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USSR - 47 YEARS

NEW WAGE

CENTRAL ORGAN OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

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NOVEMBER 7 IS HERE... AND THE WORKING MASSES OF THE WORLD SALUTE THE MIGHTY SOVIET UNION, TORCH-BEARER OF REVOLUTION, CHAMPION OF THE STRUGGLES OF ALL PEOPLES FOR PEACE, NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE, DEMOCRACY AND SOCIALISM.

FORTY-SEVEN years ago, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Bolsheviks, smashed through the oppression and slavery of Tsarist rule, and established the first socialist state in the world.

The proletarian dictatorship had triumphed, and the ruling classes in every land, the imperialists above all, first scoffed and then trembled. They rallied together to crush the revolution and restore the exploitation of the oppressors.

The military intervention was crushed by the heroic sons of the October Revolution. But the imperialists never gave up their attempts to intervene in other ways. Espionage and subversion became their stock-in-trade, for as long as the Soviet Union lived, so long did inspiration and example live for the working class in all lands.

There IS a way, proclaimed the Soviet State. It will not last, shouted the feudal lords and the big business tycoons. It MUST not last, declared the imperialists, and laid out their strategy to destroy the land of socialism.

But all the might of the imperialists and their hangers-on could not destroy the Soviet Union. With Lenin and his colleagues at the head of the government, the Soviet Union lived and grew. The enemies of socialism, of progress, of freedom gnashed their teeth, continued their subversion and dreamed of a day when they could destroy the land, where the working people ruled for the first time in history.

What a vast panorama unfolds before us as we look back today at the 47 years. One remembers World War II. And the pain comes back to the heart... the pain one felt when the Hitler hordes advanced after their treacherous attack in June 1941.

It was pain which was bearable only because one knew that the same pain burnt out the insides of working men in all lands. It was pain which was bearable because there was the confidence that socialism would win in the end, for nothing could destroy what the victorious working class had built with so much of its blood and sweat.



Lenin. A picture by N. Babasyuk, 1960

And then the pain ended and a new feeling burst in our hearts, as the joy raced through us with the turn of the tide and the rout of the Nazi invaders... Once again the Communist Party of the Soviet Union had led the

paralleled achievements in science culminating in the ever fresh conquests of space.

Fortyseven years ago... today we salute the Soviet Union for the role it has played for peace and for the

tries stands out in sharp contrast to the so-called "aid" of the imperialists, with all the blackmail... pressures which accompany it.

Among the countries which have gained most the friendship of the Soviet Union is our own. This gain is several times the sum total of the costs of all the Bhilai, Suratgarhs and MIG plants. It is the friendship of the Soviet Union which is helping India to become economically independent, to continue its policy of nonalignment, to play a role for peace in the world.

Today a new round of anti-Soviet attacks has been launched by the imperialists and reactionaries, taking advantage of the understandable concern and shock at the changes in the leadership of the Soviet Union. The aim of these anti-Soviet attacks is to destroy the image of the Soviet Union which had been built up among the vast masses of democratic people everywhere, particularly during the last decade. The aim of these anti-Soviet attacks is to weaken the bonds of solidarity which unite the Soviet Union and other countries.

The imperialists will not succeed. Whatever the misgivings which may honestly be felt regarding the methods which were used to effect the change in leadership, the world knows that

by ROMESH CHANDRA

Soviet people to the kind of victory which only socialism could achieve...

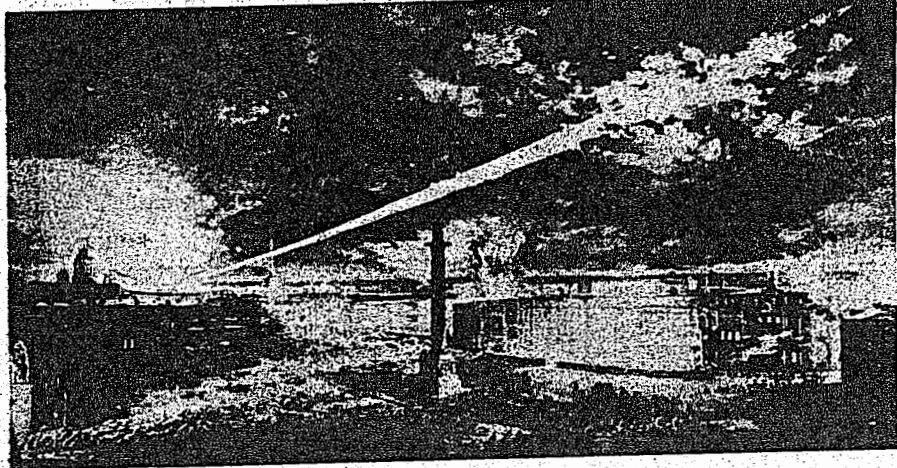
And so on down the years... The battle against the cult of Stalin and the evils which went with it, the new emphasis on socialist democracy, the realising of the initiative of the people as never before, the un-

national independence of peoples. Again and again did the Soviet Union act to bridle the forces of war. Again and again did the Soviet Union prevent the imperialists from striking at the liberation movements.

Suez yesterday, Cyprus, Cuba, Vietnam today. It is the might of the Soviet Union which stands sentinel against the threats and aggressive attacks of the imperialists.

Who in India can ever forget that it was the Soviet Union which prevented the imperialists from carrying their resolution in the Security Council for intervention against India when our forces were liberating Goa.

The newly-independent countries look on the Soviet Union as their true friend... their shield and support against the attacks, military and economic, of the imperialists. The unselfish economic assistance given by the Soviet Union to all the non-aligned, developing coun-



"The storming of the Winter Palace" diorama in the Revolution Museum, Moscow.

Defend The Unity Of The Working Class

The report of the General Secretary, Comrade Sallant, after reviewing the political and economic struggles of the working-class the world over, comes to the conclusion that wherever the working-class in the capitalist and newly liberated countries has conducted struggles, on the basis of unity or united fronts, it has made gains and advanced its own class interests as well as the interests of its country and the people in general.

The report poses the question—whether in the world trade union movement as a whole, and even in separate sections of it, unity has advanced or suffered a retreat. The report holds that on the whole unity of the working class and trade unions has advanced, though not without some casualties. Our experience in India confirms this conclusion of the report.

The major problem before the workers in India, this year in particular, was the problem of rising prices and acute shortage of food supplies.

There was no absolute fall in production of food or other commodities this year compared to previous years, to cause this unprecedented rise in prices. The main reason was the tremendous increase of concentration of economic power in the hands of the monopolies and the banks, which, in the last one or two years, have invaded the sphere of purchase and marketing of grain and other food crops on a nationwide scale. Extremely high profits and concentration of money in the hands of the banks enabled the big trading interests to create a crisis of prices and food which was the severest in the last fifteen years.

The government, which is generally under the influence of the monopolies, failed to curb them and the result was hoarding and high prices. Whole areas were denuded of food supplies. Real wages fell sharply and some areas saw near-famine conditions. We were experiencing the inevitable effects of capitalist development, led by monopoly-landlord groups, in the economy of an under-developed country.

AITUC Takes Initiative

The trade unions of the AITUC immediately took steps to move the working-class to action. It demanded that the state take over the wholesale trade in food-grains and open fair prices shops in all towns and factories, that the banks be nationalised and monopoly hoarders punished, that tenant farmers be given ownership of land and freed from rent obligations, that the big monopolies in some essential goods should be nationalised, especially those controlled by foreign capital, that export-import trade be taken over by the state and that democratic control be introduced in the state sector of production, and so on.

The formulation of demands was made in a national conference of trade unions called by the AITUC. This was followed by mass

actions of various kinds. Thousands of workers and trade union leaders went on hungerstrikes before factory gates and government offices. A peaceful and disciplined violation or disobedience of laws that curtailed democratic liberties was launched. Picketing of banks and stock exchanges and grain markets, done on a nationwide scale, led to arrest of nearly 25,000 workers.

These actions united workers of all trades and trade union affiliation. And all these finally culminated in a total general strike in each state on a given date. These general strikes affected not only factories, but embraced offices, schools and colleges, transport, commercial establishments and all.

These all-embracing general strikes were called "Bandhs". They are quite a new phenomenon in the class struggles in India in this new period.

Could we unite the workers in these struggles? We could. Without unity such an all-in "Bandh" action is impossible.

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Unity In T.U. Movement

To bring about unity between the various sections of the trade union leadership who would not agree to sit at the same table to decide on the date or form of action, we adopted the slogans: "March separately but strike together". So, if the AITUC announced the date of the general strike, as say August 11, the others would call it on August 12. Then we could talk on the phone, make adjustments and a common date would be fixed.

Thus all these general strikes, embracing so far five States out of fourteen took place on July 31, August 5, August 12, August 18 and September 25 according to a plan agreed to by various trade unions centres. They moved into action about 12 million workers and affected an overall population of 120 million.

As a result of these united actions, trade union unity has gathered strength from below and is forcing the leaderships of various trends of thought into united front talks and further united actions. One such conference of united action took place on October 14 to plan further general strikes and resistance to the power of the monopolies and government's policies which hit the people.

The government, the monopolists and the right-wing reactionary parties opposed these actions. But in many cases, even governmental circles had to stay their hand of repression—so great was the force of peoples unity, as was seen in Bombay.

But in some cases these actions were met with repression, firings and imprisonments at the hands of the government, acting in defence of the big capitalists. Did the united actions bring any relief and gains to the workers and the people? They did.

The government and the employers had to give increased wages to meet the rise in the cost of living. In some cases the increase was substantial, in some it did not fully neutralise the rise in prices.

S. A. Dange's Report At The General Council Of The WFTU, Budapest, October 19-24

On a nationwide scale, all workers are now due to get an annual addition to their wages, to the extent of 4 per cent of their total earnings, as a bonus payment. Some will get more. 200,000 textile workers in Bombay, for example, got, last year, eight million dollars as profit sharing bonus. Banks, plantations, mines, engineering, iron and steel, chemicals, oil, all received increases in wages against rising prices. Government employees, teachers and such other trades also joined in these struggles and secured some relief, but it was quite meagre.

Thus, these struggles have not been fruitless battles, but resulted in positive concrete economic gains, giving more strength to further struggles.

They had their political impact also. The government was forced to take action against the big grain dealers, some of whom were even arrested, though soon released. An inquiry commission on monopolies has been appointed. And the pressure for nationalisation of banks has grown from among the ranks of the ruling party also. The introduction of automation in some trades has been deferred.

The AITUC and its leadership has been in the forefront of these struggles and thousands of our cadres and leaders have been in the firing line and have gone to prisons. And we received solidarity messages and help from the WFTU and also other trade union centres.

All this has got to be told to you because certain trade union organisations in the WFTU have been spreading slanders that the leadership of the AITUC, as represented by me particularly, has given up the class struggle and turned capitulationist. You should know that workers in India laugh at these

satisfied their national or chauvinist pride and boosted their morale, they should go and sign the test-ban treaty and draw the curtain over the past.

Such a signature would be their best new year gift to mankind than a tiny paper-tiger.

We in India were the first to march in a protest demonstration to the American Embassy, when the American Fleet carried out provocations against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in the Gulf of Tonkin. We have been in the forefront to condemn the American imperialists' war in South Vietnam. But I am not speaking here to make a record of Indian events.

While unity of the working class, which is the theme of the General Secretary's report, has grown in this period, the threat to unity has also grown. And the saddest part of it is that the threat has

slanders, whether spread from India or from outside. But this growing unity is not liked by some people and we in India too have received our share of splitters and disruptors. As Ceylon is within stone's throw from India, the splitters' philosophy from there has tried to migrate to our country also with their full baggage. But it has so far failed to gather any big strength in the trade union movement of the AITUC. The splitters' philosophy, whether born in our midst or coming from across the fron-

[Following the recent changes in the leadership of the Soviet Union, people in different countries have been asking themselves whether these will lead to any change in Soviet foreign policy. The following article is an answer to this question.]

The Western press has been interpreting the personnel changes in the leadership of the Soviet Union as a forerunner to a new orientation in foreign affairs.

LAST week the leadership and the press in the Soviet Union effectively put down the attempt at misrepresentation and outlined with utmost clarity the aims and urges of the peaceful Soviet foreign policy charted by Lenin, which not merely remain unchanged but find ever wider acceptance.

Tried And Tested Policies

Two major policy statements, apart from editorial comments in the Soviet press, underscored this point. Speaking at the rally in Red Square on October 19 in honour of the new Soviet space heroes, Leonid Brezhnev, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, said: "The Leninist principles of peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems, indefatigable struggle for strengthening of peace, for friendship and cooperation among the nations, and a further easing of international tension constitute the unshakable foundations of the Soviet Union's foreign policy."

"This is the only reasonable policy in present day conditions. It is understood, shared and supported by all upright people

on Earth. If the governments of other states, in their turn, strive for peace, if the sovereign right of each people, big and small, independently to decide their future is observed, the peaceful labour of people and progress will be ensured."

Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Alexei Kosygin, speaking later at the Kremlin reception to the cosmonauts, said: "The Soviet government will multiply its efforts for the settlement of outstanding international issues through negotia-

tion, for promoting mutual understanding and trust among states, for promoting economic and cultural cooperation of the peoples on the basis of complete equality and mutual benefit. As before, we shall conduct the struggle for the complete liquidation of every form of colonialism and neocolonialism,

The stress in both the speeches was on continuity, with renewed vigour, of tried and tested policies of the Soviet Union geared to establishing a world without wars freed from exploitation of a country by another, a world of progress and happiness. The many facets of the Soviet policy include continued attempts at securing unity of anti-imperialist forces of support to national-liberation movements, of help and assistance to newly-free countries to consolidate their freedom and catch up with the rest of the world in development.

Road To Triumph

These aims were echoed again in the calls issued by the Central Committee for the 47th anniversary of the October Socialist Revolution on November 7. High up in the list was the call for unity of people of all continents struggling against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, for peace, democracy, national liberation and socialism.

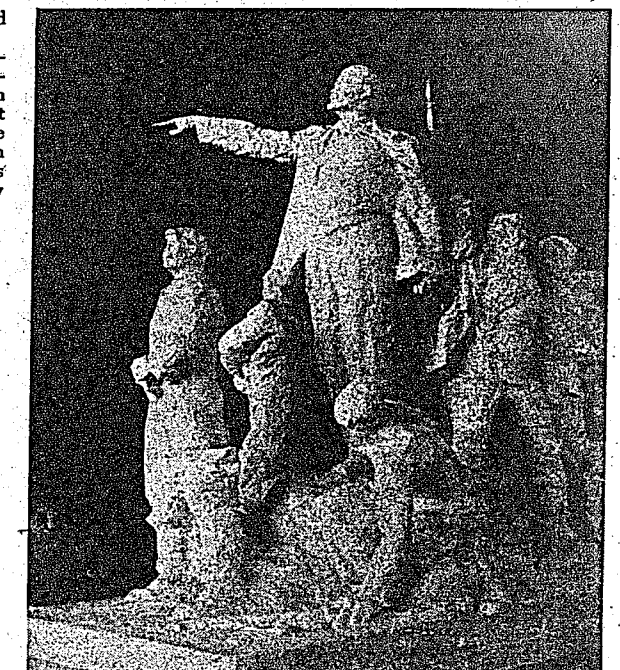
This was followed by calls for fight for final abolition of colonial slavery and all forms of

Soviet Leaders Assure

No Change In Soviet Foreign Policy

By D. SCHWARTZ

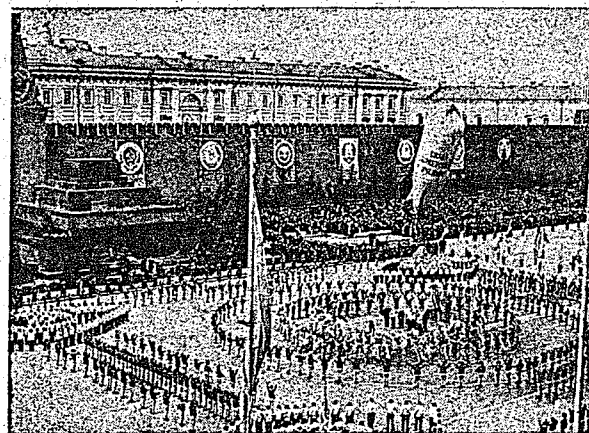
for the liberation of all oppressed peoples. "The Soviet government, as before, with full energy and determination, advocates the conclusion of agreements which would at last permit the ending of the arms race and making a practical start on disarmament to relieve the peoples of the burdens of growing military expenditures."



Moscow. In the section "Construction" at USSR Economic Achievements Exhibition, competitive projects of monument to Lenin is being erected in Moscow are exhibited. Photo: A part of the monument project made by sculptors' collective, headed by A. Kibalnikov and architect Ya Belopolski.

Collective Leadership

It must be mentioned also that one of the reasons for the wrong and willful misrepresentation of Soviet affairs by the Western press is their total failure to appreciate the functioning of collective leadership. No one man is presumed to be responsible for everything. The principles of collective leadership followed by the Soviet Union preclude this. The Party and the government express and carry out the will of people, and the reason are gaining new strength, that the Soviet people are paving a true road to the triumph of universal peace and progress.



Celebration of the Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Moscow. Sports parade in Red Square.

OCTOBER AND PEACE

PRAVDA of October 31 carries an article headlined "October and Peace" in which Academician Yuri Frantsov analyses the Leninist principles of Soviet Union's foreign policy.

IN his speech on peace at the Second Congress of the Soviets on November 8, 1917, Frantsov writes, Lenin had set forth the most important postulates which will remain valid as long as socialist and capitalist states continue to exist in the world.

"Lenin resolutely advocated negotiated settlement of international issues. This indicated the most expedient line in foreign policy for settling urgent international questions. Our Party, the Soviet government, follow this line."

Lenin noted the difference in the attitude of the socialist state to various accepted norms and agreements: "We reject all points on plunder and violence but we shall gladly accept all points which contain good-neighbourly terms and economic agree-

ments. We cannot reject them." These words of Lenin "formulate the most important principle of the foreign policy of a socialist state", Frantsov points out.

Leninist Programme

"The CPSU Programme adopted by the 22nd Congress of the Party also considers the questions of war and peace on the basis of the Leninist teaching," the article says.

Lenin clearly saw the inevitable advent of a period when "socialist and capitalist states will exist side by side," Frantsov writes. Frantsov recalls the idea expressed by Marx in 1867 that "the unity of the working

class of different countries must eventually render wars between nations impossible."

On November 9, 1917, Lenin wrote that the question of peace was the cardinal question of the entire contemporary life. The proletariat on coming to power acts as a representative of all nations, of everything vital and honest in all classes.

"On the basis of the documents of the 1957 and 1960 meetings of representatives of the Marxist-Leninist Parties the working class, hoisting high the banner of peace, unites the broadest sections of the people under this banner," Frantsov writes.

"The countries of socialism, the working class in the capitalist countries, the powerful national liberation movement—all revolutionary forces of contemporary world—are fighting in a united front" against the policy of imperialist aggression and unleashing of war, the article says.

TRIPURA

TRIBES' TALE OF WOE: CPI INQUIRY MISSION

By C. RAJESWARA RAO
Member, Central Secretariat of CPI

For some time past the headquarters of the Communist Party of India had been getting news about the serious political and economic situation that is developing in Tripura owing to the vast influx of refugees from Pakistan and the narrow partisan and disruptive policies pursued by the Congress ministry of the state.

It was reported that poor tribal people were driven out of the lands they have been cultivating since a long time, under the pretext of settling the refugees, police terror was let loose and false cases were foisted on the poor-tribals and Communists to demoralise them, and that local Congress bosses have taken the law into their own hands with the aid of the police. The Tripura state council of the CPI recently submitted a detailed memorandum on the serious situation in the state to the Home Minister, Government of India and the Chief Minister and the Chief Commissioner of Tripura.

The Secretariat of the national Council was alarmed at the reports which we were getting from Tripura and appointed a delegation consisting of Bhupesh Gupta MP, leader of Communist group in Raita Sabha, Renu Chakravarty MP, Deputy Leader of Communist group in Lok Sabha, Prabhat Kar MP, leader of the bank employees and myself to go to Tripura, make an on-the-spot enquiry and submit a memorandum to the Government of India.

I reached Agartala, the capital of Tripura state on October 19 and Renu Chakravarty and Prabhat Kar on October 20, Bhupesh Gupta did not come because of ill health.

The state of Tripura is surrounded by Pakistan on three sides and only on the eastern side it is linked to Cachar district of Assam. It is a small state with an area of 4,116 square miles, with a beautiful landscape. Its peculiarity is that the hills which they call 'Mura' and the innumerable number of hillocks called 'filas' are soft soil hills with no stone, because of which there is luxuriant growth of forests.

Neglected Resources

Because of the non-availability of stone, road building in Tripura is very difficult. Wherever we went, we saw the entire length of roads paved with bricks, the main roads being black-topped. Because of the innumerable hillocks, the people especially tribal people build their houses on them overlooking the green paddy fields down below. The huts are entirely made of bamboo which grows in plenty and the walls are of thick bamboo mats. In spite of their poverty, the people take great care to keep their huts and the surroundings clean. They grow on the hillocks valuable crops like jute, cotton, pineapples, bananas, mustard and til oil seeds in abundance, which are exported to Calcutta.

There is not even one jute or spinning mill and for that matter not even oil mills, because of which they are

industries and agriculture and settling the excess of refugees elsewhere in India where more land and other resources are available—and not only drifting but also trying shortcuts of launching repression on the Communist Party and the masses behind the Communist Party.

forced to sell their goods much cheaper than in the Calcutta market and buy even such daily needs as imported mustard and til oil at much higher prices. The plight of the peasants could be understood from this simple fact that he is forced to sell a good pineapple for five paise. It is a strange thing that the Central Government has not found it necessary to establish any industry, during all these 17 years of independence.

It has kept the state backward, but has no qualms of conscience to put heavy tax burdens on the people. Nature has bestowed plentiful of resources to Tripura. But the Congress government does not allow the people to enjoy what nature has provided them. There is every possibility for establishing jute mill, spinning mills, paper mill, fruit canning industry as well as developing rubber, cashewnut and other plantations. If they are established not only the income of peasants would grow, but employment could be found for some of the population.

Another important problem facing Tripura is the problem of refugees. According to the 1951 Census the population of Tripura was about 6 lakhs of which the tribal population was 3.5 lakhs. The rest were Bengalees, of which Muslims constituted over one lakh.

By 1961 the population had increased to 11.5 lakhs, due mainly to the continuous influx of refugees from Pakistan. Now it has increased to over 13 lakhs due to the recent riots in Pakistan. More are coming every day. Out of the one lakh Muslims 50,000 have left for Pakistan.

Because of this situation the tribal population which was a majority in the state has now been converted into a hopeless minority.

The position of the overwhelming majority of the refugees is also worse, because they were poor peasants in Pakistan and they have come empty-handed. Even then the tribals being still more backward, they are being pushed out of the lands they have been living on since generations through several ways and devices.

Insecurity And Discord

Consequently a feeling of insecurity is developing in the poor tribal population and an ill-feeling is also developing between the tribals and refugees, which is harmful not only to the interests of the state but also to the interests of our country as a whole.

The state and the Central governments instead of solving the problem in a proper way—developing the resources of the state through the development of

cases were launched against the local leaders to harass them and Party members, most of which were quashed by the courts.

This is the background in which our delegation conducted the enquiry into the situation in Tripura state. We went to a good number of places, accompanied by Biren Dutta MP, Nripen Chakravarty MP, Aghore Deb Barma MLA and other leaders of Tripura people and made on-the-spot enquiries in a number of places.

On the basis of the material we had gathered during our tour of five days, we submitted a detailed memorandum, which contains almost all the cases we came across. It will be published as a booklet later. Here I would like to give three typical cases which help the readers to get a clear picture of the situation.

The first is the Palku case of the Amarpur subdivision. Palku is an interior village among mountainous forests about five miles from the road. We started for Palku on the morning of October 21. There were heavy rains on the previous night and it was still pouring heavily. We started on foot and after going some distance found that the two wooden bridges on the two rivulets had been washed away.

We hesitated whether we could reach the village in that heavy rain at all. But the comrades were insistent about our going there and make an on-the-spot study. By their ingenious methods the local comrades made arrangements to cross the rivulets with wood logs and bamboo poles and we crossed them safely and went over the mountain path all the way and returned by 1 P.M. that same day in that torrential rain.

Here is the result of our enquiry: Palku is in the jurisdiction of Ompi police station, Amarpur which was in Maha-

Commissioner and Deputy Minister R. P. Choudhury went there and asked for the purchase documents. They could not show it. The Deputy Minister even asked the tribals to go ahead and ask for "zoomia" rehabilitation grant. The Inspector came and made local enquiries and found that tribals had reclaimed the land and started cultivation of 'aus' paddy.

But a surprising development took place. Rudrapal approached the District Magistrate Dube for permission for transfer of tribal land which he claimed he had bought. The DM knowing fully fell all that had gone before came there on May 10, 1964 and gave Rudrapal the necessary permit.

A dacoity case was instituted against the tribals round about this time that is, on April 26, 1964. Warrants were issued under West Bengal Security Act against seven of the peasants, all Communists and Kisan Sabha workers including Bhulu Kuki, MLA of the area. The last named was given the fantastic charge of organising a parallel government. For months they were kept in jail custody.

Police Moves In

A police camp was set up in the place and with their help Rudrapal took possession of the land and the standing crop, and demolished the tribal huts. Only after occupation of land was complete, and the next crop in the field, Bhulu Kuki MLA and others were released on bail on deposit of Rs. 10,000 security. They have to walk 18 to 20 miles through jungle to attend court at Amarpur. The harassment of these poor tribals was clear as daylight and we got enough proof of it.

The second case is from Sabroom sub-division, about

CPI's Firm Base

Because of this the Communist Party had established a firm base among the people of Tripura, especially the tribal people, who consisted of several tribes—Tripurali (a major tribe), Jamatia, Riang, Halam, Chakma and Mog (a Burmese tribe which had settled in Tripura). The Communist Party had been winning a majority of the votes and seats in spite

GOI MUST CURB POLICE, PROVIDE SECURITY

of the influx of refugees in every general election since 1952.

The Communist Party won the two Lok Sabha seats that are allotted to Tripura and 19 out of the 30 seats of the territorial council. In the 1957 elections it won one Lok Sabha seat and lost the second seat by a narrow margin. It also won 15 out of the 30 seats of the territorial council. Later Central Government has added two more nominated seats to the territorial council to make Congress a majority in it.

In the 1962 elections in spite of the fact that the Congress used the refugees in the camps for bolstering its voting strength, the Communist Party won two Lok Sabha seats, 13 out of 30 elected seats in the Tripura State Assembly and secured 51 per cent of the total votes. This is the one state where the Communist Party secured majority of votes in spite of all odds against it.

Because of this situation the Congress leadership in Tripura has been using every weapon to beat down the Communist Party and reduce its mass strength. The entire leadership, state council members including the two MPs and MLAs of the Party, in all about 65, were arrested at the time of the Chinese attack, under the name of emergency, and kept in Ranchi jail of Bihar for about 20 months, until the Supreme Court released them on a Habeas Corpus petition. Many criminal

On April 4, 1964, the Tribal Commissioner, the Development

which also I quote from the memorandum:

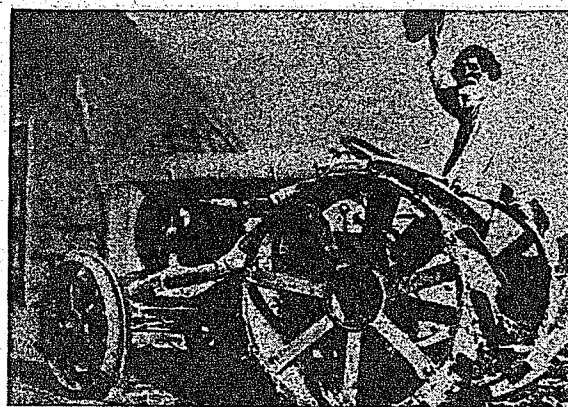
In Sabroom subdivision we came across another type of case in which the poor and backward tribals have been forcibly thrown out of their Jute land (over which they had full ownership rights) by the refugees. When the tribals reported to the local authorities, in some cases they took action and restored the land to the tribals. But after the officials left, again the refugees forcibly took possession of the lands throwing out the tribal owners.

The case of one Rumati Tripura of Kalappania (Manu Tashil) is a glaring instance. She has five karies of land and a house (Jote no 19) surrounded by a refugee colony. Finding that she is alone, Aswani Bhowmick with the help of other refugees forcibly occupied that land. This was reported to the Chief Commissioner and the District Magistrate. Then the Circle Officer came along with the Tribal Inspector and he removed the fencing erected by the encroacher and gave possession of the land to Rumati Tripura. After a few days again the encroacher forcibly occupied the land.

The third thing is that of false cases being foisted on Communist workers with the intention of harassing them.

We got evidence of how false cases are instituted by Congressmen on the plea that

*ON PAGE 17



Still from Film, "Russian Miracle"
A tractor has arrived in the village. First years of Soviet power.



The main "Volga" car assembly line at work.

Economic Competition of USSR with Principal Capitalist Countries

The output of goods in the socialist countries continues to grow more rapidly than in the capitalist ones. The total industrial output of the countries of the socialist camp increased by 9 per cent in 1963 as compared with 1962, and the countries of the capitalist world by 5 per cent.

USA 107 to 131, Great Britain 111 to 127, France 126 to 157, Federal Republic of Germany 141 to 183 and Italy 129 to 181.

Agricultural Output

In terms of agricultural output, if a comparison is drawn between USSR and USA, the following facts indicate the real position. The average annual output of agricultural products in the two countries during 1958 to 1962 were: Grains (in million tons): USSR—137.5; USA—180.3; Meat (in million tons): USSR—8.7; USA—17.6; Milk (in million tons): USSR—61.7; USA—56.2; Sugar (in million tons): USSR—5.7; USA—3.5; Butter (in thousand tons): USSR—861; USA—675.

Compared to USA in terms of output of major items of industrial production, the average annual rate of growth during the period 1954 to 1963, has always been higher in USSR. The following table shows the position:

Federal Republic of Germany and 8.8 for Italy.

Absolute Figures

In absolute figures, the indices (1953=100) moved up from 113 in 1954 to 271 in 1963 in USSR, from 94 to 137 in USA, 107 to 135 in Great Britain, 109 to 182 in France, 111 to 205 in Federal Republic of Germany and from 109 to 233 in Italy.

THE Soviet Union is successfully conducting economic competition with the principal capitalist countries which are developing at a much slower rate. In the past ten years the United States was increasing its production three times, slower than the Soviet Union.

And what is especially important for appraising the perspectives of the competition is that capital investments in the USA are also growing several times slower than in the USSR. That means that in the Soviet Union a wider base is being created for a further production growth.

The much higher rate of growth in production has made it possible for the Soviet Union in the past ten years to substantially reduce the gap between its own level of economic development and that of the United States. In 1953 the industrial output in the USSR was 33 per cent as compared with the USA, and in 1963 roughly 65 per cent.

Statistical Indices

The statistical indices characterising the competition of the USSR with the principal capitalist countries as a whole, and by separate major items of industrial production are as follows:

The index of the growth of industrial production (1953=100) for the socialist countries was 124 in 1955 and it shot up to 280 in 1963. During the same period, for the developed capitalist countries the index moved from only 110 to 159.

Countrywise, the indices for industrial production are far more revealing. The average annual rate of growth during the period 1954 to 1963 was 10.5 per cent for USSR, 3.2 for USA, 3.1 for Great Britain, 6.2 for France, 7.4 for

	Average annual rate of growth 1954-1963	
	USSR	USA
Electric power (sent out)	11.8	6.9
Pig Iron	7.9	-0.3
Steel	7.7	-0.3
Coal (in terms of bituminous)	5.4	-0.3
Iron ore	8.7	-3.9
Oil	14.6	1.6
Natural gas	27.6	5.3
Sulphuric acid (in terms of monohydrate)	9.0	3.7
Chemical fibres	17.4	5.6
Metal-cutting tools	7.1	-4.8
Diesel and electric locomotives	24.2	-7.1
Tractors (in terms of 15 h.p. units)	10.7	-1.5
Harvester combines	6.75	-12.0
Sawn goods (including sleepers)	4.4	-0.3
Cement	14.4	2.7
Cotton fabrics (unbleached)	3.0	-0.8
Woollen fabrics	5.9	-1.4
Leather footwear	6.9	1.5
Granulated sugar (home production)	4.9	4.0
Fish catch	7.9	1.9

per cent, Federal Republic of Germany 6.2 per cent, Italy 6.1 per cent.

The indices during 1958 to 1963 (1953=100) advanced in the case of USSR from 168 to 230,

A comparison of the output of major items of industrial production in USSR and the principal capitalist countries in 1963 is of great significance. The following table indicates the position:

PHYSICAL PRODUCTION

	Unit	USSR	USA	Great Britain	FRG	France	Italy	Japan
Electric power (sent out)	thousand million kwh	388	1010	170	148	88.2	68.6	133.7
Pig Iron	million tons	58.7	67.0	14.8	22.9	14.5	3.7	19.9
Steel	"	80.2	101	22.9	31.6	17.6	10.1	31.5
Coal (in terms of bituminous)	"	466	428	199	142	47.8	0.6	52.0
Oil	"	206	674	0.1	7.4	2.5	1.8	0.9
Natural gas	thousand million cubic m.	91.5	407	—	0.9	7.5	7.3	1.2
Sulphuric acid (in terms of monohydrate)	million tons	6.9	18.5	2.9	2.7	2.3	4.3	5.0
Chemical fibres	thousand tons	308	1133	431.5	373.2	228.4	279.1	701.6
Metal-cutting tools	in thousands	183	145	—	—	—	—	120
Diesel and electric locomotives	"	2162	1228	806	1083	913	—	237
Tractors	in thousands	325	633	242	286	98.3	—	—
Harvester combines	"	82.9	24.8	4.7	28.31	3.2	—	—
Sawn goods	million cubic m.	110	84	0.91	7.4	7.91	—	48
Cement	million tons	61.0	58.5	13.8	29.3	17.9	22.1	29.9
Cotton fabrics	million lineal metres	6617	8135	892	1306	1742	987	3195
Woollen fabrics	million cubic m.	471	402.5	301.4	147	193.9	214.9	360.3
Leather footwear	million pairs	463	615	190.4	97	108.7	0.9	0.2
Granulated sugar (home production)	million tons	5.5	4.5	0.8	2.0	2.0	—	—
Fish catch	thousand tons	4700	2900	900	170.6	371.5	238	6864

Tempestuous Growth Of Soviet Industry

When drawing a mental picture of the path traversed by the Soviet land in the last 47 years, one involuntarily recalls stills from the famous documentary, "The Russian Miracle", which was recently shown in the cinema-houses of many countries.

A WRETCHED emaciated horse wearily pulls a wooden plough. An old peasant wearily follows the horse across the field. Another still—people in white smocks tensely follow the TV screen. The count-down order comes over the radio: three, two, one—go! A split second of expectation and then a gigantic silvery rocket, emitting clouds of fire and smoke, slowly, as if unwillingly, takes off from earth and, gathering speed, heads for space with the first man on board.

Only several dozen metres of film separate these stills. However, in actual life they are divided by a whole epoch. The first still was taken in pre-revolutionary Russia and aptly illustrated the country's extreme backwardness.

Tsarist Russia, possessing vast natural wealth, was indeed a poor and backward country. Heavy industry in Russia in 1913 (the high point of tsarist Russia's development) produced less goods than tiny Belgium did. Russia's factories and plants had one-fourth of the machines and tools of Britain's enterprises, one-fifth of those of Germany and one-tenth of America.

Forty years after the October 1917 Revolution, this same country was the first to launch an artificial earth satellite into outer space, and four years later was also the first to launch a manned space flight.

Such a development looks indeed like a miracle. However, it was accomplished not by kind wizards and miracle-makers but by ordinary people, the sons and grandsons of that peasant who tilled the land with a wooden plough.

Mighty Industrial Power

The USSR today is a mighty industrial power occupying the second place in the world and the

first in Europe in regard to the volume of production. To realise more graphically how far Soviet industry has left behind the level of old tsarist Russia, it is sufficient to compare two figures: today the Soviet country manufactures every fortnight more than double the amount of industrial goods produced by all the factories and plants of Russia in the record year of 1913 (it should be taken into account that the young Soviet state started its economic development under conditions of unprecedented dislocation. In 1920, the volume of industrial production was only 1 per cent of the 1913 figure.)

During the past 47 years, the average annual rate of the Soviet Union's economic development has been approximately three times that of the USA. (And here as well one should take into account the fact that during the past 50 years Russia's territory was on three occasions—during the two world wars and the civil war—subjected to colossal destruction, while the USA had never suffered such a devastation.)

Whereas in 1913 the industrial output of the Russian empire amounted to only 12.5 per cent of that of the USA, in 1953 it had increased to 33 per cent and last



year to approximately 65 per cent of the US industrial output.

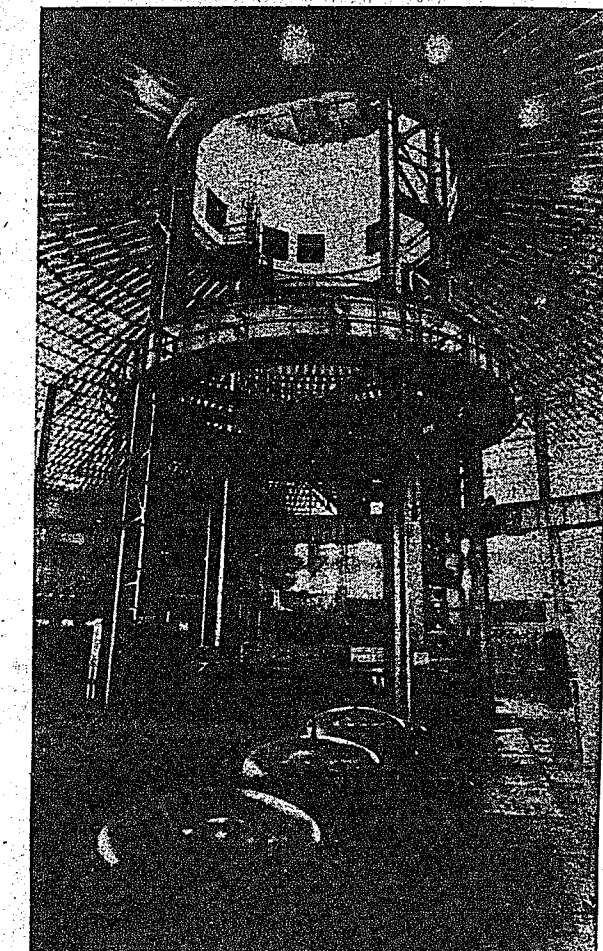
The United States has already today ceded world leadership to the Soviet Union in the production of a number of major industrial items including metal-cutting lathes, trunk line, diesel and electric locomotives, tractors, cement, prefabricated reinforced concrete,

iron ore, coal, etc. And this list is growing with every passing year. If all the projects under construction in the USSR are marked on a map we would have a fascinating picture with 10,000 new factories and mines, blast furnaces and oil derricks, chemical mills and gas pipelines, electric stations and new cities and towns. Some of these new construction sites are far up in the North, in the tundra. Others are in the desolate taiga. While still others have appeared in the Kazakh steppes and the Central Asian deserts.

Largest Power Station

Among these 100,000 construction projects are quite a number which have no equal in the world. This year the Bratsk hydropower station on the Angara in Siberia, at present the largest electric station in the world, reached its rated capacity of 3,600,000 kv. Tomorrow this station will be surpassed by a still more powerful electric giant, the Krasnoyarsk hydropower station, on the Yenisei, another great Siberian river. This station will have a capacity of five million kv.

However, this as well will be a record for only a short time. On the same Yenisei River construction work on the Sayan-Shushenskaya hydropower station is already in progress. Its capacity will exceed six million kv. In all, the Angara-Yenisei cascade (the Angara is a tributary of the Yenisei) will include nine such gigantic



Proton synchrotron at Dubna.

tion of chemical enterprises exceeded the total sum for all preceding years.

"Queens" of Soviet Economy

Chemistry can justifiably be called today the "queen" of Soviet economy. The pattern of the country's raw material balance is changing qualitatively with its development. Chemistry provides an opportunity for economising on metal, supplying diverse industrial branches with new types of expensive, high-quality raw materials and other materials.

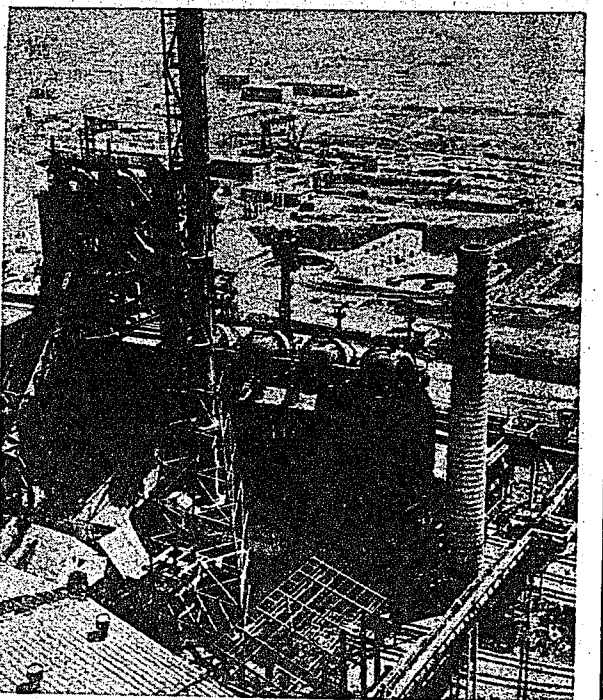
The rate of development of the chemical industry can be seen from the following data: in 1962 the volume of chemical products manufactured in the USSR ac-

counted for only 30 per cent of the US level; in 1970 Soviet chemistry will approximate to the present level of American production while for a number of goods this will be exceeded.

Such a rapid rate of the development of chemistry will be ensured by enormous capital investments reaching the colossal sum of more than 42,000 million roubles in seven years. Machine-building, this backbone of technical progress, continues to grow tempestuously. Soviet machine-building enterprises today manufacture everything—from the largest airliners and gigantic walking excavators to the most intricate computer machines and electronic microscopes.

W. Sisler, the President of the Detroit Edison Co., who headed

*ON FACING PAGE



The giant blast furnace of the West-Siberian metallurgical plant where steel was first received on July 27, 1964.



With the 47th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution approaching, the Soviet people are working more zealously than ever. Reports coming in from all parts of the country indicate outstanding production successes.

THE important question of the elaboration of a long-term plan for the development of the Soviet Union's national economy was debated recently in the Moscow Kremlin. The Presidium of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers, the leaders of the Party and government organs of the Union republics, the AUCCTU, the planning and economic personnel discussed the direction of the further development of the Soviet economy.

been transferred in the past few years to new terms of payment. As a result of this average wages in these branches of the national economy have increased 13-25 per cent.

Raising Welfare Of The People

To these 50 million should be added another 18 million service personnel whose salaries, by the



"Ships of the Steppes"

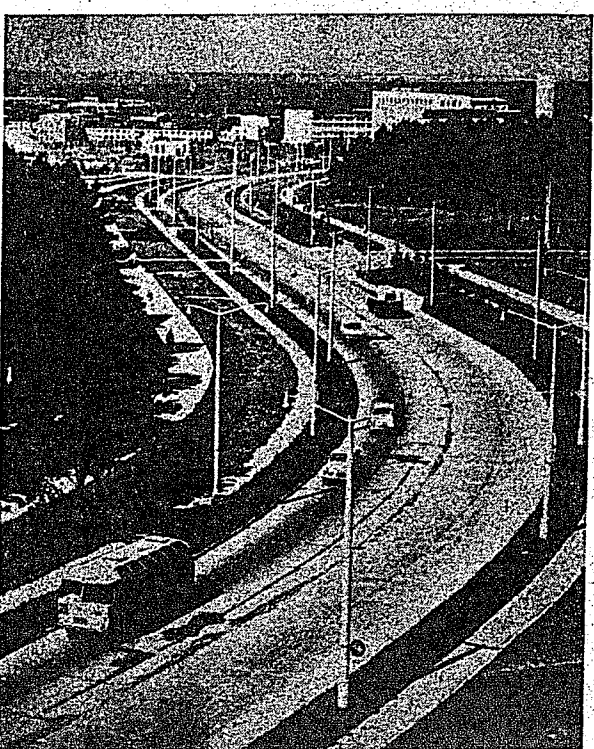
The Soviet people have become convinced from numerous examples and from their own experience that the activity of the Communist Party is devoted to the lofty goal: "Everything for the sake of man, for the benefit of man."

The following figures prove this. Over 50 million people engaged in industry, construction, transport and state farm enterprises of the USSR have

law adopted recently by the Soviet Parliament, being raised by 21 per cent.

The higher wages are a vivid but not the only indicator of the rising welfare of the people. As is known the social funds, which in the last decade went up from 14,800 million roubles to 34,500 million, serve to satisfy the requirements of the working people. Out of these funds 357 roubles were spent last year per worker.

Science Town in Siberia near Ob Sea



NOVEMBER 8, 1964

EVERYTHING FOR THE PEOPLE

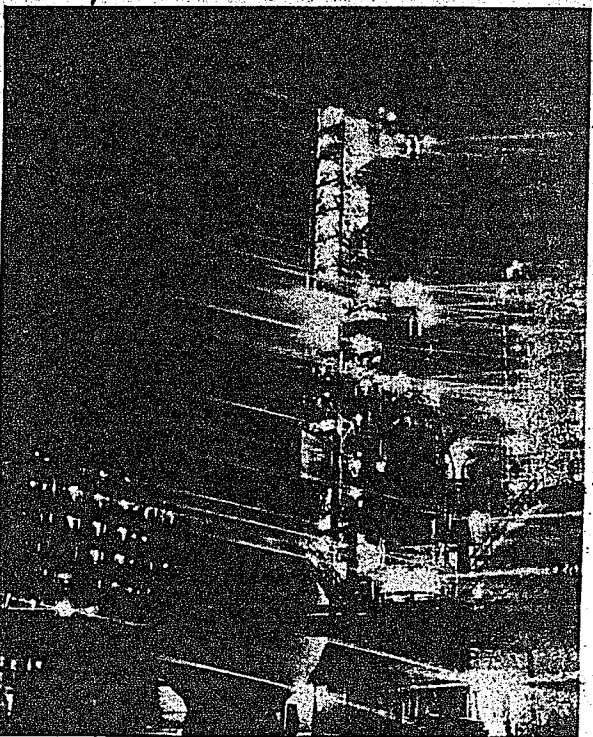
These funds enable the country to provide its people with free education and public health, to pay out pensions to 26 million people, give grants and free hostel accommodations to about 5.5 million students. Every year over 12 million people spend their holidays and receive treatment in sanatoria, holiday homes and pioneer camps at state expense.

These and many other facts corroborate the fact that the Communist Party and government consider it their sacred duty to fulfil Lenin's great behest: to develop in every way the socialist economy and on its basis to improve the living and cultural standards of the working people.

The principles of the Leninist policy determine the basic trends of the future long-term plan. Whereas in the period of the first Five-Year Plans and in the post-war years the main emphasis was laid on the development of the heavy industry as the basis of the country's economic progress and the strengthening of her defence potential, today, when the Soviet people have a powerful industry and the country's defence is on an adequate level, the CPSU raises the task of a more accelerated development of the branches producing consumer goods.

And indeed, this task meets the vital interests of the working people of the Soviet Union, and the news about the decision was met everywhere with great approval.

The further raising of the people's living standards is inseparably linked with the accelerated rates of growth of farm output. A consi-



The Synthetic Rubber Plant at Stavropol

derable increase in the output of consumer goods is inconceivable without boosting production capacities of the chemical, light and food industries and an ever greater enhancement of the role of heavy industry enterprises in the production of consumer goods.

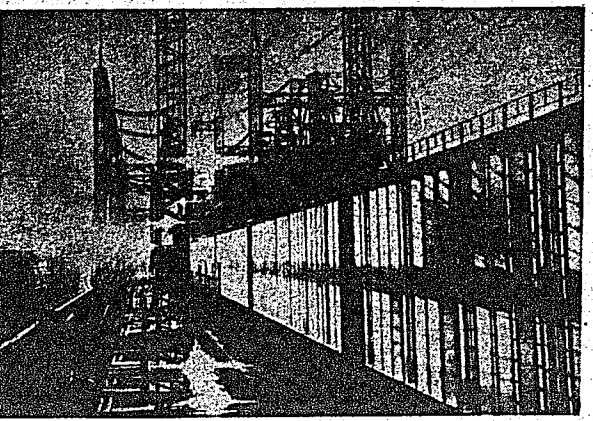
47 YEARS OF INDUSTRIAL GROWTH

*FROM FACING PAGE



Top: In one of the shops of the artificial fibre factory in Kiev.

Below: The hydro-electric power station on the Volga which was named after the 22nd CPSU Congress. Photo shows the "crystal palace"—the engine room of the hydro-electric power station, almost one kilometer long.



NEW AGE

a delegation of American power specialists, which recently visited the USSR, said after making the rounds of the Novosibirsk Turbine Generator Works: "I have seen many plants but this is the best I have ever seen." Novosibirsk turbine-builders indeed have what they can be proud of: 230,000 kw. turbines are already something of the past as far as they are concerned; today they are designing unique 500,000 and 800,000 kw. turbine generators. Three such turbines will generate more electricity than what all Russia's electric power stations had put out in 1913! However, even this is not the limit. Turbines with a one million kw. capacity are already being designed in the USSR.

Great qualitative changes are also taking place today in the Soviet iron and steel industry. Fully mechanised super blast furnaces are being created; 100-300 ton converters are making their appearance in the steel industry; designs of fully automated metallurgical enterprises are being elaborated with a continuous production cycle—from pig iron to rolled stock. All this will provide the opportunity for increasing steel production in the country to 145 million tons in 1970.

In recent years, the Soviet Union has paid ever greater attention to the overall automation of production processes. Quite a number of automatic shops and even automatic plants are already in operation.

The plan for the technical transformations in the Soviet economy includes the task of completing, by 1970, the overall mechanisation of all production processes. This will make it possible to have the most complex machines, capable of coping with the most difficult and arduous jobs, and freeing man for creative work.

PAGE SEVEN



New Stage in Conquest of Space

Less than ten years have passed since the Soviet Union launched the first artificial earth satellite in the world, ushering in the space era. It was October 4, 1957.

EXPLORATION of outer space rests on the development of many branches of science and technology, on our country's advanced industry, particularly in solving such important problems of cosmonautics like flights of long-range multi-seater spacecrafts.

Since 1960, Soviet scientists and designers have begun planned preparations for

Alongside the thorough elaboration of the purely design elements of the craft, a wide range of scientific problems were solved, the most important of which were medico-biological investigations and study of the radiational situation at the altitudes of flight of future space vehicles.

All Vostok spacecrafts flew at orbits which ensured the safe

development of a multi-seater craft.

On October 12, 1964, a new powerful carrier rocket placed into a terrestrial orbit the multi-seater Voskhod spacecraft piloted by the craft's commander, Colonel of the Engineers, Vladimir Mikhailovich Komarov. The other members of the crew were scientist-cosmonaut Konstantin Petrovich Feoktistov, Master of Technical Sciences, and physician-cosmonaut Boris Borisovich Yegorov.

The Voskhod spacecraft es-

that astronomy will undergo a real revolution when astronomers on board spacecrafts train their telescopes on the boundless expanses of the universe. A real study of the planets of the solar system is

Cosmonaut-physician Yegorov obtained important data on the conditions and different reactions of crew members and how they felt during the flight. He conducted a number of experiments in co-

By
ACADEMICIAN M. V. KELDYSH
President of the USSR Academy of Sciences

practically impossible without the participation of cosmonaut scientists.

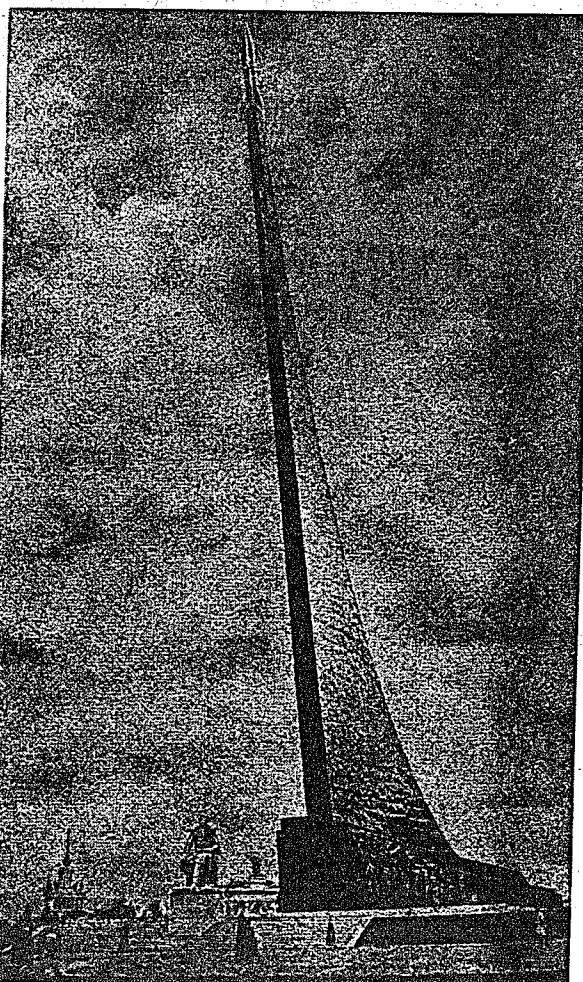
The first flight of the multi-seater Voskhod was planned for 24 hours. The total operating resources of the craft's equipment, however, are much greater.

General guidance of the craft was entrusted to the crew commander pilot-cosmonaut Komarov who discharged his mission with credit. The observations of Feoktistov are very interesting, especially the optics of the upper layers of the atmosphere and aurora Solaris.

ordinating movements in conditions of weightlessness, took tests of the blood of the cosmonauts and carried out other investigations which are an invaluable contribution to the further development of space medicine.

Their splendid flight is another stage in the exploration of outer space, achieved by our people, by our science and technology. This is another demonstration of the rapid progress of our country which is dedicating all its energies to peace, for the good of all mankind.

Moscow Monument opened on October 4 to mark Soviet achievement in Space



man's flight into outer space. The most difficult tasks were: development of a spacecraft, ensuring the safety of flight and return of the ship to the Earth. All this required the accomplishment of a vast number of scientific and technical tasks.

Soviet scientists and engineers had to pioneer in solving problems such as the hermeticity of the craft in conditions of the space vacuum, ensuring the radiational protection of the craft, its control, development of two-way space communication and television, creation of an orientation reference system protection of the craft against excessive heat during descent to Earth.

Of the numerous landing schemes ballistic descent was recognised to be the most optimal. It was necessary thoroughly to elaborate and test in real conditions all stages of the retro-rocket in space conditions, testing the operation of the commanding devices for firing the retro-rocket exactly at the set time and ending with checking the chosen shape of the craft, its protection against excessive heat when entering the dense layers of the atmosphere.

return of the craft to Earth owing to aerodynamic drag. Hence it was exceedingly important to know the density of the Earth's atmosphere at altitudes of 200-400 km so as to calculate in advance when the ship should return to Earth if the retro-rocket fails to function. Naturally, all life-supporting system of the ship were designed with an eye to this factor.

It is important to note that all cosmonauts in earlier flights had the opportunity on returning to Earth to land in the ship itself or to be ejected from the ship and land by parachute.

On April 12, 1961, the Soviet Union sent into orbit the Vostok spacecraft, manned by the first pilot-cosmonaut in the world Yuri Alexeyevich Gagarin.

The 24-hour flight by pilot-cosmonaut G.S. Titov was a continuation of Gagarin's exploit.

P.R. Popovich and A.G. Nikolayev and then V.F. Bykovsky and V.V. Tereshkova made on the Vostok spacecrafts the first group flights in the world.

To solve new problems of cosmonautics scientists and engineers had to tackle the

essentially differs from the Vostok series. For the first time the cosmonauts flew without space suits and without an ejection system. For this it was necessary first of all to ensure the ship's hermeticity, for the slightest break of hermeticity would have resulted in the death of the crew.

The landing of the ship required reliable operation of all systems at the moment of landing. The possibility of landing the craft on water was also provided for, and all the necessary measures for making it unsinkable and stable on water were taken.

To ensure the safety of the craft's descent a second stand-by retro-rocket was installed.

The first collective flight of cosmonauts in the Voskhod spacecraft opens up a new page in the history of cosmonautics. This flight is of exceeding great importance. For the first time a scientist and physician were able personally to conduct observations and make scientific measurements directly on board a spacecraft. This will be particularly important during distant space flights, say, to the moon and the planets. It may be confidently said

S. Mohan Kumaramangalam

Perhaps the most illuminating part of the draft programme of the lefts revealing the essential identity of approach and views of the drafters of the document with the Chinese Communists is the definitive assertion:

"The party while pledging to fight the menace of modern revisionism which has presently engulfed the world Communist movement and has become the main danger simultaneously warns against dogmatic errors". (para 130)

Of course, this has been made more clear in the document entitled 'Contribution to Ideological Debate' where, despite a seeming pose in words of independent thinking, of a refusal to follow either the Chinese Communist Party or the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, on all the main questions of controversy the document underwrites the Chinese positions.

The lefts in their draft programme adopt the Moscow statement of 1957 and the

(modern revisionists?) hall the 20th Congress of CPSU just because it did take such bold action and broke the shackles of dogmatism and subjectivism that bound down our movement more and more in the period of Stalin's leadership; we hail it because it opened up the struggle for the restoration of the principles of Lenin inside the Soviet Communist Party and throughout the world movement.

Of course, when the lefts criticised the CPSU for its "unilateral decisions on questions of fundamental importance", seemingly they appear to have a point. For clearly it would have been much better if the very decision arrived at by the 20th Congress and in particular the decisions regarding the Sta-

lished agenda of the 20th Congress it would appear that no item covering this matter was there before the Congress.

But ultimately there came Khrushchov's secret report. Undoubtedly it was a "unilateral" report, a report delivered on behalf of the leadership of the CPSU but without international consultation.

And equally undoubtedly the report must have come as the result of demand from rank and file of the Congress, particularly because references to the cult of personality were made by leading comrades like Mikoyan during the debate on the report of the Central Committee.

RANKS' INSISTANCE

These references must have provoked the rank and file delegates to ask for a more considered and authoritative report on the

this report along with the new formulations made by the 20th Congress on crucial issues—the nature of the epoch, the possibility of preventing a third world war; possibility of peaceful transition to socialism; tion in the world movement; in contrast the leftists and the Chinese comrades look upon it as the beginning of an abandonment of Lenin's principles that were correctly applied during the period of Stalin's leadership.

FORUM

marked a new and decisive turn in the application of the great weapon of Marxism-Leninism to the analysis and interpretation of contemporary world problems.

Therefore it is that the attitude of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to a very large extent determines one's attitude to the present controversy in the world movement. He who fails to recognise that the 20th Congress with all its weaknesses and defects made a historic contribution both because firstly it laid bare the cult of the individual and unleashed a struggle against it and also because it produced the prin-

I consider that every important question in controversy in the world movement today can be related to this great divide in the history of our world movement, the 20th Congress of the CPSU. Hence it is that this most crucial issue cannot be concluded by being taken to the plane of bilateral debate on abstract formulations like the inevitability of war or the character of imperialism.

SEARCH INTO PAST

On the contrary, we have to search even more deeply into the past of our movement, both internationally and na-

'MODERN REVISIONISM' —AS THE 'LEFTS' SEE IT

declaration of the 81 Parties as their guiding star. But, at the same time, in their ideological document they take as their starting point the charge that "the leadership of the CPSU at the 20th Congress unilaterally came to certain decisions and faced the world".

According to the lefts, questions that were subject matter of discussion while Stalin was alive, and in respect of which certain definitive conclusions were arrived at, after collective international discussion, were re-opened unilaterally by the leaders of the CPSU without consultation with the rest of the international movement.

STARTING POINT

And it is from this starting point which, it may be observed, is also the starting point of the Chinese comrades that is developed a general attack on the line of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the line of the majority of the world Communist movement.

This, I consider to be the crux of the differences.

For the lefts, the attack on the past mistakes, the bold and relentless attack, is the source of all the present mistakes, the errors of CPSU and the majority of the world Communist movement, the real soil on which the tree of modern revisionism has grown.

But persons like myself

lin's cult of individual, had been taken after full and complete discussion in a world assembly of Communist Parties.

But that is only seemingly. For it is my opinion that in reality, both the situation in the world movement and in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union itself did not permit calm and effective discussion before arrival at proper decisions. Remember that along with the heritage that Stalin left us to the cult of individual was also the cult of the infallibility of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

This necessarily meant that nobody including the Soviet Communists considered that a democratic procedure should be followed in discussing these matters of vital importance but that the CPSU had every right to come to its own conclusions without prior discussions with other Communist Parties.

OBJECTIVE SITUATION

Let us also remember the objective situation at the time of the holding of the 20th Congress; Stalin, though he had passed away three years earlier in 1953, still dominated our world movement, commanding the respect and adulation of the entire Communist world as he had done for three decades; outside the Soviet Union, very little idea existed of the serious mistakes and crimes committed in the period of Stalin's leadership, particularly the latter period. And from the originally pub-

question of the cult of Stalin's individual; hence came the "secret" report.

I do not think it can be disputed that the report came as a result of demand from the Congress, a demand so insistent that the leadership could not avoid it. We must remember that the closest associates of Stalin like Molotov who were later to attempt a comeback along with a reversal to Stalin's policies, still occupied important positions in the leadership at the time of the 20th Congress.

And though by this time it would appear that the main leadership of the CPSU including Molotov, Kagonovich and Malenkov all recognised that mistakes had been committed in the period of Stalin's leadership, yet this leadership had not decided to put the matter frankly before the Congress till it was compelled to do so by pressure from the Congress itself.

Such was the background of the report. And inevitably therefore the report suffered from subjective weaknesses. From an over-emphasis on the personal drawbacks of Stalin, from the absence of a calm and cool and therefore fully correct appraisal of the whole period in which serious mistakes and crimes had been committed which needed proper analysis and interpretation.

CHANGES DECISIVE

But after conceding all this, no one can underestimate the decisive changes initiated by this report. It has to be recognised that

principal formulations on contemporary events which are the basis of the 1957 and 1960 declarations, can easily condemn the majority of the world movement as modern "revisionists."

For it is just this that demarcates us from them, namely we look upon the 20th Congress as the starting-point of a great and historic struggle to restore Lenin's principles of analysis and organisa-

tionally and struggle to arrive at a correct, sober and objective analysis of what has been positive and what has been negative in that past, so rich with human endeavour and sacrifice. This alone will enable us more clearly to appreciate the character of the present stage in world and national development and so assist us to chart out the tasks that must be fulfilled if we are to win the battle for communism.

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FOR BOLDER INDEPENDENT INITIATIVE

The ideological controversy within the international Communist movement has passed through various phases. In the phase immediately prior to the one in which we now are, it was essential that the leadership of the Communist Party of China be brought to account for violating the cardinal guideposts of the Moscow 1957 and 1960 documents. It was essential to expose its claim to be the real upholders of this line.

THIS task the CPI performed with credit and its best expression is to be found in the draft on ideological problems adopted by the National Council in June 1964. It makes a searching critique of Chinese dogmatism and conclusively establishes that it is completely at variance from the new line, generally accepted by the international Communist movement. One has yet to see, judging from documents available in English, a better scholarly polemic and refutation of the Chinese line. It is a matter on which the CPI has ample reason to congratulate itself.

As a matter of fact, the CPI has been in the forefront of the ideological struggle against Chinese dogmatism and has pioneered in many respects. The recognition of nationalist motivations of the Chinese leadership, the demonstration of its reckless adventurism, the turn to Trotskyite positions and, hence, the need for a new international conference—on all these issues the CPI quite early took a definite stand, prior to the official positions of many other CPs including the CPSU.

Those who sincerely feel that the CPI should be more independent might care to remember these facts. We leave out of account those who seem to have made it their whole-time profession to slander the CPI and who only agree that the CPI is independent when it has become anti-Soviet.

Basic Failing

The basic failing of the draft on ideological problems is, however, that it has not gone further, that it has not advanced into the new phase of the ideological controversy within our world movement. Even in the earlier phase only to take a negative stand of exposing the CPC leadership was not enough, now it is totally inadequate and even conservative. In the new phase what is needed, above all, is the creative elaboration of the Marxist method and doctrine, the bold facing of new problems and outlining of fresh perspectives.

Undoubtedly, this will re-

quire strenuous intellectual work, serious discussion and time. Yet some of the points advanced below could be incorporated in the body of the draft report—which could do with some drastic pruning, especially with regard to the enormously lengthy quotations—while some could be set forth in a separate chapter as tentative hypotheses requiring further thought, but indicative of some of the lines along which future research should proceed.

First, some analysis has to be made of the conditions prevailing in the socialist camp. Apart from the fact that in the new epoch the socialist camp is becoming the decisive factor shaping the trends of world developments, there is the additional reason that the objective reality in the socialist countries is extremely varied and complex. The old approach of confining ourselves to popularisation and justification of all that goes on in those countries is thoroughly out of date and unconvincing even to ourselves. It only feeds the cynicism and sense of surprise when some unexpected event occurs.

Note has to be taken of the objective basis for differences within the socialist camp as a result of historical background, geographical location, different levels of development, forms of political power and international status. The discussion and experimentation now going on with

regard to basic questions of economic policy—while the Soviet Union still discusses the Lieberman proposals, the GDR seems to have boldly adopted them—has to be extensively popularised and deeply studied.

Inevitably, we have soberly to face the possibility of some serious controversies and even temporary conflict of interests among the socialist states, despite their basic unity and coincidence of long-range aims. This has become quite urgent with the emergence of the special position of Rumania.

Periodical Delegations

We have to send periodical delegations to the socialist countries to study the situation and engage in bilateral talks with the leaderships of the different ruling parties, including the CPSU. The method of individuals going and engaging in desultory talks will not lead us far. Frank report-backs to the Party and, where possible to the general public has to become a regular feature of our ideological work.

It is quite clear now that one of the basic problems still to be fully solved in a large number of socialist countries is that of political democracy. Functional democracy seems to have been established as also the economic basis of socialist political democracy but not yet the completed superstructure. The CPI needs to follow up the thesis advanced in this regard by Ajoy Ghosh when he wrote that democracy does not automatically come about through a socialist revolution and when he mentioned the need for institutional guarantees for democracy in socialist countries.

Study On Cult Of Personality

Without such analysis and study it will neither be possible to understand the whole historical period of what is inaccurately called the time of the "personality cult" nor why the Chinese comrades have gone so grievously astray. The concept of "substitution" of the Party replacing the class or the alliance of classes—has to be appreciated and decisively repudiated.

Second, the CPI has to make its stand regarding Yugoslavia unequivocal. We have to categorically state that we look upon it as a socialist state and its League of Communists as one of our fraternal Marxist-Leninist Parties. All the available evidence points to such a conclusion. As for the points of difference we require more study and bilateral talks. Much of what was dubbed "revisionist" in the Yugoslav programme has been found to be worthy either of acceptance or, at least, discussion by a great majority of CPs.

In addition, there are grounds for believing that the Yugoslav leadership is itself changing its position on some points, e.g., the

degree of regulation required in a planned economy; the leading role of the Communists and the stress on ideological work; the close integration with the world socialist camp and the international Communist movement. The hesitation to take the initiative in re-establishing full fraternal links with the Yugoslav comrades is quite inexplicable, except for mistaken notion regarding "international discipline".

Newly-Liberated Countries

Third, the CPI has to make up a big lag in attempting to understand the developments in the newly-independent

of the law of uneven development and the changes that have taken place in the balance of power within the combine of imperialist powers.

Similarly, we have to see what we can learn from the struggle, especially of our Italian comrades, for structural reforms and the development of a broad anti-monopoly coalition. Their thesis about the changing functions of the state and the re-evaluation of the emphasis placed by Lenin on its exclusively coercive aspects; about capture of positions of power within a capitalist state by the working class; about the new forms of possible and necessary alliance with other socialist trends, whether social-democratic or Christian;

Forward Outlook

All this requires that the CPI move forward from its present position of merely stressing sovereignty and non-interference in the internal affairs of any Party by any other Party. It must go forward to applying its mind to other now more important questions of the relations between CPs. While firmly opposing any attempt to set up one or another kind of centralised world leadership and defending to the end the principles of independence and equality, it must help to work out the few forms and methods of reinforcing the unity of the world Communist movement.

Sixth, the CPI ideological document has to take due note of the extension and elaboration of one of the key concepts in the 1960 Moscow statement. This relates to the definition of our epoch as one of transition from capitalism to socialism and in which the world socialist system is increasingly determining the main trends of development. It is now logically and empirically extended to mean the establishment of proletarian hegemony on a world scale.

Not only does this, in some backward countries, make up for the absence of the hegemony of the proletariat within a particular country, but it releases the initiative of certain non-proletarian strata of society, especially the petty-bourgeois intelligentsia, and draws it in the general direction of socialism. In a new way we are seeing the fulfilment of one of the great ideas of the founders of Marxism—that the working class in emancipating itself emancipates all of exploited humanity.

Independence is not to be equated with the open statement of differences with other CPs, especially the CPSU. Of course, it is essential that the CPI does openly differ with the CPSU when it feels that the latter is going wrong on one or another important point of principle. Nor should independence be taken to mean only sovereignty in deciding the questions of strategy and tactics of the movement in one's country, though this is an essential aspect of such independence.

Independence means, above all, independent use of the Marxist method to understand and form an opinion on the important emerging new aspects of reality. It cannot be dissociated therefore, from research and study. Nor can it be dissociated, therefore, from a rather frequent exchange of opinions and experience with other fraternal Parties, if independence is to be combined with an effort to maintain a common approach and unity of action on an international scale.

This requires bilateral talks, conferences on special themes, regional conferences and international conferences of all CPs at regular intervals. It also requires a journal

which will print the views of different CPs, without attempting to impose an uniformity, while also defending the generally accepted international line.

reunifying our world movement. There must be no underestimation of the danger of the world Communist movement being split into a number of camps, each with its own agenda, to join while still maintaining its complete system of dogmatic adventurism.

ROLE OF CPI IN IDEOLOGICAL CONTROVERSY

ger of the line and splitting activities of the CPC leadership. There is still need to rigorously oppose it ideologically, politically and organisationally.

But certain political initiatives should be proposed. For example, a world wide campaign for the seating of China in the UN; or a worldwide

campaign for all developed countries to set apart a certain percentage of its national income to aid the newly-independent states; or a worldwide campaign for arms for Angola or against apartheid in South Africa.

Such campaigns conducted by the world Communist movement simultaneously in all countries would make it difficult for the CPC leadership either to keep aloof or

Unlike the splitters who pretend that it is possible to solve cardinal problems of the Indian revolution in isolation, together with "neutrality" or "abstention" in the world debate, the CPI has functioned and will continue to function as part of the world movement with whose fate its own destiny is involved.

SOME REFLECTIONS ON THE DRAFT PROGRAMME

By KRIPASHANKAR

In my opinion it is the bourgeoisie as a whole including the monopoly bourgeoisie that is in state power. The last sixteen years of Congress rule have benefitted the monopolies. Monopolies have grown and along with them the concentration of power in the economic and financial fields in the hands of monopolies has further got intensified.

EVEN the official figures speak for it. The National Sample Survey found that 1 per cent of the population owns 11 per cent of the national wealth. In the corporate sector 4 per cent of the private sector companies control one-third of the capital resources. The number of directorships held by top business houses is on the increase. Their increasing collaboration with foreign companies is known to all. The index of profits of giant companies is up.

In view of the growth and development of the monopolies it does not seem correct to say that the state in India is the organ of the class rule of national bourgeoisie only and that big bourgeoisie only often wields considerable influence. Had the monopolists been out of power the story of the growth of monopolies would have not been what it is.

The exigencies of a backward economy force the ruling class to develop a state sector for without it the foundations cannot be laid for a developing economy. To conclude that as the state sector is being strengthened the monopolists are not sharing state power is objectively wrong.

From this wrong premise follows a very mild programme vis-a-vis monopolies. The Draft Programme only speaks of instituting enquiries into the anti-national practices of the monopolies and only seeks to curb

moonshine. The programme should clearly aim at eliminating monopolies.

It is probably with a view not to antagonise this section of the bourgeoisie that the slogan of workers participation in the management of industrial enterprises in the private sector has been withdrawn while advancing the same for public sector industrial undertakings. Even the Five-Year Plans have made no such discriminations while recommending workers participations.

It can be well asked why the Programme only speaks of curbing monopolies. It is the understanding that the monopolies have yet a role to play in the industrial development of the country and that they have progressive role to play provided of course they are subject to constant curbing. The Programme significantly does not speak of curbing the malpractices of the share market, does not propose to stop forward trading and speculation; only a limitation on the profits of monopolists is being proposed.

How can the non-capitalist path of development be assured when the monopolies will not be eliminated? It is only after the monopolies are eliminated can the foundations for a non-capitalist path be laid, otherwise the monopolies are bound to continue to inflate. This is particularly so in a comparatively developed country like India.

About marketing of agricultural produce, the programme does not speak of cooperative marketing. In fact it is silent on that score. Marketing is a very important factor and at least on the whole-scale level it cannot be left in private hands. This is true of manufactured goods as well. But here too the programme is silent.

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The Second Plan Report has observed "the main task during the Second Plan period is to take such essential steps as will provide sound foundation for the development of cooperative farming so that over a period of ten years or so a substantial portion of land are cultivated on cooperative lines."

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SPLITTERS LOSING GROUND IN U.P.

From RAMESH SINHA

LUCKNOW: Despite the slight fillip that the splitters received from Khrushchov's resignation, in UP they are running into deep waters and facing splits in their own ranks.

As is known, during the Party's satyagraha they were thrown in great disarray. Some of their followers had joined the satyagraha, some others were willy-nilly dragged into it either by their followers or by the public pressure generated by the sweep of our struggle, and some others had pooh-poohed it as "revisionist" or found a convenient way of escape in this sort of denunciation, which convinced no body. The total effect was complete confusion and chaos in their ranks—which even their belated decision to launch their own satyagraha was unable to end. From top to bottom they were split on the issue of satyagraha.

One of their state leaders, in Lucknow, wrote to their high command pleading for permission to take part in satyagraha to save themselves from being "wiped out"; another one, in Kanpur, denounced the satyagraha as "feminine" and sabotaged it in his district; a third one, in Varanasi, moved a resolution in his "district council", in favour of deciding to take part in satyagraha, but was

defeated by his fellow party-men.

This plus many other reasons, which have little to do with principles, are now causing many of those who had gone with them to have second thought.

For instance, in Jhansi, the secretary of their "city committee", along with his another colleague, has resigned from their "party" and issued a public statement denouncing them.

In Lakhimpur, where they were holding their "district conference", this small group has splintered into two. One group walked out of the conference calling the other unsavoury and even unprintable names.

In Varanasi, half a dozen leading workers of two blocks (Sevapuri and Chiragaon) have resigned from their "party" and applied for party membership. In a press statement they have said that they were told all sorts of lies by the splitters, "but now we have seen their real character and worth and we do not want to

have anything to do with such people. We want to come back to our real Party..."

The names of these workers are: Mahavir Sahu, Vans Narain, Kali Charan, Sita Ram, Jag Ram and Jhilmil.

In Sultanpur their biggest unit has left them and asked for readmission into the Party. Several members who had gone with them are filling up a form to say that they were misled into joining them by false claim that they were the "real Communist Party". But now that they have not received the party symbol in the local bodies elections, we have come to know the truth.

The same thing is happening in Unnao, Kanpur and half a dozen other places. To tide over this difficulty some of their leaders are now taking resort to another lie. They say: "Why are you in such a hurry? We are all going to return to the Party. Khrushchov has been removed, now Dange will also be removed, and the Party will be reunited..."

Notwithstanding all this poppycock, their "state conference", currently meeting in Varanasi, is having hard sailing. It will not be surprising if by the time it ends a few more groups, or even units march out of their clutches.

Without such analysis and study it will neither be possible to understand the whole historical period of what is inaccurately called the time of the "personality cult" nor why the Chinese comrades have gone so grievously astray. The concept of "substitution" of the Party replacing the class or the alliance of classes—has to be appreciated and decisively repudiated.

Second, the CPI has to make its stand regarding Yugoslavia unequivocal. We have to categorically state that we look upon it as a socialist state and its League of Communists as one of our fraternal Marxist-Leninist Parties. All the available evidence points to such a conclusion. As for the points of difference we require more study and bilateral talks. Much of what was dubbed "revisionist" in the Yugoslav programme has been found to be worthy either of acceptance or, at least, discussion by a great majority of CPs.

In addition, there are grounds for believing that the Yugoslav leadership is itself changing its position on some points, e.g., the

By MOHIT SEN

countries. We have contented ourselves with expressions of Afro-Asian solidarity, now extended to include Latin America, and the reprinting of some articles by Soviet scholars on Burma, the UAR and Africa. We have done hardly any study of the developments in these three continents. Yet not only are these among the most novel developments taking place, but they are of crucial relevance to the Indian situation.

Algeria, for example, is going forward on the road of socialism without a Marxist-Leninist Party and without the dictatorship of the proletariat. The UAR has advanced far along the non-capitalist path, despite the fact that the Egyptian bourgeoisie had developed its monopolists and in spite of the fact that the working class did not play a leading role. In Burma a noncapitalist national-democratic programme is being implemented. Ghana, Guinea, Mali are also advancing to socialism in highly specific and new forms. In Indonesia striking developments are taking place. Ceylon is in ferment.

Surely, in any ideological document now adopted by the CPI there must be some echo of these historic facts and some thought must be given to the role of what are now called the revolutionary-democrats, who fulfil in some countries the tasks formerly thought to be the exclusive responsibility of the proletarian vanguard.

Fourth, there is little use in talking in the abstract about the existence of imperialism and the persistent need to struggle against it to the end. We have to devote some time to trying to understand this enemy. And such understanding cannot be achieved without some attempt at analysis of state-monopoly capitalism today, and the changes it has introduced in the very mechanism of the functioning of imperialism. There is abundant material on this question. Only collective study and discussion are required. The same applies to the continued operation

about the future socialist society—all need, at least, to be given a mention somewhere, if only for purposes of further study.

Relations Between Communist Parties

Fifth, the CPI document has to say something about the principles which should govern the relations between CPs and how international unity is to be achieved and maintained. By now it is quite clear that one of such fundamental principles has to be the complete independence and equality of all Parties. But we have to fully understand what this means, especially for a Party of such a country as ours and with some forty years of experience behind it.

Independence is not to be equated with the open statement of differences with other CPs, especially the CPSU. Of course, it is essential that the CPI does openly differ with the CPSU when it feels that the latter is going wrong on one or another important point of principle. Nor should independence be taken to mean only sovereignty in deciding the questions of strategy and tactics of the movement in one's country, though this is an essential aspect of such independence.

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A REVIEW OF AIRF CONVENTION

The annual convention of the AIRF which was held at Delhi from October 24 to 26 was attended by 317 delegates representing a total membership of 316,902 from nine affiliated unions.

A PART from the delegates, hundreds of railwaymen had come from far and near to attend the proceedings and the 10,000 strong demonstration which was taken to the Rail Bhavan on 24th to demand grain shops included about three to four thousand men who had come from outside Delhi.

This mobilisation showed the growing discontent among railwaymen and their keen desire to adopt a line of action which would secure redressal of their grievances.

On the whole the convention was a big success. The Report of the AIRF general secretary, Peter Alvares, squarely posed the issues on which there has been acute controversy inside the leadership

number of railwaymen. How can it then play its effective role when issues of fundamental rights, economic policy etc., arise constantly and it refuses to cooperate, even in a limited and restricted sense with either the NFIR, the other Central Government employees' organisations or either one of the central trade union organisations.... The recent development that took place in the issue of the appointment of the One Man Independent Body to examine the adequacy of dearness allowance has emphasised this point all the more.

This is correct trade union line of unity of the class on common issues. But blinded by anti-communism, Maniben Kara

Report, but it was clear that had this been done, Maniben Kara would have got very little support from the rank and file delegates. As it is, the battle about the line is not over. It will be fought out in the AIRF working committee, where thanks to a false sense of unity and the pressure of a part of the leadership, Maniben Kara is again present as president.

The convention took up in detail and discussed the various problems before railwaymen. It reiterated its demands for subsidised grainshops on the pre-1949 pattern and has asked all its affiliated unions to express their opinion about the future course of action, should this de-

mand be not conceded by the end of this year. The AIRF working committee will meet in January 1965 to finalise its plans of action.

The convention demanded that the railways should not be operated as a government department but entrusted to an autonomous corporation. It demanded constitution of a separate wage board for railways. Besides these, a host of sectional demands were also taken up.

The convention clearly showed that the AIRF has come to a stage where it will have to decide whether it will try to isolate the railway TU movement from the general working class movement in the country to the detriment of both or to cooperate with it for the common good of all.

On this question, no worker can remain neutral. Vested interests, blind prejudice and close links with reactionaries lead

some of its spokesmen to advocate a line of isolationism which is detrimental to the interests of railwaymen themselves. This has to be fought out. But the fight cannot be confined only to a close section of the leadership. The issues must be taken to the broad masses of workers and the position explained.

If this is done, then the narrow parochial outlook can be exposed and the line of unity carried forward. This is a task to which all those who desire a broad-based, militant railway movement, working in close cooperation with other sections of the Indian working class, must seriously and urgently address themselves.

Otherwise, the danger exists that the AIRF, cut off more and more from all progressive and democratic trends in the TU movement, will become an instrument in the hands of persons like Maniben Kara to further their anti-working class aims.

By SATISH LOOMBA

of the AIRF. It aroused keen debate which at times became acrimonious.

The AIRF has been, of late, taking the stand that it will not cooperate on common demands with even the other Central Government employees' organisations. As a matter of fact, it had earlier been planned that on October 24 there will be a joint demonstration along with the Confederation of Central Government employees' unions, but Maniben Kara and others of her way of thinking successfully sabotaged this.

As Alvares put it: "Like the trade union movement, but in a more acute form, the AIRF has been continually isolating itself from the mainstream of political purpose. This is not to urge preference for any one political party, for the tradition of the AIRF has been and should be, to embrace all railwaymen whatever political factions they may belong to."

"But the AIRF must work towards its responsibility in the integrated TU movement. Though it is one of the largest trade union organisations in the country its effective membership is less than 17 per cent of the total

lashed out at this line and even stooped to inventing the worst type of slander against the CPI. She categorically declared that one could not cooperate with any organisation in which Communists included. She branded all Central Government employees' organisations as Communist-led organisations.

At the same time, obviously because of her own reactionary leanings and also the pressure of the ICFTU—to which both the INTUC and HMS are affiliated—and the International Transport Workers Federation—to which both the NFIR and AIRF are affiliated—she made an offer of cooperation with NFIR. It was plain that this offer was made with the purpose of bringing all reactionary leaders on one platform to fight the progressive, democratic trends.

Maniben Kara's crude remarks led to several interruptions and at one stage, she could not even continue her speech and had to sit down. She could finish only after Alvares intervened and requested the delegates to give her a hearing. According to the AIRF practice, there was no voting on the general secretary's



FDGB delegation at the AITUC office.

JOINT DECLARATION OF AITUC AND FDGB

A delegation of the Confederation of Free German Trade Unions (FDGB) headed by Wolfgang Reyreuter, member of the presidium of the FDGB visited India last month at the invitation of the All-India Trade Union Congress (AITUC).

A joint declaration signed by both the organisations released

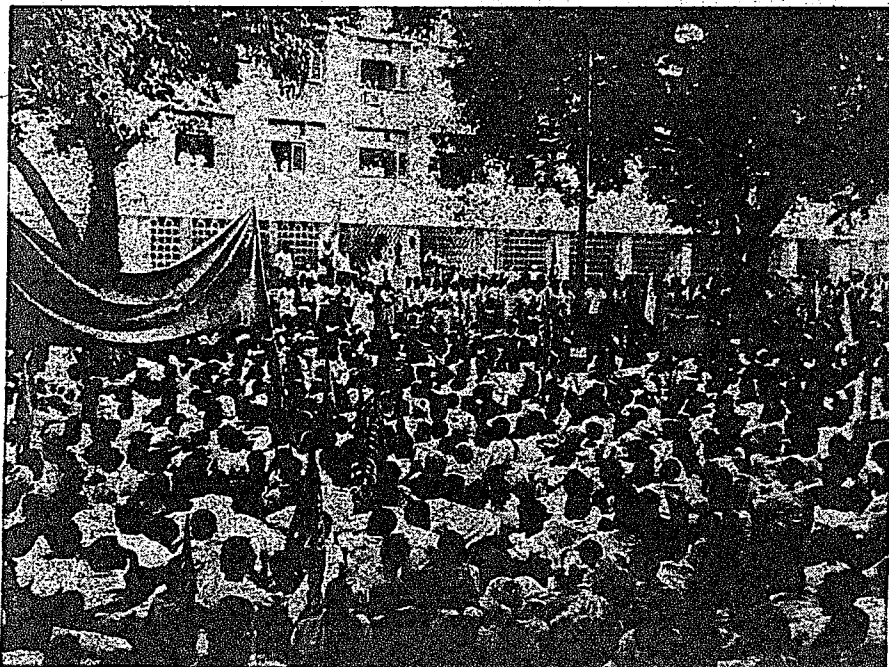
immediate solution of the India-China border problem is necessary in the interests of the working class and people of both countries and, in this context, the two organisations support the Colombo Proposals put forward by the nonaligned countries.

"The representatives of the FDGB and the AITUC noted that the national liberation movement represents an important factor in the struggle for peace, progress and socialism. It has achieved great successes in the struggle for the independence of the still oppressed peoples and contributes essentially to the abolition of imperialist rule. Both the organisations state that every attempt to separate the national liberation movement from its main support, the socialist world system, and the international working class, is a betrayal of the united front of struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism."

"The delegation of the FDGB appreciates the struggle of the Indian working people which they carry out through their class organisation for the strengthening of peace, for the realisation of a policy of peaceful coexistence, for the strengthening of the national, political and economic independence of their country and for the improvement of the working and living conditions of the Indian working people."

"The actions initiated by the AITUC aimed at the accomplishment of the demands of the

*ON PAGE 15



AIRF employees demonstrate before Rail Bhavan. Photos: R. Parashar.

Background To Orissa Unrest

Wanton Police Attack On Students

From NANDAKISHORE PATNAIK

nism came out in protests and called upon the government to stop this vindictive attitude and actions.

The Congress Party alone condemned the students and congratulated the government for its strong handling of the issue.

The government in a communique condemned the students and threatened them with dire consequences, even to the extent of besmirching the future service career and to close down all the educational institutions.

The students demanded: (a) withdrawal of cases, (b) compensation for loss of property, (c) getting up judicial enquiry etc.

The CPI and SSP and Bhoo-

dan leaders protested against the high-handed actions of the police and government and supported the demands.

Many people in Cuttack violated the prohibitory order of Sec. 144 and courted arrest. The veteran old Congress leader Govind Misra, a former MP, courted arrest.

Assembly Boycott

The opposition parties in Orissa Legislative Assembly joined in the students uprising and boycotted the Assembly for the session. The Assembly was closed. A new critical situation developed.

Forced by public demands and participation, the government lifted the prohibitory order.

But in spite of it, the government did not accede the demands of the students.

The government decided to continue the Assembly session in the absence of the opposition parties. But at last it adjourned and it was declared that the Assembly would again meet on October 26, and take up Land Reform Bill. The opposition parties condemned this undemocratic action of the government and resolved to boycott it.

The press and public vehemently criticised this attitude of the government in trying to push through the Land Reform Bill in the absence of the opposition. At last the government bowed down before the public pressure and

the House was not recovered. But the student unrest continued.

All negotiations with government have so far failed. The government is bent upon crushing all students' action and democratic forms of movement.

The Communist Party while congratulating the students for their brave struggle for their genuine demands, called upon all parties and democratic opinion to seek a speedy settlement of the month-old unrest and thereby force the government to come to a fair genuine settlement of the cause of students.

Black Day Observed

A public meeting was organised by the CPI on October 26 to observe a black day of the Congress rule.

On October 26, in support of the call of the students the whole of Cuttack went on complete hartal. All the shops were closed. The college and school students went on strike.

More than 100 students have been arrested on the same day at Cuttack. They included college and high school students and even teenager boys of UP schools.

The students too are organising a mass public meeting in the Gopabandhubag. Waves of arrests are still going on.

(October 26)

ANOTHER SAHU-JAIN AFFAIR REVEALED

Bihar Cycle Factory Faces Closure Due To Mismanagement

From K. GOPALAN

PATNA: Sahu-Jain managed Hindustan Vehicles, a premier cycle manufacturing company in India, is threatened with closure. Alleged bungling and mismanagement is said to be the reason for the imminent closure.

WORKMEN of the factory, who apprehend the closure at any moment, hold the opinion that the affairs of the company under the direct management of S.F. Jain had been grossly mismanaged which has brought the company to the brink of complete doom and extinction."

If the factory is allowed to close down, over 450 workmen, employed in the concern will be thrown out of employment and the country will lose production of 25,000 cycles per year valued about Rs. 40 lakhs. It will be a big blow to Bihar which is so much backward in industrial development.

The management has not yet announced its decision to close down the factory. But the situation prevailing in the factory is a clear indication that the closure is imminent. All production has virtually been stopped since last two months. Workmen are sitting idle in the factory. Most of the higher technical hands have been forced to leave the factory during this period. Raw materials necessary for the production of cycles, which were ordered, are being returned without taking delivery.

In view of the threatened closure, the Hindustan Vehicles Mazdoor Union, on behalf of the workmen submitted a memorandum to the Central and state governments with request to intervene immediately and prevent the factory from closure. While emphasising the need for immediate ac-

malpractices. This will be enough to show how the Sahu-Jains have sucked "the whole life and blood of the Hindustan Vehicles Ltd."

Control Usurped

Management of the company was handed over to Sahu-Jains in 1959-60 with a view to expand the industry. First of all S.P. Jain advanced an unsecured loan of Rs. 15 lakhs to the company. In return he secured over all control on policy matters of the concern and a majority in the Board of Directors. In 1960 Jain was appointed as the chairman of the Board of Directors and the management was entrusted to a resident director appointed by him. Immediately several Sahu-Jain concerns were attached with the day to day administration of the factory.

The Ashoka Marketing, a Sahu Jain concern was appointed as wholesale agents with a higher rate of commission. Though there was a purchasing department of the company all purchases were made through the Sahu-Jain Central Purchasing Organisation and commissions were given for that. India Publicity Ltd., a Sahu-Jain advertising agency was entrusted with the task of publicity. The overall supervision of the company was given to the Central Administration of Sahu-Jain Ltd. These agencies were given huge amount at the cost of the Hindustan Vehicles.

While citing these undesirable business methods the memorandum said: "It would thus be seen that the affairs of the company has been managed in such a way

tion the memorandum said: "actions taken at later date will amount only to post-mortem rather than a preventive step against death."

The memorandum has urged the Union government:

- 1 to order an immediate enquiry into the working of the factory in order to find out "if the affairs of the company have been mismanaged";
- 2 to take over the management of the company under the Industrial Development and Control Act; and
- 3 If the government is reluctant to take over the management, the factory be handed over to a workers' cooperative for running it.

Deteriorating Condition

Ratan Roy, president of the Hindustan Vehicles Mazdoor Union told at a press conference here that the condition of the company was rapidly deteriorating day-by-day and the closure might come at any moment if the government failed to act promptly. He further said that if the government prefers to handover the factory to a workers' cooperative, workmen are prepared to shoulder the responsibility for managing the factory.

that the fruits and gains may be devoured by certain business organisations of Sahu-Jain group in the shape of interest, commission for sale, commission for purchase, advertising and administrative expenses".

During the last four years the Sahu-Jains realised the interest for the unsecured loans of Rs. 15 lakhs at the rate of 6 per cent. The company has been paying Rs. three lakhs per year as interest.

On the basis of these facts the memorialists held that in actual reality there is a large profit on manufacturing side on account of extremely low wages to the workers (Rs. 45 per month, which is even less than the minimum wages of agricultural workers). But all the gains of the company have been taken away by the Sahu-Jain group. It is, therefore clear that the affairs of the company have been managed in a grossly bad manner and it has brought the company to the brink of complete doom and extinction.

Corruption Rampant

In 1959 the company paid only Rs. 19,000 as commission for 16,000 cycles. Then the rate of commission was very low. As soon as the wholesale agency was given to the Ashoka Marketing the rate of commission was raised at a very high level. Commission given during the last five years are as follows:

Year	No. of cycles	Commission paid
1960	26,000	Rs. 132,000
1961	20,000	" 132,000
1962	23,000	" 170,000
1963	22,000	" 140,000
1964	21,000	" 155,000

REACTIONS OF COMMUNIST PARTIES

Soviet Policy After Khrushchov Change

The concern among Communists and among the general public at the replacement of Comrade Khrushchov as First Secretary of the CPSU and Chairman of the Soviet government is widespread and deep.

THIS great interest is an indication of the key role in world affairs occupied by the Soviet Union. So, what at first glance seems to be an exclusively internal Soviet affair affects us all.

To comment on the matter therefore is not to question the right of the Soviet or any other Party to decide its own leaders.

The best comment of course would be a balanced public account of the whole matter from the Soviet leaders themselves.

There can be no doubt about Comrade Khrushchov's great services to the Communist cause, particularly in rooting out the evils associated with the cult of the individual, restoring socialist legality and collective leadership, showing that war was not fatally inevitable and the possibility of new roads to socialism.

Thus, the general line of the 20th, 21st and 22nd Congresses of the CPSU was of the greatest significance not only for the CPSU. It opened up, despite all difficulties, a new creative forward phase in the development of the international Communist movement.

For the world Communist movement there can be no going back on this. On the contrary, it must be pushed ahead with renewed vigour, energy and initiative.

Of the greatest importance arising from this were the new bold measures taken by the Soviet Union in furthering the cause of world peace and

the policy of peaceful coexistence.

It was in this light above all that the people of the world judged Comrade Khrushchov's contribution.

At this critical stage in world affairs it is this general policy of the Soviet Union which will prove decisive.

No one would argue, of course, that these developments after the death of Stalin were due to Khrushchov alone. They were a deep response to a new stage in the historical development of the Soviet Union, for which the entire Soviet leadership was responsible.

Equally now when this or that criticism is being made of Comrade Khrushchov, his

positive contribution remains.

Why then the change? It would appear (and one can only make tentative judgments pending fuller particulars) that the position could be summed up as follows:

The general political line of the Soviet Union initiated by the 20th Congress remains firm and unchanged, and the

disagreement appears to be in the main about Comrade Khrushchov's method of work, a certain erratic approach and lack of consistency.

The difficulties concerning agriculture, the overemphasis on this or that particular step

as the solution of the problem, were already clear.

The discussion in the Soviet Press about the conduct and organisation of the economy showed that while the rate of growth continued high, a still quicker progress was possible.

There is now reference to hurried decisions, lack of attention by Comrade Khrushchov to collective criticism, off-the-cuff speeches and judgments, the use of Adzhubel as a personal envoy, etc.

All these criticisms, knowing Comrade Khrushchov's temperament and character, may well be true.

No one could be satisfied,

CPSU. The appointment of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers is the responsibility of the Presidium of the Soviet government.

It would appear that Khrushchov not only attended both the Presidium of the Party and Central Committee, but spoke vigorously in his own defence. However, he was then voted out of his positions.

This was also the procedure adopted in the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet. No doubt all this is being reported on, in the Soviet Party organisations.

No Communist in Britain wants an exaggerated and unbalanced "exposure" of Khrushchov. But it seems to us that a balanced public presentation of the main points at issue would be all to the good.

The last ten years have been a decisive period in the development of the Soviet Union. The ending of the Stalin period and the removal of the evils of the cult of personality—even though the way in which this was handled was open to criticism—brought in this new stage.

Comrade Khrushchov as First Secretary and Soviet Chairman carried forward the fuller development of socialist democracy, freedom, order and collective leadership to a certain stage.

It may well be that his individual methods and manner in the key positions he occupied now hindered the further necessary development.

With tens and hundreds of thousands of highly skilled Personnel, the Soviet people and the Party have the means

* ON FACING PAGE

by
JOHN GOLLAN
General Secretary, CPGB

GOMULKA'S VIEWS

WARSAW: In a meeting held here on October 28 to receive the Party and government delegation from the Mongolian People's Republic, Wladyslaw Gomulka, First Secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party's Central Committee, elaborated the reaction about the recent change in the leadership of the Party and government of USSR. He said:

THE divergencies and conflicts that have emerged in the socialist camp have to be overcome. This is dictated by life itself. The greatest responsibility for the unity and cohesion of the socialist camp and the international Communist movement rests on the Soviet Union and the Chinese People's Republic, on the Communist Parties of these two biggest socialist countries.

It is our warmest wish that these two socialist states, and their Parties conscious of this historic responsibility and of the highest interests of socialism and peace, start necessary and honest activity in that direction. Such a move will meet with the warm support of the socialist states and all the Marxist-Leninist Parties, by all fighters for peace, freedom of nations and socialism.

either, with the state of relations between the socialist countries. The basic position taken by the Soviet Union on the main differences in the international Communist movement was correct.

But the actual conduct of the polemic left a lot to be desired. In addition, differences with other socialist states developed.

Now as to how the changes were made. This is what is causing the greatest concern to Communists, because of the lack of any public explanation. It may be that such explanation could remove this concern.

The appointment of the First Secretary of the CPSU is the responsibility of the Central Committee of the

Bulgarian CP's Statement

A STATEMENT of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party issued following Comrade Khrushchov's resignation said:

THE Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party was informed about the proceedings and decisions of the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union held on October 14, of this year, which relieved Comrade N. S. Khrushchov of his duties as First Secretary and Member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and as Chairman of the Council of Ministers, elected Comrade L. Brezhnev as First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and proposed Comrade A. Kossygin for the post of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR.

Expressing their great respect for and confidence in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and their Central Committee, the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party is deeply convinced that the decisions taken with complete unanimity by the Central

Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will help to further carry out consistently and successfully the Leninist policy outlined by the 20th, 21st and 22nd Congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and that they will help to fulfil the general line of the international Communist movement, which were worked out collectively at the Moscow conferences.

Our Party highly appreciates the decisions of the 20th, 21st and 22nd Congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as a remarkable contribution to the creative development of Marxism-Leninism under contemporary conditions, as a contribution to restoring and further perfecting the Leninist principles of work and leadership.

The adoption and the carrying out in practice of these decisions have increased still more the prestige of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, have consolidated the might of the Soviet Union and are exerting an ever more favourable influence upon the development of the world socialist system and of the international Communist movement in the struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence.

The Soviet Union is the basic force of the socialist camp. I wish to state with profound satisfaction that the general line of the policy of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of the Soviet government resulting from the decisions of the twentieth and twenty-second Congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the stand taken by the Soviet Union in all problems of interest to us, is fully convergent with the views of our Party, our government and our country.

This was confirmed a few days ago at a meeting between the representatives of our Party's leadership with the representatives of the CPSU leadership. Fraternal relations and fruitful cooperation between our Parties and our countries will be tightened even more.

We have also gained the conviction that the personnel changes in the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet government, made as a result of the plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee were made with the observance of the Leninist principles of inner-Party democracy. The Central Committee of the CPSU accepted Comrade Khrushchov's resignation, because it had well grounded reasons to do so.

OVER KHRUSHCHOV'S RESIGNATION

U. S. Party's Views Gus Hall Explains Stand

In the course of a speech at the anniversary banquet of THE WORKER on October 18, Gus Hall, leading spokesman of the CP, USA said:

THE atomic explosion and the changes that have taken place in the leadership of the Soviet Union have unleashed a flood of speculation about Communist policies in general. The Kremlinologists have had a busy day.

Of course, authoritatively I can speak only for and about the policies of the American Communists. So in that regard, let me assure you that nothing has happened that in any way affects our policies.

We continue to regard the fight for world peace, the victory of the civil rights struggle, and the defeat of the ultra-Right reactionary challenge as the central issues facing our nation and people.

As for the policies of the Soviet Union—their policies of peace, their support for the colonial liberation movements, and the building of the material and technological base for a Communist society are rooted deep. The world can accept with confidence the

statements of their leaders that these policies will continue to be a bastion of world peace. These policies were not at issue in the changes of leadership. These are not the policies of one man, they are policies of a class, based on long experience and study.

But many ask about the lack of full information as to the causes for the changes. It is a fact that at this moment all the necessary facts are not available. People ask, are the reasons only old age and health? Here let me join you in the art of logical deductions, or better, the art of dialectical deduction.

I think the reason for some vagueness is that the leadership had not planned or contemplated such major changes. Most likely, something like the following took place. We know there has been some criticism of Khrushchov's methods for some time. The Central Committee was meeting and they took a vote of criticism which calls for correction. Khrushchov most likely refused to accept the criticism, and instead turned in his resignation.

Here is where old age and ill health could have played its role. As we get older, we get more brittle and opinionated. So the leadership was not ready for this drastic change at this time.

From what we know and from what appears in the press, what was the nature of the criticism? They centred on methods of leadership—

individual decisions too hastily made, refusal to accept criticism and some wrong policies in some sectors of the economy. For example, I have wondered about the method of mobilising the grass roots before an idea was presented to the leading bodies. May be it was necessary at an earlier age, but as a method it undercuts and bypasses the leading bodies. It can become an obstacle to collective work.

These events, it seems to me, are indications that the Soviet society has become very sensitive to any signs of some specific weakness. They are very sensitive to signs of bureaucracy or to a course dictated by emergencies or crises, or to any signs of a crisis.

These are all signs of a new society. As they move towards

communism more of these characteristics will appear. They will demand ever higher standards of their leaders. The power or the source of political power will shift more and more to the grass roots. As the historic period of the "forced march" in the building of socialism fades, there will be less and less direction by top committees or by a few men.

Khrushchov has made a historic contribution and I would not be too surprised if he will continue to make contributions in one capacity or another. But the problem for people in leadership has always been, and remains: A leader must be able to reflect a changing reality. When one gets older this is more difficult to do.

(THE WORKER, October 25)

CZECH PARTY'S STATEMENT

PRAGUE: The Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in a statement on October 25 said:

THE Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, on the basis of information on the meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on October 14, 1964, at which the decision was taken to relieve Comrade Nikita Sergeevich Khrushchov of his function as First Secretary and Member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, received the assurance that the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union would continue on the road of implementing the lines of the 20th and 22nd Congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the road of strengthening the unity of the socialist countries on the basis of reinforcing and developing cooperation, the road of the policy of peaceful coexistence.

The report on the decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union relieving Comrade Khrushchov was received by all our Party and public with surprise and emotion. Our Party and our people appreciated the activities of Comrade Khrushchov both with regard to the general line of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in the struggle to accomplish a policy of peaceful coexistence and the disclosure of the erroneous methods in the period of the cult of the personality.

The Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia comprehends the decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, that Comrade Khrushchov, in view of his advanced age and deteriorating state of health, could not fully accomplish the tasks issuing from realisation of the general line of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The statement continued:

AITUC & FDGB Declaration

Indian working people find the fraternal solidarity of the FDGB and of the working people of the GDR.

"The representatives of the AITUC and FDGB are of the opinion that the establishment of normal diplomatic relations between the Governments of the Republic of India and the GDR is necessary in the interest of the working class and all working people of both countries. The AITUC and FDGB are convinced that the closer friendship between India and the GDR would mean a strengthening of the anti-imperialist forces. The AITUC specially feels that apart from the political considerations, in view of the increasing economic and trade ties with GDR and the assistance being rendered by that country to Indian economic development plans, the establishment of normal relations between India and the GDR should not be delayed any further."

In conclusion the declaration says: "Both the organisations are of the firm conviction that the existing friendly relations between the FDGB and the AITUC will further develop and strengthen, which will serve the interests of our peoples. As an expression of the fraternal alliance, both organisations agree upon an agreement of mutual solidarity."

SOCIALIST UNITY PARTY of GERMANY

BERLIN: The Political Bureau of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED) in a communique issued on October 18 expressed its conviction that the decisions taken unanimously by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on October 14 are based on the responsible-mindedness of the CPSU for a persistent realisation of the Leninist general line.

UNDER the leadership of the CPSU the Soviet people had made great progress in implementing the decisions taken at the 20th and 22nd party congresses, the communique underlined.

The Communique said that the news on the dispensation of Nikita Khrushchov from his duties had "caused deep emotion among our Party and people." Khrushchov, too, had made himself deserved for the realisation of the Marxist-Leninist policy, worked out by the CPSU central committee. The CPSU central committee had taken its latest decisions

"obviously because Comrade N. S. Khrushchov showed himself no longer equal to his tasks."

The SED political bureau manifested full confidence in the CPSU central committee and re-endorsed that the SED will further strengthen the fraternal fighting alliance with the CPSU. The SED was convinced that the CPSU would continue the policy of peaceful coexistence, disarmament and understanding among the peoples in accordance with the statements of the communist and workers' parties of 1957

Soviet Policy . . .

* From Facing Page

and the resources to face this new stage of development.

Many times Khrushchov, even before he reached 70, publicly and privately referred to his possible retirement. The appointment of Comrade Brezhnev in June was a public indication of the direction the possible change would take when it did take place.

Would it not be better for the prestige and authority of the Soviet Union if the major facts were made public and clear?

What will follow now? Comrade Brezhnev has made the major points clear. The general line of the Party "which was worked out at the 20th, 21st and 22nd Congresses, is the Leninist line. It was, and will be, the only immutable line in the entire home and foreign policy of the Communist Party and the Soviet state."

The Soviet Union, he said, wants to consolidate the com-

munity of the socialist states on "a fully equal footing on the basis of a correct combination of the common interests of the socialist community and the interests of the people in each country".

The aim will be the fullest development of the productive forces and to raise living standards.

Peaceful coexistence is "the only reasonable policy under present conditions". The Soviet Union wants the end of the arms race and the strengthening of the United Nations and will assist the just struggle of the colonial peoples.

The CPSU wants to consolidate the unity of the Communist Parties on the basis of the Moscow meetings of 1957 and 1960 and is convinced that another world meeting "can and must facilitate the attainment of these aims".

As for the method of work, collective leadership will continue to be the central principle. Here it would seem that

the separation of the posts of First Secretary and Chairman of the Council of Ministers has a great significance.

Thus the policy is sound. If the changes result, as we hope, in a better and more consistent manner and method of application, all Communists will welcome this.

Such a development would be something of the greatest importance in the present situation.

Relations between Communist Parties and Socialist states are a difficult and complex question. They must be based on equality, non-interference and mutual confidence.

We are going through a difficult period in the international Communist movement, much to the joy of every enemy of communism. We need reasoned and friendly argument in place of bitter and personalised polemic.

What the friends of the Soviet Union look for at this stage is a rational explanation of problems, however difficult they may be at any moment.

NEW AGE

(POLITICAL MONTHLY OF CPI)
Volume 1 Number 7 (New Series) November 1964

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MEMORANDUM ON DELHI INDEX

Delhi TUC Points Out Gross Anomalies

By OUR STAFF CORRESPONDENT

The Delhi state committee of the AITUC, in a memorandum to the Expert Committee on Consumer Price Index, has sharply pointed out the grave mistakes and fraudulent practices which had gone into the computation of the Delhi index.

It was pointed out that original specifications were ignored and substitution of inferior varieties has been done on a wide scale by the authorities charged with computation of the indices. Examples were quoted in the memorandum about various items of expenditure including the expenses on account of dal, matches, dhoties, sarees, shoes, juttis, entertainment, hair-cut etc.

The memorandum also pointed out that price collectors had not taken into account the prices of various commodities prevailing in the black-market at which rates the workers were obliged to buy their requirements. Thus they had departed from the principles laid down in the Labour Bureau Monograph:

"The question of open market or black-market prices is also an important one in connection with the computation of cost of living index numbers. In this respect, the situation in this country has been varying from time to time. Where there is strict rationing, the consumers get a definite quantity of each rationed article at controlled rates and any additional quantity which they might desire to have can be obtained in the black-market only.

"In some centres, however, there is no strict rationing but the consumers can obtain a fixed quantity of articles at controlled rates from government fair price shops and they are also free to buy part or whole of their requirements from the open market. The purchase from the two sources (ration shop or fair price shop and blackmarket or open market) depends upon various factors, e.g., price differential, quality differences, sufficiency of quantum, etc." (page 53)

Actual Prices Not Disclosed

The Delhi state committee also drew the attention of the Expert Committee to the fact that the traders do not divulge the actual prices to the

price collectors, in order to hide their profiteering.

Thus, the workers are robbed on two fronts. The traders job them through high prices but the actual prices at which goods are sold are not told to the price collectors with the result that the price index does not reflect the real price and the workers are thereby robbed a second time of a legitimate rise in D.A. because of the unreal index.

It was also pointed out that the supplies through fair price shops or mill retail stores were insignificant and hence the prices quoted at these shops should not be taken as the actual market prices.

Weightage For Miscellaneous Items

In the 1943 family budget survey on which the Delhi index was based, no weightage was given to important items of expenditure as on education, transport and medicines, and washing soap and bidi were given a weightage of 56 per cent. The impact of the compulsory education introduced by statute on working class expenditure required to be considered. Also, due to unsatisfactory service under the ESI scheme, considerable sums have to be defrayed on medical aid.

Conveyance has also become an increasingly important item of expenditure in a working class family since the place of work is invariably at a considerable distance from the residential localities. However, there is now no weightage for transport.

The memorandum also states that as has been revealed in the inquiries conducted into the Bombay and Ahmedabad indices, the authorities have deliberately kept down the house-rent index arbitrarily. In Delhi, the rent index has been kept stationary for 'nearly' two

decades while, in actual fact, the scale of rent even for the lowest type of accommodation has risen by leaps and bounds.

WHY NO FINALITY ABOUT NUTRITION ADVISORY BODY'S REPORT?

By A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

It was in 1957 at the 15th Indian Labour Conference, that the government, employers and workers' representatives unanimously agreed on certain norms for fixing need-based wages. This was done as a guiding line of wage policy during the Second Plan period.

At the 1957 tripartite conference, it was agreed by all that for the purpose of wage-fixation, the working class family should be taken as of three consumption units. On the estimates of calorie requirement, it was also unanimously agreed that the Akroyd formula should be taken as the basis and that a net intake of about 2700 calories would be adequate for a person of moderate activity.

Decision Sabotaged

The tripartite decision of need-based wage fixation was virtually sabotaged by the Government of India when the Ministry of Finance informed the Second Pay Commission in 1958 that the tripartite recommendations were not binding on them.

The Second Pay Commission therefore began a de novo examination of need-based wage fixation and worked out a diet with a calorific value of 2,600—that is, clearly 100-calories less than the tripartite recommendation. Moreover, the Pay Commission had recommended a vegetarian diet, the cost for which was necessarily lower.

After the protests from the trade unions, the government

In an earlier calculation done by the Delhi state committee of the AITUC, the Delhi index on the 1944 base was found to be faulty to the extent of 50 points in November 1963.

Despite these faults in the index, no attempts were made to correct it. To make matters worse, the 1960-based index was superimposed on the faulty 1944-based index and the computation of the latter was discontinued arbitrarily.

The Delhi committee of the AITUC pointed out in its memorandum that the 1959

family budget survey on which the 1960-based index is faulty in many respects. This should be gone into thoroughly before any satisfactory basis of linking the old and new series of indices could be attempted.

Downright Cheating

For every point arbitrarily kept down, the quarter lakh textile workers in Delhi would lose about Rs. 1.5 lakhs per year. For the 50 point fault estimated by the trade unions, this loss is a colossal sum of Rs. 75 lakhs.

2750 calories per day per adult consumption unit."

By A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

The Government of India has however not published the report and it is said that the question is being further examined by the Nutrition Advisory Committee of the Indian Council of Medical Research.

undertook to get the issue "re-examined in the light of the most authoritative scientific data on the subject." Finally, on May 16, 1962, a committee of experts was appointed to report on the subject for the consideration of National Nutrition Advisory Committee.

In August 1964, after two years of study, the committee of Experts made a report to the Nutrition Advisory Committee. The experts concluded that the daily calorie requirement of an industrial worker should be taken as 2,800 calories—100 calories above the Akroyd formula and 200 calories more than what the Second Pay Commission conceded.

Moreover, if standards can be specified on nutritional requirements as has been done by the committee's report, government and employers cannot escape the responsibility of enforcing the norms of need-based wage fixation as recommended by the Fifteenth Tripartite.

The trade union movement condemns the dilatory tactics of the government. The workers and trade unions should demand that the government should publish the Report of the Nutrition Advisory Committee and take a final decision on the question of nutritional requirements after consulting the trade unions.

Worker	2816
Wife	2150
Children:	
(i) Age group 0-5	1230
(ii) Age group 0-14	2010
	8206

Therefore, the requirement per family was taken as 8206 calories per day or say, "about

* FROM PAGE 2

At such a moment when the struggle against imperialism is nearing final success, when the socialist force and the national liberation movement have attained unprecedented success, a disruptive school is born right inside the WFTU which brazenly says that progress lies in splitting and that in fact, split means unity.

It is astounding to hear that a revolutionary detachment of the working class, a class whose historical mission is to unite all the peoples of the world for struggle against exploitation, should openly advocate split as a philosophy, as an axiom of life. And not only advocate it but proceed seriously to act on it, splitting the trade unions, and other mass organisations of the exploited classes.

Old and New Splitters

This threat is more serious than the actions of the old AFL-CIO and Citrines and Careys of the old period of 1949, because it comes from people who have carried out successful anti-imperialist, national revolutions in their country and are proceeding to build socialism. This threat is more serious because while the old splitters split on this and that issue and did not make a philosophy of it, our new ones put forward splitting as a platform, as a programme, as the very theory of revolution and progress.

We are already seeing the results of it in the various functions of the WFTU and its bodies.

I remember the long hours and nights we had to spend in Paris, Moscow, Vienna, arguing with the Careys and Citrines, why they should not support the Marshall Plan which was a plan of armaments and

cold war, why they should give up their opposition to the Soviet Union and the peoples' democracies in Europe and to the Chinese Federation in Labour, in those days confined to the liberated areas before the October 1949 revolution. But they would not hear and they split. Where are they now? Gone the way of the imperialists.

And now we have to spend long hours and nights arguing with the opposites of Citrines and Careys, with socialist and revolutionary trade union leaders that the plan for building communism in the same USSR is good for all mankind, for the liberated countries and for socialism. That it is not a plan for building capitalism, that its success will mean not only good life for the Russians but it will mean Aswan Dam for UAR, factories for Algeria, India, China and for all.

That our splitters must not think that good wages, shorter hours and good life in the socialist countries means a return to capitalism and that a well-fed worker means the bourgeoisie, and that mere slogan-mongering, about socialism can be a substitute for concrete economic gains.

But they do not want the WFTU even to mention these plans as was seen at the WFTU Congress in Moscow. Once we argued with the Citrines against the Marshall Plan. Now we have to argue with their opposites, for the Socialist Plans.

We have to spend hours and nights arguing that proliferation of nuclear arms is no good, that the test ban treaty, however limited is a step forward. Not only that. Like the old Careys and Citrines, the new splitters even want the dismemberment of the Soviet Union and of neighbouring countries and would even take to arms for it—all in the name of "new liberation" from the "baton

DEFEND THE UNITY OF THE WORKING CLASS

of a certain big power," as they say. And like the old Careys and Citrines they do not mind making allies of the Japanese and West German imperialists for this purpose. Where have we come to? Truly it was said that you go to the Left and arrive at the Right.

Let Us Argue, Not Abuse

I say this with the sincere desire that the WFTU and its constituent organisations be saved from a split. Let us argue and even quarrel hours and hours. But why import hatred and bitterness in the debates, abuses and insults, in our proceedings? Why break up unions and Federations by gangster methods and false slanders? Such methods do not become great leaders and great people. They are the refuge of those, who feel they are wrong and unsuccessful and want to hide it under pseudo-revolutionary phrase-mongering and abuse of others.

When I heard some speeches here, there was not a word in them about the unions, the workers, their wages, the conditions of the people in the country of the speaker. It was all foaming rage about imperialism and the so-called failures of some other people to fight it. It was all one Party's shibboleths. And yet they say that the WFTU must not be treated as a Party organisation but a mass organisation of trade unions.

Hence there was a correct objection from some comrades like that of comrade Novella that if the WFTU does not deal with concrete economic and trade union problems without, of course, giving up its correct political line, it will be sunk in ideological partisanship and lose its capacity to bring about unity in the world trade union movement, where there are diverse political, racial and religious elements.

Hence we agree with the report which from the first chapter begins to emphasise that the WFTU is a mass trade union organisation and not a political party, but not without politics, which it pursues on the basis of unity and united front as struggles.

We support the report as a whole. We would, however, suggest that it should be strengthened by giving more attention to the struggles in the various countries, particularly the underdeveloped ones and drawing more detailed lessons from them.

Resume of Struggles

We suggest that in order to do this, with each such report, the Secretariat should prepare and circulate a resume of all the important struggles and their gains in the various countries and organisations of the WFTU.

It was also remarked that the socialist countries as a whole, while noting their successes in socialist construction, do not give us their trade union experiences and problems. True, they do not have to deal with class-struggles, but there are struggles of a kind in socialist economy also. And they would be useful also to countries, that are taking the path of non-capitalist development.

In this connection, we may even suggest that just as the WFTU has held regional trade union conferences of the trade unions of the Common Market countries,

or of Afro-Asian countries, there should be a conference of the trade unions of the socialist or Comecon countries. Would it not be useful not only to themselves but to others also?

We support the adoption of the report. There are some well-meaning neutrals, who say that by avoiding a clear decision, by avoiding a vote and avoiding all issues of controversy, unity can be maintained. To adopt such a course will not unify us.

It will only encourage those who wish to blackmail us by threats of splits, in giving up the correct and principled line of action and platform that we have before us. It will only mean handing over the WFTU to inaction and lock-out, when action is most needed, and dooming the working class to adventurism and ruin.

Therefore, adhering to our general line, we must firmly rebuff the splitters and maintain unity of principles, platform and class-action. Unity and not splitism is the law of progress and the weapon of the working-class, which was inscribed on its banner by the First International a hundred years ago.

USSR—47 YEARS

* FROM FRONT PAGE

Soviet policies continue in the direction which the working people of all lands sincerely desire. The tendencies towards a return to the period of the cult, however slight, have been nipped in the bud, and the process of ensuring greater democracy goes forward with a greater rapidity than ever before.

Indian Communists are proud to belong to the great Communist family in which the Party of the Builders of Communism plays the leading part.

TRIBALS DEPRIVED OF INHERENT RIGHTS

* FROM PAGE 4

Communists have attacked them because they are Congressmen. On April 26, 1964 one Goya Narayan Deb Barman of Balu Dburan in Jirenie bloc complained against one Chitta Deb Barman and seven others that while he was going in search of his missing cow, the accused accosted him and threatened to kill him unless he gives up his Congress membership.

Witness is one Mangal Deb Barman who also instituted a similar case against Sarat Chandra Deb Barman and 22 others on similar charges. The significant thing is that after four months of harassment the case was dismissed by the Judge with the following words:

"It appears the complainant has been keeping himself absent for the last three successive dates and he did not turn up even when notice was served on him... From this it is proved that the charge against the accused is groundless and as such the case

is dismissed and accused are discharged".

The situation in Tripura is sufficiently serious, where the tribal population is feeling insecure and ill feelings between the tribals and refugees are increasing. Unless the situation is handled with sufficient understanding, it will worsen further and cause harm to the well being of the state.

Immediate Demands

We tried to apprise of this situation to the Tripura administration. We placed before the Government of India the following urgent demands for the solution of the problem.

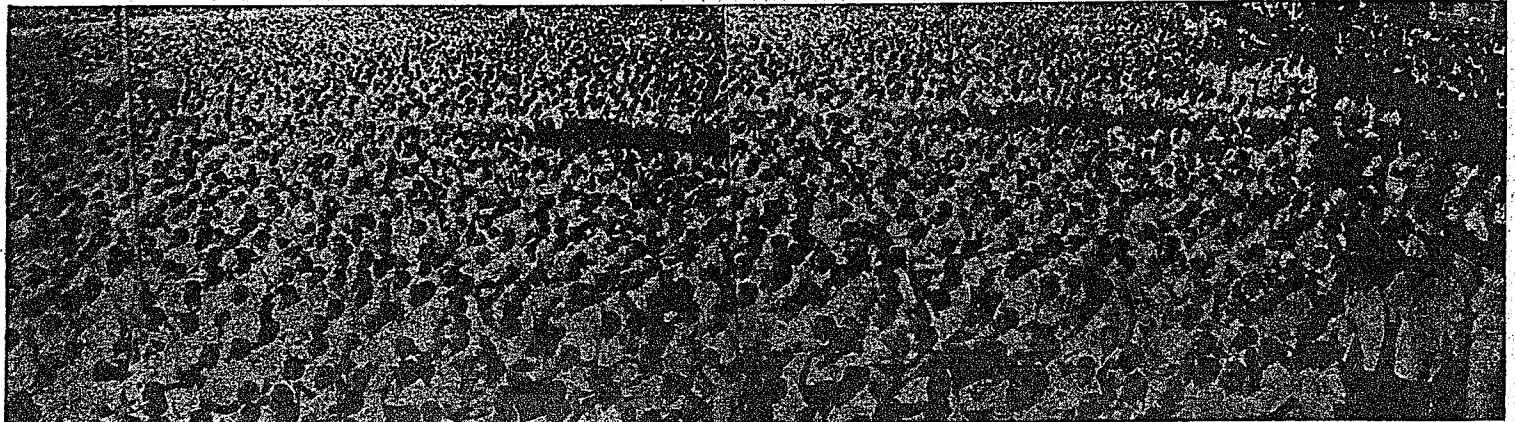
An immediate enquiry into the whole situation—the forcible and unjust evictions of the tribals from their lands, police repression with political vindictiveness, corrupt practices etc.

In view of the fact that it is the declared state policy of India should accept the recommendations of the Jirenie Commission Report for Tripura for declaring the areas with preponderant tribal population as Scheduled Areas and to provide sufficient funds for the development of these areas.

Immediate restoration of the lands from which the Tribals have been evicted.

Withdrawal of all harassing police cases and release of all held under the custody of the courts and police and punishment to the officials responsible for these repressive acts.

In view of the phenomenal growth of the population in the small state of Tripura and in view of the fact that there is hardly any industry there, it is absolutely imperative that the Government of India should set up medium and smallscale industries to give employment to at least a section of the population and raise their living standards.



NEW PPH TITLE

INDIAN ECONOMY YESTERDAY and TODAY

By V. B. Singh

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Women in Soviet Society

WHAT HAS SOVIET POWER BROUGHT TO WOMEN?

THE reply is very short: FULL EQUALITY WITH THE MEN.

It should be mentioned that Soviet women so skillfully used the provided rights that in some fields they even surpassed the men. In what precisely? Let's imagine a meticulous Western newsman who is interested only in facts. He asks and we answer:

What is the number of women per hundred Soviet workers engaged in industry?

Forty six.

What about education and culture?

Sixty two per one hundred.

And in the public health system?

Eighty six.

And in the sphere of state administration? What is the percentage in relation to the "strong sex" held by women?

Forty per cent of deputies to the Supreme and local Soviets are women.

Well, let's take science.

In this field too the times are long gone when scientists put on airs before the "weak sex." Today more than 30,000 women in the Soviet Union have the scientific degrees of doctors and candidates of sciences.

Almost 800 women are members or corresponding members of the academies and professors in the higher educational establishments.

Formerly scientists were called "men" of science. But what must we call

them today when not all scientists are male? Perhaps the philologists will have to rack their brains building a new combination of words!

In general all kinds of intellectual work in the Soviet Union are within the capacity of women. There are 26,000 women writers, editors, journalists and reporters in the Soviet Union.

Let's go a little bit deeper into history. In Tsarist Russia only 138 women out of 1,000 (up to the age of 50) could read and write. Today illiteracy is out of the question. Out of every ten specialists with higher and secondary specialised education, six are women.

Every third engineer in the Soviet Union is a woman. Every other chief, head or chairman is a woman.

Is it bad? Not at all.

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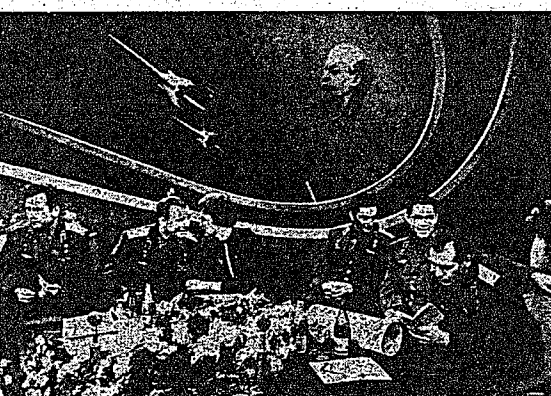
Inborn delicacy and tenderness—called femininity—help them to cope with their responsibilities sometimes even better than men.

Today there are practically no "non-female" professions in the USSR. Women hold the posts of ministers and presidents of Union republics. Among them there are skippers and polar explorers, film directors and judges, officers and diplomats, surgeons and criminalists.

And as a culmination of all there are women-cosmonauts. Vostok-6 spaceship was piloted by the world's first woman-cosmonaut Valentina Tereshkova, now a happy wife and mother.

Despite all this, women remain the beautiful half of the society—charming sweethearts, tender and solicitous mothers and kind housewives in the family.

The first woman in space, Valentina Tereshkova with other cosmonauts at the Moscow TV Studio.



FIRST INTERNATIONAL AND INDIA

THROUGHOUT the years of its activities the First International took a consistently internationalist stand of support to the national liberation movements.

Marx and Engels leading the First International, inculcated in the European proletariat the consciousness of the necessity and importance of this support to oppressed peoples struggling for emancipation. We know about the active support rendered by the International Working Men's Association to the struggles of Polish and Irish Peoples who were then in the thick of their liberation struggles.

But in the main, the centre of activities of the First International was Europe and North America. Much is not known and much research has not been undertaken concerning the connections which the International had had with the then colonial countries of Asia.

In this connection, interesting material showing the connection of the International with our own country is found in the minutes of the General Council. In its sittings on August 15 and 29, 1871, the General Council discussed a letter received from Calcutta requesting authorisation to start a section of the International in India.

The extracts quoted from the minutes are self-explanatory. From there, it is clear that the General Council approved of the establishment of a branch in Calcutta. We may note the emphasis which the General Council attached to the enrolling of Indian workers into the branch so that it would not remain only an organisation of the Englishmen in India.

We do not know from the available material who was the author of the letter. We also do not know as yet whether a section of the International could be established in Calcutta in pursuance of the advice of the General Council. Further research must be undertaken to throw light on these matters. However the very fact of the existence of such a letter is significant. It shows that the influence of the International spread much beyond Europe. It reached India despite the colonial domination with all its oppression and efforts at keeping our country isolated from the mainstream of the labour and socialist movement of that time.

The minutes reproduced below were prepared for publication by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism (Moscow) in connection with the recently celebrated centenary of the First International. These were published for the first time in the journal "NARODI ASII I AFRIKI" (Peoples of Asia and Africa)

No. 5 of 1964. We reproduce these minutes below: "Minutes of Meeting August 15, 1871."

"Citizen Jung in the chair. Members present: citizens Bishop, Boon, Buttery, Eccarius, Engels, Delahaye, Hales, Harris, Hermann, Hurlimann, Lessner, Lochner, Longuet, Marx, Ruhl, Theisz, Townsend, Vaillant and Weston."

"The Secretary announced that branches had been formed at Liverpool and Loughboro in Leicestershire. He also read a letter from Calcutta asking for powers to start a section in India. (The writer said great discontent exists amongst the people, and the British government is thoroughly disliked. The taxation is excessive and the revenues are swallowed up in maintaining a costly system of officialism. As in other places the contrast in a painful manner with the wretched conditions of the workers, whose labour creates the wealth thus squandered. The principles of the International would bring the mass of the people into its organisation if a section was started.)"

"The Secretary was instructed to write and advise the establishment of a branch, but he is to inform the writer that it must be self-supporting. He was also to urge the necessity of enrolling natives in the Association."

Council Meeting held August 29, 1871. "Citizen Marx in the chair. Members present: citizens Bastelica, Boon, Buttery, Chalain, Delahaye, Eccarius, Engels, Franckel, Hales, Harris, Hermann, Jung, Lessner, Lochner, Longuet, Marx, McDonnell, Milner, Mottershead, Roach, Robin, Rochat, Serrailier, Townsend, Vaillant, Weston."

"... A mass of correspondence was received from all parts of the world. In a letter from India an account was given of the interest created by the International. It was felt that its introduction into that country would be the commencement of a new era. It would effect a greater revolution than anything which had preceded it. The International was an association exactly in accordance with the aspirations of the working class of India. It would destroy that fearful curse—Caste, and would abolish those distinctions of colour, creed and race, which have proved such fruitful sources of hatreds and dissent in the past. It would weld the rival races and sects into one homogeneous whole and would help the workers to gain their rights—political and social. Capital, the real juggernaut which crushes down labour, would not longer be allowed to use up human energy like so much fuel, but would be brought under the control of the workers themselves."

month on the birth anniversary of the departed leader, Kochetov said he had offered a number of suggestions for the proposed museum.

He said the Nehru Museum should be a living museum with photographic, cinematographic and other records of the great Indian leader, so that people could see Nehru's image and hear his voice. Great attention should be paid to the training of guides, he added.

Dwelling on the Tolstoy Memorial Museum at Yasaya Polyana, Kochetov said the place had become a pilgrimage for lovers of art and literature. It was a great seat for the study of the works of the illustrious writer and thinker, Leo Tolstoy, he added. Over 200,000 people visited Yasaya Polyana every year, he said.

"Yasaya Polyana is the proud possessor of publications not to be found in any other library in the USSR", Kochetov said. "Among them, for example, are materials dealing with the history of the liberation movement in India sent to Tolstoy by the publishers."

At the end of the press conference, A. N. Kochetov showed a few slides containing stills of the film "War and Peace"—which is being produced and directed by the famous Soviet director and actor, Sergei Bondarchuk.

From KUNHANANDAN NAIR

(Khalid Bagdash, general secretary of the Communist Party of Syria and an outstanding leader of the Arab revolutionary movement was recently interviewed by our Berlin correspondent Kunhanandan Nair on the current developments and course of the national liberation movement in the Arab countries. The interview which took place at the time of the Berlin Seminar commemorating the centenary of the founding of the First International is reproduced below):

THE national liberation movement in the Arab world has registered the tremendous strides in the last decade. Now what is the principal content of the social developments there? How is the national liberation movement and the working class movement developing these days? Is there any conflict between the two?

BAGDASH: What is at present characteristic of the development of the national liberation movement in the Arab countries is that its social and economic content is becoming richer and more profound. In other words, the social and economic transformations are becoming the essential and principal content of this movement. The spirit of our epoch, the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism, is spreading like an irresistible torrent throughout the Arab countries.

The national liberation movement is developing from a mainly anti-colonialist movement to a movement with a clearly anti-capitalist content. It remains, however, essentially an anti-imperialist movement. As long as imperialism exists, there exists also the danger of a return of colonialism in one form or the other. That is why it is indispensable to realize and consolidate the union of all national anti-imperialist forces including the progressive elements of the national bourgeoisie who are not hostile towards the social progress impelled by the objective development and demanded by the workers, peasants and revolutionary intellectuals.

Thus one can notice how in our country beside the communist and working class movement numerous movements and currents calling for socialism—and most of them honestly—come into being.

The question, therefore, is to unite these movements and currents and make them familiar with scientific socialism.

This task of unification cannot be handled in every country in either the same form or the same way. In order to avoid complications and failures one has to avoid generalising the experience gained in one country or the other. One has, in our opinion, to start from the actual conditions and from the realities of the situation in every country. That is to say, in every country one has to take into consideration the specific weight and the role of the working class movement as well as the specific weight and the role of one or the other current or movement calling itself socialist, the democratic traditions and finally—and perhaps above all—the perspectives of the objective development in one or the other country, etc., etc.

Obviously, it is in any case dangerous and utopian to close one's eyes to the class struggle and to the forms as well as the perspectives of the quantitative and qualitative development of the working class and its historical role as the most consistent social force in the struggle for socialism.

The increasing role of the international working class movement and its main achievement, the world socialist system, in the development of mankind as a whole will not lead to the disappearance or diminution of the role of the working class in the newly liberated countries.

Where there exists at present no

BOLD NEW STRIDES OF ARAB LIBERATION MOVEMENT

An Interview With KHALID BAGDASH

working class or only a negligible one, it will come into being by the economic and social development itself, and where it does exist, it will grow and its ideology, scientific socialism, Marxism-Leninism, will gain more and more importance and become the dominant ideology of society.

How far did the ideological dispute in the international Communist movement affect the Communist Parties in the Arab countries? Are there any splits in any Party?

BAGDASH: Naturally, in Syria as in any other Arab country, the communists are showing a lively interest in the divergencies and polemics in the international communist movement. However, the dogmatic points of view of the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party did not meet with any support or sympathy within our Syrian Communist Party, nor, as far as I know, in any other Arab Communist Party; therefore, no split occurred, in spite of the incessant attempts of Peking's emissaries aimed at this end.

But having failed in their attempts to provoke a split within the Arab Communist Parties, they resorted to still more regrettable and detestable methods. They are trying now, for instance, to rally adventurist elements, careerists or suspects, among them elements excluded from the communist movement for 10 or 15 years on the grounds of degeneration or collaboration with the police, etc.

Attempts At Division

With such elements they try to create groups without principles and without morals, which they call "parties" with impressive titles. They assign these groups the central, even the sole task, of fighting the Arab Communist Parties and their leaders and to slander the Soviet Union and the great Party of Lenin and its leaders with calumny.

In spite of the large financial means put at the disposal of these elements, and despite the benevolence and encouragement they often enjoy at the hands of the imperialist and local intelligence services, they do not and will not succeed in playing any part in the political life of the countries where they operate. Those maintaining and fostering them are well aware of it. They know that groups and elements of that kind will never become a mass movement.

But they need acts of diversion and their propaganda in Peking's radio and in their press, in order to make the working people of China believe that the dogmatism they defend is spreading and becoming more and more of a "world movement". In this way think they can justify before Chinese political opinion their splitting activity in the international Communist and working class movement.

However, neither in Syria nor in Lebanon, our fraternal neighbouring country, nor in any other Arab country do acts of that kind have any future. Such actions and attempts can at best create a certain embarrassment, or can be used by the forces of imperialism and reaction, but they cannot influence the objective development in the Arab countries, which is progressing help

in a direction diametrically opposed to the dogmatic notions and the splitting and diversionary activities.

We Syrian Communists are convinced that in future too we will be able to thwart any splitting attempt aimed at our Party, by going ahead in the spirit of the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU. That is, on the one hand by following as a national force a concrete policy conforming with the actual conditions in our country and with the need of its development, and on the other hand, by respecting the Leninist norms in the activity of our Party and in its interior life as a whole.

Considering the situation as a whole one clearly recognizes that the Chinese comrades find it increasingly difficult to defend their positions "theoretically" or politically. Their arguments collapse not only under the force of the polemic aimed at their positions by the overwhelming majority of the Marxist-Leninist parties, but also, and first of all, by the actual development of the situation in every country and throughout the world.

Peking's Followers!

Is it not, for instance, characteristic that Communist leaders declaring themselves followers of Peking's theses are, in fact, in their own countries pursuing a policy diametrically opposed to these theses? Thus reality is inescapable.

Under the conditions of world peace and peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems, the concrete development in every country and on an international scale completely dismantles the "theses" of the Chinese comrades. Neither a big mouth, big words nor threats will alter this objective process.

The present difficulties in the international Communist movement will be surmounted, and unity will triumph. That is our firm belief. The Marxists-Leninists have an unshakeable belief, and they have strong nerves.

Our Central Committee expressing the unanimous will of our Party, is convinced that a world conference of the Communist and Workers Parties will facilitate the task of overcoming the difficulties and paving the way towards unity.

This conference, whose task will neither be to exclude nor to condemn anybody, will contribute to a better clarification of the positions, an open and fraternal exchange of opinion, and a collective examination of the changes that have taken place in the world and especially in Asia and Africa, and of the new common tasks resulting from these changes.

Therefore our Syrian Communist Party, which is a member of the Commission of 28 Parties, will take part in the meeting of the Commission to be held in Moscow in December, on the invitation of our Soviet comrades.

Our Correspondent adds: During our conversation comrade Bagdash spoke highly of the recent peaceful mass movement organised by the CPI that swept the whole country. He wished the Communist Party the mass movement and the advancing democratic forces in India every success and asked me to convey his congratulations to the National Council of the CPI for its great achievements during the last two years.

Now, Comrade how to forge the unity that is badly divided today? What is the way out? Do you think another conference would help?



Khalid Bagdash

Comrade Bagdash, I am sure you are aware of the situation in the Communist Party of India. Leaders of two brother parties have engineered a split. What was your reaction to one party splitting another?

BAGDASH: We are aware in Syria of the situation created recently in the fraternal C.P. of India. We, the Syrian communists, as well as our comrades in the Arab countries, have received with profound grief and regret the various informations about the splitting activities carried out and encouraged by the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party, within the Communist Party of India.

Nobody but the imperialists and reactionaries can be pleased to see a split within as large a communist party as the CPI, which was supported by 12 million voters and played a constantly increasing role in the development of the national liberation movement in India, and whose activity was felt far beyond the frontiers of India.

Historical Responsibility

The splitters carry a heavy historical responsibility not only before the working class and the people of India, but before the whole national liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Every progressive patriot, no matter from where, wholeheartedly wishes the Indian comrades success in overcoming any difficulty and split and in closing their ranks in the great struggle for complete national and social liberation and peace.

Now, Comrade how to forge the unity that is badly divided today? What is the way out? Do you think another conference would help?

Soviet Interest In Nehru Museum

NEW DELHI: "I have been greatly impressed by the creative efforts of Indian museum authorities in collecting valuable and unique materials for the museums in the country", said A. N. Kochetov, Director of Tolstoy Memorial Museum at Yasaya Polyana, USSR, addressing a press conference here on October 29.

A. N. Kochetov, who had visited a number of museums in India, including the National

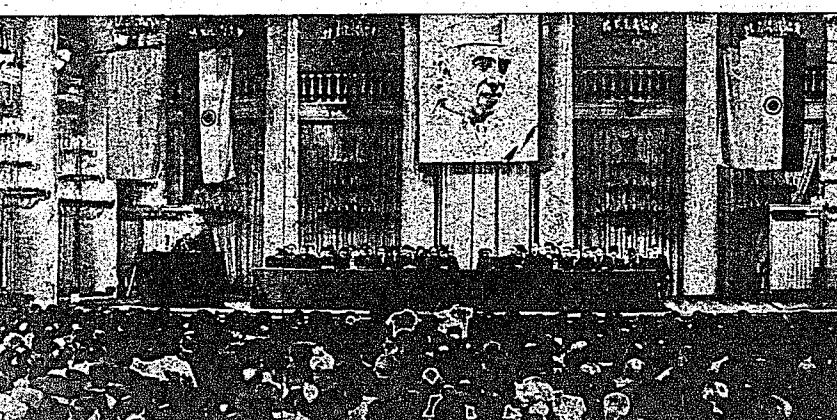
Museum and Gandhi Sangrahalaya in New Delhi, was very appreciative of the manner in which these treasure-houses of art and culture were preserved in India. "The Museum at Saranath contains, for example", he added, "some of the most magnificent monuments of Buddhism".

Kochetov is greatly interested in Buddhism and has studied under the famous scholar of Buddhism, Academician Shcherbatkov, well-known in India for his monumental works on Buddhism. Kochetov's interest in India is naturally, therefore,

deep and abiding. Referring to his meetings with people in India, of the Mahabodhi Society and other societies, who were interested in Buddhism, he said these were very fruitful and provided ample opportunity to exchange information in this field. "Scientific contacts in the study of Buddhism are being developed between India and the USSR", Kochetov said and expressed the hope that "these relations will be further strengthened."

Referring to his visit to the Nehru Memorial Museum, that is going to be opened next

MOSCOW. A view of the meeting held in the memory of Jawaharlal Nehru, at the House of Unions on June 3, 1964.



NEW AGE

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From All Continents They Come By OUR STAFF CORRESPONDENT

World Peace Meet Brings Together Outstanding Personalities

NEW DELHI: The world-famous British jurist D. N. Pritt will represent the British Peace Committee at the World Conference for Peace and International Cooperation, which opens on Jawaharlal Nehru's birthday in New Delhi. The conference, which will continue from November 14 to 18, is attracting some of the most outstanding personalities from every continent. Each of them represents a vital and living organisation or movement dedicated to peace and the independence of peoples.

FROM Africa are expected delegates from several countries. Among the most distinguished is the Secretary General of the Accra Assembly for a World Without the Bomb—F. E. Boateng. This celebrated son of Ghana is well-known to the Indian people: he was in the capital for a considerable period as an official in the Ghana High Commission.

He is now one of the close collaborators of President Nkrumah, and will come with full authority to speak not only on behalf of his country, but also for the wide and representative body which constitutes the continuing committee of the Accra Assembly.

It is expected that there will be a strong and large delegation from Algeria. Among them is Souaiah Houari, President of the Algerian Peace Committee and a member of leadership of the Algerian Front of Liberation, which leads Algeria today. The Algerian delegation will carry with it the support of the Algerian people and their courageous President Ahmad Ben Bella.

Other African countries which are certain to send delegations to the conference include the United Arab Republic, Nigeria, Malagasy and of course the fighting peoples of South Africa, Angola and Mozambique. The socialist countries will

be well represented. The Soviet delegation will be headed by Academician E. M. Zhukov and includes distinguished figures from many fields of activity.

It has just been announced that the Italian delegation will include the internationally-renowned writer Carlo Levi. His presence as well as that of famous writers from other lands will make the writers' meeting and the cultural commission of the conference of special interest to Indian creative workers.

From Japan is coming a strong delegation representing Sohyo, the powerful trade union movement, as well as the Japan Socialist Party and the sponsors of the successful conference against nuclear weapons held at Hiroshima last August.

Nearly 30 national organisations and eight international organisations are reported to have already named their delegates or indicated definitely that they will be sending delegates. The conference organisers have announced that nearly fifty other organisations have declared their support for the conference and many of them are expected to inform whether they will be able to send delegates within the next few days.

The conference, as is known, is sponsored by the Indian

Preparatory Committee, which has sent out invitations to a number of organisations, national and international, which have indicated clearly that they agree with the conference agenda.

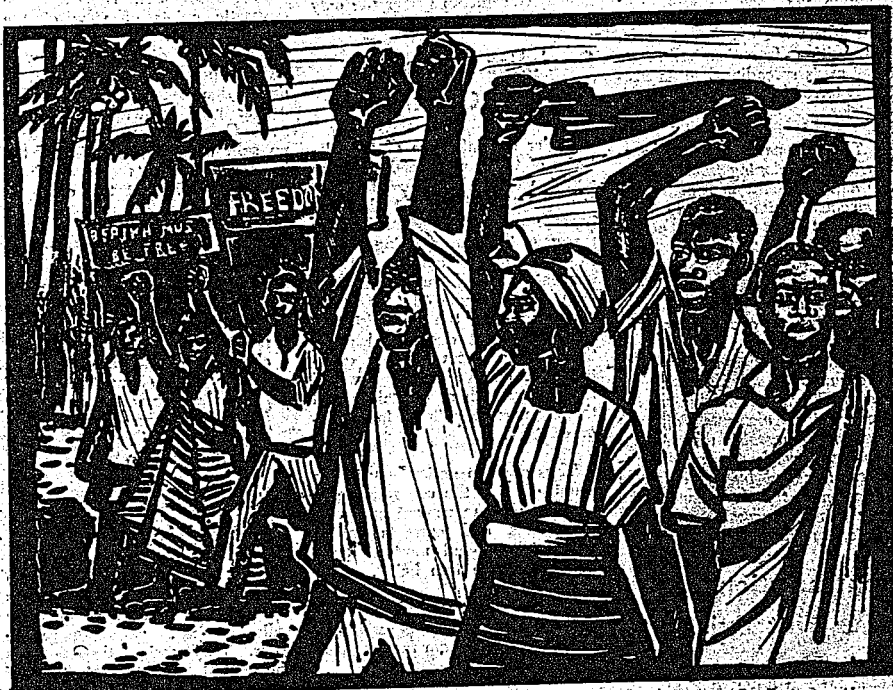
The sponsors have made it clear that since no inter-

national body is involved in the sponsorship; the only basis of participation is agreement with the aims and objects of the conference, which are stated in the agenda in considerable detail.

Last week NEW AGE report-

ed the proposal to make the rose a symbol of the conference. It has now been announced that the well-known artist Satish Gujral has drawn a rose for the conference, and this will be used for the delegate cards, posters etc. Another celebrated figure in the cultural world has also promised to contribute a design, which will be used to symbolise the aims of the conference.

FORWARD TO FREEDOM



At the heart of the agenda of the World Conference for Peace and International Cooperation is the struggle for national independence, against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

Among the most important events connected with the conference programme will be:

- * The public trial of the South African racist Prime Minister Verwoerd (on November 16).
- * The international meeting of solidarity with the freedom struggles of the people of Angola, Mozambique and other Portuguese colonies (on November 17).

VICTORY FOR POLICY OF PEACE OVERWHELMING 'YES' FOR JOHNSON AND GIGANTIC 'NO' TO GOLDWATER

The overwhelming victory of L. B. Johnson in the US Presidential election over his rival Barry Goldwater has fully vindicated the faith and the hope that America can crush Goldwaterism.

THE victory of Johnson, of Humphrey, and of the two Kennedy brothers as well as the overall gain of the Democrats have unmistakably indicated that the Ame-

rican people stand for liberalism and not for extremism. They stand for peace and not for war.

The Communist Party of USA, in a pre-election appeal to American people had highlighted the fact that America at the moment of elections stood "at a fateful political crossroads" and in Goldwater was represented what constituted the worst of American society. The extreme right-wing reactionaries, the Klu Klux Klan, John Birch and the gangs of segregationists, the warmongers, and the "scum" of society combined together to support Goldwater.

And with Johnson, Humphrey, the two Kennedys as well as the Democrats in

general stood the progressives, the peace-loving people of America. It is this real America that has triumphed.

The re-elected President Johnson following his record victory has acknowledged the fact that this victory "is more than a victory for a party or a person, it is a tribute to a programme begun by our beloved President John Fitzgerald Kennedy."

The victory of the Democrats has naturally been very widely acclaimed throughout the world and hope has been expressed that the new administration will work for peace and further easing of international tension.

But on the national scale,

the American people, who defeated Goldwater and his gang, expect that civil rights of the Negro people will be ensured, that there will be a guarantee of real peace in the streets of Southern states, there will be greater social security, rapid measures for ending poverty and curb on monopoly control of American lives among others.

The Johnson administration therefore faces stupendous tasks to fulfil both internally as well as on the international scale. A brighter and happier future of the American people has got to be the price of the confidence reposed in Johnson and the Democrats.

DANGE DEMANDS RELEASE OF 'LEFT' LEADERS

NEW DELHI: The unwarranted arrest of twentythree leaders of the split-away group of the Communist Party of India on October 30 in Calcutta has been condemned by the CPI.

The Chairman of the CPI, S. A. Dange, just before his departure to Trivandrum to attend the meeting of the National Council, met the Union Home Minister Gultari Lal Nanda and demanded the immediate release of these leaders.