

TTK BLACKENS INDIA'S IMAGE



Vol. XII No. 28 New Delhi, July 12, 1964 25 Paise

Shameful Performance In London

Finance Minister T. T. Krishnamachari's first speech in London has shattered the last hopes that anyone may have had of India's representatives playing a leading role in the Commonwealth conference. So completely out of tune was TTK's address at a press luncheon two hours after his reaching London, that it isolated India from the powerful African group, which had already established itself as a major force in the conference.

ON arrival in London, the anti-imperialist African representatives made it a point to insist that key issues like those of Southern Rhodesia, South Africa and British Guiana must be taken up by the Commonwealth conference.

India's representatives, knowing this full well though they did, lost the opportunity to express their solidarity with their African colleagues. Not only that, TTK went much further in his speech at the press luncheon.

On Southern Rhodesia, TTK declared that the British government's statements in regard to its future were "not out of alignment with Indian policy".

The whole anti-imperialist

By The Editor

world is condemning the British government for its connivance at the criminal acts of the white racist rulers of Southern Rhodesia. Every one of the seven African members of the Commonwealth had already insisted on placing Southern Rhodesia at the top of the agenda, precisely because the attitude of the Tory government is utterly reprehensible in this regard. The Ghana High Commission issued a special pam-

phlet on Britain's responsibility for the hell in which the people of Southern Rhodesia are held.

But TTK, dashing and debonair, coolly says that the Tory government's statements are "not out of alignment" with India's policy. And that "we shall keep our minds open" (TIMES OF INDIA, July 8) —Oh, how lovely it is to be "neutral" between the oppressors and the oppressed! THIS IS EITHER CRASS STUPIDITY OR BLATANT TREACHERY.

TTK declared that "India would not raise either the question of British Guiana or South Africa. But if these issues were raised, India's views would be made known" (STATESMAN, July 8).

Why, in heaven's name, why cannot India raise these issues? India is the oldest of the anti-imperialist Afro-Asian members of the Commonwealth. Why should this India's representatives blandly declare that we refuse to take the lead on the most vital issues of apartheid in South Africa and the imperialist game of divide-and-rule in British Guiana?

Whose "brief" was this? Again—is it just plain wooden-headedness? Or something worse?

On Kashmir, TTK, far from asserting that Kashmir's accession to India was

final and irrevocable, declared that "the problem of Kashmir can be solved by peaceful negotiations between India and Pakistan".

We thought Kashmir's accession was NOT negotiable. What then is TTK up to?

ON Laos, TTK did not speak of the 14-nation conference, nor of the necessity and urgency of the withdrawal of US troops: all TTK had to say was to demand the withdrawal of the Pathet Lao forces, in much the same words as those used by the US imperialists themselves.

TTK's overall "free world" anti-Communist approach

put the cap on the entire disgraceful speech. (of the pure British variety) would prevail. We must beware of the "Communist menace". But India, rest assured, dear White Sahibs, will NEVER... oh, NEVER... go Communist. Trust Uncle TTK!

No wonder the British Chancellor of the Exchequer Maudling, who was present at the performance luncheon, said that TTK "had become a legend not only in India, but throughout the Commonwealth" HINDUSTAN TIMES, July 8). There are legends and legends—some of them rather dirty!

Mutual back-scratching enjoyable pastime. But TTK's opening shots in London tarnished India's anti-imperialist reputation, and pushed our country to back seat in the Commonwealth Conference. Instead of taking a leading part in Afro-Asian initiatives, TTK has tied himself (and India) to the apron-strings of the Tory imperialists.

One can only hope that the damage done is not irreparable and that the coming days will see amends being made for this scandalous first day in London...

(July 8)

Private Employers' Conspiracy

Secret Documents Reveal Plan To Scuttle Bonus Commission Report

NEW AGE has received a "STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL" note circulated by the Employers' Federation of India (Eastern Regional Committee) to its constituents incorporating the proceedings of the joint meeting it had in Bombay with the All-India Organisation of Industrial Employers on the Bonus Commission's Report.

WE also have with us a copy of another 'confidential' document—a memorandum submitted by the Engineering Association of India to the Government of India which details as to why the engineering industry would

not accept the report of the Bonus Commission.

These documents prove that employers of the private sector have decided that they would not implement the recommendations of the Bonus Commission unless these are substantially modified to grant them additional concessions.

The private sector employers so far had not openly admitted that they would not accept the bonus report but all along they were secretly formulating their strategy to sabotage its implementation. And now they have been caught at it.

The "Strictly Confidential" note, (the photostat of a part of which is reproduced alongside) makes very interesting reading. It enumerates the viewpoints of the leading industrial tycoons.

The note has explained in detail the views of Naval Tata which "most of the members shared". One view of Naval Tata, which has been lauded by this gentry is: "...on no account should the important principles embodied in Mr. Dandekar's

note of dissent (to the bonus report—ed.) be sacrificed by the employing interests nor should the minimum bonus payable irrespective of the profit and loss of the company under the Commission's formula, be acceptable to industry."

It is further explained that "...the Commission's recommendations were labour-oriented and the Commission had gone beyond the terms of reference by laying down a minimum bonus irrespective of profits of a company"

That the pressure of the employers on the government for further concessions is already having effects is proved by the fact that though the Commission's report was submitted in January this year, it has not yet been accepted by the government. The reasons advanced by the Government of India, such as "the state governments are being consulted in the matter" etc., are only frivolous at best.

Evading Discussion

Government's softening up is also borne out by its decision not to include the issue of Bonus Commission recommendations in the agenda of the next Indian Labour Conference scheduled to be held in Bangalore on July 29 and 30. A discussion of this subject in the ILC was specifically the demand made by the trade unions following the failure of the government to accept the recommendations. And now this demand has

★ ON BACK PAGE

EMPLOYERS FEDERATION OF INDIA
EASTERN REGIONAL COMMITTEE

Strictly Confidential

ROYAL EXCHANGE
CALCUTTA 1

Note on the Joint Meeting of the Employers' Federation of India and the All-India Organisation of Industrial Employers on the Bonus Commission's Report.

The joint meeting of the EFT and the AIOIE was held in the Committee Room of the Indian Merchants' Chamber, Bombay at 2.30 p.m. on Tuesday, 15th May. Approximately 60 persons representing the various industries, as well as one or two other employers' organisations attended the meeting. Mr. B. K. S. Prasad, Chairman, EFT, presided over the meeting. Mr. B. K. S. Prasad, Chairman, EFT, Mr. B. K. S. Prasad (EFT), Mr. R. Lalit (IIE), Mr. J. M. Desai (IIE) and Mr. B. K. Prasad (IIE) were present at the meeting. Mr. M. G. Desai acted as an adviser.

Forward To Seventh Congress Of CPI

Quit Commonwealth?

On the eve of the opening of the Commonwealth Conference in London, the press is full of reports of a common decision taken by some of the African members to consider withdrawing from the Commonwealth, if British policies in regard to South Africa and Southern Rhodesia are not changed.

THE SUNDAY TELEGRAPH (July 5) carried a lead story which said that Ghana and some other African states were "threatening to consider joint withdrawal from the Commonwealth falling clear guarantees by Britain on its policy towards Southern Rhodesia and South Africa."

Whether Ghana will be able to muster enough support for a quit Commonwealth move or not, the fact is that the whole question of the contradiction of anti-imperialist governments remaining with the British imperialists in the so-called Commonwealth, has now become a central issue before the London Conference.

On June 21, three weeks ago, NEW AGE editorially posed precisely this question, which has now been taken up actively by President Nkrumah, Prime Minister Jomo Kenyatta and others. NEW AGE had listed the most recent crimes of British imperialism and said: "It is high time for the anti-imperialist Afro-Asian governments attending the Commonwealth Conference to make it clear that their countries will quit the Commonwealth, if these crimes are not ended here and now."

African Foreign Ministers met separately in London prior to the conference to work out a common approach. An indication of their attitude was the release of a pamphlet entitled "Britain's Responsibility in Southern Rhodesia" by the Ghana High Commission, as an obvious preparatory move for the Commonwealth Conference.

Each of the anti-imperialist African leaders, on arrival in London, has underlined the necessity for action in regard to South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. Other questions like those of Cyprus, British Guiana and Aden are also equally forcing themselves on the agenda.

Testing Time For India

IT is in this context that India's representatives have to act in a manner worthy of our anti-imperialist traditions and of the anti-imperialist sentiments of our millions. It is not enough only to support the African leaders. (It would be calamitous if even this were not done.)

It is necessary for India to take the initiative in regard to all the vital questions, on which British imperialist policy must be roundly condemned. The Indian people expect India's representatives to join in taking the lead in any move to quit the Commonwealth, falling adequate assurances of a change of policy on the part of the British government.

NEW AGE had editorially said three weeks ago:

"India has a special role to play, a special duty to perform... The earliest among the anti-imperialist Afro-Asian members to win independence, India must take the lead at the coming London Conference in raising the key issues affecting the independence of peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America."

"India has no place in a 'Commonwealth' headed by the perpetrators of injustice and terror in British Guiana, the arms suppliers to the South African racists, the murderers of the people of Aden, the partners of the oppressors of the Southern Rhodesian patriots."

Unfortunately, as we write, there is no indication whatsoever that the Government

of India has any intention of playing that special role, which the anti-imperialist part of our Motherland requires it to play.

The unfortunate statement issued by the Prime Minister announcing his inability to proceed to London, has only added to one's misgivings about the Indian government's attitude during the Commonwealth conference. All the nauseating fawning on British imperialism in the Prime Minister's statement was surely out of place—and utterly improper.

There was no need for a Prime Minister to say "I have been living in anticipation of this (his visit to London) for the last one month." There was no need to wax so eloquent about London being the place "where parliamentary democracy first took birth." And it was totally out of place to underline so heavily "the underlying link" of the Commonwealth, at a moment when others are seriously

Comment

considering whether the "link" should be continued at all.

If the Prime Minister had to make a political statement on the Commonwealth Conference, it should have been a responsible and complete statement reflecting his brief to those who would represent him in London. Instead of making such a statement, we had this puerile and undignified lament on the missing of the joys of seeing London, because of the naughty, naughty doctors!

Neither T. T. Krishnamachari nor Indra Gandhi had a word to say about South Africa, Southern Rhodesia, British Guiana, Aden or Cyprus—as they left India for London. All they could talk about was the glory of the Commonwealth and our "ties"; and Pandit Nehru's name was dragged in to prove how greatly attached he was to the Commonwealth idea!

In London, India's representatives must join hands with

the African leaders. This is a testing time. And India must not be found vacillating even to the slightest degree.

Kashmir And Secularism

THE question is being posed in the country whether it is not a violation of the law to advocate the dismemberment of the country. The brazenfacedness with which the Swatantra Party and Rajaji are openly advocating the cutting off of Kashmir from the rest of India is causing serious concern.

The publicity and support which sections of the monopoly press are giving to the Swatantra solution of the Kashmir question are also indications of the necessity for the greatest vigilance against reactionary forces in the

★ On Facing Page

Neo-Colonialist Motivations

A MONG deals which Manubhai Shah claimed to have pulled off during his sojourn in Washington were a few concerning imports of cotton, soybeans and tallow under the notorious Public Law 480. He, of course, waxed eloquent about their utility but the real hideous face of PL 480 deals had been revealed earlier.

On July 1 the FINANCIAL EXPRESS and PATRIOT carried reports of a proposal being discussed in New Delhi for the utilisation of rupee funds accruing to the US government from the sale of farm surpluses under PL 480.

This proposal envisaged the setting up of a trust of these funds to be used for underwriting US investment in our country. Paraded as an ingenious device to utilise a vast sum of idle money, the proposal was in fact only a thinly veiled contrivance to facilitate massive investment of US capital.

The core of the proposal was to provide rupee resources for US enterprises in India, not through an Indian collaborator as is the practice now but directly out of resources which, although accruing within India are owned by the US government.

The ventures, floated in this manner, will thus not be 'joint' even in name but one hundred per cent American. How reminiscent of an era when the British exercising their political sovereignty over our land did not need to share their 'entrepreneurial' right with an Indian partner!

It is thus a return to old pre-independence era that the 'proposal' form the PL 480 trust signifies, only this time the reins will be held not by the city of London but by Wall Street. And it is not only Wall Street that will have "unadulterated" enterprises. In course of time, the World Bank and West Germany, whose nationals have shown interest in investing in India, will also be invited to follow its example. The 'trust' will thus be a joint enterprise very much like the Aid India Consortium is to make inroads into Indian industries.

The parallel with the Aid India Consortium is, however, not incidental, but symbolic of a "division of labour" between the state in countries like the United States, and their private investors. The state by its aid through the consortium helps to create in the aided country a "development potential" (power, transport etc.) which can smoothen the inflow of private capital.

And now that this "potential" has been sufficiently created, and India has become what the Americans call a "good risk" economically, the time is ripe for utilising the PL 480 rupees for a massive in-flow of American capital.

The proposal about the trust is thus a part of a "neo-colonialist" design of the American imperialists who, right from the beginning of their "interest" in India's development, have been itching to exploit its rich economic potential for further aggrandisement. Be it power development or the need for foodgrains, they have lost no occasion to push

this design ahead, while our government, in its incomplete unawareness of this design or, as in this case of PL 480 by deliberate acts of its Rightwing ministers, has continued to provide opportunities for its fulfilment.

The proposal is however, still under consideration, which means that it can still be scotched if the people are awakened to its sinister implications.

★ ★ ★
WHAT did the Prime Minister really mean when he told the Planning Commission to pay special attention to the problems of unemployment and lack of amenities for the common man?

Did he suggest a basic reorientation of our Plans to mould them not with an eye on the "perspective" as Jawaharlal Nehru had done, but with their stress laid only on raising production in the immediate?

Even when Jawaharlal was alive, Krishnamachari had been talking about a "growth-oriented" economy—a nice word which was, however, only an euphemism for facilitating the growth of private enterprise. Is Lal Bahadur also advocating the same approach?

This is a vexing question and only the Prime Minister can provide an answer to it whenever he is fit enough to do so. In the meantime, all shades of detractors of our planning have picked on his remarks to unleash a campaign for a basic "shift" in plan schemes.

Talk of pruning the existing Plan is in the air, while the emphasis of the next is being sought to be shifted to "quick-yielding"

Economic Notes

projects. And yet, nobody cares to find out if jobs, food and other basic needs of the people cannot be fulfilled without giving up the emphasis on the "perspective".

After all, this "perspective" is only that of a "democratic socialist pattern" and it will be an irony if in its pursuit the people should have to put up with undue privations.

The fact is that the present privations have not arisen from an undue stress on the "perspective" but because of unpreparedness to take all those steps in the present which would ensure its realisations.

The accent on social justice, of which we hear so much, has seldom found reflection in steps to curb profiteering, hold the price line and take all those "institutional" steps in the countryside which would enable the farmer to contribute his best to the raising of agricultural production.

Even the Food Minister's half-hearted measures towards state trading have foundered on the rock of Chief Minister's opposition. And yet, these very gentlemen or at least some of them would perhaps be pleading for a "shift" in the Plan pattern.

People's well-being is too sacred a trust to be abused for ditching their and the country's interests in the future. What should be done instead is to take the necessary organisational and political steps to ensure it to the maximum in the present and lay the foundations of greater prosperity in years ahead.

—Essen

BAN COMMUNALISM

Editorial

THE CONGRESS PARLIAMENTARY Party has done well to release to the public at long last, which had been set up to make proposals for halting communal disruption and violence. Why this report was kept in cold storage for three years has not been explained, nor why the report has been made public now.

One would like to be optimistic and assume that the publication of the report at this time is an indication of the ruling party's intention to take effective steps against communalism. Unfortunately, there is nothing else in the conduct of the authorities which would warrant such optimism.

A majority of the Jain Committee has called for the banning of communal parties. They have pointed out that communal parties are not only those with obviously communal title (like the Hindu Mahasabha and the Muslim League), but equally those like the Jan Sangh and the RSS which preach communal violence and foment communal riots, despite their innocuous titles.

The Rightist parties are, of course, raising a storm; they suggest that the Congress is using the communal stick only to beat its political opponents. The Jan Sangh leaders are protesting their innocence, and claim that their party had nothing to do with the recent communal riots which have blackened India's image all over the world.

It is not clear whether government is at all serious about taking effective steps against communalism. Its entire record thus far belies any hope in this direction. It is true that Prime Minister Nehru was dedicated to secularism and, under his leadership, efforts were made to halt the forces of communalism. It is also true that Home Ministers Nanda did a courageous piece of work this year, after the carnage in Calcutta, to restore confidence and harmony.

But all this notwithstanding, the fact remains that the Congress organisation in many states is itself responsible for communalism and casteism. Reports, which cannot be discounted, indicate connivance, if not active participation, by some Congressmen in the communal violence which took place earlier this year in certain parts of the country.

There are enough provisions even under the present laws to take action against the preachers of communal hate, who roam the country so freely. Organisations like the Committee to Combat Communalism, headed by Subhadra Joshi, MP, have done yeoman service to make known the heinous nature of the work of the RSS and its leaders. But no effective action has yet been taken by the authorities.

It would be a serious mistake to underestimate the danger of the communal forces. They cannot be combated only by legislation. For there are a hundred ways to evade the provisions of the law, which the reactionary gangsters, know well. Thus while supporting every move to ban communalism and the parties which preach and propagate communal violence, all patriotic Indians must take concrete steps to rouse public vigilance and wrath against the communalists.

The close connection between the communalists and the imperialist enemies of Indian independence must be made widely known and understood. The barbarism and inhumanity of the violence, in which the communalists revel, must be warned against. The anti-national aims and purposes of the fomenters of communal riots must be exposed.

All this cannot be done by a section of the Congress Party acting on its own. Only a united, common platform of all secular elements in the country, with a vast network of committees, pledged to fight the communalists and defend the minorities, can halt the growth of communalism.

Governmental action is urgent and necessary. The lethargy of local authorities in the face of communal propaganda arises essentially from the Congress governments' failure to act decisively.

The national united movement against communalism must compel the governments to take resolute measures to ban communalism—measures which with the support of the people, can be implemented with courage and integrity. Such a united movement can also stand guarantee against the danger of misuse of power to curb communalism, for the partisan purposes of those in authority.

(July 8)

Andhra Pradesh

From MOHIT SEN

ARSON AND AFTER, CONGRESS GOONS SHOW THEIR FANGS

HYDERABAD: The Vijayawada arson incidents figured prominently in the debates, both in the State Legislative Assembly and the Council. The Communist speakers, the representatives of the splitters as well as some Congressmen raised the demand of an open judicial enquiry into the affair.

DESPITE his vehement protests, G. S. Raju (a notorious Congress bigwig from Vijayawada) was visibly shaken by the disclosure that 32 prominent Congressmen from the afflicted city had sent a memorandum against him, on the arson issue, to the Chief Minister.

In face of mounting evidence that there is some kind of an anti-Communist political game being played by a section of the Congress headed by G. S. Raju in connection with the Vijayawada fires, the Chief Minister turned down the plea for a judicial enquiry. Many non-Communist MLAs and commentators caustically remarked that the Congress skeletons in the cupboard had frightened off Brahma-nanda Reddy.

The Chief Minister had taken the initiative from an early stage, to push the idea that the arson was a politically motivated one. People are wondering whether the involvement of Congress politicians has prevented him from making a damning exposure of these political motivations by agreeing to a judicial enquiry.

In the meantime four small fires again broke out in Vijayawada on July 4. One of the thatched sheds in the compound of the house of C. Rajeswara Rao, member of the Central Secretariat of the CPI, was burned down. The fire occurred at 4 P.M. and was a clear case of arson.

It is evident that the refusal of the police to act firmly against the underworld gangs, alleged to be patronised by prominent Congressmen, has emboldened these anti-social elements. They are furious at the exposure of their nefarious game by the CPI, nurse their old grudges, and are out to do as much physical harm and damage to the Communists and their houses.

Talking Of Rivalry

The bitterness of the Congress feuds in Vijayawada erupted on July 5. Congressmen came to blows over the elections to the Vijayawada cooperative central stores. The rowdy scenes and

possibility of worse to come compelled the police to resort to a lathi-charge and a teargas-squad had to stand by for any eventuality.

Trouble began when G. S. Raju, whose role in the Vijayawada arson is still a riddle, and his gang occupied the scene of the election. The other Congress group, led by Chalapati Rao, MLA sought the help of the police to try to have regular elections. He even proposed that the elections be postponed. G. S. Raju rushed to the place and had to be physically held back by the Assistant Superintendent of Police as he was about to assault his Congress rival. Allegations and abuse were freely hurled.

"Elections" were held, all the same—one set of directors was "elected" in the hall and another in the portico. An armed police picket had to be posted on two approaches to the building and armed guards had to be posted outside the home of Chalapati Rao, while G. S. Raju had to be sent home under police escort.

Such is the nature of the Congress in Vijayawada. No wonder people there are being confirmed in their feeling that the recent fiery ordeal through which they passed may well have something to do with the malaise in the ruling party.

Comment

★ FROM FACING PAGE

country, ready to sing to the imperialists' tune at any moment.

Elsewhere in this issue (page 9) appears our correspondent's report on the recent meeting of the Swatantra Party's High Command in Bombay. All pretence has been given up. The mask has been willingly removed. On every issue the Swatantra gods have linked up with their imperialist masters; and the most heinous of all suggestions is one made by Rajaji that Kashmir should be handed over to the United Nations!

Sometimes it is "independent" Kashmir, sometimes a "condominium"—now the UN administration. These are all variations of one and the same theme... and the essence is the cutting off of Kashmir from the Indian union and making its territory available, one way or another, for imperialist bases.

Sheikh Abdullah has been quick to hail Rajaji as one who understands the problem best. The Sheikh has started a vicious campaign against

all who stand for Kashmir's accession, and one of his principal targets this week has been Education Minister Chagla, who has been the first government spokesman since the death of Pandit Nehru to reiterate that Kashmir's accession is final.

At the Commonwealth Conference, at least behind the scenes, President Ayub and his friends will try to whip up the Kashmir issue again in the pro-Pakistan atmosphere provided by the Tory government's auspices. A new "negotiations" offensive has also been launched by Pakistan. And all appears set for a meeting between Ayub and Prime Minister Shastri.

In this context, it is good that a campaign on Kashmir and secularism has been launched by a representative committee headed by K. D. Malaviya and including several leading personalities, as well as representatives of mass organisations. The aim of the campaign was reiterated at a public meeting in New Delhi on July 7, which adopted resolutions, affirming

that Kashmir's accession is final, complete and irrevocable, and condemning the communal forces. Special mention was made in speeches by K.D. Malaviya, V. K. Krishna Menon, Diwan Chaman Lal and others of Rajaji's anti-Indian campaign.

Speakers pointed out how the Swatantra Party and the Jan Sangh, while apparently taking opposite positions on the Kashmir issue, were both acting in the interests of the imperialists: the one advocated surrender of Kashmir in the name of ending communal tension; the other pretended to oppose any surrender on Kashmir but whipped up communal frenzy, which gave the imperialists the best possible assistance in their anti-Indian crusade.

The campaign, which is to go forward to a National Convention in September, deserves the support of all Indian patriots.

—Ramesh Chandra

(July 7)

Party Congress Preparations

KERALA

T RIVANDRUM: The executive of the Kerala State Council of the Communist Party of India which met at Trichur on July 1 and 2 has drawn up a detailed programme for the education of Party members and discussions on the ideological political issues before the Party so as to equip Party members to fight disruption and uphold unity and prepare for the Seventh Party Congress.

The executive heard a report on the last meeting of the National Council from C. Achutha Menon, secretary. The executive later adopted the following decisions on study camps for Party members and on Party conferences at different levels.

★ Two day study camps of members of district councils and leading cadres from the mandals to be held in all districts in the month of July where the Ideological Resolution,

Party Programme and Resolution of Party Unity and the work on mass front will be reported and discussions initiated.

★ New Party cards will be distributed to all Party members who clear all their dues upto July 31.

★ Branch level conferences to be completed before August 31.

★ All taluk and mandal conferences to be completed by September 30.

★ District conferences to be held in the month of October and state conference in the first week of November.

The executive also discussed in detail a programme for the publication and sale of pamphlets and Party journals to help Party Congress discussions.

PUNJAB

T H E Punjab state executive of the Party which concluded its two-day session on July 4, has also fixed a time table for Party conferences.

It heard a report from Avtar Singh Malhotra

the state council secretary on the recent meeting of the National Council and decided that in view of the fact that the Seventh All India Congress of the Party is being held in November, the state conference of the Party should be held from October 3 to 11 at Amritsar.

The agenda of the conference will include discussions on the ideological differences in the international Communist movement, the Draft Programme and Political Resolution of the Party, the political and organisational reports of the state unit and elections to the state bodies as well as of the delegates for the Party Congress.

The district conferences are to be concluded by September 15, and each district will elect one delegate for every 25 members for the state conference. The issuance of the Party cards to all Party members will be finalised by July 31.

The executive also decided to appeal to all Party members to pay one rupee each for a special fund for state centre, alongwith their membership fee.

Serving Private Sector

W I T H much fanfare Union Finance Minister T. T. Krishnamachari has inaugurated the Unit Trust of India. He has claimed the Unit Trust has been set up in furtherance of the aim of establishing a socialist society.

I feel there is no bigger deception than this to be committed on the people. It may be true that the common people might be encouraged to invest in the Unit Trust which otherwise they would not have done. But the really important matter is where these investments are going.

The trust invests its funds in government securities, industrial debentures, preference shares and equities, according to R. S. Bhat, its chairman. This means that the government-sponsored trust acts as a collector of funds on behalf of private sector, except for governmental securities, which even private banks are now compelled to invest in, there is no mention of any public sector projects here.

Earlier, JTK had brought Industrial Development Bank into existence with the same aim of helping the capitalists with public funds. No wonder Swatantra-leader economist Dr. A. Krishnaswamy recently paid encomiums to JTK for both these institutions. May be, the socialism which JTK is building is that of capitalists, and not of the common people.

New Delhi P. DEVRAJ

LETTERS

Patil Retinue?

A R E C E N T news item from Delhi said that S. K. Patil was feted by canine lovers of the capital and that Ram Subbag Singh and A. M. Thomas were also present at the function.

This is a bit intriguing. We can understand S. K. Patil being feted by canine lovers, for he is the president of the Delhi Kennel Club and his return to power must have raised their spirits very much.

But what is the reason for the presence of Ram Subbag Singh and A. M. Thomas there? The only link is that both were Patil's deputies in the Food and Agriculture Ministry when he was having his PL 480 raj there.

When Lal Bahadur Shastri constituted his council of ministers, Ram Subbag Singh was given the social security portfolio. He was reported to have been very unhappy with that and soon enough opted for Railways to be under S. K. Patil, thus showing where his preference lay.

A. M. Thomas is now Minister for Defence Production. If he is also owing allegiance to his former chief even now, then people have to be very careful. With his fondness for PL 480 and Uncle Sam, Patil might not be a good influence on one who is holding the Defence Production portfolio.

Cochin S. RAJENDRAN

First National Conference of Public Sector Employees

Defend The Interests Of The Country And The Class

Satish Looma

Convener of the Coordination Committee of Public Sector Employees

From June 25 to 27, Bangalore was the venue of a unique national conference. For the first time in our country, the workers of public sector enterprises, from all over the country, from the fertilizer factory in Nangal to FACT in Alwaye, from the oil installations in Barauni and the steel complex in Durgapur to the ports and docks in Bombay gathered together in one national conference.

W H A T made it even more important was that the representatives of trade unions of all trends were present in the conference. The unity of thought and action amongst trade unionists of differing views was remarkably revealed by the fact that all decisions were unanimous.

The dominant note of discussions and decisions can be summed up as follows:

★ The trade unions in public sector will continue to defend the interests of the country by safeguarding the public sector against all attacks from within or without, will fight for its consolidation and further extension.

★ The trade unions will continue to defend the interests of the working class by fighting for its economic betterment, for workers' participation in management on equal terms and for trade union rights and democratic liberties.

This understanding is based on an analysis of the genesis and development of the public sector in our country and its role in our economic and political life. Factually speaking, the public sector existed in India before independence in the shape of the P&T, and the railways acquired against sterling balances held in England. The Second World War had also seen the establishment of some industries in the defence sector.

But the "public sector" under the British, an outcome of historical accident, was restricted to these and played a role very different from the consciously planned public sector developed after independence.

Conscious Development

This conscious development has been in five different lines or departments: infrastructure (hydro-electric, communications etc.), trade (State Trading Corporation), agriculture (Suratgarh farm), accumulation of capital (State Bank, LIC) and production, mostly heavy and basic (steel, structural goods, heavy engineering, oil, chemicals, heavy electricals, fertilizers etc.). Most of the development has been in departments of infrastructure, capital accumulation and production in that ascending order.

Though by 1951, there were 36 companies (in the public sector which was run under the Central government and was not departmentally run) with a paid-up capital of Rs. 26.3 crores, which had gone up to 74 companies with a paid up capital of Rs. 72.6 crores in 1957, the real growth came with the Second Five Year Plan.

In 1958, the number of companies jumped to 91 and the paid-up capital to Rs. 256.8 crores, and by

industry which is essential for independent economic advance.

Secondly, this development by strengthening our economy and laying the basis for further economic advance, has reduced our dependence on foreign imperialist countries, thus strengthening our independence.

Thirdly, by this very reason, it has hit at foreign monopolies and has also hit Indian monopolists as is evident from the case of oil and steel, to name only two.

Fourthly, this industry has been established in far-flung

areas, breaking the age-old feudal and tribal traditional holds and bringing remote areas under modern industrial economy. To this extent, it has an anti-feudal role.

Fifthly, it has brought into

being a new type of worker, educated and technically equipped and thus reduced our dependence on foreign expertise and know-how.

★ Overleaf

A PATRIOT'S NOTEBOOK

That Manubhai Speech

N E W AGE exposed last week the Associated Press of America report of Commerce Minister Manubhai Shah's speech before the Far Eastern American Council in New York on June 26. In a front-page editorial article, we demanded a contradiction by Manubhai himself, and also the full text of the speech he delivered (from the tape record or the stenographic record).

Well, the demand has been met. At his press conference on July 4, Manubhai has issued his own contradiction, and has also circulated what purports to be the full text of the speech taken from a tape record.

Why Manubhai did not issue his contradiction immediately from New York itself, has still not been explained, nor why it took a whole week to release the tape-recorded text.

I have gone through the text as circulated to the press by Manubhai himself. And I must say straight away that I have seldom seen such a rignarole of confused thinking and servile salesmanship. If it were not such a tragic affair, I would probably have felt like laughing aloud as I read through this fantastic text—so crude is the fawning on the dollar lords, which runs like a dirty yellow thread through the entire document.

It is true that the speech does not give the impression sought to be created by the AP report, that Manubhai said that the Nehru policies had been abandoned.

BUT, having said this much, I must add that everything else to which we had taken objection in last week's NEW AGE is CONFIRMED by Manubhai's own tape-recorded text.

The stupid and utterly ridiculous "definitions" of socialism, which had been quoted in the PTI report, are there in black and white, staring us in the face. As a matter of fact, Manubhai did NOT attempt to contradict the PTI report. Here is Manubhai's view of socialism:

"The policy of socialism also is a policy of peace. The peace

between the working class and the people in the field and the factories and the peace between the employees and the management... Our socialism is one which builds faith, which builds better understanding. Our socialism is not a negative socialism. It is not something that denies anything to anyone, within the broad limits of the Constitution and the directive policy of India."

Perhaps you had thought that socialist denies the capitalists of the means of production. And perhaps you had thought that socialism means an end to exploitation and going forward to a classless society. But Manubhai says it means class peace, and Manubhai represents the Government of India!

On another important point, the AP report was substantially correct. Manubhai DID assure the dollar boys that "once you start it, the industry is going to remain there A HUNDRED YEARS OR MORE." (The AP report only doubled the number of years and quoted the figure as "200 or 300 years")

I want the Indian people to examine this assurance of a hundred years of exploitation for the US investors (now quoted from a text, which the Minister himself claims is the authentic text). If this is the policy of the government, then all its talk about socialism is utter and complete hypocrisy.

Manubhai can't get away with it. Granting that the text he has distributed is the unedited, pure version of all he actually said, even then the speech is unworthy of a government spokesman of his standing.

It is a fact, as I have said, that taken as a whole, there is no ground for maintaining that Manubhai openly repudiated the Nehru policies. But it is also a fact that the speech throughout emphasised what it called the "new era", following the death of Pandit Nehru. Here are some quotations from Manubhai's own version:

"A great era, the Nehru era, has ended, and now we are at the threshold in my country of a new era of the Indian people led by Mr. Shastri... this new era of the people as compared to the era of a great man... the new horizons in India."

"...the new vista which has opened up in the field of international cooperation..."

All this, by itself, may sound pretty innocent. But if one speaks of the post-Nehru period as a new era, it can be assumed that all the other "new" things also relate to the same period. And what is "new", according to Manubhai in New York?

"I can assure you that the stability, the climate and the scope for investment in the years to come is going to be far greater than in the past."

In the entire context of the speech, of the repeated emphasis on the "new era", it is difficult not to draw the conclusion that the dividing line between the "years to come" and "the past" in such statements as the above, is the death of Pandit Nehru. The above is not an isolated quotation. At another place, Manubhai says:

"...the American investor, businessman, industrialists are welcome to my country, more so than in the past."

AP has issued a short contradiction, at Manubhai's request. But the chapter cannot be closed with that formal contradiction. Even if Manubhai did not mean to cast any aspersion, direct or indirect, on the Nehru policies—the text of the speech, as distributed by the Minister himself, is a most humiliating document, and calls aloud for a public censure.

I can't resist ending with two more quotes from this document:

"Forces of democracy have to fight the threat of those who want to deny freedom to individual human and freedom of India—of a free society. In this adventure may I request that your cooperation as we have been receiving in the past will be most valuable."

(Don't laugh! That's exactly how the text reads. Manubhai is a champion of the "free world"—and, if while championing it, he murders the English language, who cares? It's the "cause" that matters!)

And the conclusion:

"Through you, Mr. President, once more I convey our hearty invitation to all friends in the United States who want to visit—and it is a very beautiful country to visit even though it may not be as rich as your country. There are

many archaeological things. The Taj Mahal—a beautiful large-sized photograph of which I saw in the New York Fair—is one of the most beautiful monuments, perhaps the most beautiful monument of the world. You come and see in body and life, not only in pictures and when you see you will feel happy. Not only with Taj Mahal but with my country also..."

I don't know about "archaeological things". But I do know that there are some "things" of a more animate nature, which require to be consigned to the museums. Among them are certain makers of humiliating speeches in the Land of the Dollar.

Hon'ble MPs Back Home

T H E Swatantra-Jan Sangh-DMK "Parliamentary Delegation" is back home. In a press conference, some of them have proved true to their salt by publicly advocating the recognition of the Chiang kai-shek regime in Taiwan.

The Ministry of External Affairs, faced with a loud protest from Peking, hastened to explain that it had no connection with the Honourable MPs. For the last three weeks, I have been writing in this column demanding that the Government of India does precisely this; but no! the powers-that-be had to wait till the "Parliamentary Delegation" had made statements in Taipei supporting the recognition of the Chiang junta, before government could publicly dissociate itself from all the doings of the Right gang in the US imperialists' Asian empire.

However, better late than never... The Delhi Diary of the Jan Sangh weekly ORGANISER (July 6) makes the following revelations: "In fact, a top leader of the Congress Parliamentary Party was actually scheduled to join the delegation. He cancelled his proposed journey on the last day for personal reasons."

The passport of Jan Sangh's Balraj Madhok (who was a member of the delegation) "specifically covers a visit to Taiwan."

These are serious charges. Who was the Congress leader? Were passports endorsed for Taiwan? Was the Reserve Bank permit issued for Taiwan? Government must answer.

ROMESH CHANDRA (July 4)

FOOD SITUATION IN ASSAM

From M. BHATTACHARYYA

SHILLONG: On his return from the Chief Ministers' Conference in New Delhi Assam Chief Minister B. P. Chaliha reiterated that the food situation in Assam was "satisfactory" because of a "satisfactory" production in the state last year. He also reiterated his hope "that the new procurement policy of the state government giving licence to rice millers to procure paddy, would "ease" the situation.

B U T this optimism of the Chief Minister is hardly shared by common people who pay prohibitive prices for rice and who experience acute scarcity every now and then. If the stock position in the state was really "satisfactory", as the Chief Minister maintained, why should there be scarcity, it is asked. If there was a bumper crop why could not the government-appointed procurement agency, the Apex Cooperative, procure even half the target of procurement for the current kharif year?

Again the tactics that the government itself is unreasonably high. The price of paddy was fixed by the government at Rs. 12 a maund and on that basis the price of rice per maund, works out at Rs. 18 a maund. Giving reasonable margin for the traders, certain percentage of wastage and milling and carrying charge, the price of rice per maund should not be more than Rs. 21 a maund. But even the latest prices fixed by the government are much higher than that.

The latest prices fixed by the Govt. for different varieties of rice are between 68 p. to 94 p. per kg. or, between Rs. 25.16 to Rs. 34.78 per maund. Thus, it is pointed out, the prices fixed by the Govt. legalised the prices dictated by the big traders, and without any relation whatsoever to the price of paddy fixed by the Govt. itself.

It is only in certain urban areas like Shillong and Gauhati where the Govt. fixed the retail and wholesale prices of rice, while in the rural areas,

as well as in other urban areas also, it has not yet been fixed. This price fixation came in the wake of popular agitation against rising prices, but it is noted that till now the Govt. could not or did not guarantee a steady supply of rice.

On the other hand, big traders who have been given a legal control over the market create artificial scarcity now and then when rice disappears from the open market and price shoots up to Rs. 40 to even Rs. 60 a maund until the people begin an agitation and the supply position improves.

Whenever rice disappears from the market, the big traders put the blame on the Govt. agency which operates alongside the private agency and the Govt. agency puts the blame on the private agency, while the people suffer and a panic prevails in the market.

Meanwhile, as apprehended earlier, floods have appeared, affecting almost all the districts of the state, except the Hill districts. It is the familiar stories of sufferings of the people over again. Even according to Govt. admission, nearly 40 lakhs of people have been affected by floods and erosion. Several villages are reported to have been washed away and hundreds of affected people have taken shelter on river embankments.

In the midst of this situation the Govt. complacency is unwarranted and unless it takes a realistic view of the situation, it is apprehended, the situation may further deteriorate.

SWATANTRACHARYA'S SPECIOUS ARGUMENT

R A J A J I has voiced strong protest against official talks of state trading in foodgrains. No decision could be more misconceived or unfortunate" he has declared.

No one will be surprised by the Swatantra leader's shriek. Many will be frightened also by the lurid picture of "deterioration", "pilferage", gorging of stocks by rats and mice and "officialisation" etc., he has drawn. For there is truth in it. All this will certainly happen under bureaucratic dispensation which thrives under Congress rule.

But, is that the real reason why the Swatantra Party is so flustered over the proposal?

Rajaji revealed the real reason when he said that state trading would destroy the "mechanism of self-directed and competition-guarded trade." (SWARAJYA June 20, 1964).

There is no sagacity in his plea. It is doubtful if it can even be characterised as straightforward. For, it omits to note that the mechanism, so "self-directed" and "competition-guarded", has broken down. An acute crisis of distribution has arisen.

In Bihar, to take one instance, a bumper crop was harvested, but grains failed to appear in the open market. What happened to the "self-directed" private trade which C.R. lauds as a virtue?

The stark truth is that this private trade is holding the

community to ransom. Hoarders and blackmarketeers are out to make it a field day, and the consumers are down.

But the Swatantra Party unashamedly champions their cause against that of the consumers. C.R.'s praise for them and his attempt to raise the bug-bear of state trading as "remedy worse than disease" is fresh evidence of that. In the case, People versus Profiteers, the Swatantra leaders holds the brief for the latter!

As for the danger of officialisation, it can be offset by organised popular vigilance. A party worth its salt will take steps to organise such vigilance, not curse state trading.

Jan Sangh is another full-throated apologist of anti-people interests. Even such a half-hearted measure as TTK's Monopolies Commission has caused offence to it. Sangh's mouthpiece ORGANISER (June 22) openly assailed the measure.

It has pretended to plead against follies and failures of the Congress government, but actually produced an apology for the profit-sharks.

Says the ORGANISER: "The appointment of the Monopolies Commission and the constant repetition of the charge that immense economic power is concentrated in the hands of a few in the private sector adds only insult to injury." (Italics ours).

Can you beat it? Is not this one gem dropped from



PROBLEMS AND PERSPECTIVES OF PUBLIC SECTOR EMPLOYEES

* FROM OVERLEAF

It is for these reasons that the conference decided to continue the support extended by public sector employees to the public sector. But what was earlier the individual decision of some unions or organisations has now become a united national decision.

At the same time, the conference sharply noted that the attacks of foreign and Indian vested interests on this sector continue. Indeed, these assume newer and newer forms. Now that the public sector has been firmly established—in some important branches like steel where it has already become dominant contributing 67 per cent of the total production and will become even more so after Bokaro—the monopolists and their friends seek also to gain control over it and to subvert it from within. And their friends exist inside the government and the administration also.

In many important branches, the area reserved for the public sector by the Industrial Policy Resolution is being eroded by allowing private sector to establish plants. In the Cochin refinery, the arrangements with Phillips Petroleum Co. of USA, opens the door for participation of foreign private capital and there is talk of allowing foreign and Indian equity capital participation in public sector.

Then sympathetic bureaucrats and direct nominees of the private big business are elevated to leading and controlling positions in the public sector enterprises, so that these can be run in a way which serves the interests of monopolists.

The conference also noted the corruption, wastage and inefficiency which are prevalent in public sector. Delegates were sharply critical of all these and other malpractices.

FIGHT THE EVIL

It was decided that while we support and defend the public sector, we want at the same time, to fight even more consistently against these evils which, if allowed to grow, would deprive the public sector of its national and progressive role. However, these decisions could not be arrived at without sharp discussion. Some friends maintained that the public sector was, in fact, a misnomer—it was merely the state sector of a state dominated by monopolists.

This state had established this sector to serve the interests of its class. The Indian monopolists lacked the financial resources required to set up, for example, a modern steel plant, and therefore, their state took up what they individually could not do. If this were not so, they queried, how could we explain the growth of monopoly in India side by side with the growth of public sector?

Such a thing was possible because the public sector served the interests of the monopolists. It is true, they argued, that production in basic lines

has gone up because of the plants in the public sector. But the same would have been the case if the production had been undertaken in the private sector.

Hence, there was no basic difference between TISCO and Bhilai. Both were owned by monopolists—in one case, individually, and, in the other, through their state. And, in both, the workers' rights were denied. To buttress their arguments, they brought forward the strange "fact" that the monopolists supported the public sector and wanted its extension! Hence the working class should not declare its support to the public sector but should concentrate on fighting for the economic demands and for a change in the class character of the state.

This line was supported in a less crude form by the others who doubted the wisdom of reiterating from the conference support for the public sector, on the ground that the support was already there. Their main argument was that bureaucrats allied with monopoly interests and direct representatives of monopolies had already acquired the dominant control over the public sector. They also advocated a line of simple struggle for economic rights.

SECTARIAN LINE OPPOSED

These arguments were vigorously opposed by many delegates. They pointed out how Indian and foreign monopolists had at each stage opposed the establishment of public sector in India, how it was only the aid from socialist countries, particularly the USSR, which made it possible for the public sector to be born at all and how this opposition still continues. They pointed out how it was not in the class interests of the monopolists but of the working class and the people, including the non-monopolist bourgeoisie that the public sector should be established.

It was, however, left to S.A. Dange to expose the utter hollowiness of the arguments advanced against the public sector. He pointed out that unlike the working class, the bourgeoisie is not a homogeneous class but has different strata which continuously and ruthlessly fight each other.

In India it is not the monopolist bourgeoisie but the non-monopolist bourgeoisie which has state power today. That is why the public sector, established by this state, has been opposed at every stage by the monopolists—Indian and foreign.

The public sector was established and is run by a capitalist state in a capitalist economy. It is futile to expect that in such a state, there will be no growth of monopoly. But the point to see is that the public sector has hit at monopoly and the weight of monopoly in Indian economy would have been much greater if this sector had not been there. And, in the specific conditions of India, economic advance would not be possible without the establishment of industries in the public sector.

He pointed out that one must sharply distinguish between the role of the public sector in classically developed capitalist countries like USA and England and a newly independent, economically backward country like India. The arguments advanced by our friends might be valid for USA but not for India.

CHARACTER OF PUBLIC SECTOR

Dange denied that bureaucrats allied with the monopolists or direct representatives of monopolists had already acquired dominance over the public sector. While this danger was there and could not be minimised, the public sector had not become a subservient tool of monopoly. It had on the contrary, an anti-monopoly edge.

When the vote was taken, not a single delegate voted for the contrary viewpoint and the Declaration of Policy was passed unanimously.

The conference discussed in considerable detail the economic problems and demands of workers, their working and living conditions, the state of trade union and democratic rights and the problem of young workers and women workers.

Delegates were present straight from the front where sharp struggles were being fought in defence of rights—from Bhopal, where the workers are still fighting a glorious united action against untold repression, in defence of their democratic rights and recognition of the union of their choice; from Durgapur, where a strike had just ended resulting in reinstatement of victimised workers; from Bharat Electronics, Bangalore, where men and women workers had fought a glorious battle against highhandedness of a supervisor; from Barauni, preparing for a hunger-strike; from Bhilai, where the workers were preparing for united action to secure settlement of their outstanding demands. From Pimpri, where a strike had just ended and from NCDC collieries in Bihar where a struggle is in the offing, nobody could come but they had sent messages and reports.

On the basis of reports, a clear picture emerged which showed the sorry state of affairs.

In this period of rapidly rising prices, most of the workers in the public sector do not get D.A. linked with cost of living indices. A vast majority of them work in new townships where the cost of living is exorbitant and every month, real wages fall. Proper minimum wages have not been fixed and grades and scales are unscientific.

In plants where production bonus is given, an arbitrary division is made between "productive" and "non-productive" workers and thousands of workers are deprived of a share in production bonus. Profit-sharing bonus is not given in many plants; in others, it is given arbitrarily and now the Bonus Commission recommendations will not be applicable to many plants which are run depart-

mentally or whose products do not compete with private sector products.

Employees of many plants are not treated as workers but as government servants. This deprives them of many rights under labour legislations and also civic rights.

The most objectionable practice of police verification of antecedents of workers is prevalent on the basis of a circular issued by the Home Ministry. Workers with long and meritorious service are suddenly dismissed on some alleged adverse report. Literally, hundreds have been thus thrown out of jobs. Complete insecurity of service, victimisation for trade union work, harassment, are the results while, at the same time, the nation is deprived of the skill of these workmen.

Thousands of work-charged and contract labour are denied all benefits of labour laws and have no security of service. There is no provision for training up these workers for jobs within industry nor for creating a common construction pool on regional basis. Contract work for construction can easily be replaced by construction by the enterprise itself, thus simultaneously saving money and materials.

DENIAL OF RIGHTS

Trade union and democratic rights are violated and denied. In the new townships, even in residential areas, in many places the entry of trade unionists is banned; in almost all cases, meetings and normal TU work are prohibited. Convent unions, though totally unrepresentative, are recognised and sought to be foisted on workers through harassment, repression and in other ways. Unions which really represent workers are denied even elementary rights of representation of cases of workers and are discriminated against in a variety of ways.

Another question which aroused considerable discussion was the thorny problem of workers' participation in management. The much tom-tommed government scheme, as introduced in HMT, Bangalore, has come to an early end due to the opposition of sections of management and the desire on their part as well as on the part of some influential public men to foist an unrepresentative union on the workers in place of the representative independent union.

Even otherwise, the scheme had inherent defects—it was not based on equality between workers and management; it had no provision for training workers from shop-floor for effective participation in management.

Workers' participation is important if wastage and corruption and inefficiency have to be rooted out. This is not a moral question—end to malpractices will improve production and build surpluses for further expansion. At the same time, democratic control is essential to retain the anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly edge of the public sector and strengthen its progressive, nation-building role.

The conference, therefore, demanded effective participation by workers in management, on equal terms, based on industrial democracy and with built-in provision for training of workers in management techniques. At the

same time, it welcomed the establishment of the Parliamentary Committee on Public Undertakings and chalked out a programme of coordination and cooperation with it.

On the basis of the full and fruitful discussion, the conference demanded that the Central Government should immediately convene a tripartite meeting of representatives of government, of management of public sector and of central TU organisations and independent unions of public sector employees to lay down an integrated labour policy.

It decided that public sector employees and their unions should observe August 9, as "Public Sector Employees Demands Day" throughout India by holding gate meetings, meetings, processions and rallies to press for their demands and to popularise the Declaration of Policy. The following slogans are to be raised on that day.

- 1 Treat all public sector employees as workers.
- 2 Convene a tripartite to lay down an integrated labour policy.
- 3 Recognise unions after ascertaining representative character through secret ballot among workers.
- 4 End police verification, no dismissal on grounds of security.
- 5 Minimum wages on the basis of norms laid down by the 15th Tripartite.
- 6 Guard the real wages by bringing down prices, correcting cost of living indices, linking DA to the indices with 100 per cent neutralisation.
- 7 Guarantee trade union and democratic rights.
- 8 Standardise social security, promotion, leave, housing, transport rules and facilities.
- 9 Implement Bonus Commission report and extend it to cover all public sector units.
- 10 Extend production bonus schemes, where introduced to cover all employees and frame it in consultation with workers.
- 11 Abolish contract labour and work-charged labour.
- 12 Defend public sector, fight for its extension in key industries.
- 13 Nationalise banking, export-import trade, oil industry and introduce state trading in foodgrains.
- 14 Extend democratic control over public sector through workers' participation in management and proper parliamentary control.
- 15 Accept equal pay for equal work for women workers.
- 16 Introduce training schemes for young workers.

The decision to observe the day has great importance. It will be the first nationwide action of public sector employees on the basis of common demands. August 9 is historical—it was Quit India Day. Now August 9 will be observed with the slogan "Build India and Defend Workers' Rights".

The conference unanimously elected a coordination committee for trade unions in public sector with well-defined functions to coordinate activities and promote joint action. It authorised the committee to approach all national TU centres for nominating their representatives on the committee.

Q. Is it not wrong of the CPI to think so much of working out correct tactics towards the national bourgeoisie while overlooking the question of building the worker-peasant alliance? (C. Rama Rao, Secunderabad Andhra).

A. The CPI has certainly always recognised the need to build and consolidate the worker-peasant alliance, which is the crux to building the national democratic front. Without the worker-peasant alliance not only does the building of the national democratic front become impossible but the perspective of the non-capitalist path of development, of dislodging the national bourgeoisie from its position of monopoly of power and exclusive leadership of

DOES CPI OVERLOOK WORKER-PEASANT ALLIANCE?

Thus, it is quite wrong to try to ascribe to the CPI the belief that tactics towards the national bourgeoisie is more important than building the worker-peasant alliance. But the mistake of the questioner does not end in this factual error.

The essence of this mistake lies in counterposing the two inseparable tasks of the CPI—build the worker-peasant alliance and build the national democratic front, including the national bourgeoisie.

The worker-peasant alliance is not just an abstract concept. Its need and its possibility arise out of the developing reality of India at this particular stage of its history. Today the CPI works for the worker-peasant alliance precisely in order to build and consolidate the national-democratic front, so as to lay the essential prerequisites for the later transition to socialism.

Chief Task

Today the chief task of the CPI among the peasants is precisely to inculcate among them national-democratic consciousness, to make of them a solid and militant force to implement the programme and tactic of the national democratic front. It is to this end that the CPI works out concrete slogans and forms of action on the peasant front.

The peasantry has to be mobilised, at this historical juncture, to accomplish the national-democratic revolution, in alliance and in struggle against the national bourgeoisie, against the imperialists, landlords and reactionary monopoly bourgeoisie. It would be skipping a whole historical stage to advance as the main slogan for work among the peasantry the building of an anti-capitalist worker-peasant alliance for a socialist revolution.

This attempt to skip a whole historical stage was the fundamental error of the "left" sectarian line of the Second Party Congress in 1948, especially as it was further developed by the then-General Secretary, B. T. Ranadive. That line saw the national-bourgeoisie as the main enemy of the people and the rich peasants as the main enemy of the peasants.

The attempt to build the worker-peasant alliance on this "left" sectarian basis led to disaster. It would be equally disastrous to attempt to revive this line now as some among the splitters are attempting.

Moreover an important aspect of Indian Party has to be borne in mind here. The CPI cannot build the worker-peasant alliance or try to develop the peasant movement in a vacuum. It has to face the hard fact of the enormous influence of the national bourgeoisie among the peasants—the rich, middle and even poor peasants and agricultural labourers. Con-

cretely, this is expressed in the continuing vast political pull and power of the Congress in the countryside.

This is not only because of the role of the national bourgeoisie and the Congress in the struggle against British imperialism. It is also because the developments since independence, the limited land reforms, the various development projects and programmes, the rise in the international position of India and so on.

At the same time there is considerable discontent among the peasants because of the failure to implement radical land reforms, strengthening of capitalist landlords, continuing concentration of land ownership, semi-feudal survivals, burdensome taxes, high prices, low wages and so on.

Hence, without a dual policy of unity and struggle against the national bourgeoisie and the Congress, on the basis of a national democratic programme, it will not be possible to build either a broad, powerful peasant movement or the worker-peasant alliance.

The CPI, as the vanguard of the working class, cannot extend its influence among the vast peasant masses either by advocating a general united front with the Congress or by attempting to build a general anti-Congress united front.

The limited experience of

the recent kisan satyagraha in Andhra fully confirms this point. The struggle to reverse an anti-people's policy of the Congress government drew in vast masses of the peasants, many of whom were under the influence of the Congress and even local Congressmen and committees precisely because it was not developed as an anti-Congress movement in general. A review of peasant struggles in other states will yield a similar lesson.

Limited Experience

Thus, just as the building of the worker-peasant alliance is necessary if the national bourgeoisie is to be drawn into the national-democratic front, so also the building of the worker-peasant alliance cannot be accomplished without the correct tactical approach of unity and struggle towards the national bourgeoisie and the Congress.

Abandoning the standpoint of dialectics, the questioner has landed himself in the impasse of formal logic—either correct tactics towards the national bourgeoisie or building worker-peasant alliance. In real life both are integral parts of the complex process of building the national democratic front.

—MOHIT SEN



the nation also becomes unattainable.

The CPI has always insisted that even for the purpose of stopping the slide to the Right, of smashing the bid of the Right to establish its monopoly grip over the state, the worker-peasant alliance has to be built and exercise its influence in the politics of the nation.

That is why the CPI has always emphasised the importance of the worker-peasant alliance. At the Amritsar Congress in 1958 it advanced as one of its main slogans of action to the peasantry. This slogan was repeated at the Vijayawada Party Congress in 1961. It fully retains its validity today.

Building the worker-peasant alliance, above all, means developing the struggles of the peasantry and their organisations. Right from its birth the CPI has been in the forefront of these who strove to activate the vast peasant masses and to get them organised.

First All-Assam Youth Conference

The first conference of the Youth of Assam was held at Newgong town from June 24 to 26. It was attended by 120 delegates from all parts of Assam.

THIS is the first step of building and developing democratic youth on a common platform. The conference endorsed the report of Kamal Bora, secretary of the preparatory committee of the conference.

The conference paid homage to the memory of Pandit Nehru and other leading personalities like Dr. Baliga, Shewali Kabi Ratna Kanta Barkakati, Dr. Birinchi Kumar Bora, Kedar Nath Goswami, Parvati Prasad Bora and Radha Nath Phookan.

By a resolution the conference formed the "All-Assam Youth Federation" and decided that its membership would be open to all sections of youths irrespective of their political affiliation. The conference unanimously accepted the policy statement of the All-India Youth Federation and decided to affiliate the AAYF with the AIYF.

Resolutions were adopted on (1) unemployment problem, (2) plain's solidarity with hills, (3) communal harmony, (4) educational problems, (5) rising

prices of all commodities, and (6) Kashmir issue.

The conferences elected a state council of 51 members and an executive of 19 members with Kshudra Bora as president, Kamal Bora as general secretary, Dr. Mukti Phookan, Prof. Sadananda Misra, Lakshewar Bora as vice-presidents, Hum Bahadur Chettry, Rabin Sarkar as assistant secretaries, and Jiten Phookan, Khargesar Mohan as joint secretaries.

As a part of the conference a symposium was held on June 25 at Lokapriya Bardoloi hall under the presidency of Principal J. Sarmah. The subject of the symposium was "the nature of development of our education since independence and the policy of the government in this field." The symposium was inaugurated by Deba Kanta Bora, Education Minister of Assam. Dr. Amalendu Guha and Principal J. Sarmah participated in the discussion. A cultural function was also held in which the local artists and artistes from Mikir Hills participated.

PUNJAB STATE COUNCIL SUPPORTS HUNGER-STRIKE BY REPUBLICAN PARTY

JULLUNDUR: The secretariat of the state council of the CPI in its meeting held on July 2-3, welcomed the election of Ram Kishan as the leader of the Congress Legislature Party in Punjab.

THE resolution adopted by the secretariat in part says:

"Apart from the fact that it has ended the period of uncertainty about the new chief minister, Ram Kishan's choice is also welcome because he is a veteran Congressman who has risen from the ranks and is respected for his personal integrity.

"He and his cabinet will be called upon not only to take stern action against all those found guilty of corrupt practices by the Das Commission, but also to take effective steps against corruption of all types and at all levels, especially where it directly affects the life of the common people. The Communist Party will give its full and whole-hearted cooperation in all measures that may be taken towards this end."

By another resolution the secretariat condemned the attitude of the government towards the hungerstrike launched by the state Republican Party.

The resolution says: "The Communist Party fully supports their demand that a Land Commission be appointed to go thoroughly into the question of agrarian legislation, the lacunae, shortcomings and failures to accelerate the process of land reforms in the interest of toilers and the demand that the waste-lands, unallotted evacuee

lands, reclaimed waste-lands and surplus lands be distributed free to the landless labourer.

"The Communist Party has always fought for these and similar demands and appeals to the people of the state to bring pressure on the government to concede these demands and thus help bring the hungerstrike to end."

NEW AGE

Subscription Rates

Inland: Yearly	Rs. 12
Half-yearly	Rs. 6
Quarterly	Rs. 3
Foreign: Yearly	Rs. 20
Half-yearly	Rs. 10

All cheques, drafts etc. are to be made payable to T. Madhavan and not to New Age

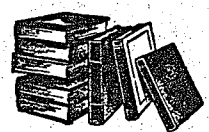
Managerial Office
7/4 Asaf Ali Road,
New Delhi
Phone: 271002 & 271794

THE SOUTH AFRICAN REICH

THE RISE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN REICH
by Brian Bunting, Penguin Africa Library, pp. 332,
Price: 4s. 6d.

THE evolution of the apartheid state to its present monstrous proportions is the theme of this excellent volume in the valuable series that Penguins have been putting out under the editorship of Ronald Segal. The author, who was born in Johannesburg 44 years ago and lived there till 1963 when he was finally hounded out from South Africa, has been a leading member of the South African Communist Party, editor of the famous fighting journals, the Guardian, and its successors, the New Age and the Spark between 1948 and 1963, till the Spark was put out for good. He was a member of parliament representing Africans during 1952-53.

can and coloured population for their economic and political rights which had its biggest manifestation in "a great passive resistance campaign by South African Indians" who "carried their fight right to the United Nations" thus "laying the basis for the mounting international condemnation of South Africa's apartheid policies" was seized upon by the ultra-racist, pro-Nazi whites to raise the



BOOK REVIEW

In the first six chapters Bunting traces the march of political forces among the white population composed of people of Dutch origin and of British origin, shows how the accumulated resentments of the Boer War and other conflicts led step by step to an untrusting consolidation behind the Nationalist Party based on the Afrikaans farmers.

Having developed deep affinities and definite links with the Nazi regime, they set themselves the aim of acquiring power, first through actual collaboration with the Nazis, and later through semi-secret fascist bands which they had themselves set up.

As early as January 1942 they proclaimed a draft constitution for South Africa which declared: "Every coloured group of races, Coloured, natives, Asiatics, Indians, etc. will be segregated, not only as regards the place of dwelling or neighbourhoods dwell in by them, but also with regard to the spheres of work." Bunting, commenting on this draft, says: "It is astonishing to see how much of subsequent Nationalist government policy derives from the draft prepared during the war on the expectation of a Nazi victory over the forces of democracy."

The immediate post-World War II period which witnessed a mighty upsurge in the Afri-

can and coloured population for their economic and political rights which had its biggest manifestation in "a great passive resistance campaign by South African Indians" who "carried their fight right to the United Nations" thus "laying the basis for the mounting international condemnation of South Africa's apartheid policies" was seized upon by the ultra-racist, pro-Nazi whites to raise the

cry that "white civilisation" and baasskap (bossdom) were "in danger".

And over this tide, Malan's Nationalists rode to a landslide victory which stunned the country. Constituting still a minority of the electorate the Malanazis proceeded to manipulate the constitution to make their power secure.

Bunting lists in one chapter "South Africa's Nuremberg Laws" from 1948 to 1963, which transformed the country into an untrusting hell. Stressing the fact that "despite ever-increasing repression, popular resistance was not in any way diminished", the author gives us a glimpse of the mighty struggles that have swept South Africa especially during the last five years or so, till we come to the birth of

ASIAN INTEGRATION

India and Regional Integration in Asia by Sisir Gupta.
Asia Publishing House, 150 pp. Price Rs 14.00.

COMPARED to the general success of India's foreign policy in the world at large, India has not made a tangible progress towards any kind of regional integration or cooperation with her neighbours. In this very sane and well-reasoned book Sisir Gupta analyses the factors impeding the growth of a regional outlook in Asia although this has generally been an age of growing international cooperation on a regional basis as seen both in the industrially advanced areas of western Europe as well as in the movement for continental unity in Africa, for example.

Gupta begins his book with an analysis of the workings of India's foreign policy. In defining this policy he correctly states that it is not merely a policy of non-alignment nor even of world peace and freedom for the colonial countries.

India's external policy which is a reflection of India's internal needs of development primarily has aimed and succeeded in

Umkhonto we Sizwe and the story of Nelson Mandela. Writes Bunting: "The brutality displayed during the 1960 emergency and the 1961 stay-at-home campaign left its mark on the popular movements of opposition. Every little demonstration, every poster parade, every meeting seemed to result only in more persecutions and jailings. Was there any point in carrying on in the old way?... Was it not time for a change?..."

"Mandela, wanted on a charge of incitement, announced that he would not give himself up, but would separate himself from his wife and children, close his business, and abandon his profession as an attorney, to 'live as an outlaw in the land of my birth' and fight the government side by side with his people, 'inch by inch and mile by mile, until victory is won'." In the final chapter titled 'The Rot', Bunting poses the question, when will the time come when apartheid can be abolished, and shows how extremely hard and difficult the struggle is, how different from that in other colonial territories, warning that the reality of White power in South Africa is not such as could be overlooked.

"The stage is set for a massive conflict in South Africa," he says. And no one can predict how this conflict will be resolved. But one thing is certain: the scope of the conflict and the amount of damage that is caused will be determined, not only by the strength of the participants in South Africa itself, but by the influence which world opinion can bring to bear upon the situation.

"That is one of the greatest responsibilities that every segment of 'world opinion', including our own, faces today.

-ZIA

GUIDE TO CURRENT DEVELOPMENTS

V. I. Lenin:

- "Left Wing" Communism: An Infantile Disorder pp 123, Rs 0.37
- Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism pp 212, Rs 0.25
- Against Liquidationism pp 413, Rs 1.37
- On Peaceful Co-existence pp 256, Rs 0.44
- The National Liberation Movement in the East pp 348, Rs 1.12
- On the International Working Class and the Communist Movement pp 422, Rs 1.37

N. S. Khrushchov:

- For A World Without War: For A World Without Arms Volume I pp 559, Rs 1.50
- Volume II pp 450, Rs 1.50
- Socialism and Communism pp 176, Rs 0.20
- The Revolutionary Working Class and the Communist Movement pp 112, Rs 0.20
- Imperialism—Enemy of the People, Enemy of Peace pp 125, Rs 0.15
- To Avert War, Our Prime Task pp 175, Rs 0.20
- The National Liberation Movement pp 96, Rs 0.10

Reports:

- Open Letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to all Party Organisations and all Communists in the Soviet Union pp 44, Rs 0.15
- On the Struggle of the CPSU for the Unity of the International Communist Movement: M. A. Suslov pp 110, Rs 0.12
- Leninism Shows the Way Forward: Y. V. Andropov pp 23, Rs 0.05

- Ajoy Ghosh:
- Articles and Speeches pp 304, Rs 1.50
- Manuals and Textbooks:
- Fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism pp 735, Rs 2.44
- Marxist Philosophy pp 393, Rs 1.75
- Fundamentals of Political Economy pp 403, Rs 1.75
- History of the Communist Party of The Soviet Union pp 763, Rs 3.19

Postage extra:

ORDER FROM YOUR BOOKSELLER OR FROM

PEOPLE'S PUBLISHING HOUSE PRIVATE LIMITED, Rani Jhansi Road, New Delhi-1. Show-room: 2, Marina Arcade, Connaught Place, New Delhi-1. Branch: Grand Hotel Building, Bhopal.

P.P.H. BOOKSTALL, 190-B, Khetwadi Main Road, Bombay-4.

CHELANA BOOK DEPOT, 34, Rampart Row, Bombay-1.

PEOPLE'S BOOK HOUSE, Parthana Sama, Ahmedabad

NAVAKARNATAKA PUBLICATIONS, Majestic Circle, Bangalore-9

VISALAANDHRA PUBLISHING HOUSE, P.O. Machavaram, Vijaywada-4.

VISALAANDHRA BOOK HOUSE, Sultan Bazar, Hyderabad.

NEW CENTURY BOOK HOUSE PRIVATE LIMITED, 6/30, Mount Road, Madras-2. Branches: Madurai, Coimbatore, Trichirappalli.

PRABHATHA BOOK HOUSE, Main Road, Trivandrum Branches: Ernakulam, Quilon, Calicut.

PEOPLE'S BOOK HOUSE, Opp. B. N. College, Patna

MANISHA GRANTHALAYA, 43 B, Bankim Chatterjee Street, Calcutta-12. NATIONAL BOOK AGENCY, 12, Bankim Chatterjee Calcutta-12.

NEW ASSAM BOOK AGENCY, Pan Bazar, Gauhati.

NABAJUGA GRANTHALAYA, Haripur Road, Cuttack.

NON PAGE 12

NEW AGE

JULY 12, 1964

The Central Secretariat of the Communist Party of India issued the following statement on July 6:

Press reports about the unity talks that took place between the representatives of the Central Secretariat of the Communist Party of India and the representatives of the split-away section of the Party, make it appear that the talks broke down because all the organisational proposals made by the latter were rejected by former. We are herewith setting forth a factual account of the talks to set the record right.

The representatives of the Central Secretariat made it clear that they were negotiating on the basis and within the terms of the resolution on Party unity passed by the National Council on June 11. As is well-known, this resolution proposed a principled basis for achieving Party unity through holding a united Party Congress:

- * The 32 suspended comrades or any of them should dissolve or dissociate themselves from all parallel party organisations set up at different levels; and
- * that they should return to the National Council and agree to abide by its decisions. As soon as this is accepted, the disciplinary action taken at all-India and other levels for starting of and participating in parallel party organisations would be simultaneously cancelled.

The representatives of the Central Secretariat pointed out that once this was done, the ground will be cleared to consider all their proposals and find satisfactory solutions to them through the National Council.

The representatives of the 32 rejected this principled position and reiterated their

Swatantra's Conspiracy Against Kashmir, Non-Alignment

BOMBAY: The Swatantra Party's General Council meeting here last week was notable for the insight which it gave into the sinister designs of Reaction in the post-Nehru period to turn this country into a camp follower and military ally of Anglo-American imperialism.

THERE was nothing profound or original in the conclusions of the Council or in the public speeches of Rajaji. But the imperitance and openness of the call from the Swatantra pulpit to sell Kashmir to the imperialists and to enter into military alliances with them, all in the name of 'India's defence', did attract the attention of observers who recall that in the days immediately after Chinese aggression in 1962, Reaction had sought to push India into the Western military camp and openly advocated similar alliances.

But then the vigilance of progressive forces in the country and the late Prime Minister's bold adherence to the policy of nonalignment had understood the assault of Reaction and the Swatantras had to retreat. Now after Nehru, they have found their voice again to group their forces for another assault on India's independence. Simultaneously there are repeated suggestions from their spokesmen about new auspicious circumstances for their nefarious plots.

He categorically demanded that India should have a treaty for "the defence of South East Asia" with "Commonwealth countries, such as who agree and the United States".

American Agency

"There is no indecency or shame about it", he said. In order to justify his agency for Anglo-American imperialism and to drag India into the aggressive military blocs of the West, Rajaji tried to paint a picture of complete weakness and helplessness to defend ourselves from external aggression. The imperialists alone can underwrite our defence and for that we should sell Kashmir and our independence to them, was the Swatantra preacher's plea.

He said:

"Our foreign policy must be clearly stated; that we are now for an alliance with the Western powers and the Commonwealth powers and that we give up our doctrine of non-alliance".

Swatantra Manifesto?

On June 30, the day their General Council met, a public meeting was addressed by Swatantra leaders Masani and Rajaji at Sundarabai Hall. Masani in his speech remarked that the new Prime Minister's recent pronouncements on issues in general and on private sector in particular have been "more encouraging" because they sounded like extracts from the Swatantra Party's manifesto!

Addressing a meeting organised by the Indian Council of World Affairs the next day, Rajaji elaborated the Swatantra idea of military alliance with the West.

EFFORTS AT RECONCILIATION

WHY DID UNITY TALKS FAIL?

CPI Central Secretariat Statement

former proposals. They demanded the dissolution of the present Secretariat and the abolition of the post of Chairman and General Secretary, they demanded that for the preparation for the Party Congress, an agreed committee be set up. They demanded that the National Council itself should function

by agreement and should not take decisions by majority on any political or organisational issue on which there was difference. They demanded agreed commissions for drafting documents and for the alleged Dange letters probe. They said that Party membership base for the next Party Congress should be the same as for Vijaywada Congress, i.e. the membership for 1959; and that an agreed scrutiny committee be appointed for any membership disputes that may be there.

On behalf of the Central Secretariat, it was made clear to them that their insistence on an agreed committee to prepare for the Party Congress, and their demand for placing a veto on the majority decisions of the National Council, meant that they did not want to dissolve their rival party organisations but keep them intact with a formally united Party so that nothing can be decided or done at any level in the Party, which they do not want or agree with. No democratic organisation, much less a Communist Party, can tolerate such a liquidationist position and on such a basis a Communist Party Congress cannot be prepared nor can it lead to Party unity.

ignored by the Swatantra leader.

The purpose of the "treaty of defence of South-East Asia" which Rajaji advocated becomes very clear from a resolution which the Swatantra General Council adopted on the "situation in South East Asia". Moved by Masani, the resolution urged the Government of India to give its "full support" to Malaysian "defence" and further it advocated that India should get involved in the Laos conflict on the side of the US imperialists.

Its criticism of India "turning a blind eye to Communist aggression" in Laos and elsewhere in South East Asia is just what the Pentagon's agents feel about our foreign policy of helping peace in South East Asia.

As Junior Gendarme

The Swatantra wants the Government of India to act as junior gendarme to the American imperialists in this region, to oppose national liberation movements in Asia and to isolate India from the main stream of anti-imperialism in Asia and Africa. And all the time, they talked about India being isolated and without friends!

Two other resolutions adopted by the council voiced the conventional opposition of the vested interests to state trading in foodgrains and to the 17th Amendment to the Constitution which was passed in the last session of Parliament to protect land reform enactments in the states.

Together, therefore, the Swatantra Party's meeting in Bombay has once again highlighted the danger to this country's independence and progress which emanate from the reactionary circles having close links with imperialists. Here is a gang which should be kept constantly under watch by all progressive forces and by the government.

the majority trend in the National Council must be fully represented. It was also stated that the authority of the National Council and its power to take majority decisions must remain unimpaired, though on many issues agreed decisions could be taken, and on some the decision postponed, but this also will be left to the discretion of the National Council itself.

On the question of defining the basic Party membership for the Party Congress, the Central Secretariat representatives pointed out that the decision of the National Council on this point was fair as well as flexible to meet all contingencies. The 1962 membership was accepted as the base. Those who were members at the time of Vijaywada and have not been enrolled because of 1962 arrests and the circumstances arising therefrom would be given due facilities for re-enrolment. If there are other disputes, they can be solved by a machinery to be set up by the National Council.

Commission Membership

As for the alleged Dange letters' commission, the representatives of the 32 wanted an addition of some 3-4 members from their side. On this the representatives of the Central Secretariat stated that when the present Commission was elected by the National Council, the 32 had walked out. The National Council can make additions to it but in such a manner that it would be able to function in an impartial manner.

Claim For Veto Power

On this, the representatives of the 32 took the position that they would accept the authority of the National Council, but they wanted that on political and organisational issues on which there is a difference, decisions should not be taken by majority upto the Party Congress. They further stated that they would agree to the restoration of the same Central Secretariat which was elected after the death of Comrade Ajoy Ghosh with Comrade Dange as Chairman and E. M. S. Nambudripad as General Secretary.

To this, the Central Secretariat representatives replied that the old secretariat no longer represented the mind of the National Council after all the developments of the last 2-3 years and could not be restored in that form. At the same time, they said they would agree to reorganise the Secretariat so as to give due representation to the 32 white

Such in brief are the facts of this meeting. To everyone of their proposals, counter-proposals were made and a principled basis suggested to solve the differences. It is now upto the 32 and those who support them to adopt this principled basis, to give up rival Party activities and to seek the path of agreement and unity suggested by the National Council so that a united Party Congress can be held to solve the outstanding differences and achieve Party unity.

NEW AGE

PAGE NINE

Documents of the Communist and Workers Parties
Articles and Speeches

INFORMATION BULLETIN

8-9

Nos. 6, 7, 8-9, and 10 of Information Bulletin on the world Communist movement's struggle against Chinese splitting activities are now available at PPH and allied bookstalls. Priced 12 Paise each, they carry documents of CPs from all over the world. Order your copies right now.

PAGE EIGHT

JULY 12, 1964

FOOD SITUATION SERIOUS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY

STATEWIDE ACTION IN KERALA

From S. SHARMA

TRIVANDRUM: Working class organisations in Kerala are coming together for a statewide concerted action to force the government to act against rising prices of food and all other essential commodities which have caused unbearable hardship and concern to the common people, the toiling masses.

ALREADY a number of united actions and campaigns have been carried out in some of the districts and currently the TU centres are planning a one-day protest strike and hartal throughout the state in the last week of July. The state centres of the AITUC and UTUC are coming together to organise this one-day strike and hartal.

The PSP, RSP and the Communist Party are also in the field mobilising support to these protest actions against price increases. The state executive of the Communist Party which met at Trichur on July 1 and 2 has voiced its support to the move and also welcomed the growing unity among the trade unions, particularly AITUC and UTUC unions, on the issue of prices and workers' demands.

General Secretary of the Kerala State Trade Union Council (AITUC), P. Balachandran Menon told NEW AGE that workers employed in all industries in the state are on the move for jointly resisting attacks on their living conditions by hoarders, profiteers, employers and an apathetic government. He said that the KSTUC Executive has decided to take initiative to bring together all trade unions in the state with differing affiliations to give a united call for the proposed one-day strike and hartal.

In Quilon district all the AITUC and UTUC unions had jointly initiated a campaign for control of prices of essentials and more dearness allowance. In Ernakulam district, as many as 89 unions affiliated to AITUC,

INTUC and UTUC and of independent character had come together to initiate a united campaign against price rise, for interim wage increase and correction of faulty cost-of-living index. These are significant developments in trade union life in Kerala.

The growing volume of discontent among the people about the price situation forced the Central and state governments to take some halting measures, but these have not created confidence in the minds of the people or really checked the malpractices of traders and hoarders. The state government's decision to increase the quota of rice supplied from fair price shops from two measures to four measures per card holder per week was a victory for the food campaign and is welcomed by all. But it does not offer a permanent relief.

Basic Measures Wanted

The government has made it clear that this increase will remain only during the lean months. The Communist Party and the trade unions demand that more basic measures like state trading in foodgrains and stringent action against hoarders and blackmarketees should be taken if the situation on the food front is not to go out of hand. There is enough mass support for these demands for the government to act, but the latter is too much under the thumb of vested interests to do anything.

Action For Food JOINT MEETING OF AITUC-INTUC UNIONS

JHINKPANI: A joint mass meeting was organised on June 29 by the INTUC-affiliated Chaibasa Cement Workers Union and the AITUC-affiliated United Cement Mazdoor Union at Jhinkpani to express concern at the worsening food situation and soaring prices of essential commodities.

Mukut Balmuchu, secretary of the INTUC union and K. K. Sinha, General Secretary of the AITUC union addressed the meeting and Lakhan Hessa, vice-president of the AITUC union presided over it.

A resolution was adopted at the meeting expressing concern at the government's attitude showing leniency towards profiteers and monopolists and of betraying the people. The resolution also demanded state trading in foodgrains with democratic control and vigilance.

The meeting also demanded from the management of the ACC an immediate interim relief of Rs. 25 per month.

Further the resolution called upon the workers to prepare for struggles to remedy the food situation arising out of government's complacent attitude and wrong policy.

Both the Governor and the Chief Minister exhorted the district collectors and other officials at their recent annual meet here to fight anti-social forces who utilising the present situation indulge in hoarding and blackmarketing. The Governor went a step further and said that however highly placed, influential or wealthy may be the persons involved, the district officials should not hesitate to take action against them if they resorted to anti-people activities.

Hoarding at High Level

The ink had not dried on the newspapers which printed these exhortations of the Governor and the Chief Minister, before the Minister in charge of Food and Agriculture stayed an order of the District Collector of Alleppey suspending the sugar permit of one Abdul-Katty, the husband of

BIHAR'S MASSIVE DEMONSTRATION

From K. GOPALAN

PATNA: Mounting unrest among the people of Bihar over the deepening food crisis in the state was manifested by the mass demonstrations all over Bihar on June 29.

THOUSANDS of Workers, peasants and agricultural workers marched to the various district headquarters of the state and placed their demands before the district authorities for taking speedy and effective steps to bring down the galloping prices and ensuring adequate food supply on fair prices.

The demonstration and rallies were jointly organised by the CPI, Kisan Sabha and Khet Mazdoor Sabha. This was the beginning of a powerful agitation planned by the CPI and other mass organisations to press the state government to take both short-term and long-term measures to solve the food problem and hold the price line.

People's Demands

The demands of the people, which were submitted to the authorities by the demonstrations include state trading in foodgrains, nationalisation of banking industry, confiscation of hoarded foodgrains from the traders and big cultivators, fixation of prices of all essential commodities, reduction of existing prices by 25 per cent and distribution of foodgrains and other essential commodities through fair price shops.

In Gaya, over three thousand workers, peasants and agricultural workers marched through the main thoroughfares of the town and demonstrated before the district magistrate for one hour. The district magistrate promised the demonstrators to forward their demands to the state government.

Later a public meeting was

Nafesath Beebi, Deputy Speaker of the Kerala Assembly.

The Collector and police officers had conducted a surprise search of the premises of a confectionary owned by this gentleman and unearthed hoarded sugar bags and accordingly charged a case against him and suspended his permit. The influential wife of the accused then rushed to Trivandrum, accompanied by KPCC bosses, and asked the Food Minister to cancel the Collector's orders suspending the permit and to drop the case.

Both the Revenue Board Member in charge of Civil Supplies and the Alleppey Collector are reported to have strongly opposed this shameful move and reminded the Minister about the exhortations of the Governor and the Chief Minister to the officials to deal sternly with hoarders and blackmarketees. But Food Minister Poulse had to act as per orders from his party bosses.

FOOD SCARCITY IN MYSORE

From C. R. KRISHNA RAO

BANGALORE: Food situation is extremely serious in this state. About two-thirds of the state are affected by scarcity conditions. Thirteen out of twenty districts have had practically no rains due to failure of monsoon.

WORST-hit areas where near-famine conditions are prevailing are Bijapur, Chitradurga, Raichur, Gulbarga, Kolar, parts of Mysore and Belgaum districts. Several other areas are facing acute problem of food and fodder shortage. Thousands of cattle have died in recent months for want of water and fodder.

More than one third of the state is traditionally known as scarcity area. Acute scarcity conditions are almost an annual feature. But the state government has not taken adequate measures so far. Though many small and minor irrigation projects are proposed for these areas, their execution is still a dream.

Steps taken by the government for giving relief to these areas affected by scarcity conditions are very meagre. Actually relief works were undertaken very late. The state legislature which is in session debated the scarcity situation and rise in prices for three days.

During the debate opposition members and even some Congress members blamed the government for the situation. The announcement made on the floor of the house by Chief Minister Nijalingappa that land revenue and taceavi loans collection will be suspended throughout the state in view of the scarcity conditions does not provide any kind of relief. The revenue collections are almost over, as the official year for collection of land revenue ends on June 30. The announcement was made by the chief minister on June 29.

received a delegation of the demonstrators assured steps to curb black marketeering and corruption.

In Patna, about one thousand persons staged a demonstration in front of the district magistrate's chamber. A delegation headed by Ramavtar Shastri and Ramajuan Singh, general secretary of the Patna District Kisan Sabha, was received by the district magistrate.

In Chapra, over 500 persons took part in the demonstration. After submitting a memorandum to the district magistrate several leaders including Krishna Chandra Chaudhari addressed the gathering.

Thousands of industrial workers and miners participated in the demonstrations at Jamshehpur and Giridih. They pressed for opening of fair price shops in all industrial establishments and adequate supply of all essential

commodities at fair prices.

The state government have taken up relief works in affected areas with an estimated cost of about 86 lakh rupees. The relief offered to people whose prices are falling to an extent by free flow of rice from Andhra Pradesh. Government is heavily relying upon the stocks made available from Centre and free flow of rice from Andhra. It is reluctant to open more fair price shops and is silent about state trading.

Health Dept. Negligence

Hiriyur taluk in Chitradurga district was badly affected due to extreme callousness of Health Department officials. A canal which is main source of water supply for the area was polluted with cholera bacillus. Dead bodies of cholera victims were thrown in the canal and this was responsible for the horror, according to people of the area.

The explanation offered by the government denying this report which appeared in local newspapers and stating that the washing of clothes of the dead persons in the canal was responsible for this situation, has been taken as a lame excuse. Why this was not stopped by health authorities, people asked. In one day Hiriyur death roll mounted to forty. The situation is still not under control and new areas are yet being affected by the epidemic.

Cholera Epidemic

While many areas are hit by scarcity conditions in the state, several districts are in the grip of a cholera epidemic. Gulbarga, Bidar, Chitradurga, Bellary, Bijapur which are facing famine con-

Chief Minister's Plea Proved Wrong

MOFUSSIL AREAS FACE SHORTAGE OF FOOD

From JNAN BIKASH MOITRA

CALCUTTA: The introduction of partial rationing for about 65 lakh people in the Greater Calcutta region from June 22, has led to some improvement in the critical food situation prevailing here for the last one and a half months. Rice has also begun to appear, though in very small quantities, in the open market.

THE off-take of rice from modified ration shops has been around 3,000 tons a week, against an estimate of 6,000 tons. In view of the lower off-take, the state government now expects to continue the modified rationing till December next. The Chief Minister had stated earlier that the government rice stocks would meet the state's requirements till October 22.

Although the position has eased to a certain extent in the Greater Calcutta region, the situation in the mofussil districts and rural areas continues to be extremely acute.

Lame Excuse

These areas were excluded from the partial rationing

scheme. The plea trotted out by the Chief Minister was that "reports available from the districts indicate that conditions there are fairly satisfactory and supplies of paddy and rice are generally available at the government's fixed prices."

It was pointed out in the NEW AGE of June 28, that this claim was a gross distortion of realities, because acute distress prevailed in the rural areas, particularly among the poorer sections of people.

This contention is now fully borne out by newspaper reports and statements of official spokesmen.

THE STATESMAN of July 1, reported that "rice stocks have been rushed" to the "urban areas of deficit districts—Nadia, Purulia, Murshidabad, Jalpaiguri, Darjeeling" and parts of some other North Bengal areas."

NO FIRM MEASURES TO END CRISIS ON FOOD FRONT

From MOHIT SEN

The Congress government in Andhra Pradesh gave yet another indication recently that it is a no-change, do-nothing government. The soaring prices, the accumulating discontent and the sense of national urgency following the death of Pandit Nehru, seem to have made no impact on the stolid gentlemen who make up the ministry.

THE Governor's address and the debate following it revealed this attitude clearly enough. There was mention of high prices and a whole catalogue of other things but when it came to questions of remedial action there was complete blank, without even an attempt to provide possible remedies.

In a forceful speech the leader of the opposition in the legislative council, Mahkdoom Mohiuddin concentrated attention on the problem of spiralling prices. He quoted telling figures, collected by personal research, to demonstrate the big margin of profit that the wholesalers were making, in public violation of the instructions and orders of the government. He insisted on immediate

relief measures like more fair price shops both in the towns and the villages, check on the hoarders and unearthing of their stocks. He further emphasised that without state trading in foodgrains, fair and stable prices for the producers as well as nationalisation of scheduled banks, no lasting solution to the problem could be found.

Criticism in Legislature

In the Legislative Assembly the new leader of the opposition P. Venkateswarlu and the new deputy leader of the opposition, Srikrishna, also ramm home the attack on similar lines. A memorandum outlining the grave situation

and chalking out the steps needed to alleviate it was submitted to C. Subramaniam on behalf of the Andhra Pradesh Council of the CPI, on July 5. The food minister's stay here was replete with conferences and speeches, spiced with the usual warnings to traders, but conveyed no evidence that anything serious or drastic was being contemplated. It is this terrible inertia which angers the people as they know that this is a special type of laziness, an illness brought on by the close ties between the big millers and wholesalers and the top Congress bosses and ministers. Indeed, these gentry who are fattening on the people's hunger are on various Congress Committees including the legislative party committee. K. Seetlah Gupta is a case in point. He is a Congress whip and at the same time heads deputations of the foodgrain dealers to "protest" against some ineffective measure or the other of the government.

introduce state trading in foodgrains. They have further demanded immediate steps to bring down the prices of essential commodities and to ensure their availability.

Sriman Narayan, member of the Planning Commission, who came to Calcutta on July 4 to discuss with the West Bengal cabinet the measures taken by the state government to raise food production, was critical of the performance of the government.

He told a press conference that so far 618 tubewells had been sunk under the minor irrigation schemes undertaken in the state; but for only 155 of these tubewells field water channels had been completed.

Poor Performance

The target of ammonium sulphate consumption in West Bengal by the end of the Third Plan was 500,000 tons. But in 1963-64, only 75,000 tons had been distributed.

Referring to the government's poor performance in regard to soil conservation, he pointed out that during the first three years of the Third Plan the state government had been able to spend only about 18 per cent of the funds provided for the Plan period.

The present sorry state of affairs, he further said, was due to lack of co-ordination between the agriculture and other departments concerned.

Plenty of mustard oil is, however, available at the black-market rate of Rs. 4 a kg. Most of the oil millowners have now started selling the commodity at this price directly to consumers.

Another Subterfuge

They have also resorted to another subterfuge to fleece the people. The government has not fixed the price of tin containers. Nor is it illegal to sell the oil in such vessels.

Taking advantage of this, millowners are selling the oil in one kilogram containers. The price charged is Rs. 4.08. The controlled rate of one kilogram of mustard oil is Rs. 3.25; a container costs about 0.25. Hence, the extra profit comes to 0.58 per kg.

Not satisfied with this windfall, a section of the millers have started selling adulterated mustard oil by mixing with it a much cheaper but inedible oil, linseed oil. This evil practice has already assumed such proportions that the Chief Minister has convened a conference of oil millers in Calcutta on July 6.

It seems as if the law of the jungle prevails in West Bengal.

In a joint statement, the Bengal Provincial Bank Employees Association, the Federation of Mercantile Employees' Unions, the Calcutta Divisional Life Insurance Employees' Association, the Petroleum Workers' Unions and the General Insurance Employees' Association have urged upon the state government to

The Chief Minister thus had to eat his own words.

Wider Coverage

The extension of modified rationing to certain categories of people in mofussil towns is not enough. Villages and all sections of population in urban areas in the districts must be brought under the purview of the scheme.

For nearly a month now, mustard oil has practically disappeared from the open market. Under pressure from the oil millowners and the importers of mustard seed, the state government recently raised the controlled price of the oil from Rs. 3 to Rs. 3.25 per kg. Yet, not a drop of it is available in the open market at the controlled rate.

ITALIAN CABINET CRISIS PERSISTS

Ten days after the Moro cabinet resigned, following its defeat in parliament over the question of increased State funds for the confessional schools, the country, continues to be ruled by a caretaker government, under the same Signor Moro.

It had lasted only seven months—the so-called *apertura a sinistra*, the bogus opening to the Left. The Centre-Left government—a coalition between the Christian Democratic, Socialist, Social Democratic and Republican parties—had fallen, slipping, according to some, on a “*bucia di banana*”—a banana peel.

That was however, a deliberately deceptive view, for although it fell on an apparently trivial issue, the government's fall had far deeper causes. The difference about increasing state subsidies to confessional schools, (predominantly Roman Catholic), contrary to the agreement reached between the CD and the Nenni Socialists at the time of formation of the coalition government, was just the last straw that broke the camel's back.

It was too much for a number of Socialist ministers, including the Budget minister himself, whose demonstrative abstention from the vote was followed by the Social Democratic and Republican deputies.

The real differences affect the whole question of the country's economic policy.

On the one hand there are the vast majority of the CD Party headed by Premier Moro and supported by Italian Big Business and its French and West German counterparts in the Common Market.

They want the financial crisis to be met by sacrifices by the working people, that is by a wage freeze, by a containment of popular consumption and by reducing public investments.

Against this policy is ranged not only Italy's largest mass organisation, the 3,500,000-strong Italian General Confederation of Labour, the powerful Communist Party and the Left-wing Socialists. Resistance to this policy existed and exists, though not always unequivocally expressed, from a part of the Nenni Socialist leadership.

Pressure on Socialists

And the reactionaries are currently directing all their fire on demanding that the Socialists get rid of all such rebels, who are not—unlike Nenni himself—prepared to accept their line. The foreign allies of reaction too suggest the same thing.

The attack, in particular is directed against Riccardo Lombardi, editor of the socialist paper *Avanti!*, Fernando Santi, joint secretary of the CGIL, Codignola, educational expert of the Socialist Party, and their friends.

for which at present feverish efforts are being made.

Some circles, not only in Italy, but in France and West Germany, aspire to a sort of Gaullist solution here too. But this is even less likely to succeed because of the general feeling among the people.

New elections will be no solution for the reactionaries either, for, as the paper of the Fiat concern, *La Stampa*, remarked, the only ones likely to benefit from these would be the Italian Communist Party (PCI).

Aware of this some Right-wing elements are now working for a caretaker government, possibly under Senate President Merzagora.

Or, as an emergency solution, a Christian Democratic

government supported by a part of the Centre-Left parties, or even by the more-to-the-Right Liberal Party.

In this interim period the struggles of the organised working class for higher wages and improved living conditions continue unabated.

The PCI—representing a quarter of the electorate and its influence steadily growing—has announced a campaign of widespread meetings, etc., in favour of a new government conforming to the interests of the mass of the people.

When the cabinet crisis burst the Party's Central Committee was in session reviewing the situation in the country on the basis of a report submitted by Luigi Longo.

Longo in his report stressed how the seven months of life of the Moro-Nenni Government had represented a continuous depriving of all meaning of the few pledges still surviving since the formation of the Government.

We never considered, said Longo, the Socialist participation in the Moro Government as capable of bringing about a shift to the Left. On the other hand, we regarded this participation as a blow to the democratic development of the situation.

Longo pointed out the heavy responsibility that the PSI and Nenni personally carried for the setback. The continued concessions have emboldened the Right, weakened the popular pressure and favoured the decline of the Centre-Left”, said Longo.

In course of a communique issued after its meeting with the leaders of the Party Parliamentary group, the Secretariat of the PCI, said that the way out of the present government crisis lay above all in a new policy which would establish confidence between the masses and the government.

“An essential condition for this should be the pledge to reject every economic measure which, by sharpening the conditions of the working people and middle strata will have them pay for the consequences of the present economic stringency.”

The Secretariat also called upon the working class and the people to be vigilant against any attempts to violate the Republican legality. It warned the forces contemplating such measures that they will find in the people's unity a fitting reply immediately defeating any attempt.

FREE ALGERIA ON SOCIALIST PATH

First Steps Taken Against Reactionaries

From OUR CORRESPONDENT

ALGIERS: The Algerian people celebrated on July 5 the second anniversary of their victory over colonialism.

THESE first days of July have a double significance. On July 5, 1830 the French had conquered the city of Algiers. Exactly 182 years later in 1962, Algeria was free. A few days ago the last French occupation troops left Algeria.

In the two years of its political independence, the young Algerian state has made imposing advances also in the direction of economic independence. Although the French had left behind economic chaos in the country, the worst difficulties have now been overcome. Algeria has become Algerian. The issue now is the task of constructing a new order of society. The 1st congress of the FLN party has decided to take the road to socialism.

To realise these aims Algeria saw herself compelled to destroy by and by the economic positions of France, and to replace them by cooperation as it is usual between sovereign states. This development began in spring of 1963 with the nationalisation of foreign-owned estates and factories. It was continued with largescale restrictions of capital export. Any attempt of foreign enterprises still active in Algeria to throttle production or to cause harm in any other way to Algeria's economic development is being answered with forced institution of a government trustee.

At the same time, Algeria is now raising demands for

greater shares in the income of French oil companies.

Relevant negotiations are already underway. Against the resistance of French and Western European monopolies, building work on an Algerian pipeline has been started.

In all branches of economy the state-owned sector is being strengthened. It has particular influence in the period of transition to socialism. Whilst the overwhelming majority of the people welcomes the country's socialist path, counter-revolutionary bandits in several parts of Algeria are active. These bands supported from outside—the FLN mentions in particular France, West Germany, the USA and Portugal—create continuous unrest.

Shortly before the anniversary, counter-revolutionary elements intensified their activity. A member of the FLN Political Bureau, Colonel Chabani, kept contacts with fascist circles in the South and with the bourgeoisie, and instigated a push in the military district 4 (South-East Algeria), where he was in charge.

Government Measures

Chabani was immediately removed from the Political Bureau and deprived of his military function. Government troops occupied the most

important centres of zone 4. In other parts of country, Constantine for instance, serious counter-revolutionary actions took place. The leadership in Algiers saw itself compelled to take further far-reaching security measures. A number of these elements were arrested.

During his recent tour of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries President Ben Bella found full understanding for and sympathy with the problems of his people.

The socialist countries are increasing their financial and

ASIAN INTEGRATION

*FROM PAGE EIGHT

factors impeding such a development:

“The geo-political realities of the region; lack of apparent cultural, religious or racial commonness; differences in the intellectual loyalties of the elites of these countries; India and China being the two giants the smaller countries find it difficult to come closer to either; neither is powerful enough to become a dominating factor; general weakness of the region to defend itself from outside great-power encroachments; inadequate communications facilities; wide divergence in political systems, values and ideas and also in foreign policies (we have the aligned, the non-aligned and Communist); as also the traditional rivalries and animosities—Afghanistan and Pakistan, Pakistan and India, the Philippines and Malaya, Thailand and Cambodia, Malaya and Indonesia and so on; the problem of sub-

nationalism; present preference for bilateral economic arrangement as against integrated regional economic cooperation.”

This certainly is a pretty complete list of factors and the Author has pursued them adequately and well documented his arguments.

A note on Pakistan's attitude to regional integration and the emotional involvement with Islam at the end of the book provides an additional foil against which to study the Indian development as also the extent to which Pakistan's anti-Indian obsession has prevented her from developing a foreign policy to reflect her normal territorial nationalism.

Although an important addition to the list of books for a fuller understanding of India's foreign policy problems.

—BAREN RAY

Against The Splitters, For Unity Of Communist Movement

This is the concluding part of the article from the Soviet journal, *Party Life*, the first part of which appeared in our last issue.

The hegemonic aspirations of the Chinese leaders can already be made out quite clearly in their relations with other Communist Parties. The Peking leaders try to dictate their fallacious conceptions to everyone, imposing themselves upon parties in all parts of the world as their ideological “mentors” and advisers on all questions concerning their activity and flagrantly interfering in their internal affairs.

THEY most brazenly assume the monopolistic right of judging the “orthodoxy” of one or another Party, of including them in the camp of the “faithful” or else, on the contrary, of “excommunicating” them from Marxism. The Chinese leaders act as though they were the “bosses” of the communist movement; they proclaim theses which fundamentally contradict the decisions of the international meetings of fraternal Parties to be axioms not requiring proof.

The hegemonic aspirations of the CPC leadership are likewise to be seen in their attempts to give subjective, one-sided appraisals of the most important events in the history of other Communist Parties, appraisals which are in sharp contradiction with the conclusions of the fraternal Parties themselves. Thus, in the article carried by *Jenmin Jihpao* and *Hungchi* on March 31, the authors completely reject the experience of both the Russian Bolsheviks and the Communists of Hungary and Czechoslovakia in the struggle for the peaceful development of the revolution in certain historical periods.

They ridicule the heroic Spanish Communist Party and its political line. The authors of the article also give insulting appraisals of the actions of the Iraqi, Algerian and French Communists, and of the fraternal Parties of a number of other countries. Thus, they label the French Communist Party “social democratic”, claiming without substantiation that it has “ceased to actively support the revolutionary demands of the masses and has furred the national banner of struggle against American imperialism.”

IN STYLE OF BOURGEOIS HACKS

Jenmin Jihpao casts aspersions on the French Communists, stating (in the spirit of the fabrications of the bourgeois hacks) that French Communists are allegedly “divorcing themselves more and more from the masses”. The paper points to the obvious intensification of the racialist aspect of Chinese propaganda of late.

The nationalistic, factional line of the Chinese leaders and their undisguised advocacy of a split in the Communist movement evoke legitimate indignation on the part of the fraternal Parties. Expressing the opinion of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, *Neues Deutschland* says: “The policy of the CPC leaders means an unprincipled, petty-bourgeois nationalist deviation from Marxism-Leninism, which is of a Trotskyite nature in essence and methods of struggle.”

Comrade Kh. Bagdash, Secretary-General of the Syrian Communist Party, emphasises that “the Chinese leaders have drifted to Trotskyism” and now “level the same accusations against the Leninist Party, headed by

Khrushchov as Trotsky once did against Lenin.”

A joint statement by the delegations of the French Communist Party and the Swiss Party of Labour, published this February, says in part that both Parties “condemn the sectarian, dogmatic, harmful and dangerous stand taken by the leadership of the Communist Party of China, which damages unity and, consequently, the common struggle of the proletariat and the peoples.”

They resolutely condemn the abusive attacks of the Chinese leaders levelled against the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and against the fraternal Parties and their leading bodies, as well as the splitting activities of the Chinese leaders and their attempts to interfere in the affairs of the Communist and Workers' Parties and dictate their line of conduct to them.

THREAT OF SPLIT IS REAL

Similar statements condemning both the subversive actions of the Chinese leaders and their flimsy attempts to “theoretically substantiate” them have been published by many other Communist Parties. The international communist movement unconditionally rejects the splitting activity and factionalism of the Chinese leaders.

The threat of a split is a reality that the world communist movement has to reckon with. All Marxist-Leninist Parties are greatly perturbed by the ensuing situation, for it is clear that the split which the Chinese leaders are working for would seriously weaken world communism in its struggle against imperialism.

That is why the question of how Marxist-Leninists can overcome the differences which have arisen has now acquired tremendous importance. Communists are aware that the considerable extension of the sphere of action of their Parties, the different conditions in which they have to work and new, complicated questions sometimes lead to different interpretations of one and the same set of problems and may give rise to different points of view.

“In our practical activity, in the building of socialism and communism,” Nikita Khrushchov has said, “can there be a different understanding, a different approach to the solution of one or another problem, sometimes even involving a question of principle? Yes, there can be. Individual leaders in the same Party sometimes understand one and the same question differently.”

“What is to be done in such cases?”

“The thing to do is to achieve unity on the main issue, the decisive issue, the issue that unites us.”

Marxists-Leninists by no means regard the appearance of temporary differences between Parties as something extraordinary. The whole point is to overcome these differences through joint efforts in the interests of the common cause.

Analysing the ways to overcome differences in the revolutionary working class movement, Lenin wrote:

“Differences within or between political parties are usually resolved not only by polemics over principles, but

also by the course of political developments. In particular, differences on a party's tactics, i.e., its political conduct, are often resolved by those with incorrect opinions going over in fact to the correct path of struggle, under the pressure of the course of developments that simply brush aside erroneous opinions, making them pointless and devoid of any interest... This means... that decisions made with regard to tactics must be verified as often as possible in the light of new political events.” (Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Eng. ed., Moscow, Vol. 9, page 146.)

The main thing ensuring unity is joint struggle for the realisation of common aims. “The Communists of the whole world are united by the great ideas of Marxism-Leninism and the joint struggle for putting them into practice,” says the Statement of the 1960 Moscow Meeting. Concerted action of all the fraternal Parties in the struggle for peace and against imperialism, for national independence and socialism, is the main way to strengthen unity.

The Chinese leaders over-emphasise in every way possible (they do just that, for example, in an article in *Jenmin Jihpao* and *Hungchi* on February 4) the idea that “in the present concrete conditions, when centralised leadership of the Comintern type does not and should not exist, it would be absolutely incorrect to refer to the need to apply the principle of submission of the minority to the majority in relations between fraternal Parties.” But it is a well-known fact that the international unity of Communists has always been built first and foremost on the fulfilment by all Communist Parties, of their own free will, of definite internationalist obligations.

MORAL OBLIGATION

To carry out these obligations means to observe international communist discipline. The main thing is the moral, not formal aspect of the matter. It should be remembered that Lenin emphasised this more than once. He wrote: “Formally, the decisions of the congresses of the international are not binding on the individual nations, but their moral significance is such that the non-observance of decisions is, in fact, an exception which is rarer than the non-observance by the individual Parties of the decisions of their own congresses.” (Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Eng. Ed., Moscow, Vol. 13, page 82.)

It was to ensure unity of action both in the building of socialism and in the revolutionary struggle of the working class in the capitalist countries, unity of action of all the present-day revolutionary forces, that the fraternal Parties collectively worked out their programmes—the Declaration and the Statement. And in them it says clearly and concisely: all Parties pledge to jointly abide by the appraisals and conclusions of their international meetings.

One can judge of how a party actually observes international discipline primarily by its practical actions, by seeing whether these actions conform to common decisions, whether they help realise these decisions or counter and disrupt them.

As for the attacks of the Chinese leaders on the Lenin-

ist principle of submission of the minority to the majority, it is necessary to emphasise most strongly in this connection that the formal side of the question is by no means what matters most to all real Communists. The absence of centralised authority does not lessen but rather increases the responsibility of each Party for preserving the unity of the communist movement. It is the internationalist duty of the leadership of each contingent of the communist movement to constantly feel the pulse-beat of other fraternal Parties, to “check their watches” with them, to take into consideration the opinion of the majority of Parties. And if a Party proves to be alone or in the minority on some question, the authoritative opinion of the majority should prompt it to self-criticism, to thoroughly re-examine its positions.

Obviously, real unity on basic, decisive questions can be achieved only through unprejudiced study of one another's experience, through comradely exchange of opinions, through mutual consultations. That is how all real Marxist-Leninists go about it.

But what do the Chinese leaders do? Far from seeking to tone down and overcome the differences which have arisen, they do all they can to stir them up. They use methods of slanderous attack and subversive activity, methods of dictation and split instead of methods of comradely discussion of moot questions, accepted among Communists with the purpose of overcoming differences and strengthening unity.

To remove the threat of a split in the world communist movement, the Chinese leaders must revert to the common platform of the communist movement, cease the political struggle they are waging against the Marxist-Leninist Parties, and agree to adjust differences between Parties on the basis of the Leninist norms of mutual relations within the communist movement. They must stop brainwashing other Communists and the working people of their own country in the spirit of animosity to the other Marxist-Leninist Parties.

WHAT MUST BE DONE?

The joint efforts of all the fraternal Parties, which are working for cohesion in the ranks of the communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, can contribute to this in no small measure. Real unity is forged only through active struggle. On a given question one cannot count on a spontaneous course and outcome of events.

Further extension and consolidation of the international ties, the international contacts between fraternal Parties and systematic get-togethers and consultations are very important ways of strengthening the unity of the world army of Communists. “Unity, identity of views, once established, do not endure forever of their own accord,” Nikita Khrushchov has said. “Social life gives rise to new phenomena which require correct appraisals and conclusions, and therefore real unity can take shape and become firm only as a result of systematic meetings and consultations, of constant exchange of

“ON PAGE 16

Commonwealth Meet Without Shastri

The press has been unanimous in its welcome to Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri's decision not to go to London to attend the Commonwealth conference due to his ill-health. "Wise decision" said THE HINDUSTAN TIMES, while THE INDIAN EXPRESS termed it as "the right thing both by himself and the country".

There are other notable absentees at the Commonwealth conference. President Nkrumah of Ghana and President Makarios of Cyprus are not attending it, both for political reasons. But none of the papers mentioned this even while discussing Shastri's absence from the conference.

THE STATESMAN was all regrets over "the missing guest". "To the many reasons for regretting Mr. Shastri's absence is now added", it said on July 2, because "his absence will mark a most unfortunate gap".

"Personal contact with him and his appearance in public would have been eagerly sought; the benefit would have been mutual. At it is, the conference as well as India are the losers."

Again, "in his person India would have furnished living and immediately available proof, more convincing than mere reports can carry, of the great transition she has just accomplished."

Also, "as a person he would have welcomed this opportunity for opening out into fields hitherto seen only from afar and as Prime Minister would have grasped with both hands the chance to ease a few bolts in doors which have been closed for years between India and Pakistan."

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES was more worried over Shastri's health. "The burden he inherited from his great predecessor was a peculiarly onerous one, such as probably few heads of government in any country have borne. No one would have blamed Mr. Shastri if he had sought to lighten it", it said on July 3.

But instead, he had taken on the "full load" and something more. "Approachability combined with an almost infinite capacity to suffer fools gladly is among Mr. Shastri's endearing qualities, but it shows itself in ways which make fearful demands on his time and energy."

Pressure of Hangers-on

It was also felt that he was not free from the "importunities of place-hunters, purveyors of interested advice, or plain busybodies", who did not dare to go near the late Prime Minister.

As a remedy to all these, the paper wanted Shastri to have regular intervals of relaxation, preferably at weekends—a suggestion which was made to Nehru but turned down by him.

As far as the Commonwealth conference was concerned, "the opportunity may occur again soon enough" for meeting President Ayub Khan. "Delhi may offer a better venue for these talks than London". T. T. Krishnamachari, who has been chosen along with Indra Gandhi, to represent India at the conference, is in

a "special position to make an authoritative contribution" to the discussion on economic issues, and so there was nothing to be worried about.

According to THE INDIAN EXPRESS (July 3), Shastri's absence from London "will be regretted". And not by his British hosts alone, for "both India and Pakistan were looking forward to his meeting with President Ayub".

It took solace in that Ayub Khan has now expressed willingness to come to Delhi. "President Ayub's friendly gesture will be appreciated", it said.

Krishnamachari's presence, "though coincidental

will be advantageous' when economic issues are discussed at the conference, it said, and Indra Gandhi's inclusion is a hint that she is "earmarked" for the External Affairs Ministry "when the time is appropriate".

the press

THE TIMES OF INDIA was alone in saying (July 3) that Africa might dominate the coming Commonwealth conference. It noted the "radical change in the composition of this unique group" and said that these changes have not been entirely painless.

The expulsion of South Africa had averted what

was at one time "an imminent threat" to the Commonwealth, but strains have continued, it said and the instance of Southern Rhodesia was cited to support this contention.

The paper said that but for the decision of the British government not to invite Ian Smith, white Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, the present conference itself would not have taken place.

"The real test however will be if Mr. Smith's white minority government unilaterally

declares Southern Rhodesia's independence with or without a referendum." And the paper correctly observed:

"Mr. Krishnamachari and Mrs. Gandhi would do well to reinforce the views which the African members of the Commonwealth will doubtless express on the Southern Rhodesia issue."

PTI Or HT: Whose Fault?

"CBI to probe 125 graft cases: New Delhi, July 2 (PTI) The Central Bureau of Investigation is understood to have detected many cases of corruption and misappropriation in the income-tax department.

"As many as 125 cases are being instituted in different parts of the country and most of the persons involved are gazetted officers." (THE HINDUSTAN TIMES, July 3). "Graft Cases report contradicted: New Delhi, July 4 (PTI) A spokesman of the Finance Ministry today contradicted a news item (not circulated by PTI) that as many as 125 cases of corruption and misappropriation in the Income-tax Department were being instituted." (THE HINDUSTAN TIMES, July 5).

Was crediting the first news item to the PTI a slip on the part of THE HINDUSTAN TIMES or the second news item a clumsy attempt on the part of the PTI to get out of a jam?

—PARAKAL

The trade unions are considerably disturbed about the Industrial Disputes (Amendment) Bill which was introduced in the last session of Parliament. The amendment contains many provisions which adversely affect the working class.

THESE amendments are purported to be following from the tripartite agreements but in effect there have been no such unanimous agreements. The All-India Trade Union Congress had not agreed to the proposals when these were mooted in the tripartite meetings. Despite the opposition from the AITUC, the government introduced the amendment claiming that these provisions were agreed upon in the tripartite meetings.

One of the major amendments is to prohibit trade unions from taking direct action during the pendency

of proceedings under voluntary arbitration. For instance, the amendments seek to declare any strike during such period of arbitration also as illegal. Obviously this amendment has been brought in only to satisfy the employers who have explicitly stated that they do not approve of the tripartite decisions regarding voluntary arbitration. The present Industrial Disputes Act prohibits strikes only during the pendency of adjudication proceedings.

Another amendment provides for taking action in cases where there are no standing orders, on the basis of what

MINERS' SUCCESSFUL TOKEN STRIKE

Protest Against Bhilai Management's Attitude

The workers in the iron ore mines of the Bhilai Steel Project in Dalli Rajhara went on a token strike on June 29, to protest against the abnormal delay in the settlement of their long-outstanding demands.

THE strike was conducted after due notice and a strike ballot, under the auspices of the Samyukta Khadan Mazdoor Sangh (AITUC).

The union, for the last two years and more, had been engaged in protracted representations to the central industrial relations machinery, the local management, as well as the Union Labour Ministry.

On all the demands of the workers, the management took a hostile attitude. The management even refused to honour the settlement reached on November 3, 1962, with regard to the absorption of about 1,100 workers into regular rolls.

The agreement had stipulated that all those workers who had completed their service for more than six months on November 3, 1962, should be given time-scales. The management failed to act even on the advice of the Regional Labour Commissioner (Central) on the question of implementation of this agreement.

Another key issue was the abolition of contract system in

the BSP mines, as per the decisions of the tripartite Indian Labour Conference.

Other demands related to the granting of production bonus to workers employed in the manual mining division as per the Tribunal award, implementation of the Bonus Commission report, linking of DA with the cost of living index, absorption of workers engaged in expansion scheme into regular employment and recognition of the union.

The verification of membership of the Samyukta Khadan Mazdoor Sangh, for recognition under the Code of Discipline was completed in 1962, but the management had refused to accord recognition to the union.

The strike was completely peaceful. Under the auspices of the Samyukta Khadan Mazdoor Sangh, a mass rally was held on June 29 evening which was addressed by Homi Daji, MP, general secretary of the MPTUC, S. K. Sanyal, general secretary, Prakash Roy, secretary and Nasim Alam of the SKMS. Bachan Singh Thakur

Demonstration Of Insurance Employees One-Day Token Strike Planned To Press For Reinstatement

Thousands of insurance employees demonstrated on July 1 in front of office of the South British Insurance Co. Ltd., expressing solidarity with the employees of that company who are on strike since June 22, and demanding reinstatement of T. K. R. Pillai, who has been victimised by the company because of his trade union activities.

THE demonstration was organised by the Western Zone Insurance Employees' Federation. The participants of the demonstration were addressed by K. S. B. Pillai, joint secretary of the All-India Insurance Employees' Association and R. J. Churya vice-president of the Federation, after the demonstration.

K. S. B. Pillai declared that the Federation has decided that unless the dispute was immediately settled by the manage-

Against Industrial Disputes (Amendment) Bill Countrywide Agitation Called By AITUC

is described as "explicit" or "implicit" terms of service.

It is also proposed under the amending bill to take away the right of minority unions, upheld by the Supreme Court, for termination of settlements and awards. The bill also seeks to give discretionary power to government, in the case of arbitration, to determine whether the union which is a party to arbitration proceedings represents the majority of concerned workmen, to the government's subjective satisfaction.

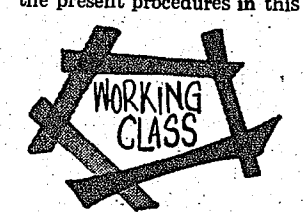
The partiality shown by government in respect of recognition of unions is well-known. It is also well-known that government persistently refuses to recognise unions

through secret ballot, perhaps for the fear of jeopardising the claim of the INTUC as the biggest organisation of workmen. It may be recalled that the Dhebar Committee report has admitted the inequity of the present procedures in this

respect when it called for elected bodies of workers in public sector undertakings. When the bill was introduced in the Rajya Sabha, opposition members had opposed

it and demanded that the bill be withdrawn and a comprehensive amending bill be brought forward. It is interesting to note in this connection that the Labour Ministry had appointed a sub-committee to consider amendments to the Industrial Disputes Act about five years ago but the conclusions of the sub-committee have not been acted upon. The government has now acted in a hurry to impose such amendments as would adversely affect the workers and help the employers.

The All-India Trade Union Congress has urged upon all trade unions to launch a powerful campaign against this amending bill and demand its withdrawal.



HUNGER-STRIKE IS NOW CERTAIN

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS WORSENING IN BARAUNI

BARAUNI: Industrial peace in Barauni is now seriously threatened by the persistent refusal of the management of the Indian Refineries Ltd., a public sector undertaking, to concede the most legitimate demands of the workers. (See also NEW AGE of June 28)

ALL efforts made by the Barauni Telshodhak Mazdoor Union for an amicable settlement of the outstanding and most pressing demands of the workers have failed due to the adamant attitude of the management.

This has compelled the union to serve a notice of hungerstrike by Chandra Shekhar Singh MLA, that he would resort to hungerstrike if the management failed to arrive at a satisfactory settlement on the demands of the workers.

The union, before serving the notice had made several efforts to persuade the Indian Refineries Ltd. as well as the authorities in New Delhi, to settle the disputes. They made a representation also to the Minister for Petroleum and Chemicals but the response was disappointing.

In his reply to the union's representation, Humayun Kabir, Minister for Petroleum and Chemicals said:

"As you know this is under the control of Indian Refineries Ltd., a public sector company, and as such government do not directly come into the picture. Government are however, keenly interested in the efficient and fair management of the concern and wish that justice should be done to all." He also added: "I am asking the new Managing Director Sri N. N. Kashyap to look into your complaints."

Management Unconcerned

Despite his "instructions", the attitude of the IRL remained unchanged. A discussion between the union representatives and the management also proved to be futile.

The IRL is not only refusing to concede the demands of the workers, it is reported that the

Departmental employees be given preference in appointment of permanent staff.

3 Surplus employees of IRL be absorbed in other public sector industrial establishments, such as Barauni Thermal Power Station HEC. Hatia (Ranchi) Patratu etc.

4 Criminal cases instituted against project employees and trade union leaders be withdrawn.

5 Construction allowance be given with retrospective effect to all employees.

6 Fair price shops be opened for every one thousand workers with adequate supply of rice, wheat, sugar and mustard oil.

7 Increment in the bus-fare be cancelled.

OFFICIAL ADMISSION

MINIMUM WAGES LESS THAN Re 1 PER DAY

IT is now officially admitted that the statutory minimum wages fixed by state governments for certain employments are, in many cases, even less than rupee one a day.

In four states, the local authorities have to pay a minimum wage of less than Re. 1 a day. Mysore and Orissa governments fixed minimum wages for some categories of road construction and building workers at less than a rupee a day.

Other categories of workers whose minimum wages are fixed below Re. 1 include agricultural labourers in Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Madras,

Maharashtra, Orissa and Rajasthan; printing press workers in Gujarat and Maharashtra; lac manufacturing workers in Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra; rice and flour mill workers in Marathwada area of Maharashtra; stone breakers in Mysore and Orissa; plantation workers in Uttar Pradesh and woollen carpet and shawl-weaving establishments in Madras.

The Central government has fixed less than a rupee as daily wage for women workers employed by the CPWD in contract labour in Madras and Madhya Pradesh on road and building projects. In Jabalpur, the CPWD has to pay only 88 paise a day to men workers.

Indian People's Protest Against Verwoerd Regime

By OUR STAFF CORRESPONDENT

The Indian people's anger at the inhuman treatment meted out to the Rivonia patriots and the continuing atrocity of apartheid by the South African white racist regime found expression in a public meeting in the Indian capital on July 4.

THE meeting was called jointly by the All-India Peace Council, the All-India Trade Union Congress, the Committee of Indian Parliamentarians, for Peace, the Delhi Citizens Forum, the Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity and the Indian National Trade Union Congress.

The meeting was presided over by Delhi Pradesh Congress Committee president Mir Mushtaq Ahmad and addressed by V. K. Krishna Menon, Dewan Chaman Lall and Romesh Chandra among others. A good number of Afro-Asian and Latin American diplomats were present.

Addressing the meeting Krishna Menon said that the racist regime in South Africa was a part of the imperialist attempts to hold on to their colonial empires. It had links with developments in Angola and Congo.

Tracing the history and background of the racist regime in South Africa, Menon said colour prejudice was not the main reason for apartheid. It was the white man's greed for wealth.

White Exploiters

The white man in South Africa had the highest standard of living in the whole world including the United States, and he wanted to preserve it at the cost of the working people.

Menon countered the argument of the South African government that opposing apartheid was interfering in its internal affairs by saying that the South African government was committing a crime and aggression against humanity. To defend humanity was the duty of the whole world and all countries.

He debunked the claim of the

racialists that by apartheid they were providing the coloured people the right to self-determination. The black people were not given any kind of freedom and the group areas act created virtual concentration camps, he said.

Economic Blockade

Menon called for an effective economic blockade against South Africa, which alone would bring the racialists to heel. He said the present trade boycott was not effective; what India refused to sell to South Africa, Pakistan was buying from India and selling to her.

He laid particular stress on withdrawing all oil supplies to South Africa, because that would bring all transport to a standstill and breakdown of the economy. That would be the quickest and effective measure.

Menon wanted the Indian people to massively express themselves against the racist policies of the South African government. Government support to resolutions in the United Nations and other world forums is not enough, he said.

Romesh Chandra said that the campaign for the release of South African patriots was a world-wide one. Nelson Mandela has become the symbol of the world fight against racialism, fascism, colonialism and oppression.

He said that if the racial oppression in South Africa was not stopped here and now, it could lead to a world war. He recalled that it was the unchecked growth of the fascist regime in Germany under Hitler that led to the second world war.

The Verwoerd regime was able to continue its oppression because

it had the backing of both the United States and Britain, he said. He wanted the Government of India and its spokesmen to put pressure on the Commonwealth partner, Britain, to stop trading with South Africa and giving them arms.

We Must Speak Up

Romesh Chandra said: The people's voice that aid to South Africa should stop should be heard in London through our spokesmen at the Commonwealth conference.

Dewan Chaman Lall also dealt with the arms aid which South Africa was getting from Britain and the United States. He cited figures to show the extensive investments these countries had in South Africa and the enormous trade they and their NATO partners were carrying on with the hated regime.

Chaman Lall said the British Prime Minister's claim that they were selling to South Africa only those kind of arms as would not be used against the Negroes was absurd.

Machine guns and armaments did not distinguish between people: the South African government was using all the



Krishna Menon addressing the meeting

Trade Unions In Poland

In Poland today there are more than seventy lakh members in the trade unions. In November 1945, when the first postwar trade union congress was convened, the membership rolls showed a figure just over ten lakhs. Four years later, the membership figure had gone up to 30 lakhs.

THIS is a very big trade union membership and it must be remembered that all workers in Poland are not members of trade unions. The Polish workers have made splendid contribution to the postwar achievements during the twenty years of peoples Poland; they have helped the country grow up from the ravages of Second World War.

The workers under the leadership of their trade unions rallied to reconstruct and revive the war devastated economy and brought

in new life in the extinct factories which today throb with a new rhythm. Industry, building trades and agriculture together presently contribute more than 80 per cent in the total national income.

The most important aspect of Polish trade unions is their role in the Polish society. Controversy and discussions continued in Poland for a long time as to the specific character of trade union movement in a socialist economy. It is the sole task of the unions

Bridges Of Amity

TOKEN OF FRIENDSHIP

INDO-Soviet friendship, based on mutual understanding and respect, emerged in sharp relief when our country was still dazed after the passing away of Jawaharlal Nehru.

The Soviet people and their leaders not only expressed their deep sympathy for our loss but also assured help in all possible manners. When doubts and hesitations were expressed from various quarters, India knew that she could always depend on her socialist friends, particularly the Soviet Union. This feeling was further reinforced by Alexei Korygin and Anatas Mikoyan during their visits.

Indian people have read the reports of how the Soviet people mourned the loss of Jawaharlal Nehru, and noted the homages they paid to the memory of India's departed leader.

The latest issue of SOVIET LAND (No. 12, June 1964) adequately reflects the depth of the feeling of the Soviet people towards India and her people. The cover of this journal is a full page picture of Nehru and the entire issue is dedicated to his memory. Apart from the messages of the Soviet leaders and the reports of various meetings and condolences, the issue contains an article by I. A. Benediktov, Soviet ambassador to India which gives the personal impressions of the author about Nehru in a very clear manner.

The journal contains other articles on Nehru such as, Nehru: Soviet People's Image, memoirs of a number of Soviet personalities who met him, a detailed description of Indo-Soviet economic cooperation which Nehru helped to grow, Nehru's relentless work for peace and friendship among nations, Indo-Soviet cultural cooperation, etc. The journal is studied with excellent pictures of Nehru on various historical occasions.

Socialist World

to spur the workers towards higher productivity? Or is it only concerned with the responsibility for "the defence of employees' interests"?

Finally in 1962 the Polish trade unions arrived at a common and clear understanding about their exact role, the essence of which is described thus:

"...The social function which, in conditions created by the socialist system, has been taken over and is discharged by the trade unions is expressed, above all, in the fact that they unite their activities and efforts with those exerted by the Party and government toward the constant increasing of the social product and national income."

This naturally enjoins upon the trade unions two main responsibilities: 1) to guaran-

tee a commensurate rise in living standards of working people with the gross national product, and 2) to ensure a just division of national income.

These two dual functions determine the role of the trade unions in Poland and moreover the fact that the trade unions are, in the sphere of co-management of the national economy, sponsors and promoters of the workers' self-government movement, brings out a feature which is unique in the Polish trade union movement.

Real Wages Double In Fourteen Years

THE latest statistical data indicate that the

level of real wages of the working people in Rumania today is 2.1 times higher than in 1950.

The doubling of real wages' level was achieved through reduction in prices of consumer goods and public service tariffs (which in 1964 was 4.4 times lower than in 1938), part of the family needs—health welfare, social insurance etc., being mostly borne by the state and above all substantial rise in the wages of the working people.

The increase in real wages of toiling people is not an isolated event in Rumania. In all the socialist countries that is exactly what is happening. The national income is rising, the wages are increasing, the cost of living is going down and people are living better than before.

This shows that the growing possibilities the socialist countries have today of contributing to raising the living standard of the workers are due to the consistent implementation of the mansied development plans, to the harmonious national economy.

—SADHAN MUKHERJEE

For Unity Of Communist Movement

*FROM PAGE 13

opinions between Parties and Governments."

A new international meeting of Communists could become an important stage in the struggle for unity. Most Communist Parties in all parts of the world are for convening it as soon as possible. The decisions on this question adopted by Party congresses and plenary meetings of leading Party bodies reflect the feeling of alarm over the situation that has arisen in the communist movement and an ardent desire to uphold its general line and do everything necessary to prevent a split as a result of the subversive activities of the Chinese leaders.

The fraternal Parties are showing deep concern and awareness of their responsibility to history for the collective solution of common pressing problems of the communist movement, for the generalisation of everything new that has taken place in the world since the last Statement was adopted in 1960.

Czechoslovak Communists think it necessary to convene a meeting to discuss the situation that has arisen in the communist movement, to discuss questions of unity in conformity with the jointly worked-out line. Comrade Novotny has declared that we must prepare to convene an international meeting that will uphold and strengthen the common position of all Marxist-Leninist Parties in the struggle against all and any attempts at upholding factional activity on an international scale. Mongolian comrades feel that a meeting will help to consolidate unity and cut short the harmful actions of the splitters.

The recent Congress of the French Communist Party set down in its resolution:

"The 17th Congress considers it necessary to reaffirm the gen-

eral line of the international communist movement that was defined in 1957 and 1960, with the changes which have taken place in the intervening period taken into account, and to adopt all decisions likely to promote the defence of the movement's unity. Therefore, the Congress is in favour of convening a meeting of all Communist and Workers' Parties of the world in the very near future."

The Communist Parties of Ceylon and Australia also point out in a joint statement that the time has come to convene an international meeting of fraternal Parties as soon as possible.

WORLD MEETING URGENT NECESSITY

A number of Communist Parties proposed that a special decision on the norms of relations between the fraternal Parties be adopted at the meeting. Thus, Polish Communists think it necessary to work out "the principles of conduct that would guarantee unity of action and solidarity on questions of decisive importance for the movement while fully observing the equality and independence of the individual Parties and socialist countries."

The Chinese leaders are more and more openly steering towards a course delaying the convocation of a meeting. This is also borne out by their new letter of May 7 to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Their statements and actions reveal very clearly why they need this delay: they need it to further unfold their subversive, splitting activity in the communist movement, to set up more puppet parties to fight the Marxist-Leninist Parties.

Undeviatingly waging a struggle in defence of the common line of the communist move-

ment expressed in the documents of the Moscow Meetings, our Party links it up with the tasks of strengthening the unity of the international communist movement. It considers as its internationalist duty to employ every means at its disposal to prevent a split between the Communist Party of China and the other Communist Parties.

The meeting must play a major role in overcoming the differences in the international communist movement. The matter of deciding when to convene it, what the agenda should be, and so forth is, of course, the collective task of all fraternal Parties, which can be carried out by convening a preparatory conference, as the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and other fraternal Parties have proposed.

Marxist-Leninists do not want a split. But unity cannot be achieved through concessions on questions of principle. Neither will it come of itself. What is needed to remove the threat of a split created by the subversive activities of the Chinese leaders is the collective efforts of the Marxist-Leninist Parties. The main way to struggle for unity is to strengthen the collaboration of all Communist and Workers' Parties in deciding the practical problems of combating imperialism and struggling for peace, for national freedom, democracy and socialism.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has faith in the forces of the international communist movement, in its determination to follow the only correct road, the Leninist road. Soviet Communists are firmly convinced that the world communist and working-class movement would be able to surmount the difficulties which have arisen, that it would rally its ranks even closer in the struggle for the common cause.

(Partinaya Zhizn [Party Life] No. 11)

After breaking the fetters of colonialism and feudalism, the Mongolian people are persistently carrying out the tasks set by the People's Revolution.

IN about two decades' time they succeeded in completing the general democratic stage of the Revolution, carried out wide reforms, eliminated political and economic privileges and influence of foreign capital and exploiter classes in the country and created necessary conditions for socialist construction, bypassing the stage of capitalist development.

Today the Mongolian People's Republic has entered an important stage of its development—the completion of socialist construction. Thanks to the enthusiasm for work of our people and the correct guidance by the M.P.R. Party leadership, thanks to the unbreakable friendship and brotherly cooperation with USSR and other countries of the Socialist Commonwealth, the Mongolian People's Republic is marching with confidence along the path of a socialist society, having achieved tremendous successes in a historically short period of time.

From a backward feudal country Mongolia has become a modern agrarian-industrial socialist state where socialist relations of production have won a complete victory and where exploitation of man by man has been eradicated once and for all.

During the years of socialist construction, metalworking, woodworking, mining, fuel and other industries equipped with



J. SAMBU, President of Mongolian Republic

accounts for about 50 per cent of the total produce in the country.

The rapid developments of fuel and power and building material industries have radically enhanced the speed of development of other industries. The rate

Under Uncle Sam's Umbrella

IN GREAT 'FREE' COUNTRY

"ARMED whites are riding up and down the highways seeking out the cars of civil rights workers whose licence numbers have been circulated throughout the state by anti-integrationists..." (Kansas City).

"TWO Negroes were jailed after being beaten up when they attempted to get service at a restaurant reserved for whites" (Laurel, Mississippi).

"THIRTEEN Negroes were arrested for loitering after being asked to leave a 'white only swimming pool'" (Albany, Georgia).

"THREE Negroes shot at" (Atlanta, Georgia).

You know the names of these places? And do you know when the above incidents took place?

These are notorious places in the United States of America, the Uncle's 'free world' about which recently our Minister Manubhai Shah was all ga ga, and the incidents took place on July 4—the US Freedom Day.

The reason for such incidents? Well, the 'niggers' just tried to implement the rights guaranteed by the Civil Rights Bill passed by the US Senate. "No Law can do it," said a white racist after the bill was passed.

But do not be horrified by what you have read above. These are not isolated incidents. These constitute only a part of the all-out attempt of the white racists in Southern states of USA

modern technique were set up in the Mongolian People's Republic. Scores of new industrial projects have been completed and are under construction. At present industrial output in the MPR which increased more than nine-fold as compared with 1940

43rd Anniversary Of Socialist Mongolia: Progress & Prosperity

By E. POUNTSAG

of industrial production is constantly rising.

Considerable success was scored in 1963 in the development of industry. The gross industrial production in 1963 as against 1962 rose by 6.1 per cent; in the state sector the increase was 6 per cent and in the cooperative sector—8.3 per cent.

In 1963, as compared with 1962, the power production increased 28 per cent, flourite—36 per cent, washed wool—15.8 per cent, urt thick flax—4.4 per cent, woollen goods 45.8 per cent, hoots—17.8 per cent, meat—39.4 per cent, flour—15.8 per cent.

Under the Third Five Year Plan (1961-1965) capital investments in construction rose by 20 per cent as compared to the First and Second Five Year (1948-1957) Plans taken together.

Along with the construction and expansion of industrial units, 13 agricultural machine-repair shops, 117 grain stores, more than 60 shops and communal dining houses, 70 schools, 70 kindergartens and creches, 49

hospitals and many other cultural and communal institutions have been newly built in the capital, Ulan Bator. Similar additions have been made in other towns. Vast construction work is under way in the Barkhan district, where industrial and other important enterprises are fast coming up with the help of the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries.

Considerable headway has also been made in socialist agriculture, the biggest branch of national economy. Animal husbandry which is the basis of the wellbeing of our people is constantly growing from year to year.

Big Strides In Agriculture

The plan for the increase in the heads of livestock for year of 1963 was overfulfilled. The heads of livestock increased 7.1 per cent or by 1.5 million heads as compared with 1962.

Our government takes great care in providing agriculture with modern machines and equipment. During the last 10 years the fleet of tractors increased more than twenty-six-fold and the number of grain harvesters about forty-six-fold. About 455,000 hectares of land were sown in 1963 and it will further increase to 707,900 hectares in 1964.

The wheat harvest in 1963 covered not only the requirements in every home of flour and seeds for the next year, but also allowed this country to export considerable quantity of wheat.

Mongolian agriculture is now fully socialist in its character.

The Soviet assistance greatly contributed to carrying out in the Mongolian People's Republic a genuine cultural revolution. In 1921, 99.3 per cent of the Mongolian population was illiterate. Now Mongolia has become a country of complete literacy. At present every sixth citizen of this country is a student of an educational institute.

In 1962 the number of higher educational establishment graduates increased 12.9 per cent as compared to 1961, the rate of increase of secondary and specialized educational establishment graduates was 15.3 per cent, and of general secondary school graduates—17 per cent. Besides there are houses of culture and clubs, cinemas, libraries, museums and Red corners.

The country has scores of newspapers and magazines. Books of Mongolian and foreign authors are published in large numbers. Every populated point in Mongolia has radio installations. People in most remote corners of the country have facilities to listen to radio.

Tremendous achievements have been made by the Mongolian people in the field of national health services also. At present there is one doctor for every 930 inhabitants of the country.

For many years the Mongolian People's Republic maintained

diplomatic relations only with the Soviet Union which was the first country to recognize the independence of Mongolia. Today the MPR is an equal member of the UNO, Interparliamentary Union, Council for Mutual Economic Aid, etc. This country maintains diplomatic relations with all socialist countries as well as with India, Indonesia, Burma, Britain, Ceylon, Laos and others.

Mongolia's entry into the COMECON will play an exceptionally important role in her further development.

A Twenty-Year Plan of economic and cultural development extending upto 1980 is being



Y. TSENDENBAL, Prime Minister of Mongolia

worked out on this very basis. By the next year this plan will be finalised and its successful implementation will help create conditions for transition to Communist construction.

Foreign Policy

The Mongolian People's Republic has declared peaceful co-existence as the general line of its foreign policy. It will continue to fight for the development and consolidation of friendly relations among states, for consolidating universal peace and security of peoples, for general and complete disarmament, for the final liquidation of colonial system, for a stable peace on earth.

Along with the people of other socialist countries the Mongolian people genuinely wish that the young emerging states which have recently attained their freedom and national independence to achieve successes in their efforts for the liquidation of the traces of former colonial domination, for attaining economic prosperity.

Peoples of the countries liberated from the colonial yoke, are realising more and more that the only correct path for ensuring their national regeneration is the non-capitalist path of development. In this connection the historic experience of the Mongolian people, successfully building socialism, bypassing the capitalist stage, is of great significance for these countries.

—CHARVAK

NYASALAND IS FREE

The people of the territory of Nyasaland crossed the threshold of independence on the midnight of July 5 and became the citizens of independent Malawi as with the coming down of the Union Jack and the flying up of the Red, Black and Green flag of Malawi came into existence the thirty-seventh independent state in Africa.

NYASALAND had been colonised since last 75 years during which it has passed through experiences not dissimilar to the rest of colonial Africa.

Land-locked and her mineral resources not yet developed, Nyasaland was made a part of the Central African Federation in order to provide the white-settler-dominated territory of Southern Rhodesia with a larger hinterland without the least possible consultation with the people of the land.

In 1958 Dr. Hastings Banda, then a medical practitioner in England, decided to return to his motherland after thirty years of voluntary exile "to break the stupid Federation and to give you self-government."

Since then events in Nyasaland have been moving at a fast pace with the wind of change blowing over the African continent. Within eight months of his return Dr. Banda gained complete support of his people and Nyasaland was on the verge of a rebellion. On March 3, 1959 Dr. Banda and 1500 of his followers were arrested and a state of emergency declared in Nyasaland.

By BAREN RAY

The arrest of Banda did not end the struggle and Nyasaland continued to be in turmoil. The British government was compelled to appoint the Monckton Commission to enquire into the charges. The commission came to the conclusion that the people of Nyasaland were totally opposed to the Federation and that Banda enjoyed the support of the African people.

Fortunately for Nyasaland, it did not have a large settler population and Dr. Banda was released and became the head of the administration. The Federation was dead for all purposes and Britain had to agree to Nyasaland's secession from the Federation and complete independence.

This land-locked territory has some problems arising from the difficulty in finding an outlet for her products. It is a country of more than 37,000 square miles with a population of just over four million with vast fertile lands and with a great potential for agriculture and animal husbandry.

Malawi has a large number of unemployed and about 100,000 workers have migrated to South Africa and Southern Rhodesia with detrimental effects to the country. Others have migrated to Northern Rhodesia, Tanganyika and other neighbouring countries. Wages in Malawi are as low as Rs. 60 to Rs. 90 per month.

The resources of Malawi are at present exploited by such concerns as the millionaire Lonrho group which has branches all over the capi-

talist world and controls the sugar industry. It has also bought the Nyasaland Railways, profits from which are entirely pocketed by private investors.

During 1963, the imperialist Commonwealth Development Corporation invested over £ 5 million in the country. It contributed £ 1,300,000 (over 59 per cent) to the £ 2,200,000 Walker's Ferry

Water project. In this project the British government holds over 36 per cent of the assets (£ 800,000) while the Malawi government holds only 4.5 per cent (£ 100,000).

In the Nkula Falls hydro-electric scheme on the Shire River which will cost about £ 2,500,000, the Commonwealth Development Corporation will hold about 60 per cent of the shares (£ 1,500,000). The other two "partners", Britain and Malawi, will have about the same proportion of shares in the ferry water scheme. Such is the burden of neo-colonialism with which Malawi begins her independent nationhood.

The Nyasaland Railways originally belonged to the government. With the advent of Federation the railway was taken over by the Federation and now Malawi owes a debt of £ 12 million.

The Nyasaland Railways which is now a private company runs only to Mozambique and through Portuguese colonial territory to Southern Rhodesia. Dr. Banda had hoped to make use of a railway line in Tanganyika connecting a port in lake Nyasa bordering Malawi to the coast. But the private company that owned this line decided to discontinue the system. This not only inconvenienced Tanganyika but violated the principle of African unity and placed the government of Dr. Banda at the mercy of the white supremacist states.

Similarly although some twenty-five types of minerals, such as coal, asbestos,

etc., are reported to exist in Malawi, yet if these were to be exploited, the mineral rights will go to the giant British South Africa Company, and the Malawi government would receive only a small amount in royalties.

In Malawi the attitude of the government towards political refugees has been pretty bad so far and it seems that Dr. Banda is not ready to receive them at all, possibly fearing that if he gave any encouragement to the nationalist movements in the neighbouring territories, Salazar and company could cripple his country's economy.

It is hoped that with the momentum of independence the people of Malawi will take effective steps forward in the direction of continental solidarity and to break down the chains of neo-colonialism with which imperialism hopes to keep them in shackles.

Verwoerd Prepares New Rivonia

The South African police is on the rampage again. Raids are being carried out all over the country, in Johannesburg, in Praetoria and in the Transvaal industrial centre.

THEY are searching houses and arresting hundreds of people. They are being detained, most of them, under the 90-day "No trial" law, under which government can detain a person in solitary confinement, for 90 days in the first instance and go on extending the detention period indefinitely.

The pro-government Die Transvaaler says a second Rivonia case could result from these raids.

In the midst of this comes the news of the death in the "Devil's Island" of a 27-year old African political prisoner, Simon Khuboni who was serving a six-year sentence for being a member of the banned Pan-Africanist Congress on Robben Island reportedly died, according to the jail-island's governor, on June 27 of "natural causes".

His wife had received a letter from him only a few days earlier in which he said he was in good health.

Robben Island, where Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and their comrades have been sent to serve their life sentences is the notorious Kala Pani (Andamans of British India) of South Africa, where political prisoners are destined to meet their death, slow or quick, depending upon the whims of their torturers. There are now about 1000 political prisoners rotting on Robben Island. Raids and beating up, including whipping with sjamboks (rhino-hide whips), imprisonment without end and executions announced and unannounced are increasingly the lot of the vast majority of the people of South Africa.

66,575 PRISONERS

According to figures given by the Minister of Justice, last month, South Africa had a daily average prison population of 66,575 people of all races last year, 51,761 of them Africans.

The intensification of repression since the conclusion of the Rivonia trial is reflection only of the Verwoerd

The accused had turned the tables against their accusers, inspiring their countrymen and millions all over the world to step up the good fight in the just cause.

Legally they might have transgressed the law, for in South Africa no one can seriously oppose the "Nationalist" government today without sooner or later coming into conflict with the fantastic apparatus of laws passed since 1948 to bolster white domination. Morally however they had established the justice of their cause.

The fact that the court could not hand out the death sentence which it would have normally done was a triumph of the great world movement and of the South African people's own profound protest against the trial and the threatened sentence.

The rulers themselves realised what a death sentence handed out at the end of the trial would mean. As Brian Bunting wrote:

"It was by no means beyond the wit of even the South African judiciary, so frequently praised for their 'independence', to have appreciated that death sentences were the worst disservice which could have been rendered to the Nationalist government and the cause of white supremacy in the whole of Southern Africa."

To the people while it was a source of satisfaction that their struggle had struck healthy fear in the heart of the would-be executioners, still it was cause for holy anger and sharp indignation. For they knew what a life sentence in a South African prison could mean.

Moreover nobody could rest content while men of the calibre of Mandela, Sisulu, Mbeki, Kathrada and the others were forced to do hard labour in jail at the mercy of Vorster's bully boys who have shown themselves to be implacably hostile and brutal in their treatment of political prisoners.

What has now happened to Simon Khuboni could as well happen to the Rivonia eight. For people of conscience the world over, there could be no rest while Mandela and his colleagues languished on Robben Island.

Their decision not to appeal either against their conviction

or against the sentence meted out to them only underlined the gravity of their situation.

For as they said, a successful appeal would only mean their immediate re-arrest. They would prefer, they said, that any funds available for their appeal should be devoted to the defence of others charged with political offences or support of families.

HEROIC AND NOBLE

Their heroic and noble conduct all along became a source of inspiration for all fighters against oppression everywhere. It was much more so for their own compatriots.

The Verwoerd thugs have gone into a paroxysm of panic and rage over the subsequent display of determination on the part of the South African people not to submit and let the thugs have their way. They are shaking in their shoes at the advancing nemesis that is bound to overtake them.

Hence the new wave of intensified terror they have now let loose.

The Government has now brought another piece of legislation the General Law Amendment Bill which besides extending Justice Minister Vorster's sweeping repressive powers further extends the already wide-ranging death penalty.

There is no time to rest for the peoples and governments who stand for the end of apartheid and of the regime that is bent upon upholding it, with the help of its powerful Western allies, by all possible diabolical means. As Chief Lutuli says in his moving appeal addressed to the US and Britain asking them to impose sanctions at least now against South Africa—with the imprisonment of Nelson Mandela and his friends, all hope for racial co-operation in South Africa has also been imprisoned.

To get that hope and a lot more out of the prison that apartheid has built is the call of the hour, and growing numbers the world over are responding to it.

—Ziaul Haq

President Nkrumah's decision to carry right inside the Commonwealth Premiers' conference the fight against the British Tory Government's double-dealing game over the racial issues in Africa will be welcomed all over the world.

THE systematic way in which Britain, along with the United States, France and other allies of the Atlantic bloc, has been shielding South Africa and frustrating effective action against the apartheid regime and its increasingly tyrannical measures is driving the iron deeper into the soul of Africa.

The way the question of sanctions against South Africa was treated by the Security Council, undertaking only a "study" by experts of the "feasibility, effectiveness and implications of measures" that might be taken, showed how the Western powers, acting in unison were bent upon blocking any concrete steps to bring South Africa to heel.

Sanctions Opposed

The Security Council's failure to agree to any tangible measures to deter the Verwoerd regime can only be considered another piece in the long chain of connivance at that regime's crimes and a further encouragement to it to persist in its course.

Britain and its friends not only did not allow any sanctions move to be brought forward, they went so far as to declare that their agreement to a study by experts did not imply on their part any agreement that "coercive measures" would be taken even at a future date.

The Soviet Union's and Czechoslovakia's abstention on their resolutions and their description of it as extremely weak was described by the British and US delegates as "cold war rhetoric".

A similar frustrating procedure has been adopted by Britain over the issue of Southern Rhodesia. So much so that the UN General Assembly's Special Committee on Colonialism has had to deplore Britain's "persistent refusal" to cooperate with the UN in the matter.

These are but two instances which make nonsense of the British Prime Minister's claim of working to end racial divisions in the world and to make the Commonwealth an instrument towards that aim.

Apart from what they have been doing in British Guiana—systematically fomenting racial strife to keep their imperialist domination safe—the latest phase over Cyprus, following the hosting of the Turkish Premier in London, shows the new heights to which Britain's Tories are seeking to raise the racial conflict in Cyprus.

A plan for what has been poetically described as "double Emosis" seems to have been worked out, involving not only partition but a "double" loss of sovereignty on the part of Cyprus. Assurances of Turkey of British support for Turkish plans of invasion of Cyprus have been shamelessly given, to be used as weapon of blackmail to beat Cyprus down into submission.

Another version of the 'divide and rule' tactics is in operation over the question of Malaysia. The much-heralded summit in Tokyo did not bring forth from Tunjku Abdur

Tory Double-Dealing Must End

Rahman the slightest move to satisfy the aspiration to self-determination of the people of North Kalimantan. It was a demonstration of rigid postures on the part of Britain's client in regard to the neocolonialist scheme of Malaysia. At the back was Britain's determination to stick to—and actually extend—its naval and military bases in the area.

With such a record spread all over the world Sir Alec Douglas-Home can hardly expect moral support from Afro-Asian members of the Commonwealth. Even the enlarged crumbs of an extended Colombo Plan for economic aid of dubious utility would fail to serve as an attractive enough bait.

Only tangible action on the South Africa and Southern Rhodesia issues will now satisfy the majority of the Commonwealth. Manoeuvres of evasion will no longer succeed.

Slap In The Face

A dramatic development in the last stages of the carefully stage-managed South Arabian Conference in London has completely stunned Britain and her puppets. "In an astonishing turnabout," says a leading British paper, "the ruler of one of the key states of the South Arabian Federation flew into Cairo after announcing the withdrawal of his state from the Federation."

The 36-year old Sultan of Fadhli described the London Conference after his walk-out as "a conspiracy to exterminate and sequester national elements in the whole of South Arabia".

He has called upon the United Nations and the Red Cross to "intervene in the massacre of South Arabia" accusing the British Minister of deceiving the House of Commons and the UN by denying that British Government was supplying arms and money to the Yemen royalists.

He disclosed that arms and ammunition were passing through Fadhli on their way to Yemen.

Tribally-elected head of the Federation's richest territory outside Aden, the Sultan of Fadhli is the current chairman of the Federation's cabinet, the Supreme Council. Raising the curtain slightly from over the London conference, the Sultan revealed that while in London he and all his colleagues had been shadowed day and night by "British advisers".

He said that four South Arabian Federation ministers had joined him in presenting a memorandum to the Federal Council deploring the supply of arms to Yemen royalists by Britain. They were obviously ignored and Britain rode roughshod over their protests.



By Zia-ul Haq

The British are now accusing the Sultan of having all along been a hidden "agent of Nasser". Smarting under the stunning slap in the face, they are still trying to cook up a coherent story of this great debacle where the chief of the Federation walks out on them and denounces their manoeuvres.

ed area, but presumably in Saigon itself. He writes: "One thing which the Viet Cong hate is to be dubbed as Communists. They consider themselves pure and simple nationalists, fighting for the safety and integrity of their country and trying to free their land from colonial domination."

Critical Stage At Geneva

THE Geneva Disarmament Talks, are in a critical stage.

The Soviet Union had expressed its willingness to accept a phased destruction of bombers provided the United States agrees in principle to the destruction of all bombers. This was the first time the Soviet Union has said it would be prepared to agree to a phased destruction of bombers. Hitherto it had always insisted that all bombers should be destroyed at the beginning of the disarmament process.

Another proposal made by the Soviet Union demands reduction of military budgets by 10-15 per cent. Such an agreement, Zorin emphasized, did not require complicated and prolonged negotiations. If the states of approximately equal military strength agreed on equal percentage of reduction in military outlays, it will in no way alter the present balance of forces.

Both these proposals were brushed aside by the US and her allies.

More serious however was the Western stand on the spread of n-weapons. Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Zorin had reiterated the Soviet stand that there could be no agreement on preventing the spread of nuclear weapons as long as the US planned the establishment of NATO multilateral nuclear force.

US Insists On MLF

The US had in the meanwhile gone ahead with its plans for the multilateral nuclear force. It was pressing the seven other members of the Nato working groups which was discussing the project, for a decision by the end of this year at the latest. The British, disagreeing had proposed a diversification of the force from a mere naval fleet into one which would include land-based weapons too.

"The US is deeply committed," says a NEW YORK TIMES dispatch by Drew Middleton "to establishing a force based on the original plan for surface ships."

"So deep is this involvement," says Middleton, "that it has been suggested that if only West Germany

agrees to participate, the fleet will be limited to the contributions of the American and German navies.

"This reflects the Administration's conviction that some means must be found to give the Germans share in the West's nuclear armoury." (NEW YORK TIMES, Paris edition June 26, 1964).

Who could say after this that Soviet fears over the MLF are not real?

As the Soviet Premier has put it in his Reply to the Italian Peace Committee: "How can one reconcile the Western powers' statements to the effect that they are against the spread of nuclear weapons with their plans for setting up a NATO Multilateral Nuclear Force, plans that are being made at the insistence of West German aggressive revanchist forces which are eager to get an access to nuclear weapons".

African Summit

IMMEDIATELY after the Commonwealth Prime Ministers disperse, the heads of 34 African states will start their second summit meeting in Cairo. The whole of Africa and all Africa's friends all over the world look to that meeting with hope and confidence.

Since the first African summit in Addis Ababa last year African freedom movements have gathered momentum and there is a feeling gaining ground among several African states that their military potential should be made available to these freedom struggles as events have moved past the stage of negotiations.

The situation in Southern Rhodesia, whose Prime Minister has been recently conferring with South Africa's Verwoerd—reportedly to forge a military alliance—and the intensified Portuguese military operations in Angola and Portuguese Guinea, are sure to come up for a detailed review.

Consultations are already in progress among African states on a plan to cope with the situation in the event Southern Rhodesia unilaterally makes a declaration of independence on the part of the minority racist government.

After the Security Council's failure to decide upon sanctions against South Africa, it is expected that the African summit will consider the question of taking the issue to the General Assembly of the United Nations. A special session of the UN General Assembly might be demanded and clear warning given that if such a session fails to take adequate measures African states will be compelled to seek a 'solution' outside the UN—meaning a concerted armed struggle to push out the racist regimes. (July 7)

Trivandrum Corporation Elections**NO INDICATION OF SPLITTERS' STRENGTH**

From S. SHARMA

TRIVANDRUM: The defeat of the Communist Party candidates in the recent elections to the Trivandrum Corporation has given an edge to the propaganda of the 'leftist' splitters, for whom today any discomfiture of the Communist Party is a cause for jubilation, as much as it has always been in wellknown anti-Communist circles.

IN this particular case, the splitters are additionally jubilant as they had worked hard for such a defeat. It is thus that with considerable fanfare E. M. S. Namboodiripad and other leaders of the 'leftists' have claimed the Corporation election results as their main victory. Namboodiripad has also "warned" Communists to draw "lesson" from this election and avoid similar experience in the 1965 poll.

While there is no doubt and no denying the fact that the defeat of the Communist Party in the Corporation election is a serious one and necessary lessons have to be drawn from it, the circumstances and the facts of the Trivandrum Corporation election are not what Namboodiripad and his friends have tried to present.

According to them, the election result is a victory for their political line of anti-Congress front and a defeat for the political line of the Communist Party which they assiduously try to paint as a Congress policy.

This is neither true nor is the leftist claim to victory in Trivandrum a reflection of their strength in the state. The results of the Trivandrum election is not a reflection of the co-relation of political forces in the state and it is not a pointer to the general elections due next year. And it is not a verdict of the electorate on the differences which have sharply divided the Communist Party today.

A number of factors contributed to the defeat of the Communist Party candidates in Trivandrum. First among these is the fact that the Communist Party had entered the contest under obvious disad-

vantages. The majority of the Trivandrum city leadership of the Party had split away to join the leftist rival organisation and even before they had, over a long period, systematically carried on a slanderous propaganda among Party members and sympathisers against the National Council, and individual leaders in particular, that they were "tailing" behind the Congress.

Ranks Kept In Dark

The real ideological and political differences in the Communist Party were never explained to the rank and file of the Party. Instead, there was this slander to mislead Party members and along with it factional activities and crude attempts to build up personal loyalties in defiance to the majority decisions of the National Council.

It will be recalled that the Trivandrum unit of the Party had organised the "reception" to A. K. Gopalan when he was censured by the National Council for defying Party directives and discipline. Thus long before the 'leftist' walkout and split, the splitters had entrenched themselves in the Trivandrum Party unit and started functioning on parallel lines.

The electorate also could not understand the true facts of the split in the Communist Party. They were constantly told by the splitters that the Communist Party was supporting the Congress. Their genuine anti-Congress sentiments were exploited to this purpose and the 'leftist' big guns, like E. M. S. Namboodiripad, A. K. Gopalan and P. Ramamurti concentrated to build up this false

propaganda in the Corporation election in the city.

But the fact has been that in Kerala the Communist Party had all along spearheaded the people's movement against the much discredited and corrupt Congress government of the state and it is an acknowledged fact that before the split took place, the Communist Party had acquired the leading position and capacity to replace the Congress government in the elections to the state Assembly due to take place early next year. The split had weakened this force of the Party.

As many of the active cadres of the Party in Trivandrum had become 'leftists' and disruptors, the official leadership of the Party had to enter the election scene, even knowing its limitations. It decided to put up a few candidates to activate loyal Party members and to explain to the people the correct facts regarding the Party's policy and the split. But it was naturally very late in the field.

Taluk Communist leaders, by-passing the Election Sub-Committee which had been set up before the split and which included local comrades also, had entered into an alliance with the RSP and thereafter never made any attempt to unite all parties of the opposition. Since this alliance had been formed earlier, it became an alliance of 'left Communists' and RSP against the official Communist Party and PSP with which the Party had come to an agreement. For the 'leftists' the Communist Party was the 'main enemy'. Their strange logic had led them to oppose the Communist Party to fight the Congress. That is their 'revolutionary' strategy.

Apart from these, local considerations among the electorate also have played an important part in determining the results. At the same time, it is clear that had there been not a split in the CPI and had the democratic parties united to give a fight, the Trivandrum Corporation would have got a clean administration wherein Communists would have held the

P. K. MADHAVAN

NEW AGE regrets to report the death of Comrade P. K. Madhavan, member of the Kerala State Council of the Communist Party of India and an outstanding leader of the working class and peasant movements in Malabar. He met his end in a drowning tragedy on June 30 while crossing a river in a boat near Trilly.

SINCE 1930 Comrade Madhavan had been active in the political movement in north Malabar. He took part in the Congress movement of the thirties and also took part in the state people's movement in Travancore for responsible government. From the very early days of the Communist

Party, he was one of its active workers and organisers. For a number of years he was a member of the Malabar District Board and a municipal councillor in Tellicherry.

We send our heart-felt condolence and deep sympathy to the bereaved family of Comrade Madhavan.

leading position. Today no party is in a position to ensure a majority without having to seek the support of another group. The 'left' Communists are now striving hard to ally with the PSP.

The Communist Party which fielded 12 candidates could not win any seat. The Congress which put up candidates for all the 44 seats for which contest took place, got only 10 seats. The Congress could improve its position from 6 to 10 precisely due to the split in the CPI and the divided strength of the opposition. The PSP has secured 15 seats. Last time it had 18. The Citizens' Front of the 'left' Communists sponsored 29 candidates and got 10 seats and their RSP allies 4. The rest are independents.

The experience of the Trivandrum civic election has shown that the Party has a big task to perform, to educate Party members on the ideological, political issues which have caused sharp divisions in the Party,

to steel them to combat the factional and disruptive activities of the new splitters in the Communist movement and to explain to the masses the programme of the Party for a national democratic front as distinct from the crude slanders spread by the 'leftists'.

Already the state Party executive has embarked on this task and study camps and discussions are being organised. The position in the rank and file has also begun to shift decisively in the districts where the 'leftists' had held or pretended to hold a majority. Cannanore is just one such instance. Out of the nine districts, four had been with the National Council and four with the 'leftists' and one equally divided, but that position also has begun to change now in favour of the Party and against the splitters.

The Trivandrum Corporation election is therefore no indication of the Communist Party's position vis-a-vis the splitters in Kerala.

WHISPERING Gallery**Terylene Diplomacy**

TKK has made his debut in London at the very summit. As we write, he has made his maiden performance outside the charmed circle of the Commonwealth chiefs.

What he said at the Indian Journalists' Association is a mere curtain-raiser but it is indicative of the terylene diplomacy he is going to indulge in.

As terylene, it is drip-dry. It drips anti-communism vis-a-vis India and Southeast Asia but it is dry when it comes to Africa and British Guiana.

In the main, he was speaking according to brief he carried from New Delhi. Of course, he has added some of his own fills.

The official brief is not to take any initiative in regard to South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and Guiana. This is not a creditable stand to take, especially at a time when African Prime Ministers are very much exercised over the British attitude towards the white minority government of Ian Smith.

Moreover, it is bound to be misunderstood by African friends. Worse still is our remaining inert on the question of British Guiana where vast numbers of the people are of Indian origin.

It is rather specious to argue that it was for that reason that we are keeping out except to

speak our piece at the summit. If this logic were to apply, then we should have withdrawn totally from the Ceylonese scene.

TKK has reaffirmed India's continued faith in the "gigantic farce" of the British Commonwealth. On Tuesday evening All India Radio took special pains to remind us the Commonwealth citizens that the British royalty is the symbolic head of this multi-racial association.

In this, perhaps TTK is treading in the footsteps of Shastri who sent him to London to deputise for him.

Incidentally, tagging Indra Gandhi with the Finance Minister is a feat of playing to popular sentiment. There is not even a chair for her at the conference proper.

Shastri's statement announcing the cancellation of his visit was an abominable piece. About its authorship there are conflicting reports.

Some say that the Foreign Affairs Ministry officials had nothing to do with its drafting, that it was the handiwork of the Prime Minister himself.

Others say that it was drafted by Shastri's Special Assistant and some others had collaborated in its elaboration, especially when it dealt with the good old empire ties.

—INSIDER

GOVERNMENT PRESSURISED

★ FROM FRONT PAGE

been rejected without assigning any reason.

The representatives of the employers seem to be pretty sure about the success of their stand, if they are able to untidely press for it. The note of the EFT has therefore cautioned the members "that unilateral action should not be taken by any industry by accepting the majority recommendations of the Commission, particularly in view of the fact that government and employing ministries were worried about the possible impact of the Commission's recommendations on the industrial growth and capital formation in the country."

The note has also warned that the employers should not accept the report "on the ground of financial expediency at the sacrifice of principles for which the employers had so long fought."

Naval Tata, the representatives of the Tata House, which is well-versed at foisting

detrimental agreements on the heads of workers through its pocket unions, supported the idea of entering into agreements with individual unions independent of the Commission's report.

Strategy Planned

Finally the members present in the EFT-AIOIE meeting accepted the suggestion of H. K. S. Lindsay, backed by S. C. Kirloskar, senior vice-president of the FICCI, which enunciated the guiding line of action for the employers. According to this principle, it has been decided that "in order to achieve the 'Dandekar Line' as a minimum, employers should ask for more in some respects, particularly higher rates of return on paid-up capital and reserves which would be justified on account of further developments since the submission of the Com-

mission's report."

The meeting also took the decision that "the employers' views should not be given any publicity in the press as in that case the trade unions would not only criticise the employers but would also try to build up an agitation for the acceptance of the majority recommendations of the Commission."

The note clearly outlines the strategy of the industrial tycoons to torpedo the Commission's recommendations. It is also clear that they are holding the government to ransom, though they have a fear complex about the trade unions.

We now hope that the trade unions would give a fitting reply to the employers' manoeuvres and compel government to accept the report here and now. If the employers fail to implement the recommendations even after that, then these recommendations should be statutorily enforced. Or the workers would take to the path of action.