from deployment of large number of police force in the lanes and streets in the entire Esplanade Area.

The Reserve Police force and the armed police battalions were called to duty. They then began their rampage. They not only attacked the students, but also the passers-by and even entered the divisional office of the Life Insurance Corporation and beat up policyholders and employees there. They also fired a large number of tear gas shells inside the building.

The whole area was full of the gas. This incident took place at about 3 p.m. and even at 7-30 p.m. when your correspondent visited the building gas had not completely cleared. Employees showed the USA made tear-gas shells fired inside the buildings. Tables and chairs, even wooden spittoons were strewn in the foyer

* ON PAGE 11

An injured LIC employee

When the students were coming back from the tramway office also, they were at-

Police rushes into a tram depot



PROTESTS AGAINST POLICE REPRESSION

The central secretariat of the Communist Party of India issued a statement on July 30 expressing its full solidarity and support to the united struggle which the workers and people of Calcutta are waging against the arbitrary increase of tramfare by the British-owned tramway company.

THE statement says:

Instead of compelling the British company to cancel the increase, which imposes an additional burden on the common people already harassed by the price rise, the state government has launched mass scale repression under the DIR and otherwise to suppress the legitimate popular and peaceful movement.

The secretariat strongly condemns the repressive measures and the arrests of political, trade union and student leaders and demands their immediate release and the withdrawal of the orders under Section 144 Cr. P.C.

The secretariat appeals to the democratic movement throughout the country to rally in support of the people of Calcutta in their just cause and raise their voice against the behaviour of the West Bengal government.

The issue involved is one of national import. If the intransigent owners of the British-owned tramway company refuse to cancel the fare increase, it is open to the government to take over the company here and now.

The British-owned tramway company must not be allowed to defy the public in this manner and take advantage of their position to impose a wholly impermissible fare increase on the people of Calcutta.

release of all who are arrested in this connection and withdrawal of section 144 Cr. P.C. from Calcutta city. We hope the West Bengal Government after realising the feeling of the masses will correct its stand and force the tramway company to stop enhancement of tram fare.

The secretariat of the AITUC issued a statement on July 30 wholeheartedly supporting the heroic resistance of the people of Calcutta to the arbitrary rise in tram fares imposed by the foreign-owned tramway company.

The statement says: The tramway workers led by the AITUC, HMS and UTUC unions had expressed solidarity with the tramfare-rise-resistance by a token strike on July 26.

The AITUC views with grave concern that the government has adopted a repressive policy against the popular movement and has arrested trade union and political leaders connected with the people's movement.

While the government itself has allegedly advised the tramway company against the rise in tram fares, the advice is not followed by any directive to abandon the fare increase.

On the other hand, the government has let loose its repressive machinery against the people thus giving its entire support to the company management.

This double-faced policy of the government, to say the least, is most reprehensible.

The AITUC demands that government should immediately release the arrested leaders and ask the tramway company to reduce the fares forthwith. The AITUC also demands that the tramways in Calcutta should be nationalised immediately.

Sarada Mitra, general secretary of the All-India Youth Federation and Hiren Dasgupta, general secretary of All-India Students Federation jointly issued a statement condemning police atrocity. It says:

We are extremely shocked to read the news of severe police repression which the Government of West Bengal have let loose on the people and students of Calcutta.

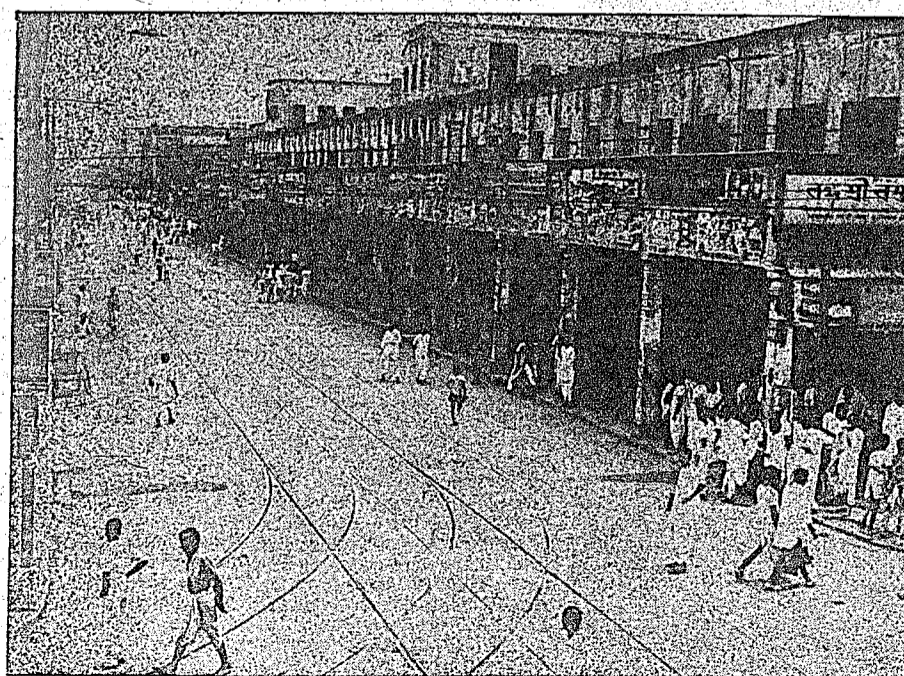
The students of Calcutta, irrespective of their party affiliations have come out in thousands on the streets to protest against the enhancement of tram fare by the Calcutta tramways company—a British firm, by way of which the company is expecting to loot our common people further.

We wonder why the Government of West Bengal, which is supposed to safeguard the interest of the people and not of a British firm, instead of protecting our people from the exploitation of the British capital, has come out on the side of foreign company.

When the people of our country and particularly those in West Bengal are hard hit by the soaring prices of all the essential commodities, in such a situation to allow a foreign company to loot our people does not correspond to preaching of patriotism which the ministers in West Bengal so often shower on the people.

We strongly condemn the police repression and demand immediate

An empty street. Complete stoppage of traffic on July 30



Congress Vengeance on Bangalore Corpn.

From G. S. SATYANARAYANA

BANGALORE: Widespread resentment is expressed here in political circles at the state government's unabashed attempt at sabotaging the work of the non-Congress civic administration of the city.

THE Congress which lost control of the Bangalore Corporation for the first time in the last civic elections is doing all in its power to block the smooth functioning of the Corporation.

In this connection the cycle tax is now the main issue on which a bitter tussle is on between the Corporation and the government. Soon after its election to office in January '65, the new Corporation by a unanimous resolution had proposed to abolish the cycle tax.

But the government refused to accept the recommendation of the Corporation and directed the Corporation administration to collect the tax.

Taking the challenge, the independent Mayor of the

Corporation, K. M. Naganna asked people not to pay the cycle tax and ordered the Corporation officers not to collect the tax.

The Congress bosses who run the state government are in no mood to leave things there. Recently when the budget proposals of the Corporation for 1965-66 were presented to the government, the latter slashed some of the items, amounting to a provision of nearly Rs. 50 lakhs, and included the cycle tax in the sanctioned budget.

The Mayor came out sharply against this and declared, "we will not hesitate to launch an agitation if the government does not accept the unanimous verdict of the Corporation to abolish the cycle tax".

Many development works

proposed by the Corporation will have to be abandoned due to this cutting down of its budget proposals by the state government.

The Mayor has accused the state government of trying to make the Corporation an innocuous body and he has attributed political motives to the government's actions.

All political parties and other organisations are supporting the Mayor and the Corporation.

The Karnataka state council of the CPI in a statement has expressed its full support to the Mayor and demanded that the government sanction the original budget proposals of the Corporation and agree to the abolition of the cycle tax.

It has further called upon all Party members and sympathisers to support the Mayor in his efforts to get justice for the citizens.

Will Dhori Enquiry Go Chinakuri Way?

FROM reports available about the documents placed before the Dhori court of inquiry—'Notes on the Rescue and Recovery Work at Dhori Colliery' by the Chief Inspector of Mines (CIM), the note prepared by the CIM on the court's visit to Chinakuri colliery and the list of documents and material objects seized by the Mines Inspectorate at the Dhori colliery—it appears that attempts are being made to spin out the story that a huge and unexpected outburst of inflammable gas had occurred, first asphyxiating all the men in the mine and then blowing up the mine itself.

To people who are in the know of things, this is an ugly portent and reminds them of the way the "experts" confounded the Chinakuri court of inquiry.

It may be recalled that at Chinakuri colliery, as was pointed out by the trade unions in their submissions before the court of inquiry, the responsibility for the disaster should have been placed on the fundamentally defective system of ventilation.

The non-observance of safety laws, which the Mines Inspectorate should have rigorously enforced, was an important point raised by the trade unions and the experts who argued their case.

The story of Chinakuri was that, in order to disprove the TUs on the defective ventilation (and the failure of the Mines Inspectorate to check on this defective ventilation), the bosses of the Inspectorate as well as the management put out the story that the mighty outburst of gas had, after asphyxiating everyone in the mine, got ignited to blow up the mine.

The evidence they could bring forward in support of this story was so inconsistent because it was blatantly false but the court was led to believe in it by the fan mesh of technical jargon that helped to give it an air of technical plausibility.

Two pieces of "evidence" were specially created by these experts for this purpose.

First, a number of witnesses were made to testify to their having seen a persistent flame on the fan chimney at the mouth of the upcast shaft.

Second, one of the several cracks in the floor of the mine formed due to the violence of the explosion having shaken up the underground galleries was represented as the opening through which gas had forced itself out.

Such cracks are known to form whenever ground is subjected to severe shock waves as during bomb attacks, earthquakes, explosions, rock-bursts, etc. It is common knowledge among seismologists.

The court of inquiry into the Chinakuri disaster, as is now known, was however so much overawed by its only technical assessor (Dr. J. W. Whataker) and the Chief Inspector of Mines who also lent credence to the hoax of a story of outburst of gas. The court did not bother to call in the real experts on this subject.

Is this hoax again being perpetrated at Dhori? Somehow, the "notes" of the CIM create such an apprehension.

In the very beginning of his notes, the Chief Inspector of Mines states: "A flame was seen to have shot up about 150 feet

ENTRERS

high from the Amla incline workings, and this flame, it was stated (by whom he does not say—possibly, witnesses to such a "spectacle" are yet to be found) persisted for a minute or so."

Mark the significance of the last six words.

In his notes which is dated June 10, 1965, the Chief Inspector of Mines says nothing about the presence in 15 south level of a hurricane lantern without a glass, standing upright, and with no trace of the broken glass anywhere nearby, of a damaged lantern lying on the ground near the pump or of a flame safety lamp near the pump in the main dip, although he does refer to the coal-cutting machine.

He does not refer to the existence of any cracks in the coal pillars either.

Curiously enough, the inquiry body could suddenly find these exhibits, more than a fortnight after the Chief Inspector of Mines had compiled his notes.

When, after the court had completed its underground inspection on June 17, the assessors wanted to re-inspect 16, 15 and 14 south levels of BI 10A haulage dip, the lawyers of the management and the Mines Department also insisted on accompanying them.

In 16 south level (about half way between the floor and the roof of 7) a groove that had evidently escaped the notice of everyone else earlier was pointed out to the assessors by the lawyers of the management!

Three days later, on June 30, the Chief Inspector of Mines accompanied the court of inquiry into the mine and pointed out more and more of such grooves that he had discovered in the wake of the trail that was left blazing by the management's lawyers.

The "persistent" flame and the grooves of the hurricane lantern with no trace of its glass anywhere, the unlocked flame safety lamp—all these appear as though from a conjurer's hat suddenly after June 10, 1965.

Let it be remembered that the explosion occurred at about 1 a.m. on May 28. The Chief Inspector of Mines reached the mine at about 5 a.m. Within a few hours, on the same day, the Raja of Ramgarh expressed his suspicions of sabotage at Dhori to the press.

On June 1, the Mines Inspectorate is reported to have seized a broken explosive box near the mouth of one of the inclines of the mine. By June 10, 1965, the management had however stopped talking of sabotage.

Now the management and the Inspectorate are competing each other in discovering persistent flames and grooves—and more grooves through their lawyers.

Persistent flames, explosions, vibrations and damage due to vibrations, etc., are subjects on which, unfortunately, there is no specialised mining engineer in the coalfields and none at all in the Mines Inspectorate, or among the technical assessors.

Will the court of inquiry take note of this fact in the interest of finding out the truth?

—A COALMINE ENTHUSIAST

Police Lets Loose Repression in Calcutta

* FROM CENTRE PAGES

of the building. The police had entered the basement and wounded employees, including women, there.

Trams by that time had been withdrawn. A meeting was held in the afternoon at the Monument Maidan at the call of the United Left Front, which has in the meantime been strengthened by the SSP joining it. The meeting gave a call for hartal on July 30 to protest against police brutality. It asked the people to beware of provocation against the peaceful movement.

Hartal Call

A peaceful, yet militant and organised procession paraded the streets after the meeting urging people to refrain from paying enhanced fares and to participate in the hartal the day after next. Students called a meeting in the University lawn to protest against police atrocities. The Rashtriya Sangram Samiti also met and decided that unless the government and the company relented, a general strike would be called by next week.

The Forward Bloc and PSP also gave call for hartal on July 30. These two parties moving together did not join the United Left Front but were acting simultaneously.

Alarmed by the growing unity of the left forces and the peoples resistance, the Congress government resorted to the path of repression. It declared Sec. 144 throughout Calcutta and Behala and in the early morning of July 29 arrested more than 30 leaders of various parties and trade unions.

The arrested persons include Somnath Lahiri, Biswanath Mukherjee, Sukumar Gupta, members of the West Bengal State Secretariat of CPI, Jyoti Basu and Abdul Halim of CPI(M), Mani Chakraborty of RSP, Surjit Mullick Chowdhury of FB(M), Jatin Chakravorty and Monoranjan Roy, Joint Secretaries of Rashtriya Sangram Samiti and some student leaders. The massive demonstration on July 29 planned by the Rashtriya Sangram Samiti as a Vietnam Day this year was also banned.

The Transport Minister facing the newsmen on July 28 said that though the government had agreed to rationalisation of fare structure he was of opinion that the en-

hancement of fares should have been introduced some time later. But at the same time he tried to justify the increase by saying that the increased income would go to meet expenses of higher electricity charges, higher DA to workers and more accumulation to the 'nationalisation fund'.

Cabinet Divided

But to the question why the Company introduced the enhanced fares against his wishes, he tried to defend the Company by saying that they were running at a loss of Rs. 2 lakhs per month and hence they had to introduce the new fare structure immediately.

The utter self-contradiction of these two lines of arguments, were exposed by the newspapers on the next day and the government had to come out with a 'clarification' of the Transport Minister's talk with newsmen. But this contradiction, it is reported, reflected not only the strong public criticism, but also the divergence of opinion inside the Cabinet. Some Cabinet members, it is reported questioned the wisdom of enhancing tram fares and also ques-

tioned the unseemly haste with which the Transport Minister gave the clearance to the Company without consulting the Cabinet and even in the absence of the Chief Minister.

If 'Sandesh' debate could take three precious days of the Cabinet why this important matter was handled in such a fashion, was the question on many lips.

On July 29 police turned the tram depots and the University area into a police camping grounds. But that did not improve matters. Volunteers boarded the trams in batches of two or three and exhorted the people not to pay enhanced fares. The passengers themselves took up the slogan. Stray incidents were reported from various parts of the city.

But the police provocation reached its height in the University area where they surrounded the entire campus when students were holding their meeting. Tear gas shells were thrown in-

side the University. Students defended themselves with bricks. In the name of rescuing the Vice-Principal the police sought permission of the Vice-Principal to enter the University campus, which he declined saying that he could manage his students.

Police lost a chance, but their provocation on the streets infuriated the people, who set fire to a few trams on Mahatma Gandhi Road and Acharya Prafulla Chandra Road. Large number of arrests were made. But the volunteers of the left parties and students organisations and trade unions quietly but determinedly made preparations for hartal the next day.

On July 30 the hartal was both spontaneous and successful. The tram workers refused to bring out cars. The state transport authorities tried to run buses under police escort on a few routes particularly between Dalhouse Square and Howrah and Sealdah Stations. But there were only few buses and those were also empty in most cases.

Brutal Repression Against CPI Demonstration

BANGALORE: Police repression was let loose on a demonstration organised by the Communist Party of India before the AICC session in Bangalore on July 24.

Volunteers from Mangalore, Udipi, Buntwal, Bhadravati, Harihar, Belgaum, Raichur, Madhugiri and Coorg had come to Bangalore to take part in the demonstration.

Two processions, each about two thousand strong, started at 4 p.m. on July 24, one from Mysore Road Circle and the other from Yeswanthpur, towards Lalbaug where the AICC was in session.

The procession which started from the Mysore Road Circle was stopped immediately by the police and 18 comrades who were in the forefront taken into custody. The procession dispersed following this.

The procession from Yeswanthpur marched for about two miles and reached Malleswaram 13th Cross Road when the police swooped down on them from vans and beat them up indiscriminately.

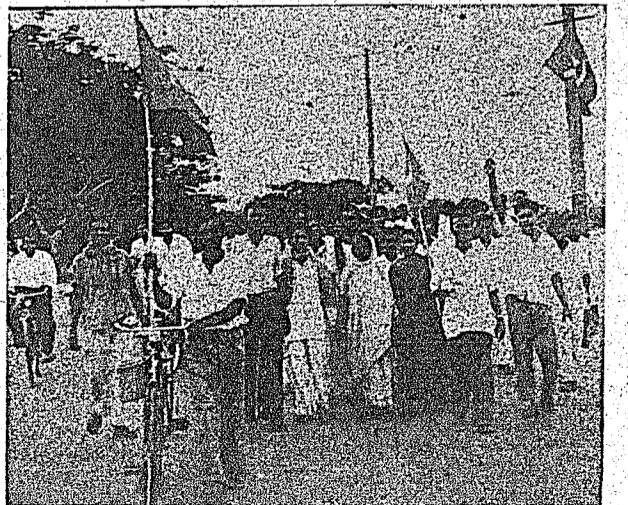
Thirteen workers were arrested and the police dispersed the procession by a brutal lathicharge. More than fifty people were injured from lathi blows.

As was decided by the Party when the ban on processions

and meetings was imposed, M. S. Krishnan led a batch of volunteers to defy the ban at the venue of the AICC itself.

The police halted this batch at the gates of Lalbaug. When the volunteers tried to force their way into the garden, they were beaten up mercilessly, raining blows even after they fell.

Krishnan and another volunteer, Krishnappa, received serious injuries. Krishnan's arm and Krishnappa's legs were fractured. The police took all the volunteers into custody and even refused to provide medical attention to them for three hours.



A view of the CPI demonstration before the AICC in Bangalore. Above, M. S. Krishnan, victim of police brutality

'Marxist' Programme X'rayed

* FROM PAGE 7

democratic movement should not actively campaign for the government to go in for it as much as possible.

Here the "ultra left" find themselves in the unenviable company of right reaction who also would like the significance and quantum of socialist aid to be lessened as much as possible.

In contrast, the CPI Programme correctly notes: "socialist aid is distributed over vital sectors of our national economy and helps to fulfil many basic needs in the same. New branches of industry and projects which emerged as a result of socialist aid go a long way to eliminate the legacy of the colonial past and reduce India's dependence on the capitalist world market for trained manpower, materials and machinery."

Fifth, developments in the agrarian sector in the post independence period. The programme of the CP (Marxist) agrees that the aim and direction of Congress policies in this sphere has been "to transform the feudal landlords into capitalist landlords and develop a stratum of rich peasant."

But what has been the result of the operation of these policies?

While correctly pointing out that the bulk of the peasantry has not benefited, that landownership continues to be heavily concentrated, etc., this programme evades answering the question—has feudalism been strengthened or weakened during these 17 years?

It evades answering the further question—have capitalist relations

of production advanced in the countryside or not?

This eloquent silence, combined with the sharp criticism of the agrarian reforms, is obviously intended to create the impression that feudalism and semi-feudalism still rule the roost, more or less to the same extent, as in the pre-independence days.

Hence, the inclusion of the landlords (presumably including the feudal landlords, since no qualification is made) as part of the ruling power in this programme's formulation concerning Indian state power today.

Fendalism Curbed

This again is flying in the face of facts. The CPI programme correctly notes that feudal production relations have been curbed, that capitalist relations have made significant inroads but that strong semi-feudal survivals remain while the bulk of the peasantry has not gained.

An incorrect analysis of the existing pattern of class forces in the countryside obviously cannot lead to correct strategy and tactics on the peasant front.

For a long time the CPI's work on this front has suffered heavily because of dogmatic refusal to see the new developments in the countryside. The CP (Marxist) programme refuses to give up this dogmatic approach.

Sixth, the question of the characterisation of the class content of the present Indian state. As mentioned earlier, this

programme finds that in the Indian state power is shared by the bourgeoisie and landlords, in which the big bourgeoisie, increasingly collaborating with foreign finance capital, exercises leadership.

This is radically different from the formulation in the CPI programme which declares that "the state in India is the organ of the class rule of the national bourgeoisie as a whole".

The big bourgeoisie exercises considerable influence in the formation of governmental power, while the national bourgeoisie compromises with the landlords.

If the formulation of the CP (Marxist) is correct, then the Indian state is the state power of right reaction. In essence it is scarcely different from the state power of Chiang Kaishek's Kuomintang China.

The most reactionary forces—the collaborationist big bourgeoisie and the landlords—obviously exercise the decisive influence in such a state.

In today's context such a state cannot be distinguished from a neo-colonialist state, akin to the regimes in South Korea, some of the former French African states, or Malaysia.

Yet, the Indian state refuses to behave as the CP (Marxist) programme dictates. It goes on with its policy of building an independent capitalist India.

It follows a foreign policy of nonalignment, of anticommunism and of friendship with the Soviet Union, and most other socialist countries.

It takes measures to check imperialism from time to time as, for example, the recent dispute with the oil companies.

At the same time, it exhibits all the reactionary features of a state engaged in building capitalism at the expense of the people, without taking decisive measures against imperialism, but wooing it, by helping the growth of Indian monopolies and by compromising with the landlords.

Incorrect Approach

An incorrect approach to so fundamental a question as the character of the Indian state disarms the working people, leaves them open to constant "surprises" and hampers the full unfolding of the forces of the Indian revolution.

The CPI has had such painful experience in the recent past. In the 1948 Party Congress resolution as well as in the 1951 programme, the Indian state was depicted as collaborationist, semi-colonial and as a regime of national betrayal.

Life itself compelled a change in characterisation from the 1950 Palghat Congress onwards.

Till then propaganda, agitation and mass movements based on this erroneous understanding became increasingly unreal and narrow. Immense damage was done to the Party and a broad democratic movement could not be built.

The CP (Marxist) still seems to want to move along the old grooves.

(TO BE CONTINUED)

Police and state transport officials coaxed the people in Sealdah station compound, to board the buses and some people got in. But when approached by volunteers to boycott buses they readily came down. This went on some time and then police losing patience arrested Geeta Mukherjee who was leading the picket there and some volunteers and tried to force the situation.

Offices Idle

But the authorities had to admit that in spite of all these attempts attendance in government and non-government offices was very thin and no work could be transacted.

While in the heart of Calcutta there was no major incident on the day of hartal police opened fire at Garia, the eastern part of the city and at New Barrackpore, in the northern suburbs, alleging that there was obstruction to trains and attack on a police party. Four persons have been wounded by police bullets. One policeman died in the hospital on July 29, but it came out in medical examination that he was overcome with tears as his own party was throwing.

The Forward Bloc and PSP broke Sec. 144 and H. V. Kamath, Hemanta Bose and many other leaders of those parties courted arrest on July 30. ULF and trade unions have expressed their determination to carry on the struggle. Students have again called for strike. The Chief Minister is trying to evade issues by saying that the movement is motivated. But the people will have the last say.

AMERICANS ARE AGAINST JOHNSON'S POLICY OF WAR

From OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT, JAMES WEST

CHICAGO: The American working-class owes an explanation to the brothers and sister of Asia, Africa, South America, indeed, of the world. This explanation has become necessary because powerful communications media have spread the word that George Meany, head of the American Federation of Labour-Congress of Industrial Organisations (AFL-CIO) is a vociferous supporter of the brutal aggression of US imperialism against the peoples of Vietnam, the Dominican Republic, Congo and elsewhere.

It is true that Meany is an ardent "cold warrior" against the lands of socialism and all national-liberation struggles. In matters of foreign policy, Meany may speak in labour's name, but he does not express the actual sentiments of the overwhelming majority of trade-unionists.

For that matter, he does not express the view of most other sections of the population, including important sections of big business which favour peaceful co-existence.

Perhaps it is because his belligerent foreign policy comes into conflict with so many diverse forces that there has recently appeared a number of exposures and criticisms of Meany in publications other than the left-wing press.

One such appeared in the July 5 issue of the liberal magazine, THE NATION. Entitled "Love-stone Diplomacy" it was written by Sidney Lens, a Chicago local union leader, author and a self-styled "philosophical anti-Communist".

Lens lays bare what has long been known to many revolutionary and progressive unionists abroad—that Jay Lovestone, a bitter anti-Communist, hired by Meany, directs a "world battle against communism".

According to Lens, this AFL-CIO "foreign bureau" has "in effect interfered in the internal affairs of sovereign states, without being accountable for their acts to

Congress, the American people, or for that matter the American working-class."

Charges By Lens

Lens proves that the Lovestone-Meany team has:

(1) Except in a few instances where it disagreed with US policy (usually because it was not "tough" enough on communism), it has acted virtually as an agent for the American government on a broad basis.

(2) It has followed overseas a role so aggressive as to be a factor in the internal life of other nations.

(3) It has become involved, indirectly at least, in intelligence activities.

"...What the US government does not do directly, because it would be flagrant meddling with the internal affairs of other nations, and what the CIA cannot do because it is suspect, the AFL-CIO does on their behalf."

The author then shows how huge sums of government money are channelled into the Lovestone operations for use abroad on behalf of the interests of US ruling circles.

A chief lieutenant of Meany and Lovestone is Irving Brown, a representative of the International

Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICTU) and executive director of the newly-formed African-American Labour Centre.

Speaking to the Chicago Council of Foreign Relations, Irving Brown called the Geneva Conference of 10 years ago a terrible thing for it "was the beginning of the attainment of one of Russia's long-sought objectives—the banning of nuclear warfare."

This statement reflects the intransigent cold war mentality of Meany and Lovestone and helps explain why Konrad Adenauer presented them with the Grand Cross, Second Class in 1959. But the statement also reflects the deep gulf that separates this cold-war team from the working class of the United States, for it is well known that working class support for the banning of nuclear warfare is widespread.

Increasing Resistance

Many AFL-CIO unions are designated "international" because they are organised in Canada as well as the USA. Since Canada is a country with heavy US financial investments; it often feels its sovereignty infringed upon from the colossus to the South. This encroachment extends to Meany interference into purely Canadian trade union affairs and meets with increasing resistance.

Recently, THE LABOUR STATESMAN, published jointly by the British Columbia Federation of Labour and the Vancouver District Labour Council, sharply criticised Meany for his support to the US invasion of the Dominican Republic. Said the STATESMAN editorial:

"There is something bordering on the obscene to hear a labour leader applaud the use of shock troops to suppress an oppressed minority in a foreign country. Mr. Meany has come out four-square behind US President Johnson's dispatch of paratroops and marines to the Dominican Republic..."

"Yet we should not be too surprised at this man's attitude. For a long time he has been recognised as standing usually somewhat to the right of the American Manufacturer's Association."

"...The severe problems he has created for several international unions in Canada indicate that Meany looks on Canada in much the same way as he does the Dominican Republic."

"Perhaps labour cannot expect anything less of a man who once publicly boasted that he 'never walked a picket line'..."

"...Meany's continued leadership of the AFL-CIO is a serious liability. His resignation at this point would be the most important contribution he could make to North American labour."

* * *

In the US, it takes a great courage to speak up against the aggressive, warring foreign policies of the government. And for many unionists and labour leaders, the difficulty is doubled when they must speak out against the Meany-Lovestone policies as well.

But such courage is becoming increasingly manifest. Here is a round-up of the most recent expressions of this growing labour opposition to the imperialist

policies of the US government and the Meany-Lovestone clique:

★ At the 32nd annual convention of the American Newspaper Guild (reporters and writers of the press) in Detroit, Emil Mazey, secretary-treasurer of the large United Auto Workers Union, said:

"I don't agree with George Meany that we have to back up the President and have confidence in what he does. How can you have confidence when we have coups like that (in Santo Domingo) or like they've had in Vietnam, when every time you turn around they have another regime?"

"You've got to take foreign policy out of the hands of the striped pants boys. We need public hearings called by the US Senate and Congress before which the people and their representatives can testify that they don't like this foreign policy of the Administration."

"I urge the delegates to this newspaper convention to have a spirited discussion on foreign policy of our government because labour's objectives can only be realised if it is within the orbit of a peaceful world for us and for all time."

Positive Response

This address, which truly reflected the moods of the American working class, was greeted by a standing ovation of all the delegates and all the reporters covering the convention. Responding to Mazey, Arthur Rosenstock, brother of the guild said, "Brother Mazey, you sure are a prober for the truth, you are no paper tiger, what you said to us this morning is vital..."

★ Leon J. Davis, President, Local 1199, Drug and Hospital Employees Union:

"The pronouncements being made by President Johnson and the actions being taken on his behalf seem more like the acts of Coldwater. What happened to the apostle of peace whom we voted for in the last general elections? One wonders who actually won the election."

"I am sure that a great many members of our union join me in the hope that this spectre of war will be banished and the policies we pursue will be those of peace."

★ From a message to President Johnson by 100 delegates of the Senior Citizens Council of the United Auto Workers Union:

"We, the undersigned trade unionists, believe in settling disputes through peaceful negotiations known as collective bargaining. We think it is a good trade union method that should be applied in disputes between the nations."

"The present dispute in Vietnam could explode into a major one—a nuclear war in which millions could perish. This must not happen. We believe there should be negotiated an immediate cease-fire in Vietnam to be followed by honest negotiations to reach a lasting settlement."

★ From a letter to President Johnson signed by 12 leaders of District 65, Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union: "Why must war continue and the United States go it alone in

Vietnam? Must it end in an American Dienbienphu? Why not a United Nations peace for Vietnam? We believe, Mr. President, that the advice of Senators Morse, Church, Gruening and others should be considered. We urge the road of peace, not war, in Vietnam. The course of peace will not only preserve American lives, it will preserve for America the respect and goodwill of the people of all countries."

★ Frank Rosenblum, General Secretary-Treasurer, Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union:

"There is an obvious contradiction between what our Administration says and what it does in the area of foreign policy. We cannot talk peace and expand the war. What can a call for 'unconditional discussions' for peace in Vietnam mean when it is accompanied by intensified bombings? We are judged by our actions and not our words, and our actions have outraged even our friends. No longer is mutual respect the basis for their support; they back us now because they are dependent on us. The climate necessary for peace is poisoned by acts of war..."

"The situation in the Dominican Republic is even more clear-cut. Here, there was a revolution against a reactionary government which had overthrown a legitimate, democratically-elected regime. We sent troops to the island, presumably to protect American lives. No sooner were our nationals evacuated, than we increased our forces, presumably to prevent a communist take-over. The information that there were a few communists involved in the large-scale revolution was the justification given for the presence of thousands of American soldiers. Our action supported the reactionaries and thwarted the revolution."

"As a democratic nation, we ought to be sympathetic to democratic movements seeking to overthrow their oppressors. Any one with any knowledge of Latin America knows that there are bound to be some communists in such situations. But usually the movements themselves are basically democratic in nature. Time and again, because of our obsessive fear of communism, we have aligned ourselves with the most reactionary forces and have interfered with the right of the peoples in those nations to self-determination."

★ School teachers have organised Teachers Committees for Peace in Vietnam. 200 teachers marched to the United Nations building in New York. Among the placards they carried were these: "Don't send our students to Vietnam"; "Price of War—\$2 Million a Day; Price of a New School—\$2 million." On July 20th, the teachers held an "Educators' Protest for Peace in Vietnam" in Washington, D.C., timed to coincide with a White House Conference on Education.

These few instances represent the real, the authentic voice of the men and women of labour of the United States. Their voice is not amplified by the high-priced loud speakers of the aggressive imperialist circles, like the voice of Meany. But it is the true voice of the people, and it gains in strength from day to day. Increasingly, it is expressed through officials of labour, and it is to be expected that the number of these leaders will grow, too.

The rantings for war, including Meany's, are the sounds of an age for which the sands of time are running out. The sounds of peace are gaining in strength, and the future holds a secure place for these voices of heroism in the topmost councils of the labour movement of the United States.



Prime Minister Shastri being received at Pula airport.

Yugoslav Economic Reforms Under Way

YUGOSLAVIA at present is trying out certain new experiments in its economic system. These measures are envisaged to be of such comprehensive nature to be built into the economic system so as to act as incentive on all vehicles of economic activity, to increase labour productivity with the purpose of linking total consumption more closely with production and productivity, to strengthen self-management and initiative, to build a socialist market economy.

These experiments would mean changes in the distribution of income as will enable the producers and the working collectives to receive more who produce better and more efficaciously and thus contribute more to the economic goals of the socialist community.

During the past 17 years, the social product of Yugoslavia has increased by over three times and the per capita national income by more than 2½ times.

Significant changes have taken place in the pattern of production and manpower. Compared with 1947, the participation of manufacturing industry in the social product has increased from one-third to one-half, while farming population has diminished from 75 per cent of the entire population to less than 50 per cent.

Industrial production during the past ten years has increased three-fold; exports have grown four-fold. The pattern of socio-political and production relations—management over the socially-owned and production by the working people—have developed, which have changed the orientation and development of the productive forces of this country.

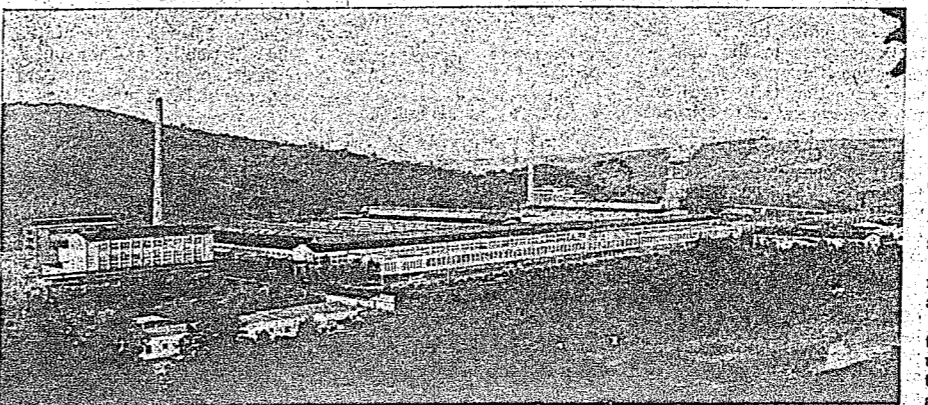
Yugoslavia today obtains about one-fifth of its national income from international trade, exchanging several times as much goods and ser-

VICES with other countries as it did ten years ago. Yugoslavia is at present trying to remove what it calls the imbalance in the pattern of production and consumption by modifying structural disproportions.

In the light of the experience gained, the VIII Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia adopted certain guiding lines to modify the economic system so as to adjust it fully to the essence of relations between self-government and production.

The economic reforms which are to come shortly are designed to overcome a number of shortcomings in economic activity, notably the disparity between the price relations on the internal market and the conditions of foreign trade. It is in this light, the proposal for joint Indo-Yugoslav ventures discussed during the visit of Prime Minister Shastri, has to be taken note of.

Cable Factory of Svetozarevo



AUGUST 8, 1965

INDO-YUGOSLAV FRIENDLY TIES GROW STRONGER

The recent visit of Prime Minister Shastri to Yugoslavia has undoubtedly strengthened the bonds of friendship and cooperation between these two very important nonaligned countries.

FOR over a decade and a half these two countries followed policies which are very close in their direction and aim, and worked for peace and general progress in the world on a firm basis of peaceful coexistence.

President Tito visited India twice during January 1955 and once in 1959. The late Prime Minister Nehru visited Yugoslavia in 1955, 1956 and 1961 during the well-known Belgrade conference. Besides, there were several meetings between President Tito, the late Premier Nehru as well as Shastri during several international conferences. For Shastri, it was his first visit to Yugoslavia.

The doctrine of non-alignment as a strong factor of relaxation of tension and sta-

bilisation of peace in a world torn by many real and artificial ideological, political, economic and military contradictions is being developed by India and Yugoslavia over a number of years.

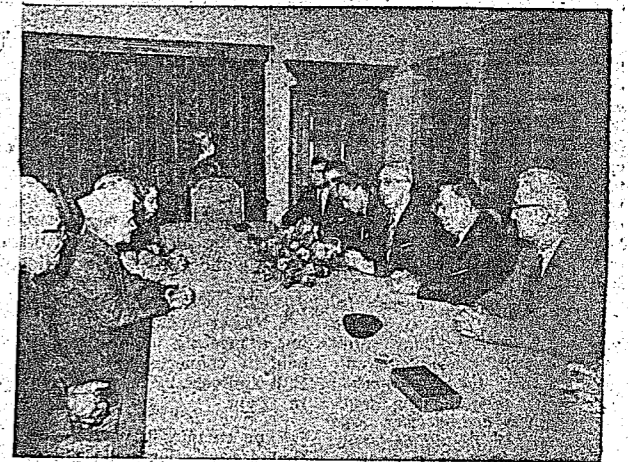
In the field of bilateral cooperation between the two countries—in trade, cultural exchanges, there have been significant developments during the last few years.

From a turnover of Rs. 5.3 million in 1955-56, in 1964 the trade turnover reached Rs. 200.1 million. In 1960, Yugoslavia granted a credit of Rs. 190.5 million to India under a financial credit agreement for the purchase of equipment for various projects.

In the same year a cultural convention was also signed between the two countries to promote cooperation in scientific, educational and cultural fields.

On July 2 this year the first programme under this convention was signed in Belgrade when M. C. Chagla visited Yugoslavia. The two-year programme envisages exchange of students, professors, specialists in the field of social and technical sciences, arts, languages and literature and for cooperation between universities. There are other items also in this exchange programme.

On a number of international issues, India and Yugoslavia have tried to help find out solutions. Both India and Yugoslavia stand by the resolutions and guide-lines of the Cairo conference of the non-aligned countries, and agree that the policy of active and peaceful coexistence should remove from international relations the cold-war policy of force and that concrete solutions for conflicts and disputes should be sought in a way as to respect sovereignty of all peoples.



Shortly after arrival in Belgrade, Prime Minister Shastri called on Yugoslav President Tito and started official political talks on international situation and bilateral Yugoslav-Indian relations.

CHINESE SLANDERS

★ FROM PAGE 4

"What sort of negotiations are there if the parties that want to conduct these are prepared to talk with anybody except the sole and legitimate representative of the people of South Vietnam—the National Liberation Front."

Korneichuk reiterated the Soviet Union's total support to the declaration of the National Liberation Front, to the resolution of the National Assembly of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, which show the only way to the solution of the Vietnam crisis.

The Chinese leaders know all these facts. And yet they continue to pour out more and more lies and concoctions in the latest round of their anti-Soviet campaign. They thus do a distinct disservice to the Vietnamese people's struggle against imperialism.

Are the Chinese leaders winning popular support by these anti-Soviet tactics? Definitely not. One had only to be present at the Helsinki peace congress to understand that the vast majority of the peoples of the world are becoming more and more

aware of the dangerous character of the Chinese leaders' anti-Soviet attacks, especially those in regard to the Vietnamese people's struggle against US aggression.

A report made by the Italian Communist Party leader Mario Alicata to the Central Committee of the Party on July 7 discussed the Chinese campaign against the Soviet Union and the Chinese leaders' "irreconcilable position" Alicata concluded:

"We are under the impression that this position (of the Chinese Communist Party leaders) is becoming less and less popular. This view of ours was confirmed in the contacts we had with the Vietnam comrades, and also in our contacts and talks with the comrades of Cuba..." (L'Unita, July 16, 1965)

One can only sincerely hope that the Chinese comrades will soon realise how utterly wrong are the positions being taken by them, and will cease their dangerous anti-Soviet campaign, at least in the interests of the common worldwide struggle in solidarity with the Vietnamese people. (August 3, 1965)

SECOND ISSUE OUT SEND YOUR ORDERS

Party Life

INNER-PARTY JOURNAL OF THE ORGANISATIONAL DEPARTMENT OF THE CPI

Contents of August Issue

- * Necessity to take up day-to-day mass work and mass problems—by N. K. Krishnan
- * Reports and reviews—by M. Farooqi
- * Some experiences of Party fund collections—by Sadananda Mahanty
- * Make NEW AGE Weekly a militant organ of Party building—by M. B. Rao
- * On card exchange and new recruitment—by S. V. Unnikrishnan
- * On promotion of new cadres—some practical difficulties—by Dulal Ganguly
- * Some aspects of struggle against alien class habits and methods—by Vijay Chandra Mehta
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TORIES APPLAUD WILSON, LABOUR TRUST WANES

From OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT KAY BEAUCHAMP

LONDON: Despite protests from many of its supporters, the Labour government remains determined to support US aggression in Vietnam.

ON July 20 Prime Minister Harold Wilson again repeated his claim that an American withdrawal would be a "humiliating defeat" and accused the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of not wanting a "non-military solution."

The reason for this completely unreserved support for the US government was revealed by Wilson himself when he said that "unilateral withdrawal by the United States would bring incalculable consequences in South-East Asia."

It seems clear that he was concerned about what would happen to Britain's position in Malaysia if the US pulled out of Vietnam as France did after her defeat at Dien Bien Phu.

The attitude of Wilson, and of the Foreign Secretary, Stewart, was applauded from the Tories. After defending the US position at the Oxford "teach-in" so much better than Cabot Lodge, who had flown in from the US to do that, Stewart has become the darling of the Tories.

On the other hand, Wilson and Stewart are meeting with considerable criticism from Labour supporters. Many of the 100 MPs who have opposed their policy for months are playing an outstanding part at meetings, teach-ins and rallies, most of which are held under the auspices of the British Council for Peace in Vietnam, whose Chairman is Fenner (now Lord) Brockway.

The preliminary agenda for the Labour Party conference has just been published. Most of the 387 resolutions are critical of the government's policy on arms, housing, transport, prices and incomes, and almost all of the 50 on foreign policy oppose the government, and many of them deal with Vietnam.

The British press has made a great deal of the fact that these resolutions on Vietnam are from Labour Parties and not from trade unions. This does not, however, mean that they will not

get trade union support. On the whole, trade unions tend to submit their resolutions for the Labour Party conference earlier than the local Labour Parties.

Many of them, at their annual conferences, or at executive committee meetings, have gone on record against the support for the US in Vietnam, and for a settlement on the basis of the Geneva Agreements of 1954.

These include the largest union of all—the Transport & General Workers' Union, and the Draughtsmen's Union, the Railwaymen, A.S.S.E.T. (Supervisory Staff), the Fire Brigades Union, and the Chemical Workers' Union.

The return of the British Communist Party delegation, consisting of John Gollan (General Secretary), Bill Alexander (Assistant General Secretary) and John Mahon (London District Secretary), from Vietnam, has created a deep impression. Packed meet-

ings are being held to hear them, and the pamphlet, "Report from Vietnam" by John Mahon, is achieving a wide sale.

The delegation stressed that the chief contribution that the people of Vietnam want from the British people is that they should compel the Wilson government to abandon its support for American aggression, and insist on the operation of the Geneva decisions.

By the time this letter is published, the new Wilson cuts will be known. They are expected to be drastic, and to include considerable reductions in expenditure on social services, such as housing, schools and hospitals.

If, as the 1965 Labour government is rapidly following in the path of the 1945 Labour government, which instituted the Stafford Cripps cuts in 1948 and shattered the hopes of many Labour voters.

If this is so, Labour voters will again be disappointed, but the British bankers will be delighted. They have been clamouring for a cut in government expenditure (excluding arms and

overseas military expenditure, of course). They want cuts in development expenditure in the nationalised industries. They also want cuts in the social services, especially education.

At present the Labour Minister of Education, Anthony Crosland, is proposing to local authorities that they should introduce comprehensive secondary education, so that all children of the same age (except those in public schools and some grammar schools) should go to the same school, but the Minister is not providing any money to assist the local authorities to make these changes. The teacher shortage will be made even worse by what most teachers regard as a derisory, insulting salary award.

There is bitter resentment among many workers about George Brown's Incomes and Prices Policy. While workers are expected to be content with 3% per cent increase at most, Judges have been given a 25 per cent increase in salaries.

Prices and profits are rising. Food prices are 11.6 points above those of January 1962, and rates and rents have risen 20 per cent on an average. This means that millions of

families are paying for more than 20 per cent increase, because the rents of controlled tenancies and council flats have either not risen at all or for less than the average.

On the other hand, Unilevers have declared record sales of £448 million, and record profits of £30.5 million, in the first quarter of 1965, and are just now spending £1 million on advertising their detergent "Omo."

Despite, and partly because of, rises in prices and profits, Britain's economic situation is causing considerable concern in capitalist financial circles in Britain, as well as abroad.

In December 1964, the gold and foreign currency reserves of the United Kingdom were the lowest of any capitalist country—only one-third those of West Germany, and considerably less than Switzerland.

It is pointed out that in 1938, reserves of £900 million backed annual exports of £900 million, whereas today reserves of £900 million are supposed to back annual imports of £5,500 million. A most unsound position, and one which could endanger the stability of the whole capitalist world.

But, no doubt the monopolists would raise a hell of a row if the Labour government took even the most hesitant steps to deal with this position in the only way possible, that is by halving the arms programme, drastically reducing overseas military expenditure, and rigidly controlling private foreign investments.



Ion Gheorghe Maurer, Prime Minister of Rumania

The ninth congress of the Rumanian Communist Party concluded its six-day session in Bucharest on July 24.

The congress discussed and unanimously adopted a number of documents of historic importance which embrace the many-sided programme of development of socialist Rumania, and chart out the path towards completion of socialist construction.

The congress has decided that industrialisation, which is the decisive factor in the continuous progress of Rumania, should continue to be the central aim of the Party's economic policy along with intensive development of agriculture. Side by side, science and culture would flourish and living standards of people continue to rise.

The congress aroused keen interest in the ranks of the Communist and working-class movement and about 56 fraternal delegations actually attended it. There have been a number of messages sent to the congress from other fraternal Parties which could not send delegations to Rumania. The CPI sent a message of greetings to the congress.

Addressing the concluding session of the congress Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP said that "we assure the fraternal Communist and Workers Parties, the working people all over the world that the Party of Rumanian Communists will unwaveringly implement the

NINTH CONGRESS OF COMMUNIST PARTY OF RUMANIA

programme of building socialism in Rumania, thus making a contribution to strengthening the world socialist system, to strengthening the international solidarity of the working people, to the cause of socialism and communism in the world."

The congress emphasised the decisive importance in the present international conditions, of the unity of the socialist countries, of the Communist and working-class movement, of all anti-imperialist forces.

The resolution of the IX Congress noted that the fundamental tasks set by the VIII Congress for the development of the national economy during 1960-1965 have been successfully fulfilled and established the lines of Rumania's development for the next five years. The report on the item for the development of national economy was presented to the congress by Ion Gheorghe Maurer, the Prime Minister of Rumania.

The congress emphasised that fraternal collaboration will continue to be developed during the next years with the CMEA member-countries, with all the socialist countries, within the framework of the international socialist division of labour.

At the same time, taking into account the division of labour on a world plane, Rumania will develop economic relations with all states, regardless of their social system, on the basis of mutual advantage.

The complex and many-sided development of the economy will lead to a growth in the volume of foreign trade.

The congress has allocated more than one-fourth of the

national income during the period 1966-1970 to the accumulation fund and about three-fourths to the consumption fund. The real wages in 1970 will be 20-25 per cent higher than in 1965. There will be increase in the pensions of all categories of pensioners. It is also envisaged that in step with the growth of agricultural output and especially the marketable output, the real income of the peasantry will increase by about 20 per cent.

Besides these, the congress outlined the directions of development in various other aspects of social life in Rumania, including the improvement of organisational forms and methods of leadership in the entire activity of building the new society.

The congress discussed the draft Constitution of the country which lays down and guarantees the rights and liberties of the citizens of socialist Rumania underlining



Nicolae Ceausescu, General Secretary of RCP

one of the basic features of the Rumanian society—the continuous broadening of socialist democracy, the growing participation of the masses in public affairs.

The congress also adopted the Rules of the Rumanian Communist Party which sum up the experience won along the years and take into account the changes that have taken place in the life of the RCP and the Rumanian society, the new historical conditions and the present stage of the struggle for completing socialist construction. The report on the Rules was presented by Gheorghe Apostol, Deputy Prime Minister.

One important decision of the congress is the abolition of candidate membership of the Party and in future all members will be recruited as full members.

The Rumanian Party Congress emphasised that close unity between ideological-theoretical work and the practice of socialist construction has to be ensured. The congress fully endorsed the activity which the central committee carried out in the spirit

of proletarian internationalism, for the development of collaboration with the fraternal Parties and for the strengthening of the cohesion of the world Communist movement.

The congress reaffirmed the viewpoint of the RCP that given the diversity of conditions of which the Communist and Workers Parties carry on their activities, "it is natural that there should appear different opinions with regard to the problem of the winning of political power and of socialist construction, as well as a great variety of forms and methods of action.

"The way each Party solves its tasks cannot constitute a matter for dispute; it is the exclusive right of each Party to independently work out its political line, forms and methods of activity, to establish its concrete aims, creatively applying the general truths of Marxist-Leninism to the specific conditions of its country, thus making its contribution to the enrichment of the common treasure store of revolutionary thought and practice."

The motion of solidarity with the Vietnamese people's struggle adopted by the congress expresses full support to the Vietnamese people and demands that an end be put to the aggressive acts of the

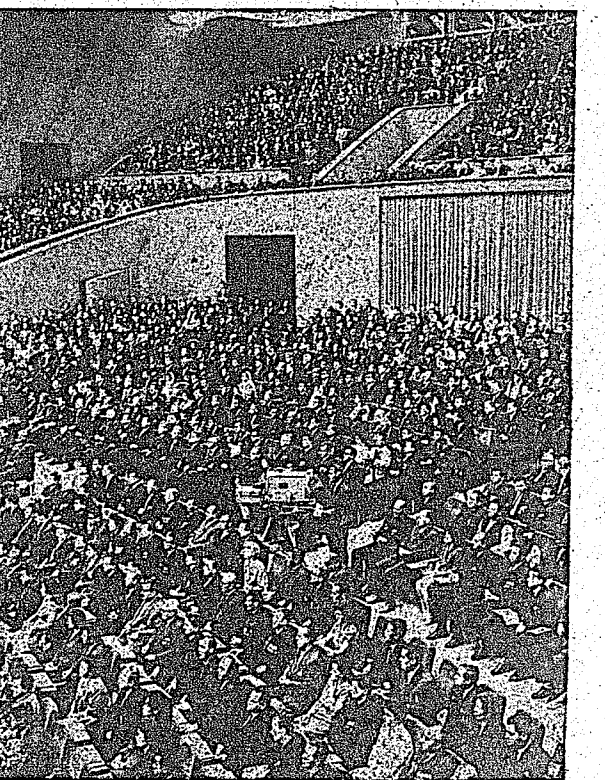


Chivu Stoica, President of Rumania

USA, that the bombing carried out against the DRV be stopped, that all foreign troops be withdrawn from Vietnam!

The congress also adopted a report on the directives for power resources and that of country's electrification during the period 1966-1975, which was presented by Chivu Stoica, President of the state council.

The congress elected a central committee of 121 members and 75 alternate members, which in turn elected the executive committee with 15 members and 10 alternate members, the standing presidium, the general secretary and the secretariat.



A view of the plenary session

UAR: 13 YEARS OF MIRACLE-MAKING

"The hopes of the enemies of the Egyptian people will never be justified because the Revolution follows a correct path and the people believe in Revolution."

THIS is what President Nasser declared addressing a meeting in Alexandria held in connection with the 13th anniversary of revolution in Egypt.

"The enemies have forgotten that a revolution and not a coup d'etat took place in Egypt. The revolution is carrying peoples' aspirations in life," the President added.

President Nasser enumerated some of the "miracles" the liberated people of the UAR have

made during the last 13 years. He listed among them abolition of feudalism and restriction of land ownership, running of the Suez Canal building of the high Aswan Dam, creating of heavy industry and issuing of decrees abolishing class privileges.

During the last 13 years, the UAR has undergone profound economic and social transformations. In 1952, when the revolution took place, capital investments in industry amounted to 2.1 million Egyptian pounds while in 1964 alone the investment had touched the 150 million pounds mark.

The volume of agricultural production in the UAR in 1964 has grown 80 per cent as compared to 1952 and amounted to 454 million Egyptian pounds. In the period from 1960 to 1964 the number of farm labourers grew from 3.2 million to 3.6 million.

The Republic has made notable progress in the field of education. Compulsory elementary education is in force and the students get state stipends. In 1953-54, the number of students in elementary schools was 1,300,000 while in 1964-65, it stood at 3,200,000. The number of students in various types of secondary schools went up from 485,000 to 821,000.

The importance of training of technical cadre has not been lost sight of. In the last 13 years, the number of Egyptians studying at vocational, commercial and agricultural

schools increased from 22,000 to 132,000.

Another important achievement in this sphere is the fact of women getting engaged in studies. Before the Revolution, nearly all women used to be illiterate. The girls students in various types of school now exceed 1½ million.

By the end of the Second Five-Year Plan, 100 per cent of school-age children will be attending elementary schools.

Children of pre-school age, too, have received special attention. Since 1963, 620 nurseries have been built to look after them. Over a million Egyptian pounds have been spent to help out orphans and widows with large families.

Compared to last year, the allocation for social insurance in the budget has increased by 80,000 pounds and for old-age pensions by 100,000 pounds.

300 social welfare centres have been set up in the Egyptian countryside to serve 4.3 million peasants.

SOUTH KOREA: GUNPOWDER DEPOT

THE US colonialists have penetrated into all the pores of South Korean life.

The Pentagon is in full command of the army of its Seoul puppets. About 60,000 American troops are camping there. Violating the cease-fire agreement, the US has set up

a command of guided missiles detachments in the demilitarised zone.

South Korean troops are being shipped to South Vietnam. The whole land has been reduced to a gun powder depot, a bridgehead for new reckless US ventures in Asia.

South Korean economy is under the firm grip of US monopolies. They are doing everything to slow down its development. One of the direct result of the total rule of the dollar is the staggering number of the unemployed: they add up to 2.7 million.

LIBERIA: 118TH ANNIVERSARY

THE oldest independent state in West Africa, the Republic of Liberia, celebrated last week its 118th anniversary. The historical document of independence, declaring the birth of the Republic was signed on July 26, 1847. For decades, the racists had been labelling Liberia as the "Little Black Republic" and making it a target of insults, mockery and colonial ventures.

A colourful procession, a military parade and a civic reception were the highlights of the celebrations. President Tubman, in his address, stressed the need to preserve peace on earth and urged the governments of all countries to settle disputes through negotiations and observe international law.

—DARSHAK

AUGUST 8, 1965

AFRO-ASIA In The Headlines

S. V. PARULEKAR

NEW AGE deeply mourns the sudden death of Comrade Shamrao V. Parulekar, one of the leaders of the Marxist Communist Party, in Bombay while he was in detention.

Comrade Parulekar was one-time member of the national council of the CPI and a militant organiser of trade union and peasant movements.

He devoted the best part of his life to the cause of national liberation and the struggle of the toiling masses for a better life. Before independence, he was elected to the Bombay Legislature from Ratnagiri where he led the struggle of the peasants against landlordism.

In 1957 he was elected to the Lok Sabha from the rural area of Thana district where he organised together with his wife, Gadavari Parulkar, the historic

struggle of the Adivasi Warli peasants against forced labour and for land.

The central secretariat of the Communist Party of India said in a statement that in Comrade Parulekar's death, "the Communist and workers and peasants movement in India has lost a stalwart and devoted fighter for socialism and a popular leader of the toiling people."

"The Communist Party of India pays its homage to his memory and sends its heartfelt condolences to Comrade Gadavari Parulekar and his relatives and friends and shares their grief."

The AITUC in a statement recalled that Comrade Parulekar was associated with the AITUC since its pioneering days and said that his death was a great loss to the progressive movement in India.



"Harold Johnson here... I mean President Wilson... I mean..." Eccles in London DAILY WORKER

MASSES PREPARE FOR FOOD BATTLE

Concrete Plans of Action Being Chalked Out in States

The dreaded lean months have arrived. Foodgrains have become scarce; the price of whatever is available has skyrocketed. The hoarders and blackmarketeers are having a good time and high profits. The government is looking on complacently, even as the food thieves are fleeing the people to fatten their purses.

WHATEVER the government has been doing can be summed up in four words: delivering sermons and platitudes. According to the government's own admission food production has been higher by 8.5 million tonnes this year. Yet, there is scarcity and prices are going higher every day.

All that the government is doing to meet the situation is to issue "earnest and fervent appeals" to the food thieves; sometimes even "strong warnings". Of course, committees after committees are being formed to "tackle the food situation".

Against this anti-people policy of the government, the people's resentment is rising high too. They are getting ready for the coming round of the battle for food. Reports have come from many states of the people getting ready for action.

UTTAR PRADESH

★ From Lucknow RAMESH SINHA writes:

The secretariat of the UP state council of the CPI has written a letter to Chief Minister Sucheta Kripalani asking for certain immediate measures to alleviate the intense suffering of the people and to help the state's peasantry, vast sections of which have been rendered destitute as a result of the draught.

Writing on behalf of the secretariat, secretary Kali Shanker Shukla has warned the Chief Minister of the grim consequences of further neglect or drift in the matter of rushing relief, large-scale assistance with finances and seeds, etc. and stoppage of realisation of rent and arrears in which lot of repression is being used.

Shukla has sent a fully documented memorandum on the situation in the state and has asked her to call an immediate meeting of the representatives of various parties and mass organisations to consider steps for facing the food crisis.

He has also asked the Chief Minister to fix up time for meeting a delegation on behalf of the Communist Party so that it can put and explain its proposals more concretely.

He has told her of the growing mobilisation of the people against the crisis and the hoarders and their protectors in the government who are responsible for creating and intensifying their misery.

Shukla has forwarded a copy of the memorandum to the Governor also and asked for an immediate interview to discuss the situation.

An urgent letter has also been addressed by Shukla to various democratic parties and groups in the state for holding immediate consultations in the first

week of August at Lucknow to decide on joint and concerted measures to meet the situation.

The Party Secretariat has proposed to them the holding of a **FOOD & ANTI-PRICE RISE STATE CONFERENCE** in the capital as soon as the Assembly meets in August.

In the letter to the SSP, the secretariat has reminded it of the encouraging results of such cooperation between the SSP and the CPI in Bihar and suggested that in the interests of the state's people the same thing should be done in UP.

Shukla's letter to them says that the SSP and the CPI are the two most important opposition parties with substantial mass following in the state and if they bend their efforts and energies together, a radical change can be brought about in the political climate of the state and helpful conditions can be created for forcing the government to take necessary measures in the present crisis.

The working together of these parties will also help the united functioning on people's issues of other democratic parties and mass organisations in the state.

On instructions of the secretariat, Chandrajeet Yadav, secretary of the Communist group in the UP Assembly, has addressed an earnest letter to the constituent parties and groups of the Progressive United Front in the legislature that was formed against the antics of the Jan Sangh and its allies (in the government and outside) during last session of the Assembly.

Yadav has asked for the convening of a meeting to discuss the problem of food and ways and means to meet the crisis.

ORISSA

★ From Cuttack NANDA-KISHORE PATNAIK writes:

The Orissa state council of the CPI has decided to launch a statewide movement demanding effective measures to meet the distressing food and draught situation and spiralling of prices.

On August 10 a memorandum on behalf of the Communist Party will be submitted to the state government, followed by demonstrations and mass meetings in all the district headquarters.

The CPI state council met at Bhubaneswar from August 25 to 28. CPI general secretary, C. Rajeswar Rao also attended the meeting, held to plan the food agitation.

The council noted that due to late rains thousands of acres of land in Orissa had suffered from crop failure. Peasants have been forced to exhaust even their seeds due to repeated sowings.

Prices of kerosene, mustard oil

and other essential commodities have gone very high. Hoarders and blackmarketeers have cornered all the stocks and have created an artificial scarcity in these articles to charge high prices.

The council expressed grave concern over the food situation and placed the following demands before the government:

● The state government should immediately introduce full-scale state trading in foodgrains. Direct purchases should be made from the cultivators and adequate financial advances be made to the peasants during the current season.

● Government should immediately open fair price shops in different parts of the state and supply foodgrains at controlled rates to the poorer sections of the people.

● Export of paddy outside the state should be only on government account and it should be done only after stocking sufficient quantities to meet the full requirements of the people of the state.

The council also demanded that prices of daily necessities should be brought down to the 1962 level. Kerosene, mustard oil, sugar and other such essential articles should be made available in fair price shops.

Implementation of progressive land reforms was seen by the council as an essential pre-requisite for increasing food production. It demanded withdrawal of

new taxes and reduction in the water cess.

Nationalisation of banks and the import-export trade was also demanded by the council.

A call was given to all sections of the people to support the food movement to be launched on August 10. The council directed Party units to organise mass meetings and demonstrations in support of the memorandum.

The CPI state council also decided to organise and support any movement for general strike and hartal or any other form of agitation which the Rashtriya Sangram Samiti, meeting in New Delhi on August 16 and 17 would decide upon.

ASSAM

★ From Gauhati SUREN BHATTA writes:

An all-Assam convention of left parties, mass organisations and progressive individuals has called for a sustained campaign against the complacent attitude of the government towards the grave food crisis.

The convention was called jointly by the Communist Party of India, the RCPI, the Marxist Communist Party and the SSP to discuss the acute food scarcity and the government's attack on civil liberties.

It was attended, besides the sponsoring organisations, by representatives of the RCPI, the Assam committees of the AITUC, HMP, AIKS and AIYF and many other TU, kisan, youth and women's organisations and prominent individuals like Tarapada Bhattacharya, MLA, Gaurishankar Bhattacharya and Golam Osmani.

The resolution on food demanded abolition of all private agencies in the food trade which should become the job of only government agencies and co-operatives. Distribution of food articles should be under the supervision of food committees.

● Fair maximum price for consumers and remunerative minimum price for the producer-peasants must be fixed and strictly implemented. Drastic measures to punish the hoarders, profiteers and other anti-social elements in the food trade.

● Food supply centres should be opened in towns and villages at ward and gaon sabha level and food articles should be supplied by the government on credit for selling to the people, payments to be made at the end of the month.

● The price of paddy should be fixed at Rs. 15 a maund and peasants assured of this minimum. The selling price of rice should be 50 paise a kilogram. Prices of other essential articles should be fixed in parity with the rice price.

● Bank advances to food traders should be banned, the convention said, because the advance purchase system is evolved by the traders to cheat the peasants and deprive them of remunerative prices for their produce.

The resolution on civil liberties demanded immediate release of all political detenus and scrapping of emergency powers and withdrawal of the Defence of India Rules.

The convention has adopted a plan of action to realise the above demands. A campaign week will be organised throughout the state by the parties and organisations from August 23 to 31. Copies of memorandum will be submitted to district and tehsil officers.

In the second stage, a one-day statewide hartal would be organised in the second week of September or first week of October. Thereafter mass satyagraha will be undertaken. This might be followed by a non-cooperation movement, for which the convention has called on the people to be prepared.

The convention has also called for raising ten thousand volunteers to carry out the agitation programme as planned by it.

HUNGER MARCH IN KERALA

From S. SHARMA

TRIVANDRUM: Preparations are on for a mammoth demonstration for food in Trivandrum on August 9 when the Hunger March under the auspices of the Communist Party which started from Cannanore on the 9th of last month will reach the state capital.

THE March which has already traversed more than two hundred miles and covered a number of districts split itself into two batches on reaching Ernakulam and these two batches are now proceeding to Trivandrum, one via Alleppey and Quilon and the other via Kottayam.

Both the batches will converge at Trivandrum on the 9th and present a memorandum to the Governor demanding 12 oz. rice ration, introduction of statutory rationing in state and a just share for Kerala in the Fourth Plan.

The concluding stage of the Hunger March will synchronise with mass satyagraha on the 9th before all the district collectorates and taluk offices by leaders and workers of the Communist Party. Preparations to make this mass satyagraha a successful and

mighty protest demonstration are afoot in all the districts. Local jathas are covering the districts popularising the key slogans of the Hunger March.

Interviewed by NEW AGE, P. T. Punnose and K. T. Jacob, leaders of the Hunger March expressed satisfaction at the response which the Hunger March had from all sections of toiling people, including democratic-minded Congress men. The March was an inspiring experience, they said.

People waited to receive the jatha even in torrential rains as it passed through villages and towns and the poorest of them vied with one another to feed the members of the jatha and to give them shelter. Scores of meetings, small and big were held in the course of the three-

week-old whirlwind tour of the Hunger Marchers.

The Hunger March has evoked interest and response from other left parties also. The RSP leader Sreekantan Nair, MP has declared that the executive of his party has decided to stage a protest demonstration in the state capital on August 15 when they will raise the demand for food and for a just share for Kerala in the Fourth Plan.

Sreekantan Nair said that the RSP will seek to unite all progressive democratic parties for these demands and organise a statewide agitation. He forecast a statewide struggle including a no tax campaign and picketing of Central Government offices. He said that the August 15 demonstration will be a forerunner of this united movement.

On August 15, the non-gazetted officers of Kerala will present to the government a mass petition signed by 40,000 NGOs urging increased dearness allowance, withdrawal of disciplinary action against union leaders and recognition of their union.