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# Left Parties Must Unite To Present

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# DEMOCRATIC ALTERNATIVE TO CONGRESS

This is the nineteenth Independence Day we are celebrating. It is natural that we take stock of the situation in the country and chalk out our path forward on this solemn occasion.

**T**HE Congress has been ruling the country for the last 18 years both at the Centre and in the states except for some brief periods in Kerala where a Communist-led ministry was in power for 28 months and a PSP ministry supported by the Congress came to power for a shorter period.

The Congress had ample opportunity to fulfil its promises to the Indian people and take the country along the path of all-round progress and plenty.

But the policies it has pursued all these years have brought our country to face crises in the political, economic and other spheres of life, notwithstanding the progress made in the industrialisation of the country.

It has landed our country in a very critical situation and we are today facing the grave danger of reversal of the nation's declared basic

policies of nonalignment and anti-colonialism, democracy and secularism and independent economic development and all-round progress.

The country's economy is in a severe crisis. Two five-year plans are over and the third plan is already in its last year. The fourth plan is in the making.

A significant advance has been made in the field of industrialisation. The wealth of the country has increased. But the common people are groaning under the burden of high prices and taxes. There is no hope of escape from still higher prices and taxes under the Congress regime.

It is admitted by all that wealth has concentrated in the hands of the upper strata of society and above all, in the hands of a few monopoly houses. Black money to the tune of several thousand

crores of rupees has accumulated in the hands of this upper strata.

The debt of both the Central and state governments has risen to a grand total of Rs. 10,775 crores by March 1965. Out of this, foreign debts amount to Rs. 3,383 crores, a major portion of which is to the United States. Government has been forced to send hundreds of crores of rupees out of the country towards interest and repayment charges. It is these charges which are the main reason for the foreign exchange crisis which has thrown the five-year plan into a crisis.

The Congress regime is surrendering more and more to the Indian monopolists and giving them concessions detrimental to the interests of the nation, with a view to save itself from

the mess it has itself created.

It is also giving concessions to imperialists which harm the independent economic development of our country.

The agrarian policy of the Congress government has been an utter failure, resulting in constant food deficits and reliance on huge imports

Corruption has grown to such proportions under the Congress rule that it has today become a multi-headed monster stalking every walk of our social life. Governmental machinery is steeped in corruption from the ministers downwards, resulting in utter inefficiency. Cases of ex-chief

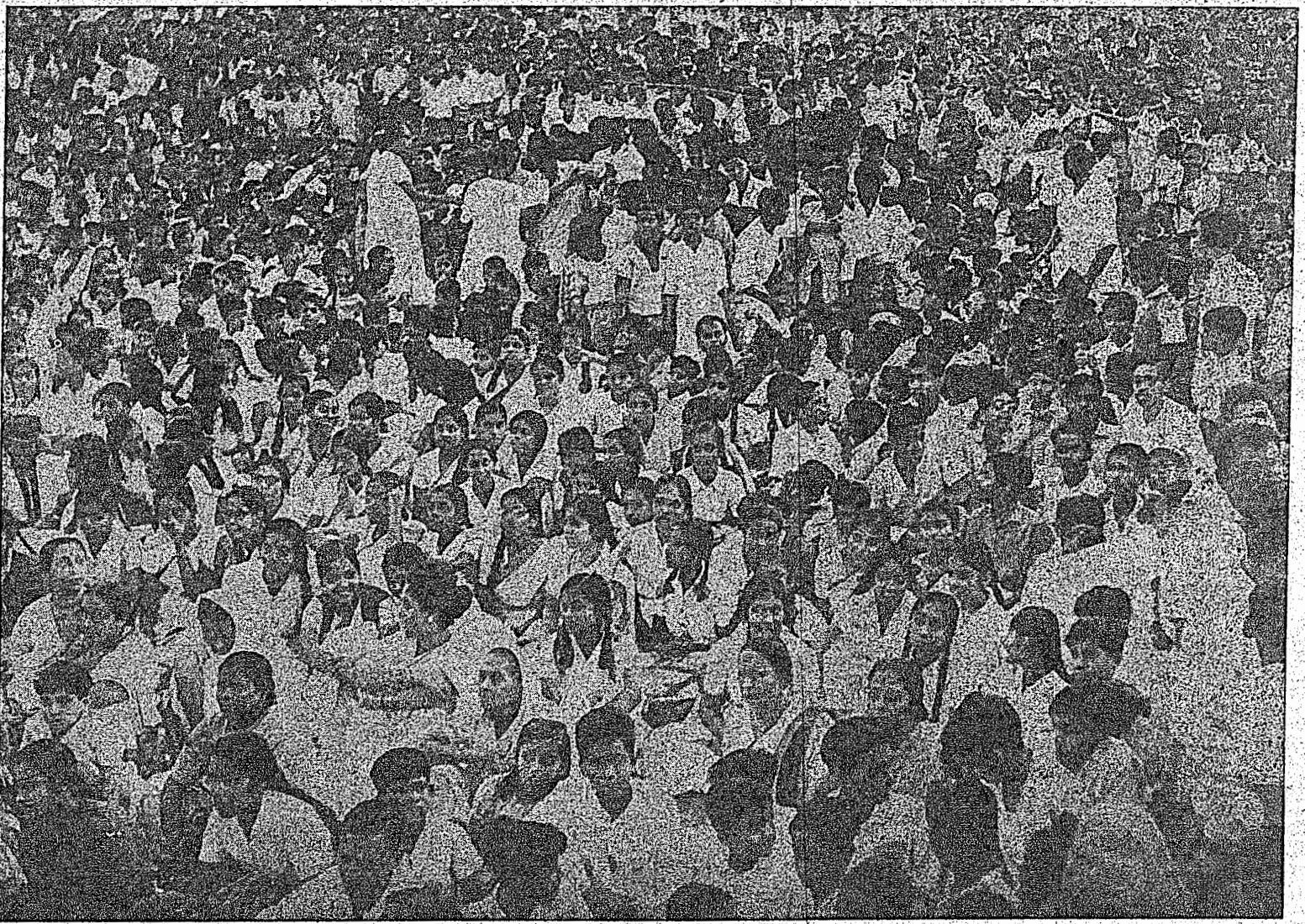
By  
**C. RAJESHWAR RAO**

of foodgrains from the USA. This, combined with its pro-boarder policy, has resulted in the skyrocketing of the prices of foodstuffs and a serious food crisis exposing millions of people to hunger, starvation and death.

ministers like Bakshi, Kairon and Biju Patnaik are glaring instances of this corruption.

The anti-people policies of the Congress rulers, on the

\* On Page 17





# IS AICC IN PUBLIC SECTOR?

From C. R. KRISHNA RAO

**B**ANGALORE: How the government machinery and influence was utilised to the maximum by the Mysore Congress bosses to help the AICC session held in Bangalore last month has been revealed here now.

According to reliable sources, the reception committee had collected Rs. four lakhs for the session. It cornered all the public choultries and posh hotels in the city for lodging the delegates.

All luxury taxis were under the command of the reception committee, for Congress leaders could not be expected

to travel by ordinary taxis. They also hit the poor by drafting many of the state transport buses.

There was no dearth for food for the AICC though the country is facing an acute food crisis. Fine rice was supplied specially by the state government, though people cannot get even coarse rice in the fair price shops. Lots of food were wasted too.

For lodging the delegates, the government commandeered three hundred houses built by the Housing Board in Jayanagar, a suburb near to Lalbag where the AICC session was held. To facilitate this,

allotment of houses was delayed by more than a month.

One need not go into the payment made by the Centre and state governments of travelling allowance to the ministers and their entourage who had come to Bangalore; their visits had been conveniently made "official" by fixing up engagements.

For the Chief Ministers and Food Ministers in particular, the travelling allowance was no problem at all; the Chief Ministers' conference on food was held one day previous to the AICC session. Whether anything came out of it is an entirely different matter.

Other Ministers and Deputy Ministers from the different states and New Delhi also had

their four programmes fixed so that a visit to Bangalore was included without fail.

All these are done at the time of every Congress session. But where Bangalore has Hostel... will be placed at the address by the Mysore government to the chairman of the AICC reception committee on July 7. Following are some extracts from this letter:

"The General Administrative Department of the (Mysore) Government will be in charge of the reception and send off of the State guests and necessary transport will also be provided by them."

"They will be lodged in the guest houses run by the state. Kumara Krupa, Sudarshan Guest House, the General

Hostel will be placed at the disposal of the Reception Committee from the 20th to 26th July 1965 for accommodating the delegates to the Indian National Congress.

"Catering in Kumara Krupa and Sudarshan will be done by the Guest House staff. In other places the respective contractors will cater and send the bills in respect of state guests to the General Administration Department for payment."

Nothing more blatant than this can be in utilising state machinery for party purposes. Will the Congress government allow even part of the same facilities for other political parties for holding any of their meetings?

banking structure would be shaken.

Finally the question came up, if Home Ministry insisted on taking action, that guarantees to secure the deposits and normal working of the bank must first be secured. The Reserve Bank alone can provide such guarantees, but it was reluctant to do so.

Only when the issue was taken up at the highest level in the government and proposed action cleared could the Reserve Bank be persuaded to give the necessary guarantees. Hence the delayed action.

Many have been intrigued why the former chairman of the bank, in whose regime the transactions took place, has not figured in the action being taken against the branches and officers of the bank. The tussle over the whole issue between the Home Ministry and the Finance Ministry might, however, explain it.

—B. M

# TESTING TIME FOR INDIA'S NONALIGNMENT

The references to the Vietnam crisis in the recently issued joint India-Uganda statement, signed by Prime Ministers Shastri and Obote, will cause deep disappointment among all anti-imperialists. As far as India is concerned, the section in the joint statement on Vietnam represents a retreat from the previous stand taken by the Government of India regarding the stopping of US bombings on North Vietnam.

**S**INCE the last few months, the stand of the Government of India had been fairly firmly one of demanding a stopping of the bombings, as a necessary first step for peace in Vietnam. The taking of this stand by the Government of India angered the U. S. authorities so greatly, that President Johnson insultingly cancelled Prime Minister Shastri's scheduled visit to the U.S.A.

The Indo-Yugoslav joint declaration issued at the close of Prime Minister Shastri's visit to Yugoslavia at the end of July, reiterated this demand for an end to the U.S. bombings. But the statements made by the Indian Prime Minister were somewhat equivocal.

He refused to commit himself as he had done earlier, when asked categorically if the stopping of the bombings was a necessary first step for a peaceful settlement. There was a dangerous tendency in the statements to equate "both sides"—that is, to put the US aggressors and the Vietnamese victims of aggression on the same footing.

## Sharp Retreat From Earlier Stand

The Shastri-Obote communique appears to have put the seal on the present point of view of the Indian Prime Minister by stating:

"The stoppage of hostilities, including stopping of bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, would create a powerful climate for holding this conference." (Geneva-type conference)

When an External Affairs Ministry spokesman was asked by pressmen if this stand was not different from the stand taken earlier by the Government of India, he categorically denied this, and "maintained that the passage in the communique on Vietnam was identical with the stand India had taken hitherto on the issue" (Hindustan Times, August 7)

But one would like to ask the spokesman and his mentors: If all that India has been calling for was a stoppage of all "hostilities" (in which obviously the halting of the US bombings on North Vietnam would be included), why did the US Government and press react earlier in such a violent manner?

The truth cannot be denied that the present formulation on the stopping of US bombings on North Vietnam is totally different from all earlier statements, made by the Government of India: it represents a sharp retreat even from the far from satisfactory position on the US aggression in Vietnam taken by the Shastri Government till now.

One could add to this list of serious mistakes and weaknesses. Nevertheless it must be admitted, that despite a whole series of often disastrous errors, India's foreign policy gradually began to assume a less nebulous shape, an anti-imperialist content, which it did not have before.

The stand of the Indian delegation at the Cairo non-aligned conference on the vast majority of issues (leaving aside the disgusting "neutrality" on the Tshombe issue) was undoubtedly a more clearly anti-imperialist stand than that taken at the first nonaligned conference at Belgrade. This was certainly due

partly at least, to the fact that the policy of nonalignment had itself sharpened between Belgrade and Cairo, and India could not afford to lag behind other leading members of the nonaligned family. But it would be wrong to dismiss the advance in India's anti-imperialist positions as merely an echo of the advance in the positions of other countries.

India has, on several issues in recent times, taken a lead in giving support to the peoples fighting for liberation. The Indian drafts at the Cairo Conference were, by and large, effective. If not sharp enough, condemnations, of imperialism and colonialism. Anti-imperialism runs like a thread through the joint communiqués signed by Prime Minister Shastri recently with the heads of governments of the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia and Uganda (the weakness on Vietnam in the last communique has already been mentioned).

There is considerable unanimity among commentators that lamentable mistakes and weaknesses characterised the government's handling of

A word should be said here also about the change in government's attitude during this period towards the peace movement. While the beginnings of this change had already begun to be felt in the last year or two of Pandit Nehru's life, it has only been during the last year that the change has become sufficiently marked as to be noticed by everyone.

The best proof of this change was seen in the participation of Prime Minister Shastri in a special session of the World Conference for Peace and International Co-operation, held in New Delhi last November. Here it was that the head of the Indian government gave his full support for the first time in the history of the peace movement, to the principles and aims of the movement.

The peace movement, as a result of its broadening, has become far more influential than ever before, and has

tion, pinpointed at the start of this article, demonstrate the necessity for constant vigilance by the democratic movement and unceasing criticism of the government's Vietnam policy.

Apart from the all important issue of Vietnam, the old weaknesses in foreign policy remain. India's support to the neo-colonialist plot to create Malaysia, as a base for imperialist bases, continues. (One wants to see the reactions to the separation of Singapore). India still refuses to recognise the German Democratic Republic.

## Old Weaknesses Remain

The support to the liberation struggles has not been given material shape. Hesitations and bureaucratic opposition still prevents the opening of offices of the liberation movements in New Delhi.

On the vital issue of disarmament, India has not yet come out in condemnation of the dangerous imperialist schemes for the so-called multilateral nuclear forces or the Atlantic nuclear force, or the schemes to arm West Germany with nuclear weapons.

A review of Indian foreign policy cannot be complete without a reference to our relations with China and Pakistan. This year has seen positive moves by the Government of India for a peaceful settlement. President Radhakrishnan's suggestions, in this regard have been welcomed by the democratic movement as a manifestation of a positive reorientation in our foreign policy.

But the imperialist hand behind the Kutch agreement was too visible for the democratic movement to give the agreement its unqualified support.

The latest news of a fresh aggression by Pakistan in Kashmir, through the agency of "infiltrators," only confirms the apprehensions of the democratic movement regarding the sinister motives of the imperialists, who constantly use the tension on India's borders to pressurise our country to weaken its policy of nonalignment.

As Independence Day comes nearer, negotiations are beginning between India and the Soviet Union for the supply of Soviet submarines for India's navy. The imperialists are holding up their hands in horror and threatening India in every possible manner. The assistance of the Soviet Union in building our defence potential helps India to become strong and independent of imperialist defence materials.

The more independent India can become of the imperialist powers, the stronger can be India's foreign policy, the more valuable India's contribution to world peace and the national independence of all peoples.

But that does not make the criticism of the government's weak policies any the less correct. And the latest government vacillations even in regard to this ques-

(August 10)

# NEW DELHI LETTER PAK'S NEW ADVENTURE IN KASHMIR

The latest Pakistani adventure in Kashmir—Chief Minister Sadiq has unequivocally described it as "full blooded invasion" though the Government of India is still hesitating how to characterise it—has come as a shock to many, not excluding some in the official quarters.

**B**UT what appears to be inexplicable and even more shocking, in the midst of controversy raging over the Kutch ceasefire agreement, is that large numbers of Pakistani armed men succeeded in crossing stealthily the ceasefire line and penetrate as deep as 42 miles inside the Indian territory to indulge in their depredations.

According to official briefing a thousand to twelve hundred Pakistani armed men had crossed since August 5 into Indian territory and had assembled as organised units of 50 to 100 men at pre-determined points.

They had not only indulged in acts of sabotage and terrorising the local population but had also been engaged in pitched encounters with Indian forces. Other estimates hold that infiltration had been on a larger scale than officially stated and might be in the neighbourhood of 3000 men. They are heavily armed.

The attack was timed with the protest organised by Plebiscite Front over restrictions placed on Sheikh Abdullah, but it is officially stated that leaders who organised the protest had privately dissociated themselves from Pakistan designs.

Meanwhile, Pakistani side, through its Sadaq Kashmir Radio has announced the setting up of a so-called revolutionary council and then of a provisional government for Kashmir.

It is evident that Pakistan means serious trouble and what is attempted as it is not the usual violations of ceasefire line and individual acts of sabotage, to which we have been accustomed over the years, but

a determined and organised action to bring about a decisive confrontation over Kashmir dispute.

In such a situation, New Delhi has certainly opened itself once again to the charge of lack of vigilance in matters of defence. While the Pakistani attack was being mounted, the seriousness of the move was not realised fully for at least three days.

Once it was recognised that counter-measures against Pakistani attack had to be reinforced some quick steps dictated by necessity were taken; but it still is a matter of differing assessment between various ministries and government leaders concerned.

The legalistic quibbling in which some men in high authority seem to be indulging about the character of Pakistani action—invasion or infiltration of saboteurs—is most disquieting and is bound to inhibit our counter-measures. It will also hinder a firm and clear-cut presentation of Indian position for the world at large. Pakistani rulers might even be tempted to step up their pressure, in face of such hesitations and timidity.

That the Pakistani rulers should have embarked on such a dangerous course at a time when they were supposed to be in a state of tension, in their relationship with Western powers, specially the USA, is itself regarded as intriguing in New Delhi. That foreign correspondents in New Delhi should be seeing in this a massive internal uprising in Kashmir is equally so.

Could this be taken as unfolding of yet another Pakistani attempt to force foreign

intervention in Indo-Pakistan conflicts? This has been its tactics for long.

The haste with which the setting up of a provisional government and its intention to approach the UN and to seek its participation in the proposed Algerian conference has been proclaimed would indicate precisely this.

The Kutch agreement in which arbitration has been accepted by India, could certainly have encouraged Pakistan to attempt to precipitate a similar situation with regard to Kashmir.

Instead of speaking of situation in Kashmir being quiet and under control, because incidents and clashes on a particular day may not be as large as might be, the government and the Prime Minister himself should dispel any illusion that India could be pressurised into accepting arbitration on Kutch pattern in the case of Kashmir.

At the same time, Pakistan must be warned squarely of grave consequences of its latest adventures and firm military measures taken to wipe out the incursion into Kashmir.

## Corruption: Playing Safe

**T**HE raids on the Punjab National Bank branches and some of its officers in connection with certain irregular transactions over UP zamindari bonds, which have aroused considerable public attention, presents interesting facets of its own.

The first information about the irregularities—the purchases in question are reported to be worth about Rs. 4.5 crores—came to authorities quite a long time ago. The first investigations were com-

pleted about six months ago. The investigating authorities then informed the Home Ministry that a prima facie case existed for a more and formal probe.

It is claimed that the Home Ministry moved quickly in the matter. But since the matter concerned one of the big five in Indian banking, it could not proceed on its own without Finance Ministry's concurrence.

All kinds of hurdles then started cropping up in taking action—it would start a run on the bank, the interests of depositors would suffer and above all the confidence in the entire

## MORARJI ON VIETNAM

—Is This Congress Policy?

**M**ORARJI DESAI, in an interview with Atiq Siddiqi on the occasion of Independence Day, has expressed his views on Vietnam. Here are some samples:

"The US had to rush there (Vietnam), because many duties and obligations had fallen on her in the post II World War period... If Communist Chinese are not prepared to leave Vietnam, we can hardly appeal to USA to leave it, because that would amount to a breach of trust on their part... It is highly uncharitable for any one to blame or criticise the US government for its policy in Vietnam..." (IPA Special, August 10)

Even the Americans have not claimed that a single

Chinese soldier is in Vietnam. But Morarji out-Johnson Johnson to justify US aggression.

The Government of India's criticism of US policy in Vietnam led to the cancellation of Shastri's visit to Washington... But Morarji calls all such criticism "highly uncharitable".

Not long ago, New Age's exposures silenced the Voice of America being relayed through the AICC Economic Review. But now the voice is being relayed from a far more influential quarter—a member of the Congress High Command, a 'candidate' for the Prime Ministership, once Number Two himself.

Will the Congress leaders and ranks do something to silence this shameful apologist for US aggression?



# Kerala

## Mass Satyagraha Before Govt Offices For Food

From S. SHARMA

TRIVANDRUM: Five thousand and five hundred volunteers participated in the one-day mass satyagraha before sixty district and taluk offices in Kerala as the hungermarchers under the banner of the Communist Party reached Trivandrum on August 9.

THE streets of the state capital, as also many towns and villages in the state, echoed and re-echoed to the cry of the CPI volunteers, "give us food".

The main demands voiced by the hungermarchers were twelve ounces of ration, a just share in the Fourth Plan for Kerala and release of detenus.

Leaders and members of the state council, district councils and Mandal committees and branches, men and women, workers and peasants, in short people from all walks of life participated in this agitation for people's food.

The hungermarch which had started from Cannanore last month and had divided into two caravans to cover both the coastal and eastern regions of the state, joined together again at Kesavadasapuram in the state capital and marched into the city under the leadership of P.T. Punnoose and K. T. Jacob.

### Warning To Government

At the Martyrs Column in the heart of the city this jatha was greeted by a big procession under the leadership of S. Kumaran and C. Unnikrishnan. The processionists carried red flags, banners and placards and singing the marching song turned into a mighty demonstration.

Punnoose placed a wreath on the Martyrs Column before the demonstration began winding its way through the streets of Trivandrum.

C. Achutha Menon, secretary of the state council of the CPI, greeted the satyagrahis as they reached the gates of the state secretariat. He said that the peaceful hungermarch and the one-day satyagraha before government offices was only a warning to the government of the beginning of a mighty movement for people's food.

Menon said that the decisions of the Chief Ministers' confer-

ence and the announcement of Kerala's present rulers about an increase in the starvation rations by half an ounce four months hence was an insult to the people.

He appealed to all the left parties and democrats to come together and forge a powerful united front to force the government to change its present policies.

The satyagrahis in front of the secretariat numbered more than two hundred and included 30 women. The hungermarchers also joined them. Among the satyagrahis were many of the trade union and kisan leaders of the state.

According to the Party spokesman, this satyagraha was the finale of the first stage of the mobilisation of the entire Party behind the universal demands for food, a just share for Kerala in the Fourth Plan and release of detenus—demands behind which the entire democratic minded people were united.

This effective and peaceful demonstration had been preceded by a month of intense political activity by more than 15 thousand workers of the CPI who were engaged in receiving the hungermarchers and themselves covering villages and taluks popularising the slogans of the jatha.

The hungermarchers had covered more than five hundred miles and addressed an equal number of meetings, big and small. More than Rs. 2,000 were presented to the jatha enroute in coins and currency.

Three thousand copies of two pamphlets on food and Plan, brought out by the state council of the CPI, were sold along the route of the march.

At the public meeting held in the evening of August 9 to conclude the march, K. T. Jacob introduced the members of the jatha to the audience.

The meeting was addressed by Achutha Menon, Punnoose and P. K. Vasudevan Nair. Menon warned the government that the spark lit at Cannanore a month ago was bound to become a prairie fire if the rulers failed to take heed of the warning.

Meanwhile, commenting on the official announcement of the state food officials that from November 14 statutory rationing will be introduced in Kerala, M. N. Govindan Nair, member of the central secretariat of the Communist Party of India, has stated that a change in the adjective qualifying rationing will not signify anything new to hungry mouths so long as the rice ration is not increased to a minimum of 12 ounces and the Centre does not take direct responsibility of ensuring adequate supplies to the deficit state.

He was of the view that the crucial question was the supply of adequate supplies to deficit states and so long as the Union government shirked this responsibility, the deci-

sion to maintain each one of the states as a separate zone will do no good.

Kerala should be treated in a special way since it was a state with roughly 50 per cent deficit—unlike other deficit states. Procurement was alright, but by that alone Kerala's needs could not be met.

Despite increased production and increase in the import of foodgrains, the problem of starvation deaths remains.

Nair said the advocates of re-establishment of the southern zone as a panacea should remember how the very arrangement of the southern zone was subverted by the states of Andhra and Madras who could not be bridled by the Union government.

The present decision to introduce statutory rationing from November 11 will not meet the urgent needs of the lean months.

If the Centre and Food Minis-

ter Subramaniam hope to deceive the people of Kerala by pious and loud declarations alone and not attack the very source of the present crisis—the big landlords and the hoarder-traders, they are in a fools' paradise, he added.

Nair, who had visited Qutub and Kottarakkara in connection with the reception to the hungermarchers, touched upon the privation of over 80,000 families of cashew workers in central Travancore.

The cashew industry was facing a crisis and utilising this as an excuse the cashew factory owners were denying the workers even starvation wages.

He had raised this question in the parliamentary consultative committee and the Union Home Minister had promised urgent intervention but nothing had happened so far.

The handloom industry was also in the grip of a severe crisis. In Cannanore alone, one of the premier handloom centres of the state, goods worth a crore of rupees were piled up with no markets. Consequently over two lakhs of families dependent on the industry were starving.

The situation facing other sections of toiling people in industries like beedi and cigar and the plantations was similar.

A regime dependant upon Presidential proclamation and cut off from the people is allowed to continue here and peoples problems and difficulties are allowed to accumulate without adequate and prompt solution.

# Bengal Bandh!

## August 5: Complete Hartal to Protest Police Repression

From Our Correspondent

guard, most of them reached Sealdah or Howrah with scarcely half a dozen passengers.

Some 298 state buses were kept running under similar escort throughout morning and afternoon but they too pined practically empty. The tramway workers had supported the strike call and so only a handful of tram cars could be brought out on one route only.

In the industrial belt round Calcutta, police arrangements were as elaborate as in Calcutta and made picketing impossible. However, the spontaneous support of the workers made picketing unnecessary in most places.

In the Barrackpur subdivision of 24 Parganas, where engineering workers number over 35,000 there was successful strike at Jessop's, Texmaco-Boller, Britannia as well as other smaller factories. Only

at Jessops did a small section of workers report for work.

All the nine jute mills at Titagarh observed complete strike while attendance at Agarpura Jute Mills was below 50 per cent. The total number of striking jute workers in Barrackpur sub-division came to over 25,000.

All the textile mills in the area including Mohini Mills joined the strike. There was also a total strike at Hindustan Aircrafts employing two thousand workers.

Ten thousand workers of Bata Shoe Factory observed complete strike. So did the workers of B. I. Company, S. B. Industries and other factories at Baranagar. Bus workers throughout the district joined the strike and schools, colleges, government offices as well as shops remained closed.

In Howrah, fifty thousand

workers observed strike in all the small and large engineering works while over 15,000 observed strike at four jute mills. Only a few buses pined on one or two routes but that too without passengers. Hartal in educational institutions and shops was complete.

In Hoogli, complete strike was observed at Birla's Hind Motors factory and also at a majority of other engineering factories including J. K. Steel, Indian Iron, Jaysree, etc. Over 12,000 workers struck work at two jute mills in the district and ten to twelve thousand in the cotton textile mills.

In the industrial area around Asansol, complete strike was observed at Sen-Raleigh and at the Hindustan Pilkington Glass Works. All the leading trade union workers of the area excepting one or two were arrested on the eve of the strike.

Following the strike, on August 8, more than 1,000 mine workers under the leadership of the INTUC (Maitreyee Bose Group) demonstrated in the town against blackmarketing and demanding that there must be no cut in their rations.

### P. C. Sen's Claim

In view of all these events, witnessed by the entire people and reported widely in the daily press, Chief Minister Prafulla Sen's bombastic claim that the strike was a "complete failure" could only arouse widespread ridicule.

While ordinary workers and citizens have thus expressed their determination not to tolerate any further burdens in the form of rising prices, eminent intellectuals, professors, lawyers and other leading personalities are increasingly expressing themselves against the government's obstinate desire to uphold the interests of the tramway company.

The demand for setting up an impartial tribunal to examine the accounts of the tramway company and to hold the tram fare rise in abeyance till such a report has been published and examined is daily gaining wider and wider support.

Over a hundred college professors have signed a joint statement in favour of such an enquiry. Similar demand has been put forward in a statement by leading writers, artists and journalists including Vivekananda Mukherjee, Satyajit Ray, Narayan Gangopadhyaya and others and in another statement by the principals of 16 of the big Calcutta colleges.

A number of leading advocates of the Calcutta High Court have also signed a statement.

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CALCUTTA: For the second time within one week, life in Calcutta was at a standstill on August 5 as workers, office employees and shopkeepers spontaneously responded to the call for hartal and general strike against increase of tramfares and the massive repression which the West Bengal government has let loose in its determination to defend at any cost the interests of the British-owned Calcutta Tramway Company.

ONLY on July 30, Calcutta had observed a one-day hartal on this very issue in response to the joint call of nine leftist parties including the CPI, the CPI (Marxist), RSP and others.

Police firing on peaceful demonstrators that day had taken the toll of two young lives at New Barackpur and Jadavpur.

Arrests of left party leaders and workers as well as of students and others who urged the non-payment of increased tram fares had been going on for several days before July 30 and were stepped up after that till by August 5, over three thousand persons had been arrested.

In addition to the nine left parties, the call for state-wide hartal and general strike on August 5 had been given by the Rashtriya Sangram Samiti. The PSP, Forward Bloc and Hind Mazdoor Sabha had also supported the call.

Innumerable handbills and posters had been put out by all these organisations and the call taken to the widest sections of the people despite severe repression. The Rashtriya Sangram Samiti and Hind Mazdoor Sabha had

come out with a joint poster calling for general strike.

The government on its part had not been idle either. As the 5,000 policemen mobilised in Calcutta on July 30 had proved inadequate, armed police reinforcements were brought in not only from different districts but also from the neighbouring states. In addition there were the Home Guards and the special police, bringing the number up to over 7,500.

According to the Calcutta Police Commissioner himself, it was the biggest police mobilisation in the city since 1947. Elaborate pickets and police patrols covered not only the main streets but even lanes and bylanes. As the police jeeps and lorries were insufficient, private lorries and cars were hired for these police patrols.

In several places police made attempts to force shops to stay open and forced rikshaw and horse carriages to ply under threat of cancellation of licences.

But all to no avail. Attendance at business houses and government offices was lower even than on July 30. Though suburban trains were kept running under heavy police

## A YEAR OF ATTACKS ON DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS

Among the many deeds of the ruling party which darken the image of free India on the 18th anniversary of Independence, the most serious is its continued adherence to DIR, the device with which it has sought to suppress the struggles of the working class and other sections of the toiling people and attack the Opposition.

DISPLAYING scant regard for the fundamental rights of the people recognised by the Constitution, the Congress governments at the Centre and in the states have, during the past year, increasingly resorted to violence and suppression of democratic rights.

There were the arrests of thousands who demanded food, more wages and dearness allowance, there was the unconstitutional act of President's Rule imposed on the people of Kerala and there is the detention without trial of political prisoners practised on a scale which even the British dared not do before Independence.

August 15 last year was observed in the background of rising discontent of the people with the food policy of the government and the series of Bandh actions of the working class which shook the country. The Communist Party which stood in the forefront of these actions led the Great All India Satyagraha for food from August 24 to 28 in which over 80,000 Party members participated and over 27,000 were arrested.

The government instead of taking action against the food hoarders and blackmarketeers,

came down on the satyagrahis using the DIR. Peaceful satyagrahis were assaulted and lathi-charged by the police in Assam, Bihar, Punjab and other states.

Today the country is again in the grip of a severe food crisis and people's resentment is boiling over in places. The ministers and bureaucracy, however, see in this only a "law and order" problem. The hoarders and blackmarketeers are allowed to operate freely and fleece the starving people. Even those few who were arrested in Calcutta some time back were released on the orders of Congress high-ups.

Throughout 1964 and this year too, with the worsening economic situation and living conditions of the people, the party in power has used the plea of emergency, a plea in which not even Congressmen believe, to put down the struggles of the people. In the hands of the Congress governments the unconstitutional Defence of India Rules have become the weapon to push through their anti-people policies and to suppress opposition.

The Communist Party of India at its Seventh Congress held in Bombay in December 1964 had occasion to warn against this. The Party Congress said:

"The Congress government's actions continue to demonstrate beyond all doubt that the sweeping powers assumed by it two years ago in the name of national defence against external aggression are now more and more being shamelessly used as a weapon against its political opponents, to suppress civil liberties and the democratic mass movements of the common people for their urgent legitimate demands and against the anti-people policies of the ruling classes. Such a situation cannot be allowed to continue any longer".

The truth of the warning was borne out immediately afterwards, when the government resorted to countrywide arrests of the leaders of the Marxist Communist Party, just on the eve of the Kerala elections. Condemning these arrests, the Central Secretariat of the CPI in a statement said, "By its actions, the government has dealt yet another blow to democracy and indeed to the elementary decencies of our public life." The Party demanded their release.

As the nation celebrates the 18th anniversary of Independence Day, thousands of detenus belonging to the Marxist Communist Party, the Communist Party of India and others, leaders of working-class and peasant organisations, are languishing in jail, without any trial, without any charges. Among them are many aged and ailing elders who should be released forthwith, as otherwise their

very life is in danger. The Communist Party has consistently opposed the use of DIR by the government to suppress its political opponents and demanded the release of political prisoners detained without trial.

Eminent jurists, civil liberties organisations, the democratic press and mass organisations have likewise demanded the repealing of the unconstitutional Defence of India Rules and an end to detentions without trial. But the Congress government has refused to heed to this public criticism and the voice of reason.

It went further in its mad attacks on democratic rights of the people when after the Kerala elections, it imposed the President's Rule on that state which had rejected the Congress as the ruling party. The verdict of the electorate against the Congress was thus sought to be nullified by executive action. It will remain as one of the most shameful acts of betrayal of our democratic rights.

As the April '65 National Council meeting of the Communist Party declared, a campaign for the defence of democratic liberties and the defence of parliamentary democracy has become an urgent necessity for which all left parties and democrats in the country should join their hands. The trend towards anti-democratic and authoritarian rule can and should be reversed by popular action.

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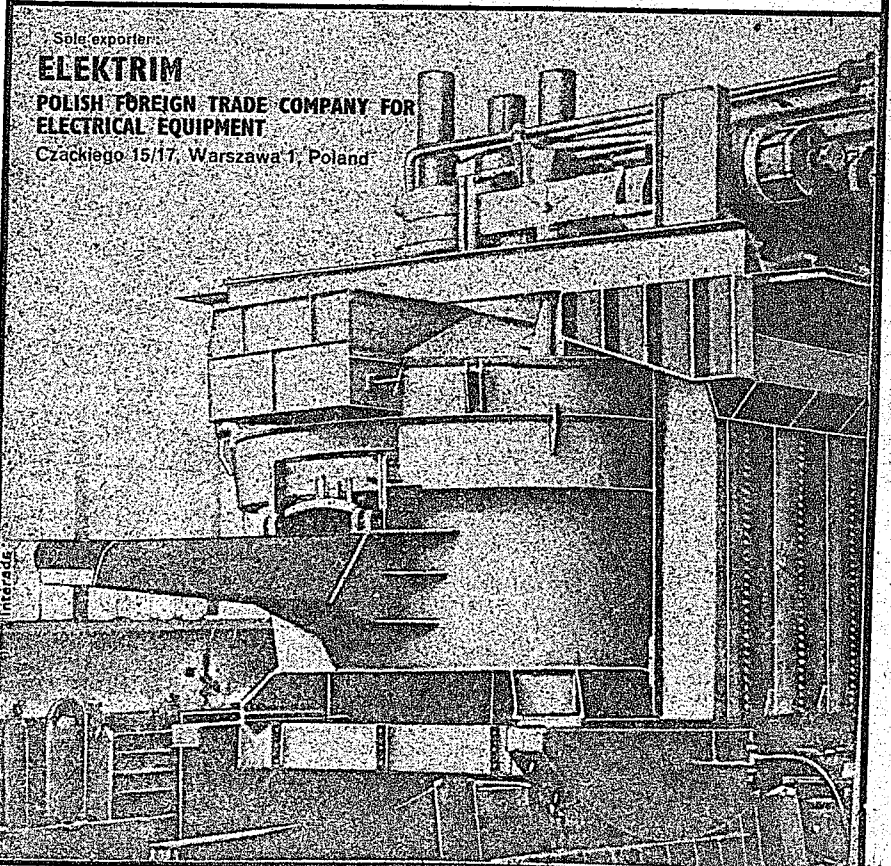
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# Marxist CP'S Programme X'rayed

(This is the second and final instalment of the article by Mohit Sen on the programme of the Communist Party (Marxist). In the first instalment (NEW AGE dated August 8) were examined the stand of the "Marxists" towards the question of independence, the mechanics of the transfer of power, the economic base of freedom, the role of socialist aid, the development of agrarian sector in the post-independence period and the characterisation of the class content of the present Indian state.)

Seventh, foreign policy. There are two important points of difference between the Marxist CP programme and that of the CPI.

The CP (Marxist) is of the opinion that the government's foreign policy which, continuing to be "within the broad framework of non-alignment and opposition to world war... objectively facilitates the US designs of neo-colonialism and aggression and lead to India's isolation from the powerful currents of peace, democracy, freedom and socialism and as such is harmful to our interests" (p. 23)

The CPI holds that the government's foreign policy suffers from serious vacillations, especially marked in relation to the neo-colonialist drive and aggressive activities of the imperialists. But, basically, it is a "policy of peace, non-alignment and anti-colonialism."

It passes one's understanding how a foreign policy which is within the framework of non-alignment and opposition to world war can simultaneously objectively aid US imperialism in its aggression and neo-colonialism. Refusal to strongly oppose such US actions is one thing, but actually helping it is quite another.

This only means that the CP (Marxist) actually sets very little store by non-alignment and opposition to world war, but for some reason does not say so openly.

This only means that it refuses to see the anti-imperialist essence of non-alignment and opposition to the US drive for world war.

It is no accident that the liberation of Goa is not even mentioned by this programme. Nor is it an accident that the firm friendship with the Soviet Union is conveniently ignored.

## Chinese Aggression

The recent aggravation of the relations between India and the USA, the US-inspired Pakistani aggression, the condemnation of US bombing of North Vietnam—the CP (Marxist) programme's formulations on India's foreign policy clearly cannot explain these developments.

The other important point of differences relates to Chinese aggression. For the CP (Marxist), it is still only "a border dispute leading to a border war" (p. 22)

The tremendous crisis this aggression created, the test it imposed on India's foreign policy, the terrible damage it did to the democratic movement in India as well as to the cause of Afro-Asian solidarity and world peace, the chauvinism and sectarianism of the PC leadership it exposed—all this does not seem to bother the CP (Marxist) leadership.

The difference between national democracy and people's democracy, which are both state forms of the non-capitalist path, pertains to the question of leadership.

In national democracy, as the CPI visualises it in India, the exclusive leadership of the working class is not yet established, though the exclusive leadership of the bourgeoisie no longer exists. In people's democracy the working class exercises exclusive leadership.

It is not a matter here of one's subjective desires. Every Communist would like communism to come into being at once. But every Communist also knows that certain transitional revolutionary stages have to be gone through first.

## Transitional Stage

One such transitional stage for newly independent countries like India is the completion of the national-democratic revolution. The question is, must such a revolution necessarily proceed exclusively under working class leadership in the new period?

The 1960 Moscow Statement, by which the CP (Marxist) swears, had answered this question in the negative.

by **MOHIT SEN**

Congress party, as well as with rightwing elements in it, which seeks to subvert national policies, to destroy parliamentary democracy and to drag India into the imperialist camp, just does not exist.

This is a line of completely disarming the people, of failing to build a broad democratic united front at a time of grave danger.

This is a line of refusing to fight against the tendency of the Government to shift to the right.

It objectively aids the forces of right reaction. It also lays the ideological basis for flirtation with parties of right reaction in the name of fighting the Congress.

Ninth, there is the difference in the two programmes with the CP (Marxist) upholding the strategic objective of people's democracy and the CPI that of national democracy.

In addition the CP (Marxist) holds, contrary to the view of the CPI, that the noncapitalist path is ruled out for India.

This latter point is rather strange.

The people's democratic state power has the national bourgeoisie as one of its components, that is, it allows and advances a certain kind of capitalist growth to a certain extent.

Simultaneously socialist, petty commodity and state capitalist relations of production also develop.

We have, thus, a transitional state based on a transitional economy with socialism as its next stage. This is nothing but the non-capitalist path, since it is neither socialist nor capitalist.

proach towards the allies of the working class.

In fact it prevents the working class from playing its full role as the initiator and builder of the national democratic front.

This means that it militates against the creation of the necessary objective and subjective conditions for working class leadership as the revolution advances towards socialism.

Tenth, one of the objectives of the CP (Marxist) will be to "utilise all opportunities that present themselves of bringing into existence a government pledged to carry out a modest programme of giving immediate relief to the people. The formation of such governments will give great fillip to the revolutionary movement of the working people and thus help the process of building the democratic front." (p. 49)

This was obviously included to justify the concentration on the election campaign in Kerala by which E.M.S. Namboodiripad set great store.

This is completely out of tune with the entire spirit of the CP (Marxist) programme. How is it possible to visualise the real possibility of the formation of such governments in the practically neo-colonialist, authoritarian set-up in the India of this programme's imagination?

How can the people be given any relief at all without revolutionary seizure of power? Above all, will not the struggle for the formation of such governments, let alone their establishment, breed reformist illusions? What happens to all the warnings against revisionism?

This formulation however reveals the real state of mind of the leaders of the CP (Marxist). Tall talk of revolution, indulging in revolutionary phrase-mongering combined with the "practical politics" of somehow forming governments in different states through any and every kind of electoral alliance.

It is no accident that there is no analysis of the forces and parties who must be united in order to achieve such governments and in order that such governments can really give some relief to the people as well as provide a fillip to the revolutionary movement.

## Peaceful Transition

Eleventh, with regard to the form of the revolution the CP (Marxist) programme simply asserts the existence of the possibility of peaceful transition, that is, the non-inevitability of civil war.

The CPI programme on the other hand, not only asserts such a possibility, but also lays stress on the need for creating and strengthening the necessary conditions for the realisation of the possibility of peaceful transition.

It also mentions the possibility of the transformation of Parliament into a genuine instrument of the people's will for effecting a fundamental transformation in the economic, social and state structure.

The programme of the CP (Marxist) is quite silent on these issues.

This is not an academic matter of including or not including some phrases. It is a matter of the attitude towards the defence of democracy, of preserving and extending the democratic liberties and institutions that the people have already won in India.

It is a matter of building a broad alliance with this aim in view, of rallying all the democratic forces to defeat the offen-

sive of right reaction against our nascent democracy.

It is a matter of carrying forward this alliance to deepen, broaden and strengthen democracy in our country so that a peaceful transition can be effected.

The attitude of the CP (Marxist) leadership towards the question of the defence of democracy is, essentially a defeatist one. Otherwise they would not have failed to make some reference to it in the context of the possibility of peaceful transition.

## Chinese Echo

Twelfth, the CP (Marxist) programme takes a definite stand on the question of the ideological struggle going on in the world communist movement.

It pledges itself to "fight the menace of modern revisionism which has presently engulfed the world communist movement and has become the main danger."

If modern revisionism has indeed engulfed the world communist movement, then that movement has ceased to be communist and the splitting tactics of the leadership of the Communist Party of China are quite justified.

It is no accident therefore that this programme makes no reference to the dogmatic offensive launched by the CPC leadership nor to the need for the creative development of the Marxism-Leninism.

In this, it stands in sharp contrast to the programme of the CPI.

If we seek for any general trend in these points of important difference between the two programmes, we shall find that they represent a clear case of "left" sectarian dogmatism.

Instead of closely examining the new developments in the world and in India this programme sticks to certain old and outmoded viewpoints on the developments in India on the question of the completion of the national-democratic revolution.

Instead of striving to secure as many new allies for the working class as possible and going all out to develop all the possible forces of the Indian revolution, it prefers to try to go it alone or to go in for "tricks" in order to bluff its way to power.

Mao Tse-tung was quite right when he said that the dogmatists and "left" sectarians were quite unable to develop the revolution, as they were lazy bones, unable to think creatively and to work doggedly to win ever new sections of the masses!

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# FACTS vs EMS' SLANDERS

THE central secretariat of the Communist Party of India issued the following statement on August 7:

It is most unfortunate that the leader of the Marxist Communist Party, E. M. S. Namboodiripad, should have thought it fit to hold a press conference yesterday with a view to slander and denounce the Communist Party of India.

This disruptive attack on our Party comes at a moment when all democratic forces in the country earnestly desire that the Communist Party of India and the Marxist Party should join hands in united actions on the most urgent issues of the day.

Instead of concentrating on working out joint actions in the interests of the working masses of our land, Namboodiripad has launched a new attack on our Party, which can only help to create bitterness and further tension.

The Communist Party of India firmly believes that principled discussion of differences between the two parties would help to further joint action.

But Namboodiripad in his latest press statement has once again resorted to the weapons of slander and equivocation—slander in regard to our Party's policies and equivocation in regard to those of his party.

## IDEOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES

E. M. S. Namboodiripad declares that his party has not yet discussed the general ideological questions which have led to the division in the international communist movement and that, therefore, it is totally incorrect to say that the two parties differed on these issues.

May we point out to Namboodiripad that his party's official organs in Bengali, Hindi, Tamil, Telegu and Malayalam have regularly been expressing views quite strongly on those issues which are opposed to the views held by the overwhelming majority of the Communist Parties of the world, including our Party?

Namboodiripad has till now not issued a single repudiation of any of these views put forward by his party organs.

Namboodiripad tries to make out that one of the main ideological questions that separate our two parties concerns "the assessment of the Indian situation and the strategy and tactics to be adopted to meet the rapidly changing situation in India".

May we remind him that this was precisely the issue which was discussed in very great detail by the Sixth Congress of our Party held at Vijayawada in 1961 when the Party was united and Ajoy Ghosh was the General Secretary?

## REPUDIATING VIJAYAWADA?

According to the unanimous resolution adopted at the Congress to which Namboodiripad himself was an enthusiastic party, in the struggle which the Communist Party wages against the Congress rule and its anti-people policies, it seeks to mobilise the progressives within the Congress itself, as well as the masses following the Congress and concentrate fire on the right reactionary forces both inside and outside the Congress organisation.

This was how the Vijayawada resolution visualised the fight for forging the national democratic front for replacing the Congress government by the government of that front. Our Party's basic stand on this issue as approved by the recent Seventh Congress at Bombay, is exactly the same.

If Namboodiripad now wants to repudiate the Vijayawada assessment and adopt a line of uniting with anybody and everybody including the right reactionary parties as against the Congress, that is his affair.

## "ANTI-CHINA" —THE TRUTH

But that does not entitle him to slander our Party's policies as one of merely "concentrating the fire on the reactionaries outside the ruling party".

Similarly Namboodiripad also tries to make out that another basic ideological issue separating the two parties is with regard to the attitude towards the Chinese Communist Party.

Namboodiripad charges our Party with taking up an "anti-China line" and applying it "both to the inter-

The Communist Party of India has criticised the aggression which China committed against India's borders in 1962 and called for the defence of the country against this aggression.

Subsequently, the Party criticised the Chinese rejection of the Colombo proposals and its refusal to take any step for peaceful settlement of the border dispute.

The opportunist support which China gave to Pakistan recently in its armed aggression on the Kutch border has once again come in for sharp criticism from us.

At the same time, as every one knows, our Party has always worked tirelessly for a peaceful settlement of India-China differences and has again and again called for initiatives in this regard.

Even while implementing our policy of defence against Chinese aggression, E. M. S. Namboodiripad knows very well that during 1963 and 1964 it was our Party which initiated and led the biggest all-India movements against the pro-monopoly policies of the Congress government in this country.

The leaders of the Communist Party of China have during the last two years levelled the most atrocious and disruptive charges against fraternal Communist Parties.

## CPI ANSWERS MARXIST LEADER'S DISRUPTIVE ATTACK

national movement, as well as to the solution of India's own international problem".

The Communist Party of India strongly repudiates the charge that it is pursuing an "anti-China line".

Our Party is certainly taking an active part in the discussions on the ideological differences in the international communist movement.

But the aim of our entire activities in this direction is to help in forging and strengthening the unity of the international communist movement—a unity which we have repeatedly asserted, cannot be achieved without the fullest support of the Communist Party of China.

Our Party's entire record demonstrates clearly our continued solidarity with the Chinese Communist Party in the heroic struggles it fought against imperialism and reaction inside China, and against the imperialist conspiracies against the People's Republic of China, the threat against it by the US naval and armed forces based on Taiwan and the waters near the Chinese mainland.

Our Party has always hailed the achievements of the Chinese revolution. It has always recognised the Chinese People's Republic as a socialist country.

Without making airy abstractions it is better that Namboodiripad comes down to concrete issues.

his own party's organs and by several of his party's leaders in their speeches supporting these attacks on fraternal parties.

It is to cover up this silence, which amounts to tacit support for the disruptive policies of the Chinese Communist Party leaders that E. M. S. Namboodiripad accused us of being "anti-China", for the same "crime" of which the vast majority of Communist Parties in the world are evidently "guilty"—namely of opposing the slanders of the Chinese Communist Party leaders, which disrupt the unity of the international communist movement.

May we request Namboodiripad to come out and express concretely his opinion on all the above issues relating to the policies of the leadership of the Communist Party of China, both in regard to the India-China and India-Pakistan border problems, as well as the issues that have come up in the international movement?

## RESPONSIBILITY FOR ARRESTS

Finally, in his statement, Namboodiripad has repeated once again the slander against our Party of being responsible for the arrests of members of the Marxist Party by Home Minister Nanda and his subordinates.

This is a downright lie. Namboodiripad knows well enough that our Party has been in the forefront of the campaign against the brutal suppression of civil liberties and for the release of all detainees belonging to the Marxist Party held under the DIR.

If anyone gave an excuse to the government to act against the Marxist Communist Party, it was the Marxist Party leaders themselves as well as the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party who by their reckless statements and actions provided the Government of India with the arguments to attempt to justify their anti-democratic actions.

Namboodiripad knows the facts well enough. His resort to a repetition of the vicious slanders used by his party leaders against our Party does him no credit.

No amount of equivocation on the part of Namboodiripad can hide the fact that it is the leaders of his party who broke away from and split the communist movement in India—and that too, precisely at a time when the biggest countrywide struggle against the pro-monopoly policies of the Congress was being prepared by the National Council of the Party.

While setting the records right as regards the basic differences between our Party and his party, we, however, would like to emphasise that, as far as our Party is concerned, we shall continue all efforts to speed forward the process of joint action between our Party and the Marxist Party and other left parties and democratic forces on the urgent economic and political issues concerning the working people and on the fight against the anti-people policies of the Congress government.

Our Party has certainly criticised the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party for their disruptive and slanderous attack on brother parties. Is this being "anti-China"?

On the other hand, Namboodiripad has not chosen to say one word of criticism against the Chinese Communist Party leaders for these attacks made by them on brother parties. He has not repudiated the line taken in



# Anti-Sovietism Of The 'Marxists'

The "Marxist" Communists have been protesting again and again that they are not pursuing the anti-Soviet line being peddled by the dogmatists all over the world. They insist that they have no views on the ideological questions being debated in the international Communist movement because their Party has not "discussed" these issues.

THE "Marxist" Party leader E.M.S. Namboodiripad in his press statement issued on August 6 in New Delhi, said: "Our Party has not discussed these questions within itself. We have, therefore, not come to our own conclusions on these questions. It is thus totally incorrect to say that my party differs from the other party on these issues."

Last week NEW AGE quoted certain anti-Soviet slanders put out in the Hindi organ of the Marxists, SWADHINATA. But a perusal of recent issues of their Telugu organ JANASHAKTI shows conclusively that the Marxists' support for the ideological line of international dogmatism is complete and absolute.

In its issue dated June 19, 1965, JANASHAKTI published a long summary of the vicious June 14 statement of the Chinese leaders denouncing the new Soviet leadership as being "more cunning" and "more dangerous" than Khrushchov! This summary was published with obvious approval and titled "Chinese Party's criticism of the leadership of Kossygin and Brezhnev."

Let it be also noted that JANASHAKTI refused to publish the statement of the Moscow Consultative Meeting of March 1965 or any statement by any fraternal Party supporting that meeting.

On the ideological issues in the international Communist movement, JANASHAKTI publishes only the statements and slanders of the Chinese leaders and others of their views.

say that my party differs from the other party on these issues." Perhaps Namboodiripad, though he is the acting general secretary of his party, does not know what his party organs write!

The above is not an accidental aberration. JANASHAKTI has again and again attacked the Soviet Union. Below are just a few examples:

In an article, signed by A. B. K. Prasad, in its issue of October 7, 1964, JANASHAKTI said:

"The Soviet leadership is obsessed with Anti-China madness... Mikoyan who said that India-Pakistan friendship is a blow to imperialism, could not say in the same breath that India-China friendship also helps the anti-imperialist front... where such an alignment will lead, history alone can reveal."

In its issue dated October 21, 1964 JANASHAKTI in its international notes under the sub-heading "Food for Thought" made a slanderous attack on the Soviet Union, after quoting the NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE. This is what is said:

"At that time (during the Second World War) the socialist Soviet Union and the American and British capitalist governments—all joined together as allies against the hordes of Fascist Hitler. Today, the Soviet Union is standing against another Communist country, together with America, which has become the main enemy of world peace and national-liberation movement—what a change!"

In its issue of March 6, 1965, JANASHAKTI published an article by Leo Huberman and Paul Sweezy, which accused the Soviet leadership of preparing "to leave South-East Asia for the free play of American imperialism". The article said:

"In all the backward countries, Communist Parties backed by the Soviet Union were quickly losing their political and moral grip. While Soviet influence was waning, Chinese influence was growing."

In its issue dated July 3, 1965 JANASHAKTI in an article on the postponed Algiers Conference of Afro-Asian countries, openly condemned India's support of Soviet participation—in exactly the same language as that used in the Chinese press. This is what it said:

"Countries like India have raised the issue of the right of participation of the representatives of Russia and Malaysia, and insisted on, and propagated for the same, thereby creating a diversion from the main problems facing the Conference."

In its issue dated July 25, 1965, JANASHAKTI in its

commentary on world affairs stated: "...The thing to be noted is that the Soviet government while distorting the process of historical development and the class policies which mould it, is relying more and more on the 'rational attitude' of the imperialist rulers."

These quotations give us only a glimpse of the persistent campaign being run against the Soviet Union and in support of the ideological positions of the international dogmatists in the organs of the Marxists.

But E.M.S. Namboodiripad insists that his party has no differences with the CPI on the international ideological issues, that his party is not anti-Soviet, that his party does not follow the line of the Chinese leadership on ideological issues.

What will Namboodiripad say, after reading the above quotations? We can guess...

At a press conference in Hyderabad on July 31, EMS was asked why his party's Malayalam organ had taken a disparaging view of the Moscow Consultative Meeting and written that the results were not "as bad as were expected". The Marxist leader hastened to say that these views need not necessarily reflect the party line.

Equivocation seems to be the special stock-in-trade of certain people.

At the same press conference, EMS's attention was drawn to a statement made by his colleague Jyoti Basu that he does not look upon the CPI as a Communist Party. The reply the journalists received was typical. EMS said he did not want "either to contradict or confirm", what Jyoti Basu had said!

(August 6)

## Punjab CPI Condemns Tara Singh's Moves

From OUR CORRESPONDENT

CHANDIGARH: The Punjab state secretariat of the Communist Party of India which met here on August 3 has severely criticised the "disruptive, separatist and anti-national slogans" of Master Tara Singh.

INSTEAD of learning any lesson from his ignominious defeat, Master Tara Singh was making a desperate bid to fan communal passions among the Sikhs and forge a united front of all rabidly communal and separatist forces in the country from Nagas to Sheikh Abdullah. His slogan of an independent tribunal for a so-called demand of "self-determination" for Sikhs showed that he was looking to foreign imperialist arbitration and support for his separatist demand, the secretariat said.

The secretariat appealed to all secular, democratic forces to oppose tooth and nail this treacherous line of Master Tara Singh. It expressed satisfaction over the fact that this separatist line was opposed, besides others, by the Akali Dal led by Sant Fateh Singh.

The secretariat considered that the refusal of the Congress government to solve the issue of linguistic reorganisation of the Punjab and its opportunist surrender before Hindu communalism on this question and also on the question of giving its due status to Punjabi as the regional language of the Punjab area brought grist to the mill of Master Tara Singh.

At the same time, the secretariat pointed out that while the demand raised by Sant Fateh Singh was qualitatively different from that of Master Tara Singh, and sought to forward their demands, the management went in for provocations. More than sixty workers in the cable division were charged, which sparked off the stay-in strike.

After four days of complete strike, the management came down and agreed to negotiate with the union leaders. AITUC leader M. S. Krishnan gave guidance to the struggling workers.

When the workers put forward their demands, the management went in for provocations. More than sixty workers in the cable division were charged, which sparked off the stay-in strike.

For any progress towards realisation of the demand, it is necessary to forge Hindu-Sikh unity and make the demand for the linguistic reorganisation of Punjab the common demand of all Punjabis. Then alone could it become irresistible.

The secretariat welcomed the decision of the Republican Party to come out of the so-called non-Communist united front and expressed the hope that other secular and progressive forces too will soon realise that they have no place in a front, the two main pillars of which are such rabidly communal and reactionary forces as the Jan Sangh and Master Tara Singh's Akali Dal.

It also expressed the hope that the Republican Party would move forward towards joint action on commonly agreed popular demands with the Communist Party and other left forces.

The secretariat decided to step up preparations for the mass demonstration in Chandigarh to be held in the second week of September to focus attention on people's demands. It will contact other left forces also to explore the possibility of a joint demonstration at the time of the coming session of the Assembly.

## SUCCESSFUL BONUS STRUGGLE IN REMCO

BANGALORE: A four-day stay-in strike by the 1,200 employees of the state-owned Radio Electrical Manufacturing Company (REMCO) for bonus successfully ended on August 1.

The strike was complete, all the two hundred women employees also joining in it despite pressure from various quarters.

Attempts by the management to break the strike failed miserably. Following this, it agreed to negotiate with the union over the workers' demands.

The main demand of the workers is regarding bonus. The REMCO was paying four months bonus hitherto, by July every year. This year it did not do so.

The demand of the workers that bonus be paid as usual and that an ad hoc allowance of Rs. 15 be paid in view of the rise in the cost of living was not heeded to by the management.

There is a so-called agreement between the management and the INTUC which is supposed to be valid till 1966. This agreement was not entered into in consultation with the workers.

# MORE ON ANTI-WORKER BONUS ORDINANCE

The most tom-tommed provision in the Bonus Ordinance is the one which provides minimum bonus equal to 4 per cent of total annual earnings or Rs. 40 whichever is higher, to all employees covered by the ordinance, even if the establishment concerned suffers a loss.

BUT there is no provision by which this minimum bonus can be recovered. Section 21 deals with "recovery of bonus due from an employer".

"Where any money is due to an employee by way of bonus from his employer under a settlement or an award, the employee himself or any other person authorised by him in writing in this behalf, or in the case of the death of the employee, his assignee or heirs may, without prejudice to any other mode of recovery, make an application to the appropriate government for the recovery of the money due to him, and if the appropriate government or such authority as the appropriate government may specify in this behalf is satisfied that any money is so due, it shall issue a certificate for that amount to the collector who shall proceed to recover the same in the same manner as an arrear of land revenue."

In such cases, presumably Section 39 will apply which

covered only by raising an industrial dispute, securing reference to adjudication and through the process of fighting it out before the appropriate court.

It must be remembered that since balance-sheet with respect to each accounting year has to be taken as the basis for bonus in that particular year, fresh dispute will have to be raised every year with respect to each such establishment.

### Definition Of Workmen

Or, a claim may be made under Payment of Wages Act or under Section 33-G(2) of the Industrial Disputes Act, but in both such cases, only those employees can lodge a complaint who are covered by the definition of "workmen" in the particular Act.

Section 20 merely says which establishments will be covered but does not categorically confer the right on the employees of such establishments.

What a nice ground for lengthy disputes!

\*\*\*\*\* by \*\*\*\*\* SATISH LOOMBA \*\*\*\*\*

### Limited Scope

This plainly limits the operation of this section to cases where there is a settlement or an award. In both these cases, remedies are already available under other laws and all that is done now is to add one more way in which recovery of an amount due under a settlement or an award may be made.

Such definition is much narrower than that of "employees" in the ordinance and hence those who are not covered by the narrower definition would seem to have no course of recovery left except a civil suit.

Hence in all such cases, where there is not a subsisting settlement or an award, minimum bonus can be recovered.

The intention is plain. The pressure of the working class has succeeded in forcing an unwilling government and the bureaucracy in retaining the minimum bonus provision recommended by the Bonus Commission.

But the law has been made in such a way that its enforcement becomes practically impossible and, in any case, very tortuous, lengthy and costly. In many cases, for years and years, bonus may vanish and only disputes may remain.

With regard to the public sector, there is a whole lot of confusion and even contradiction in the Ordinance which may lead to depriving workers of bonus due or in any case, to a spate of court cases with all the attending complications.

### Public Sector

Section 1(4) provides that the ordinance shall apply to every factory and every establishment as defined. This would include by implication every public sector factory and every public sector establishment if it otherwise comes within the purview of the definition.

Section 20, however, limits

the application in case of public sector establishments, to those whose income at least to the extent of 20 per cent of their gross income from sale of their products or from any services they render is in competition with any establishment in private sector.

Section 32(x) further says that "nothing in this ordinance shall apply to employees employed in any establishment in public sector, save as otherwise provided in this ordinance."

The net result of these three provisions is utter confusion.

Section 20 merely says which establishments will be covered but does not categorically confer the right on the employees of such establishments.

What a nice ground for lengthy disputes!

\*\*\*\*\* by \*\*\*\*\* SATISH LOOMBA \*\*\*\*\*

This 20 per cent competition condition will again give rise to endless disputes and may create genuine difficulties in the way of the determination regarding applicability of the ordinance.

### Computation Of Days Worked

Section 14 lays down the provisions with regard to the computation of days worked by an employee during an accounting year.

Clause (a) lays down that all those days on which he has been laid off under an agreement or standing orders or any Act shall be counted as days worked.

But what happens in case of factories where Standing Orders Act is not applicable (limit 100 workers) or where the lay-off provisions of I.D. Act are not applicable (limit 50 workers)?

In such cases presumably the workers who may not get any layoff compensation will also forfeit bonus for those days.

Clause (b) says that an employee will deem to have worked on days on which he has been on leave with salary or wage. Not considering for the time being the numerous instances where an employee may be on authorised leave without wage, what happens to the workers who get no wages for the two days waiting period under the ESI Act? Obviously, these days will not be counted towards calculation of bonus.

## KARNATAKA TUC DEMANDS REVISION OF FAULTY INDEX

From C. R. KRISHNA RAO

BANGALORE: The Karnataka Pradesh Trade Union Congress has demanded the appointment of an experts committee to go into the faulty cost of living index in the state.

IN a memorandum submitted to the state government, the KPTUC has detailed the bandicaps experienced by the trade unions as a result of delay in conciliation proceedings when disputes arise, as well as delays in referring disputes for adjudication.

The memorandum was submitted by a delegation led by M. C. Narasimhan-MLC, general secretary of the KPTUC; M. S. Krishnan, treasurer of the KPTUC; and B. N. Kuttappa, plantation labour leader.

The need for reorganising the labour department to speed up conciliation proceedings was emphasised in the memorandum. It cited instances where

Though the Mysore government has brought in a number of labour legislations, many of them are still to be implemented. Maternity Benefit Act, Festival Holidays Act, Beedi Industries Premises Act, etc., have not been implemented. The memorandum demanded early implementation of these laws.

The memorandum demanded linking of dearness allowance with cost of living index in all the industries in view of the steep rise in prices and the ever-increasing cost of living.

The inadequate housing facilities for labour, particularly in the plantations has been highlighted in the memorandum. It urged the government to allot more houses to workers under housing schemes.

The memorandum also urged the government to redress the grievances of the NGOs by appointing a pay commission and reinstating the president of the NGOs Association in service.

Another point which the memorandum highlighted was in regard to the revision of minimum wages fixed five years back.

Even where the revision of minimum wages is long overdue as in the case of beedi, tannery, firebricks and tiles industries, where the minimum wages were fixed seven years back, the government is sitting tight.

The memorandum urged the government to revise the minimum wages immediately and appoint minimum wages committees wherever necessary.



# remember

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### FAMILY WELFARE PLANNING CENTRE

DA 63/210



# Break The Impasse

Anxiety and anger will be the dominant mood of all honest Indians as they survey the country's economy on August 15. Even as they remind themselves of the great struggle that brought India to freedom they will feel a holy wrath at the miserable use that has been made of that freedom for 18 years by the Congress leadership. Thoughts of an alternative democratic programme, as the basis of an alternative national-democratic leadership, will fill the national mind.

THE grim impasse in which the national economy finds itself has features which are familiar to the vast masses of our people. The two dominant aspects which can be stressed today are, the growth of economic injustice and the real danger of the whole process of development grinding to a halt. It is against this background that the economic policy of the Government of India has to be judged.

Speaking the other day at Nagpur Vinobha Bhavne declared that "the multimillionaires of India are no better than thieves", otherwise how could they have amassed so much wealth in the midst of the terrible squalor and poverty of the country.

Almost at the same time Congress President Kamaraj said at Vellore that the curse of India was the "supreme status money had come to occupy" and the manner in which a small minority of the wealthy had "managed to corrupt" the administration.

Sentimental statements apart we have had in recent weeks the sober, even conservative, findings of the Reserve Bank survey of the "assets situation" or the distribution of wealth in the countryside. This has been followed up by a similar survey of the National Council of Applied Economic Research.

The Reserve Bank found that over 50 per cent of the rural households in the country on December 31, 1961 had somewhat less than 10 per cent of the total assets while the top 13 per cent had assets which accounted for about 60 per cent of the total assets.

**Glaring Disparity**

The Council of Applied Economic Research found that 100 million people in the rural areas have a daily per capita income of 42 paise and 10 million people only 27 paise. Of the total rural income the top one per cent accounts for nine per cent while the bottom 60 per cent share only 31 per cent.

Of the total tangible reproducible wealth, excluding land and livestock, the lower 50 per cent account for a mere seven per cent and the bottom five per cent nil. The concentration of wealth in the rural sector is worked at 0.68 (one being regarded as total inequality) in urban areas its calculation is that the income concentration ratio works out at 0.49.

Some time ago, Prof. K. N. Raj had worked out that the highest income in India was several hundred times greater than the lowest income. The only parallel he could find to this staggering inequality was the situation that existed in some of the most backward, despotic and neo-colonialist states of South America which laid no claims to socialism.

The seminar on agricultural labour held in Delhi in the first week of this month recommended that in no case should the minimum wage for an agricultural labourer be less than one rupee per day.

It was found that in many states, and in regions in most

states, even this utterly miserable level had not been attained. The agricultural labourers, including their families, constitute close to 40 per cent of the rural population and their lot can be compared inversely to the leap in the incomes of the landlord-wholesale trader-miller rural exploiting class which has never been properly estimated but which cannot, in any case, be less than five or six hundred times greater.

The economic policies of the government are intended to accentuate this inequality. It has adopted an approach towards increasing agricultural production which will not give us much agricultural surplus but which will certainly aid the landlords and the rich farmers.

The credit and fertiliser supply policies of the government, its refusal to go in for monopoly purchase of foodgrains (including levy and procurement), its entire emphasis on the technocratic approach have clearly this

aim in view. But a conflict of policies appears to be developing on this issue.

On August 8 the Planning Commission is reported to have "endorsed" the measures for effective enforcement of land reforms recommended by Dr. Wolf Ladejinsky. It will be recalled that this US expert had found that in almost all areas of the country the semi-feudal tenurial relations were dominant and were holding up the optimum use of the material-technical means to raise agricultural output.

This report had been submitted over a year ago and to this day has not been officially released, though means were found to make it available. And now all that has happened is that the Planning Commission has endorsed its views.

In other words, it has officially admitted again that the government's agrarian reform policies have utterly failed to benefit the overwhelming majority of the peasants and that this is the reason for the relative stagnation in agricultural production.

**Against Wind of Change**

It can be stated without any fear of contradiction that the Planning Commission's "endorsement" will mean nothing to the Central and state governments who have set their faces against any attempt to change the existing production-social structure in the countryside. The seriousness of this indictment can be gauged from the fact that the 1961 census shows that close on 85 per cent of India's population live in the countryside.

The democratic movement in India has to again and again bring to the forefront the appalling nature of this inequality and dreadful economic injustice. It has to work out an alternative programme, largely evolved by the national movement itself

before the advent of independence.

It is only necessary to recall the 1931 Declaration of Fundamental Rights adopted by the Karachi Congress or the resolution of the 1937 Faizpur Congress.

In both these documents we find a clear programme of radical agrarian reforms with the central objective of giving land to the tiller. The views were carried further in the famous Kumarappa Report made officially on behalf of the Congress. This was followed up by the recommendations of the Planning Commission itself. Yet nothing has been done.

Even a simple measure such as the introduction of a progressive agricultural income-tax is vehemently opposed by the various state Congress committees. When even this modest suggestion was watered down to, at least, reorient land revenue policy on the basis of a slap system the same official obstruction prevented its adoption.

It is the democratic movement that has to take up the banner of a national agrarian reform policy if the present spread of rural inequality is to be checked. Through national discussion a programme can be evolved to bring about the maximum unity, but there should be no abandoning of the central objective to act at once to reduce rural inequality. It is high time that this problem was given the highest national priority.

The urban scene, or the industrial sector, presents the same sorry spectacle. The figures on the concentration of wealth in the industrial sphere are well known enough. For example the Tata and Birla empires alone account for more than 20 per cent of the entire paid-up capital of the private corporate sector. Five leading banks with a capital base of about Rs. 35 crores control about Rs. 1,600 crores worth of deposits.

If to the Tatas and Birlas we add some other eight major industrial financial houses we shall find that well over 50 per cent of the paid-up capital is accounted for. The concentration of production capacity and output will be still greater. For example, in some 15 major industries some six units and below amount for 45 per cent and above of the total production.

As far as individual incomes are concerned while over 84 per cent have an income of less than Rs. 200 per month, less than 2 per cent have an income of over Rs. 2,000 per month. It has been estimated that the bottom 40 per cent have about the same mass of income as the top 0.8 per cent!

All this applies to declared income, as marked out by the Mahalanobis Committee. The picture gets very much more lopsided once "black" money is taken into account—coming to as much as Rs. 3,000 crores ac-

ording to one estimate.

Here, too, the government has conducted itself in a thoroughly shocking manner. The fate of the so-called voluntary disclosure of "black" money in a "legal" manner is much too well known to need recounting. It has been estimated that less than five per cent of the "black money" has shown itself. But no punitive action has followed and even the showpiece searches have more or less come to an end.

The last Budget also gave greater concessions in income-tax to the upper income groups than the lower, presumably under the influence of the theory that the upper-income groups would save more of the money left to them!

**More Privilege To Privileged**

It should be pointed out also that in many towns and cities where the so-called system of informal rationing obtains the rations, too, are given on the basis of income. This means that the more money you have the more sugar, for example, your family can buy at the controlled rate while the lower income groups do not get enough sugar at all and have to resort to the blackmarket. A more open declaration of socio-economic injustice can scarcely be imagined!

It is now almost a decade since the nationalisation of Life Insurance—the last act of nationalisation on the part of the Government of India. Since then it has refused to take a single step towards reducing the concentration of wealth and power.

Even the excellent opportunity, presented on a platter, by the Vician Bose Enquiry Committee against the Dalmia-Jain empire was wilfully lost. All that the government has done is to set up the Monopoly Commission and an enquiry into the Managing Agency system. Even in the unlikely possibility of clear-cut radical reports being presented there is hardly any likelihood of governmental action.

Another splendid chance presented itself when the foreign oil monopolies refused to handle Soviet oil in any way. An ordinance was passed "enabling" the government to take over the storage and distribution facilities. But no action ensued and the Oil Minister had the audacity to declare that the oil monopolies would be left to themselves in the name of "competition".

The nationalisation of banks has become a veritable national demand. At the time of Bhubaneswar as many as nine Pradesh Congress Committees declared themselves in favour of it. The West Bengal Assembly passed a unanimous resolution urging that this action be taken. In the Andhra Pradesh Assembly and Council the Finance Minister, replying to the motion moved by the CPI, declared that the consensus of the House was in its favour. But still no action follows.

The Durgapur session of the Congress this year passed a resolution demanding a ceiling on urban property. This was pointed out at the time of the Budget debate by the Communist MPs but the government was not willing to take any concrete step towards the realisation of this objective.

The latest declarations apart, we can recall the positions taken by the Congress Planning Com-

mittee in 1939 presided over by Jawaharlal Nehru and appointed by Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. It had called for extensive nationalisation and strict social control of the non-nationalised sector. All major industries and banks were to be in the state sector. It had also decided that the difference between the lowest and the highest income should be within the 1 to 10 range!

The Jaipur Session of the Congress in 1948 had a committee set up, headed by Pandit Nehru. It, too, called for the nationalisation of banks and sweeping institutional changes.

It was the urge of the people to live a life of equality that reflected itself in these resolutions and declarations. They remain today as angry testimonies to unfulfilled pledges.

The current debate going on around the size of the Fourth Plan and on whether there should be a Plan "pause" or Plan "acceleration", is of great importance. Much will depend on its outcome. But it is a sad commentary that in this debate on the Plan—its present and future—hardly anything is stated on the urgent issue of sharply reducing the tremendous inequality in India, which is our scourge and our shame.

The common people will remain outside the ambit of this debate so long as this problem of equality in the distribution of national income is not placed among the central themes. Planning is not mainly a technical problem but essentially an involvement of people in a stupendous, disciplined national endeavour towards certain goals, set by democratic decision.

The dangerous impasse in India's economy is created by the determination of the government not to change its policy which favours greater economic inequality and the failure of the democratic movement to compel it to radically revise this policy. It is the breaking of this impasse that must be the national pledge on this 18th Anniversary of our freedom.

# For National Democratic Food Policy

On August 15 this year we celebrate the 18th anniversary of Independence. We celebrate this day as a day of national resolve and re-dedication to the cause of defending our independence and building a new, democratic, happy and strong India.

THIS year Independence Day comes as a rude reminder that the sun of national independence which shone in the Indian sky 19 years ago has been eclipsed by the Rahu of monopoly resulting in an all-round crisis. There is hardly any aspect of our national life which is not afflicted by the crisis. Food crisis, foreign exchange crisis, plan crisis, economic crisis, language crisis, have become household terms.

Eighteen years of independent India have proved the path of capitalist development as the path of crisis. These years have also exposed that the monopoly of political power of the bourgeoisie wielded by the Congress in pursuance of the capitalist path has become an anachronism.

Our country has been suffering from a chronic food-crisis it had inherited from the British rule. Ever since independence food-crisis has plagued our life. It holds our economic development to ransom. Despite the supreme importance of overcoming the food crisis the Congress government has failed to formulate a national democratic food policy, not to speak of implementing it. The decision or indecision of the recently-held Chief Ministers' conference bears out this naked and ugly truth.

So much and so long talks have been done by Congress

ministers as to the causes and solutions of food crisis that the suffering millions have started shouting in utter disgust that they do not want bhashan (lectures); they want ration. Despite all the diversionary talks indulged in by the vested interests, the real cause and solution of the crisis is too big to ignore or reject.

The real cause is the insatiable greed of profit of a handful of monopolist wholesalers who control through innumerable agencies and sub-agencies the trade in peoples' food. It is these traders who are responsible for the food crisis. Therefore, the only solution of the food crisis is the state monopoly of the wholesale trade in foodgrains.

Big traders and landlords, in league with each other, create artificial scarcity by withholding their stocks in order to raise the price. This has been going on since independence. The following figures of foodgrains production and price index lead to the conclusion that a class of food thieves has grown out of traders and growers.

Foodgrains production in million tons

Index number of wholesale price of foodgrains

1950	1963-64	1964-65
55	79.43	87.50
100 (1951-52)	155.1 (June 1964)	161.3 (June 1965)

created this year to 62,65,000 tons. Thus hoarding and speculative trade in foodgrains is clear enough as the cause of present food crisis.

As early as 1959 the Asoka Mehta Committee had recommended to "socialise part of the wholesale trade, exercise control over traders in the rest of the market through a system of licensing, maintaining a sizeable reserve stock of wheat and rice."

Despite the warning given by this committee against relying on private monopoly trade in food the government continued to do so. Allowing the food thieves to play havoc with people's life and nation's economy the government especially under Patil's dispensation turned its face to USA for PL 480.

**Reliance on P. L. 480**

Reliance on PL 480 stands condemned as distortion to our policy of independent development. It stands condemned as cover of food thieves, big drain of our hard-earned money including scarce foreign exchange and placing huge funds at the disposal of American embassy in India to carry on its work of subverting our national independence.

Last year, about this time toiling people throughout the country threw down the gauntlet to the pro-hoarder and pro-landlord policy of the government. Series

# Food Policy

These figures show that the present crisis is not due to fall in production or growth in population as is propagated by some interested quarters. The paradoxical situation of rise in price with the increase in production cannot be explained but by market manipulations.

It is said that the increase in population has been at the rate of 2.5 per cent per year. This "population explosion" explodes everything that is developed. But the fact remains that though unsatisfactory and poor the increase in production, is more than the increase in population.

of memorable bandhs, ghe-  
rao's and all-India satya-  
graha of the Communists  
forced the government to  
accept state-trading in food-  
grains in principle. It set up  
a Food Corporation to pur-  
chase food stocks. It decided  
to introduce statutory ra-  
tioning in eight big cities.  
It set up about one lakh fair  
price shops throughout the  
country.

This partial victory of the  
popular struggle created com-  
placency in the popular cir-  
cles on the one hand and  
activated the monopoly tra-  
ders to undo the gains of po-  
pular struggle on the other.  
As a result, excepting statu-

forced to accept in principle  
the need of formulating a  
long term national food policy  
to over-come food crisis. At  
Bangalore they declared with  
a fanfare that a high-power  
subcommittee has been set up  
to formulate this policy. This  
committee met and its recom-  
mendations were left for the  
Chief Ministers' conference  
and the Cabinet to finally  
decide. But their recommen-  
dations have revealed their  
utter political cowardice and  
surrender to big traders and  
hoarders in launching a na-  
tional food policy.

**Recommendations Shelved**

Commenting on the recom-  
mendations, one of the partici-  
pating Chief Ministers is  
reported to have said that  
they are "watered down edi-  
tion" of last year's food po-  
licy. A special representative  
of a Delhi daily writes: "In-  
dia's constantly shifting food  
policy turned full-scale today  
when the Chief Ministers vir-  
tually shelved the five-day-old  
recommendations of their sub-  
committee on statutory  
rationing and returned to the  
decision they took a year ago  
—but did not implement—to  
introduce the measure only in  
the eight cities with a popu-  
lation of over one million."

When the need was to carry  
forward the recommendations  
of the high-power sub-com-  
mittee to their logical con-  
clusion, they were drastically  
watered down.

Giving the reason of the  
Chief Ministers volte face the  
same correspondent writes:  
"Perhaps the most striking  
feature of today's decisions  
was that they were essentially  
political taken at a two-  
hour afternoon session from  
which all officials—including  
the Union Food Secretary,  
Mr. A. L. Dias were kept out."

**People on the Move**

But like the food crisis, the  
popular challenge to it has  
also started getting wider and  
deeper this year. Bengal,  
Bihar, Kerala are already re-  
verberating with demonstra-  
tions, hunger-marches, ghe-  
raos, strikes and hartals. In  
these struggles is being forged  
the militant unity of the  
people and parties.

**Political Feature**

This political feature of the  
decisions is nothing but their  
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general elections. This was  
openly spelled out by Subra-  
maniam, in his opposition to  
Nalk's monopoly procurement  
of jawar.

After the passing away of  
Mahatma Gandhi and  
Nehru, the leaders of the  
ruling party have degener-  
ated into narrow self-  
ishness and petty-minded-  
ness. The present rulers  
of our great country  
who earlier murdered de-  
mocracy to retain its mono-  
poly of power in Kerala  
have murdered the national  
food policy for the same  
narrow selfish political end.

But they are mistaken if  
they think they will retain  
their monopoly of power in

## PLAN PRUNING UNDER AMERICAN PRESSURE

**BHUPESH Gupta, MP**  
leader of Commu-  
nist group in Parliament

has warned the Indian people that a high-powered move to cut the size of the Fourth Plan and, in particular, to whittle down the heavy and machine building industries is now in full swing. Home Minister Gulzarilal Nanda also seems to have joined the chorus.

In a statement on August 4 he pointedly asked:

Is it a coincidence that B. K. Nehru, the Indian Ambassador to the USA, addressed a meeting of the Congress MPs in New Delhi to canvass the mischievous American proposal for a smaller plan and also to influence other policies of the government, especially its foreign policy to suit American interests? B. K. Nehru has evidently forgotten that he is India's Ambassador and his job is to interpret correctly our policy in the USA and not to function as an instrument of US pressure and blackmail against his own country!

Bhupesh Gupta said:

All this back-sliding is sought in the name of agriculture and of economy in plan resources. It goes without saying that our agriculture is indeed in a very bad shape, and certainly calls for the utmost attention by the planners and the government.

But the way agriculture is being counterposed to heavy industry is highly misconceived and harmful. For there is no contradiction between the development and expansion of our basic industries on one hand and the improvement in our agriculture on the other. Rather both must go hand in hand.

What we need in agriculture is not mere allocation of funds, but an upsurge in it. That is possible only if we create the requisite labour enthusiasm by giving land to the actual tillers. It is surprising that the Planning Commission and the government are not prepared to draw the correct lessons from experience and make the needed orientations.

Inadequate ceiling laws, have not been properly implemented. Radical agrarian reforms will generate capital

accumulations in the country-side and thus reduce allocations of funds from other sectors of our economy.

It will be harmful in the extreme to slow down the growth of our industries specially heavy and machine building industries. For a developing country like ours this growth has to be stepped up.

Bhupesh pointed out that the problem of resources is not insoluble. By nationalisation of our foreign trade and banks, by bringing wholesale trade in foodgrains in state sector and by similar other economic measures against the monopolists, the required resources could easily be found.

The problem is essentially one of making the monopolists pay for the Plan in due measure on one hand and of creating labour enthusiasm in agriculture, industry and other sector of our industries on the other.

The working people must feel that the plans mean not rising prices, nor higher taxes, nor fabulous profits, but tangible improvements here and now in their living conditions.

**People on the Move**

But like the food crisis, the popular challenge to it has also started getting wider and deeper this year. Bengal, Bihar, Kerala are already reverberating with demonstrations, hunger-marches, ghe-  
raos, strikes and hartals. In these struggles is being forged the militant unity of the people and parties.

**Political Feature**

This political feature of the decisions is nothing but their reliance on traders and landlords for votes in the coming general elections. This was openly spelled out by Subramaniam, in his opposition to Nalk's monopoly procurement of jawar.

After the passing away of Mahatma Gandhi and Nehru, the leaders of the ruling party have degenerated into narrow selfishness and petty-mindedness. The present rulers of our great country who earlier murdered democracy to retain its monopoly of power in Kerala have murdered the national food policy for the same narrow selfish political end.

But they are mistaken if they think they will retain their monopoly of power in

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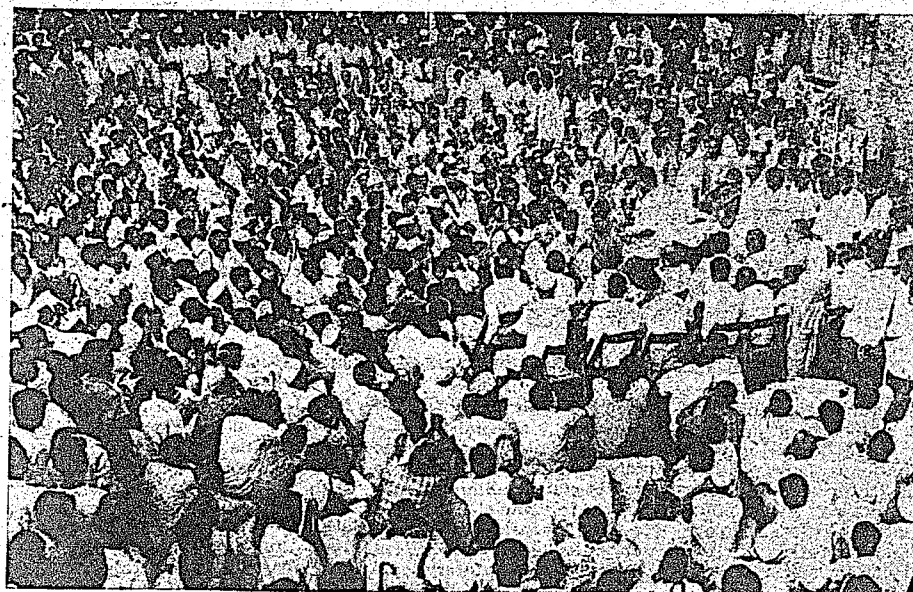
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Ghodapdeo Road in Bombay was renamed Rambhau Bhogale Road on August 1 to honour the late Trade Union leader. Born in a working class family, Bhogale was a member of the Bombay Municipal Corporation for a number of years. He is the first Communist to be honoured in this way by the Corporation. Above is a view of the gathering at the renaming ceremony.

## THE INVISIBLE GOVT

This is the story of America where there are two governments: the visible government and the invisible one.

It will be a futile exercise in academics to try find out how the invisible one came into being or what are its powers. The fact is that it is an extremely powerful set-up with its ramifications spread far and wide. It is the Central Intelligence Agency of the USA, commonly known as the CIA.



### BOOK REVIEW

A couple of years ago, quite a stir was created in India when Norman Cole's book, CIA— Anatomy of World's Number One Secret Service, was published here. Many raised eyebrows in disbelief and sought to make out that it was a book in which facts had been carefully mingled with fiction.

And now comes from the USA itself a book titled THE INVISIBLE GOVERNMENT by David Wise and Thomas B. Rose which really rips apart the veil of secrecy behind which the invisible government of the US operates.

It describes in detail, on the basis of irrefutable facts, how the CIA has been carrying on America's secret war in foreign coun-

tries directed against all progressive forces, against national-liberation movements, seeking to perpetuate colonialism, both in its old and new forms, there.

The book brings out in sharp relief the manner in which a vast number of secret service personnel of the CIA is engaged in all sorts of infiltration, subversion, assassination and violent overthrow of governments which follow progressive and nonaligned policies. The CIA balks at nothing and no expense is too much for it to realise what it aims at, because of the huge funds at its disposal. Burma, Indonesia, Laos, Vietnam, Guatemala, Cuba, the Congo etc., are burning symbols of the

CIA operations. In fact the whole of Asia, Africa and Latin America constitutes the favourite "sporting ground" for the CIA game.

The current imbroglio in Vietnam is sought to be explained away by the US government that its forces are there to protect the South Vietnam government from Communist infiltration, subversion and spread of communism.

In this book is for the first time narrated the complete story of the intrigue, violence and secretly financed coups and armed seizure of power conducted in South Vietnam by the CIA to transform it into an American war-base.

Given in it are also the facts as to how step by step the CIA has increased its power both at home and abroad. It deals with the so-called Kennedy shake-up and a number of secret operations conducted by the CIA. The instruments of power the CIA holds on the national plane are also explained in detail.

To know the full story of the invisible government of the US, one must read this book and be on guard against the CIA, the tentacles of which are spread wide enough in India too.

—S.M.

## FOR NATIONAL FOOD POLICY

### \*FROM CENTRE PAGES

next general elections by relying on the thieves of people's food. It is this realisation which impels Congress President Kamaraj to speak against capitalists and vested interests. If the Congress President really means what he says, he should force the Central government and Chief Ministers to adopt a national democratic food policy.

The patriotic and toiling people of India have waited and suffered too long. The anti-people and anti-national food policy of the Congress government is driving them into unity and struggle for a food policy which is really national and democratic. This policy is being already voiced by not only left parties but also progressives inside the Congress.

The national democratic

food policy demands a complete break from the policy of relying on big traders, landlords and American PL 480. The essential ingredients of this policy are the following:

★ nationalisation of wholesale trade in foodgrains with remunerative price to peasants and reasonable price to consumers;

★ nationalisation of banks to help the peasants grow more food and prevent the private traders from speculation;

★ statutory rationing, in big cities and towns and head-informal rationing in small towns and other deficit areas;

★ exemplary punishment to food thieves;

★ end of dependence on PL 480 and self-sufficiency in food production;

★ all fallow land to be distributed to the agricultural labourers and poor peasants; and

★ genuine agrarian reforms and land to the tiller, cheap credit, fertilisers and irrigational and other facilities to the peasants.

On the occasion of this anniversary of Independence Day, let us dedicate ourselves for a national democratic struggle to achieve a national democratic food policy in order to save the people and the country from the deadly grip of the economic crisis. This is our national and class duty in order to realise the immense possibility which the new epoch in our national life has opened up. The shadow of the monopoly has to be cleaned out so that 470 million people of India may enjoy the sun of national independence.

No "service conduct rules" are in force. We have been debarred from having any trade union rights. And yet, the IAC refuses to recognise us as its employees. Workers are forced to stay in the canteens. They are forced to sleep on benches or on the floor at a corner of the canteen like animals.

## HANDLOOM INDUSTRY IN U.P. FACES SLUMP

OVER two lakhs of weaver families in the eastern districts of Uttar Pradesh are hard hit and are in real distress on account on an unprecedented slump in the handloom market.

Khalilabad in Basti district is one of the largest handloom markets in the whole of northern India. This market accounts for sales of handloom goods worth Rs. 10 lakhs every week.

Handloom goods from adjoining districts of Gorakhpur, Deoria, Azamgarh, Faizabad, Barabanki and also from a number of western districts including Kanpur are brought here for sales.

An assessment of the market during the course of last six to eight weeks has shown a sharp decline in the sales. On an average, more than 50 per cent of the goods remained unsold, on the market days. On some market days 75 per cent of the goods remained intact without sales.

The reason for this sudden crash is lack of purchasers. This process continues to this day and is likely to continue for three months atleast.

The bulk of supplies from this market go to Bihar and Bengal. Acute food situation and near-famine conditions which are prevailing in Bihar for the last few months have directly caused this slump.

As regards any government measure to step in for saving the industry and over two lakh people from this catastrophe, less said the better. The state government and the industries department are only playing the usual "ostrichism".

Government purchases, short term loans and opening of yarn warehouses in these areas with a sense of urgency alone can alleviate the suffering of the people and save the industry from ruin and dislocation. Speedy action is called for.

Khalilabad. N. H. ANSARI

## Plight Of IAC Canteen Employees

THROUGH the columns of your periodical, I would like to draw the attention of trade union leaders and the public regarding the plight of the Indian Airlines Corporation canteen employees.

Many of us have been serving the IAC from the very inception of the canteens. The employees of H2 and H17 canteens at Dum Dum airport are compelled to work for 14 to 16 hours a day. We have no fixed hours of work. Even a day's rest in a week is not provided for, not to speak of payment for overtime etc. Most of the workers are not allowed to enjoy their earned leave, which is not accumulative. Leave provisions are only on paper.

No "service conduct rules" are in force. We have been debarred from having any trade union rights. And yet, the IAC refuses to recognise us as its employees. Workers are forced to stay in the canteens. They are forced to sleep on benches or on the floor at a corner of the canteen like animals.

## LETTERS

The management transfers employees at their sweet will and pleasure. Sometimes suspension and dismissal of employees also take place, and these without proper notices and on very minor charges.

The wages are extremely low. The average earnings of an employee is Rs. 30 a month. The highest salary, that of the manager of the canteen, is only Rs. 80.

I appeal to the public to raise their voice against the slave rule of the IAC over its canteen employees and to put sufficient pressure on its management to extend normal facilities like a decent wage, service conduct rules, trade union rights, etc. to the canteen employees of the IAC.

Calcutta

BENOY RANJAN BHADURY

## House Rent And Taxes

S. Viswanathan's letter which appeared in NEW AGE of the July 4 offers much food for thought for a tax-payer amongst the wage earners.

I would commend and comment that he should have specified why and how the government should come forward with an amendment to the Income-tax Act extending the existing facility to all.

I see his point that whatever is given by employers to their employees tantamount to 'return for labour'. In some cases a portion is termed as 'house rent allowance'. In most cases the employers do not specify a portion as such.

When all that the employees get from the employers are 'return for labour', why an option for the employers is given by the Act to specify to whom such an allowance from income-tax is to be allowed? Is it not discrimination shown by the government that some can deduct a portion from taxable amount and others cannot? Is it also not discriminatory and autocratic that even to deduct a portion from the taxable amount one should be at the mercy of the employers?

The questions arise as to who is responsible to pay income-tax; whether individuals or employers? Is there any other item of deduction for which the employers' mercy is required? If not, why only in this case? Even a single paisa saved by lawful means will definitely mean something to a tax-payer in these hard days, especially when the prices of the bare necessities of life are shooting up in spite of the government's ambition for holding the price-line.

It would not be out of place to suggest that suitable amendment be incorporated giving retrospective effect to the date of the introduction of such provision to take all 'return for labour' including house rent as 'total emoluments' and allow a suitable percentage to be deducted as house rent amount from the total taxable amount.

New Delhi

P. R. BALAKRISHNAN

## ALIGARH'S LESSONS

—CPI's Appeal To Secular Forces

The Uttar Pradesh state executive committee of the Communist Party of India has viewed with grave anxiety and alarm the situation developing in the country, and specially in the state after the unfortunate happenings in the Aligarh Muslim University.

An ordinary grievance of the AMU Engineering College students was taken advantage of by the Hindu and Muslim communal elements in the university to arouse passions against the newly appointed Vice-Chancellor, a person known for his nationalist and broad-minded outlook.

As a matter of fact, a sly and mischievous agitation against the appointment of Ali Yawar Jung as Vice-Chancellor had been set afoot by the communal and obscurantist elements much prior to his actual arrival in the campus.

After the new Vice-Chancellor took charge, under the pretext of seeking redressal of the students' grievances these activities—in which the Hindu and Muslim communalists were working hand in hand—were greatly intensified leading finally to the murderous assault on Ali Yawar Jung on April 25, 1965.

The regrettable part of this story is that the government was fully aware of these nefarious activities, but it took no step to counter them. Even when the Vice-Chancellor was being attacked, the police force, which had reached there by then, stood watching the scene and did not try to protect him.

And, after the shocking incident on April 25, when the central government did take notice of these developments, its intervention though showing courage in its approach, was unfortunately ill-conceived and inappropriate to meet the grave situation.

### Chagla's Statements

Some of the statements of M. C. Chagla, the Union Education Minister, unfortunately, only strengthened the hands of the reactionary and disruptive elements.

While rightly condemning the communal elements and their role in the history of the Aligarh Muslim University, he forgot to make any reference to its healthy traditions—and the contributions it has made.

Though Chagla later corrected his earlier hurriedly given statement, by that time the Muslim communalist and reactionary sections had already widely utilised it for inflaming separatist sentiments.

The Hindu communalists of the RSS and the Jan Sangh, always looking for occasions to work up anti-Muslim hysteria, seized this opportunity to launch a full-fledged campaign against the Aligarh Muslim University to slander it as a base of Pakistani and anti-national elements.

The subsequent activities of the Muslim communalists have only helped to provide grist to their mill.

Today, on the one hand, the communal Muslim organisations like the Jamaat-e-Islami and reactionary sections of nationalist Muslims, connected with Muslim Maj-

From RAMESH SINHA

UTTAR PRADESH

## Action Fortnight On Food Crisis, Price-rise

The specially summoned meeting of the executive committee of the Uttar Pradesh state council of the Communist Party of India from August 3 to 5 has decided to launch a massive people's food movement in the state to protect the people from starvation, to compel the Ministry to take at least the minimum steps to relieve the sufferings of the people and to bring about basic changes in the policies of the government with regard to land reforms, state-trading in food, nationalisation of banks and oil companies.

THE form and the exact time of the mass movement will be decided after consulting other democratic and left parties, groups and individuals, including Congressmen.

Steps have already been taken for consultations with such parties, groups and individuals. Representatives of the Communist Party have already met leaders of the SSP. Replies to the Party's letter pleading for joint efforts to meet the rapidly deteriorating situation have been received from the SSP and the PSP.

While the SSP has welcomed the Party's initiative and opened the possibility of further consultations, the reply from the PSP, which is hardly a mass party now, is non-committal. The Marxist Communist Party, or whatever of it exists in the state, has merely pooh-poohed the move.

Contacts are being established with the Republican Party and others.

At places, such as in Ghazipur, the Congressmen have also come to CPI meetings, but as yet it is probably due more to their factional quarrels than their conviction that in such matters they must not only come out openly on the side of the people, but must also unreservedly join hands with other healthy elements to serve and save them.

However, the Party is going to approach them at every level

and invite them to participate in the people's effort to get food.

The representatives of the Party, led by state council secretary Kail Shanker Shukla have also met the state Food Minister and the Governor and submitted a memorandum to them outlining the measures, immediate and more basic, that should be taken to hold the situation under control. They will also call on the Chief Minister shortly.

But, as would be evident to any newspaper reader, those who run the government are too busy fighting the battles for their own loaves and fishes to have time or even inclination to pay heed to even such urgent problems.

When the state executive of the Party met, it had already had some experience of the feelings of the people regarding the precarious food and prices situation. At the call of the Party, meetings and demonstrations had been held at scores of local and district centres on July 30 in observance of the "Food Crisis and Anti-Price Rise Day".

Members of the executive committee were unanimous that if a mass struggle is launched, the response to it this year will be much bigger than ever, and tens of thousands of people would be willing to go to jail.

Sardar Singh, secretary of the Party unit in Muzaffarnagar in western part of the State, described how the landless kisans' struggle is also rising in the background of the present crisis. Nearly 600 bighas of unutilised land have been occupied by the kisans in that district in several blocks and put to the plough.

In view of this, the executive has decided that while negotiations and consultations with others are going on, Party units and mass organisations under the Party's influence, must intensify the campaign to unite and mobilise the people to save themselves.

The executive decided that a 'Food Crisis and Anti-Price Rise Fortnight' must be observed in the state from August 15 to 30, and on September 1, mass demonstrations must be organised at all the district centres.

Efforts must be made to convene local, district and state food conferences of all parties to consider and work out concerted measures.

It was also decided that the Party units must start mass enrolment of people's volunteers for joining the movement and collect fighting fund to run the movement and to help the families, etc. of those who go to jail.

With these decisions the Party has been set firmly on the course of an extensive struggle in the coming weeks for people's food.

The executive committee has expressed satisfaction at the struggles that have been started in Bihar, West Bengal and elsewhere on these issues and welcomed the unity of democratic and left forces that is being witnessed in these struggles.

It has also decided to request the National Council of the Party to consider the possibility of launching a country-wide national struggle on these issues, "because basic policy changes cannot be brought about by isolated struggles in some states only."

## Bengal Bandh Of August 5

\*FROM PAGE 5

Court have also questioned the justification for the tram-fare increase and demanded withdrawal of Sec. 144 in another statement.

The West Bengal Committee of the National Federation of Indian Women, the Paschim Banga Mahila Samity, and numerous students' unions are also among the organisations which have put forward similar demands.

On August 8, a convention of prominent citizens, called by N. C. Chatterjee MP was attended by prominent citizens including Pramatha Nath Mitra, former judge of Calcutta High Court, Debendra Nath Mukherjee, a former Mayor of Calcutta, opposition MPs, leading educationists, advocates, principals and professors of different colleges, doctors, journalists.

The convention unanimously resolved that "in view of the findings of Mr. Justice Das's Tramway Industrial Tribunal and the observations made therein disclosing serious irregularities and manipulations in the balance sheets of the

company and in view of the fact that the Calcutta Tramways Advisory Committee was not at all consulted before the increase of the Tramway fares, it is imperative that the government should appoint a highpowered commission to make a thorough scrutiny of the entire financial structure of the company and to make a thorough review of the entire question of tramway fares in Calcutta and Howrah."

The convention further demanded that the "increased fares which have no bearing on the dearness allowance raised last year, should be kept in abeyance till the judicial probe is finalised", that those arrested in connection with the present agitation should be released forthwith and police restrictions called off.

The convention elected a deputation of six members to meet the Chief Minister, and if necessary, the Prime Minister.

While the state government apparently regards the defunding of the British Tram Company's profits as a matter of highest prestige for itself, reliable information is available to show that the people's

refusal to pay the increased fares is already hitting the company quite hard.

It is learnt that the daily income from Calcutta tram fares has gone down from the normal Rs. 80,000 to between Rs. 22,000 and Rs. 25,000 over the past few days.

Efforts are therefore being made by the company to force the unwilling tramway workers to realise the new fares forcibly, with the help of plain clothes as well as ordinary police.

Such an attempt on one route on August 6 resulted in thousands of tram passengers dismounting from the cars in protest and causing a serious traffic jam outside Sealdah station during the busy office hours.

The nine left parties have called upon the people to follow this example and boycott the trams wherever an attempt is made to enforce the increased fares.

From August 10, a new phase of the movement will begin when groups of people will begin offering satyagraha daily at several important tram junctions and terminuses in Calcutta.



# Andhra Pradesh Rising Tempo Of Working-Class Struggles For Food, Against High Prices

Certain facts relating to agricultural production, industrial production, food situation, wholesale and retail prices, labour and employment situation in Andhra Pradesh have come to light in the analysis published by the Bureau of Economics and Statistics of the state government. These analyses are for the year 1964.

It is claimed that "the foodgrains production in 1963-64 is expected to be about 73.37 lakh tons as against 70.55 lakh tons in 1962-63."

When the production was 70.55 lakh tons, the Minister for Agriculture had declared that "we have surplus foodgrains to the tune of 10 lakh tons to spare for our neighbours."

The '63-64 production being 2.82 lakh tons higher, the margin of surplus should obviously be over 10 lakh tons. "The foodgrains production in 64-65 is expected to be better", as claimed by the Bureau of Economics and Statistics.

The pertinent question is why then scarcity of foodgrains in Andhra Pradesh? And another vital question is why such steep rise in the wholesale prices of foodgrains?

We need not bother to make a detailed analysis of the causes. This is what the government has to say:

"The adverse seasonal conditions during the second half of 1963, large-scale free

movement of paddy and rice from the state to other states of southern zone, and the hoarding of stocks by foodgrain traders resulted in steep rise in prices in the latter part of the year."

In July 1964, the government passed orders requiring declaration of stocks of foodgrains by the traders. In August 1964, the maximum wholesale and retail prices of rice were fixed, including the prices for the producer.

In November 1964, the food zones in the country were reconstituted, Andhra Pradesh forming a separate zone by itself, and the inter-state trading in foodgrains was restricted to government account only.

## Steep Rise In Prices

These measures were introduced with a fanfare of publicity. Every effort was made to make the people believe that the government is earnest and sincere in checking the price rise. What is the position?

This is what the Bureau of Economics and Statistics of

the state government has to say:

"In the latter part of the year, however, there was steep rise in prices, specially those of foodgrains."

To what height the prices have gone up, the following statistics of the government would reveal:

Rice 1 and 2 qualities registered a rise of 18.7 per cent and 14.7 per cent respectively between 1963 and 1964. Jowar white and yellow during the same period rose by 45.8 per cent and 40.8 per cent respectively, while Bajra and Ragl rose by 32.4 per cent and 31.6 per cent respectively.

The rise is sharpest in pulses. Bengal gram registered 64.8 per cent, while black gram registered 59.3 per cent in one single year. Similarly, during the same period, red gram went up by 43.2 per cent and horse gram by 33.2 per cent.

The Bureau of Economics and Statistics sums up the position of retail market in the following words:

"The general rise of wholesale prices during the year had a corresponding effect on the consumer prices. The general index of consumer prices in all the five centres in the state moved upwards." The Bureau further says: "By and large, a large part of the increase in Consumer Price Index during the year was due to a rise in the prices of food articles".

109 strikes took place which involved 85,174 workers and resulted in a loss of 5,20,110 man-days."

The Bureau sums up that "the work-stoppages were partly due to general strikes staged by workmen all over the country against rise in prices."

Against the unabated rise in prices and against the persistent reactionary and anti-people policies of the government, the working people are waging more determined, more united and more spread battles.

This year the production is expected to be better than last year. The prices have gone up to new heights. And the tempo of the struggling working people is already all-time high.

## Workers' Petition

Four lakh NGOs, teachers and Class IV employees together with and in co-ordination with over 50,000 state government industrial undertakings and establishments workers have staged mighty demonstrations in every town. Never before they were so united, never before their determination was so firm, and never before they were so confident in enforcing their will.

With 3.5 lakh signatures on their petition, fifty thousand workers and employees belonging to all sections and

1957 index. The rise over 1963 is 14 points.

The asbestos cement production rose from 211 points in 1957 to 1341 points in 1964. While coal production went up from 119 to 212 points during the same period, sugar and cigarettes went up from 101 to 171 and 101 to 170 points respectively, during the same period. The output of sugar registered an increase of 24.3 per cent followed by jute, 15.6 per cent in 1964 over 1963 index.

The total income of all factories was up by 15.5 per cent in 1962 when compared to 1961 as against the all-India rate, of growth of 9.7 per cent. Similar is the position of profitability of Andhra Pradesh industries.

But the Andhra Pradesh industrial workers' earnings are lowest when compared to all-India average. The Labour and Employment Division of the Planning Commission has revealed that as against Rs. 1919 average annual earnings of a Maharashtra worker in 1963, in Andhra Pradesh it was Rs. 1149 for the same group of workers.

This wage relates to workers in organised industries. But thousands of workers employed in sweated industries who are covered by Minimum Wages Act are getting monthly wages ranging from Rs. 42 to Rs. 50 between 1960 and 1965 without any increase or revision.

The sharp rise in production, improved profitability for the industrialists and lowest wage for the workers is the picture that emerges from these statistics supplied by the government.

It is in such conditions that all the workers organised under the banner of Andhra Pradesh Trade Union Congress, Hind Mazdoor Fanchayat, Banks Employees' Federation, Insurance and R.T.C. Employees' Unions have formed the state Sangram Samiti. Sangram Samitis, at various levels have been formed uniting the workers of all industries and establishments.

## Sangram Samitis

These Sangram Samitis are determined to organise struggles at all levels against the prices, for rational wage, DA, and Bonus formulae, and against the loot of the traders and black-marketeers, for state trading in foodgrains, and nationalisation of banking industry. And above all, to wage uncompromising battle against the anti-national and anti-people law—the DIR, the emergency and undemocratic detentions.

The unity forged by the Sangram Samiti is more broad-based than ever before. This unity is generating confidence among all sections of toiling people and this is the unity for action.

It can be confidently said that the year 1965 would go down in history as the year of determined and unparalleled struggles of working people against the reactionary, undemocratic and anti-people policies of the government. The united struggles of the working people will reach ever-inspiring new heights.

SECOND ISSUE OUT SEND YOUR ORDERS

# PARTY LIFE

INNER-PARTY JOURNAL OF THE ORGANISATIONAL DEPARTMENT OF THE CPI

Contents of August Issue

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By

## N. SATYANARAYANA REDDY

General Secretary, Andhra Pradesh Trade Union Congress

The falsehood of the government claims that its measures would arrest the price-rise have been exploded by their own analyses and the statistics.

Food production is going up. But the real producer is not getting the proper price. With the increased bank advances, the hoarding capacity of the profiteers has been increased manifold. The hoarders are fleecing the people and earning exorbitant profit at the cost of the producer and the people.

How the working people reacted to this bankrupt and anti-people policies of the government?

This is what the government statistics speak:

"In the year 1963 there were 83 strikes involving 24,499 workers and resulted in loss of 1,58,477 man-days. In 1964,

Young American GI's are killing and dying in Vietnam to help a construction combine and the oil monopolists rake in huge profits. Each escalation of the conflict has brought an escalation of business for these corporations.

AND now other big trusts are flexing their fingers for a grab at the new profits that will come if President Johnson goes through with his complete takeover of the dirty war against the South Vietnamese Liberation Front.

A combine consisting of Raymond International of New York and Morrison-Knudsen of Boise, Idaho, is doing 85 per cent of the military construction work for the US in South Vietnam. The construction trust is doing this mainly with south Vietnamese subcontractors.

This means super-profits for the building moghuls, since the purpose of having the South Vietnamese subcontractors is to corral South Vietnamese workers for the projects at standard wages.

The tremendous amounts collected by the construction combine can be seen in the fact that \$100 millions of the \$700 millions additional funds voted for the Vietnam war last May has been apportioned for repairing damage to roads and bridges, expand airports, create new seaports and provide barracks for the increased US troops shipments.

But in Washington, the Pentagon is already declaring that this is only a drop in the bucket. The top brass says that military construction will skyrocket in the coming months if, as they expect, the President commits the entire US war machine to the war.

Ironically, one major task of the American GI's in Vietnam is to guard the operations of the construction combine.

Previous escalations of the

dirty war have also proved profitable to the oil trust. Since March, oil requirements of the US military in Vietnam have climbed 300 per cent.

The corporations that have profited from this rocketing demand are Standard Oil of New Jersey, Shell Oil Co., and Caltex.

But the Pentagon says now that it is only a drop in the tank, as they prepare to tell the oil monopolists to "fill'er up".

The oil trust however, is not satisfied with the safe-guards provided so far for its ships transporting the petroleum products to Vietnam. They are demanding expanded armed convoys.

## By DANIEL MASON

For every woman, child and old man in South and North Vietnam disintegrated by a bomb from a plane flown by US airmen, the munitions trust rings up another profitable sale. The decision by the Johnson administration to step up its bombings has brought a vast increase in orders.

Of the \$700 millions appropriated last May for the Vietnam war, more than 50 per cent has been spent already on bombs, air-to-ground rockets and ammunition for the planes' cannon.

The Army buyers are now holding out alluring prospects for other suppliers of military equipment. They are demanding from the Pentagon more trucks, helicopters, telephones, radios and other equipment.

The Army's recent increase in helicopter orders is a dramatic demonstration of how

# U.S. PROFITS

arms manufacturers are profiteering from the White House escalation of the conflict. The big plane makers have been given, in the last month or two, orders increasing sales by 60 to 100 per cent.

Textron's Bell Helicopter Division was recently given an order for 750 helicopters at a total cost of \$100 millions. This was in addition to previous orders which have not yet been filled.

Boeing Co.'s Vertol Division was given an order by the Army that doubles its production of transport helicopters. How little such increases help working people can be seen in the fact that Vertol is hiring only 10 per cent more workers.

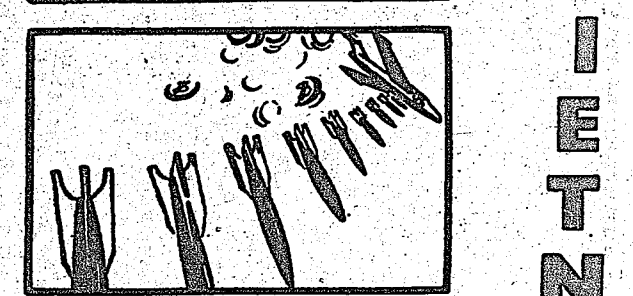
For the direct manufacturers of ammunition and guns, prospects for fiscal 1966 also are bright, too. This year, 1965, has been very good to them. They received orders from the Pentagon amounting to around \$800 millions for all military needs throughout the world.

But for fiscal 1966, with the Johnson administration taking over completely the military operations in Vietnam the Pentagon has promised the munitions trust a doubling of orders to more than \$1.5 billions.

President Johnson, who has just sent a representative to the 17-nation UN disarmament conference in Geneva, declared a couple of weeks ago.

"For two years in a row the January budget has been able to forecast reductions in defense. This will not be the case this year—even before taking into account the rising costs of our Vietnam operation".

THE PROFITS OF US MONOPOLIES HAVE GROWN SHARPLY IN RECENT TIMES AS A RESULT OF INCREASED MILITARY ORDERS AFTER THE START OF THE US AGGRESSION IN VIETNAM.



## TURNOVER OF US CAPITAL.

Much time was devoted in the discussion to the question of improvement in the system of payment for work. It was emphasised that every employee had to be made more interested in the over-all results of the economic activity of his enterprise and for this reason the system of bonuses had to be simplified and also its distribution had to be arranged through the incentive fund, which in its own turn had to come from a part of the profit made by the enterprise.

The importance of cost accounting was emphasised and it was suggested that its sphere should include not only individual enterprises but also production chains and whole economic areas. Economic councils must be held responsible for the bad work of the enterprises under them.

It is reported that the agencies of planning and economic management were widely criticised in the discussion. Institutes were called upon to develop the theory and methods of industrial management. A special institute could be set up for

tackling these problems it was suggested.

Much time at the conference was given to the problem of the study of the home market and its proper handling and utilisation on the basis of proper investigation. For a long time it used to be asserted in economic literature that there could be no market problem under socialism.

Life has rejected this dogmatic view point. A lack of proper study of the demands of the market requirements and changing tastes of the population and other factors do create problems which have to be overcome.

The laws, prospects and perspectives of the development of market have to be studied to determine trends for the future of industry. And the market problem is equally important not only for consumer goods but also for the means of production. Corrections in the plans could be introduced on the basis of these studies and better statistical information.

That the quest for better profitability in industry leads to

## SOVIET UNION From Masood Ali Khan

# PROSPECTIVE CHANGES IN ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT

MOSCOW: Questions of economic planning, organisation and management of production and better utilisation of the laws of socialist economy have been under constant debate and discussion here lately. Important and far reaching changes and improvements in the methods and workings of socialist planned economy are expected here as a result of the discussions.

THE Central Committee of the CPSU and Soviet government are formulating to ensure a drastic improvement in planning and management of industry and to shift the emphasis on to economic stimuli and the operation of the objective laws of socialist production. Along with measures that were already being realised in agriculture, they will prepare a new advance for Soviet economy and a further acceleration for its growth.

Recently hundreds of specialists, economists, heads of enterprises, workers of planning institutions and organisations of economic management held a lively four-day debate on the above problems at the Moscow University.

They thrashed out ways and means for providing a scientific basis for production and management of planning for the full utilisation of all the economic levers at hand in socialist economy and the best methods of improving the incentive system.

production, and for carrying out social and cultural work.

Part of the profits left at the disposal of the enterprise could be spent to encourage the workers to raise the quality of their produce, to save raw materials, fuel and power.

But before profit were made the main index of economic practice it was necessary to introduce order into the system of prices. It was said that at some of the enterprises one got a false impression of the growth of profitability of the shortcomings in the determination of prices.

Making profit one of the main indices would make the enterprises more interested in utilising their production resources and assets in the best possible manner, in better use of equipment and reduction of costs of production.

Many speakers pointed out during the debate that at present managers of enterprises are not always interested in organising the production of new commodities. It was easier for them to continue flooding the market with old produce and thus fulfil the plan in terms of gross output.

The result was that lot of outdated and old fashioned stuff continued to be produced which could not be sold or utilised.

FROM VIETNAM BLOOD



## AFRO-ASIA In The Headlines

# RACIST VERWOERD WANTS 'DETERRENT'

**HENDRIK** Verwoerd, head of the racist government saddled upon the South African people and a close competitor of Moise Tshombe as far as earning of hatred and wrath of the Afro-Asian people goes, officially opened last week the country's first nuclear reactor christened with malicious glee "Safari-1".

The reactor has been designed by the US firm, Allis Chalmers, and it costs the South African taxpayers no less than two million pounds sterling.

Manufacturers of the atomic equipment from the USA, Britain, West Germany, France, Italy and Australia were there at Pelianda to lustily applaud Verwoerd who declared that the reactor will be used "in the interest of peace and small African states."

However, such pious declarations are not going to deceive anyone. It is widely known that the South African racists want to have their own atomic weapons. Decay products of nuclear reactors specifically Uranium isotopes, can be used for the manufacture of nuclear weapons.

This is only one of the steps which the Western Powers have taken to help the Verwoerd clique to develop its own "deterrent" against the 11-million population of the country and the forces which express solidarity with it.

One of the biggest West German trust, Degussa, has been cooperating with the South African Atomic Energy

Authority since 1958. Two other West German trusts, Siemens and Telefunken, have assigned rocket experts to the rocket institute built near Pretoria.

Meanwhile, the newspaper ZANZIBAR VOICE has disclosed that negotiations are under way, if not yet concluded, between the South African Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany for the secret signing of a military agreement, with the prime purpose of converting South-West Africa into a kind of barrier to the spreading of national-liberation movement.

The FRG has undertaken to build many strategic objectives and a highway leading towards Angola. The agreement also stipulates stationing of infantry, engineering and air-force units of the FRG along the frontier with Angola.

## TUNISIA: DAY OF REMEMBRANCE

ON August 5, the Tunisian Republic paid homage to the memory of the fighters, who fell in the struggle for the freedom of Tunisia.

It was the Remembrance Day, and was celebrated all over the country with the participation of the leaders of the Destour Party and Tunisian General Confederation of Labour.

Wreaths were laid on the graves of the patriots. All the papers expressed determination

to strengthen the national independence of Tunisia.

The Remembrance Day reminds people of the events which took place 18 years ago, on August 5, 1947. On that day the French colonial authorities enacted a 'Jallianwala' at Sfax by massacring a large number of workers demonstrating for the withdrawal of foreign troops from the country and for better wages.

## DAHOMY: INDEPENDENCE ANNIVERSARY

DAHOMY celebrated on August 1 the fifth anniversary of its independence. The Presidents of the Republics of Ivory Coast, Upper Volta, Niger and Togo and delegations from Ghana and Nigeria were in Cotonou to greet the Dahomeans.

Traditional military parade and people's marches were held in the capital and other towns of the country. In the central square of the capital, throngs of holidaying visitors stepped into the "Cotonou Fair", the first national exhibition of Dahomey's achievements made during the first quinquennium of Independence. Also timed with the celebrations was the opening of the port of Cotonou, whose freight turnover is expected to reach 600,000 tonnes a year. The port will also serve the neighbouring countries of Niger, Upper Volta, Nigeria and Togo.

—DARSHAK

## ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT

\*FROM OVERLEAF

better service to the consumer can be shown by the example of the clothes firm called Bolshevichka and its followers.

"On July 1, 1964 two Soviet garment-making factories, Bolshevichka in Moscow and Mayak in Gorky, began an experiment which a year later was being followed by three hundred other enterprises which produced almost a fifth of all the goods put on the market by Soviet light industry.

This is the method of 'direct ties', the enterprise concluding agreements with department stores and working only according to orders placed by them which are directed by the direct demands of the consumers.

Under this new system, the enterprises do not receive any plans from above from the state. They draw up their plans themselves on the basis of the orders from stores and their own capacity.

The state economic organs (the economic councils and planning commissions) merely confirm the plan and control its fulfilment in two respects: whether the enterprise supplied the stores with goods amounting to the agreed sum and whether it received its planned profit.

The state does not interfere at all as regards the other economic indices. The heads of the enterprises themselves have to determine the wage fund, the number of workers and specialists required and the cost price of the articles etc.

One year of work has shown that this greater freedom of the producing enterprise leads to a better and more efficient service to the buyer and also gives the producer greater profit.

Soviet press points out that the new method meets requirements of economy much better. Industry has been turning out a vast quantity of better-quality articles and the buyer can select the best.

Now the USSR Economic Council has decided that a number of enterprises of food industry of Moscow, Leningrad and Kiev should also work in 'direct link with the trading and catering organisations from October this year.

Pyotr Noskov, director-general of the firm Bolshevichka speaking of the one year experiment de-

clared: "Our suits no longer lie around in the ware houses but successfully compete with the best imported goods. But we had to perfect the production process considerably. Together with the sales-clerks of the 18 stores, we serve; we keep our eye on the market and the demands of the buyers and make required changes in styles and assortment. Our costs have gone down and profits up.

"This has been possible because we have greatly increased the material interest of the workers in the results of their work. We gave a forty per cent bonus to workers in addition to their salaries and to specialists a fifty per cent bonus for the exact fulfillment of the orders from the market."

Noskov said that compared to the first half of this year, well-made and stylish suits worth an additional 1.7 million roubles will be put on the market in the second half. "That means our profits will be greater and so also the wages of the workers and specialists as well."

## Market Research

Vladimir Shwartz, head of the department of food industry of the economic council of USSR declared: "The problem of a market also faces the Soviet food industry. Some goods do not have a market whereas there is a shortage of other goods. The reason for this is that food enterprises do not study the demand well.

"Four of our enterprises will begin working from October on the basis of orders placed by the stores. This will be a sort of experiment. We hope as a result of these direct-ties, the food shops and stores will be able to get rid of those types of sweets, cheeses and sausages which have no market and they shall receive more goods of the kind the consumer wants."

Emphasis on the profitability of production or better satisfaction of discriminating consumer-demands, of course, in no way means giving up socialism. All these debates and experiments are a quest for a better and more efficient working of the system for the man it serves.

The nature of profit under socialism and its uses are totally different from capitalism and the emphasis on profitability means a search for more effective ways of developing socialist economy.

# FOR A LEFT ALTERNATIVE TO THE CONGRESS

\*FROM FRONT PAGE

question of language, in not making regional languages the media of education and administration and retaining English and imposing Hindi slowly in its place, has led recently to language riots, jeopardising the very unity and integrity of our country.

And yet they have not taken any steps to fulfil the promises made at the height of the language riots that the late Prime Minister Nehru's assurances to non-Hindi states will be given a statutory guarantee.

By their largescale use of the DIR for detaining without trial in jails the leaders of the Marxist Party, the Communist Party of India and other popular leaders and for suppression of people's movements for improving their miserable conditions of life and by using the undemocratic provisions in the Constitution like the imposition of President's Rule in Kerala to keep themselves in power, the Congress is undermining the very democratic set up of our country and encouraging dictatorial trends.

In this connection, it is also necessary to state that the attitude of surrender of the Congress to Hindu communal forces is actually not only undermining the confidence of the religious minorities but is also corroding the very secular character of our Constitution of our country.

## Foreign Policy

In the field of foreign relations also our country's image of anti-imperialism has suffered much because of its wobbling in supporting the national-liberation struggles especially the struggle of Vietnam, though some amendments have been made recently to restore the image.

The policy of dependence of the Congress regime on Anglo-American imperialists for defence equipment has also come home to roost. This has kept our country's defences weak which resulted in our not being able to defend our country even against the recent aggression by Pakistan in the Rann of Kutch.

Because of these reactionary and weak-kneed policies of the Congress rulers, our country has landed in an all-round crisis. Utilising the critical situation in which our country finds itself today, the Anglo-American imperialists and their reactionary allies in India are trying to completely reverse the nation's declared policies of nonalignment and anti-colonialism, democracy and secularism and independent economic development and progress.

The American imperialists are making desperate efforts to make India their base of operation for their nefarious activities against the socialist countries and the new democratic countries since they are sure to be thrown out of South Vietnam sooner or later.

The American imperialists had supplied modern arms to Pakistan, while refusing them

to India and helped Pakistan in its aggression in the Rann of Kutch. They are utilising the foreign exchange crisis to thwart our country's economic development by putting pressure on it to cut down the size of the plan and give them and the Indian monopolists more concessions.

Taking advantage of the difficult food situation facing the country, they are applying pressure on the Government of India by refusing to sign agreements for import of foodgrains on one pretext or another.

The Anglo-American oil companies have created an oil crisis by refusing to carry out the Indian government's decision to reduce oil imports from hard currency areas and increasing import of cheap oil from the Soviet Union.

Because of this situation created by the reactionary and weak-kneed policies of the Congress regime, the discontent of the people has grown immensely. They are moving into innumerable mass actions throughout the country.

The statewide bandhs that took place at the end of last year, the strike of the textile workers of Bombay, the strike of the Amritsar workers and the food movement that is developing now are concrete proof of this. White-collar employees under the government like the NGOs and other sections like the teachers, doctors, engineers are also on the move.

These actions of varied sections of the people can converge into a mighty all-India movement against the reactionary and weak-kneed policies of the Congress regime, manoeuvres of the imperialists and their reactionary allies inside and outside the Congress if there is a force to lead them.

It is but natural that in such a critical situation, the question of what next comes up before the people. What is the alternative to the Congress regime? This is the question posed before the country.

## False Claim

Congress leadership has been saying that the Congress is the only party that can give the country a stable government despite all its weaknesses. They say that the other opposition parties are small, have no common programme, their only aim is to defeat the Congress but they cannot give any stable government to the country, etc. They say, if the Congress is defeated, the country will find itself engulfed by chaos.

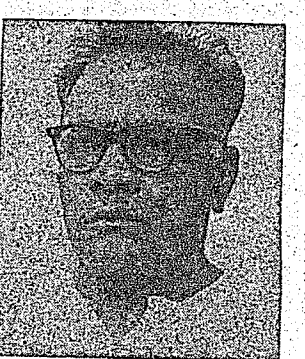
This claim of the Congress leadership that it is the only party that can give a stable government to the country is a false claim. This is proved by the facts stated earlier.

The Communist Party along with progressive independents gave a stable government to Kerala in 1957 and ruled the state for 28 months until the Congress leadership deposed it by resorting to all kinds of undemocratic and dictatorial methods, fearing that it would be repeated in other states too.

Again, in the mid-term

elections in Kerala held early this year, though the Congress was reduced to a minority, it manoeuvred to clamp down President's rule even without giving a chance to the Marxist Communist Party, which had emerged as the single biggest party, to form a ministry.

In some other states like Orissa, Andhra and Punjab, where the Congress could not secure an absolute majority, it managed to keep itself in power by temporary alliances with other reactionary parties,



using its power in the Centre and later on throwing it them out once it felt sure of its own position.

For the Congress leadership now to flaunt the above claim after having brought our country to this pass, when its entire organisation from top to bottom is steeped in corruption and factionalism resulting from the struggle for power and when it is going to pieces is only trying to hoodwink the masses.

Indian people have seen through the Congress promises of socialism. They are increasingly realising that their lot cannot be bettered under the Congress rule at all. Because of the disillusionment of the masses and the intense factionalism inside their organisation, Congress rulers fear that next time they may not secure a majority in several states in the 1967 elections.

The claim of the Congress leadership that they are the only party which can provide a stable government to the country is wholly untenable, not to speak of their promise of all-round progress and improving the living standards of the people.

Extreme reactionary parties like the Jan Sangh and Swatantra Party, by cleverly giving a twist to the intense discontent and aided by reactionary forces inside the Congress, propagate openly for complete reversal of our country's basic policies and taking our country into the camp of imperialism in the name of defending it against the so-called danger of communism.

The Jan Sangh also opposes the secular character of our state and it propagates for a state based upon "Bharatiya sanskriti and maryada" which means nothing but "Hindu Raj". These parties try to pose before the country as the real alternative to the Congress.

They do not openly speak against the democratic set up of the country and advocate dictatorship. But whenever they get an opportunity, they very slyly advocate such ideas. At the time of the Chinese

onto our soil, suspension of state baed upon "Bharatiya aided by reactionary forces inside the Congress, advocated bringing in of American troops into our soil, suspension of the democratic set-up and the establishment of the rule of the Defence Council consisting of military commanders and representatives of reaction under the name of President's rule.

At the height of aggression in Kutch, when the idea of military dictatorship replacing the civilian government was being advocated forcefully, leaders of these parties were slyly helping its spread.

American imperialists have become so bold that a journal like the NEW YORK TIMES began to advocate openly for a military dictatorship, just a few days before the Kutch invasion by Pakistan. C.L. Sulzberger, writing in that paper on April 21, 1965, said:

"The complicated three-way power struggle for India has not yet produced a dominating trend. The present Shastri Government has not yet either proven or disproven its qualities. But should Shastri fail to satisfy political leaders by the end of this year, there could be a move for change.

"Some observers think that in such a case, India might reluctantly be forced to experiment with military government which would lean more openly towards the West. Despite strong Indian prejudices against such a solution, there are hints that certain officers have begun to speculate along such lines."

The frustration among the Indian people caused by the misuse of the Congress is a fertile soil for such an idea to germinate. It is surprising that a section of the intelligentsia are also falling a prey to such a dangerous idea, in the absence of a clear democratic alternative to the Congress being placed by the left parties before the country. We need not be surprised if at a very critical moment in the life of our nation, the extreme reactionary forces succeed in their machinations.

## Need for Left Unity

It is high time that the left parties in our country woke up and unitedly presented a democratic alternative to the Congress before the country before it is too late. Such an alternative can unite the left parties, as well as the democratic forces inside the Congress and other unattached democrats, for replacing the Congress regime and for foiling the game of extreme reactionary forces.

The initiative for coming out with such a democratic alternative has to come from the left parties acting together. Only through such an initiative can they intervene in the situation effectively and give confidence to the democratic forces inside the Congress.

But unfortunately the present position is that the left parties are themselves divided. Not only that the left parties like the Communist Party of India and the SSP are badly split and most of their energies is wasted in mutual recrimination and working at cross purposes, instead of uniting on mass and political issues facing the country; some of the left leaders are not even conscious of the dangerous manoeuvres of extreme reaction and are putting forward

a line of "uniting with the devil" against the Congress.

They are not conscious of the fact that unity of the left parties for joint action and on the basis of a minimum democratic common platform will generate such confidence among the masses, including the masses behind the Congress and other democratic forces, to come forward not only to give an effective challenge to the Congress but also at the same time defeat the manoeuvres of extreme reaction.

The negative slogan of "uniting with the devil", far from helping the democratic forces to unite, will only facilitate the extreme reactionary forces diverting the mass discontent into reactionary channels, because of the lack of a real clear-cut democratic alternative before the Indian people in this critical situation.

Though in the course of some strike action and other mass activities some of the left parties come together, mostly the left parties are today adopting a line of going-it-alone.

While it is true that there are serious differences among the left parties on some vital issues, there are a number of other issues on which the left parties can unite and give a shape to the mass discontent and give confidence to the masses.

Lack of unity among the left parties even on issues on which there are no serious differences, is the single biggest factor, which is breeding frustration among the people and helping reactionary forces to exploit the situation and drive their discontent into reactionary and disruptive channels.

The need of the hour is for the left parties to sit together, try to chalk out such an agreed minimum programme on the burning issues facing our people and put forward a united and bold alternative before the country. On issues on which they differ, they can carry out a debate in a fraternal way and try to come together on the basis of the debate and practical experience of the movement.

This will give confidence to the people to fight unitedly against the anti-people policies of the Congress and reactionary machinations of the imperialists and extreme reactionary forces, inside and outside the Congress.

The united, statewide bandhs series that took place during the latter half of last year, the textile strikes of Bombay and Amritsar, the Calcutta and Ahmedabad Corporation elections are instances where some of the left parties came together and gave confidence to the masses to fight against the anti-people policies of the Congress.

If all the left parties come together on a minimum platform, the present situation can be galvanised into big mass struggles on the questions of food, high prices, defence of our country, etc.

This will also give confidence to those progressive sections inside the Congress, who are still wobbling, to come out boldly in defence of the declared policies of the Congress and to ultimately unite with the left parties on a minimum programme.

The essentials of such a programme were advanced by the Seventh Congress of our Party held at Bombay in its Political Resolution. But in view of the dangerous manoeuvres of extreme reaction and are putting forward

ON BACK PAGE

## RESOLUTIONS OF CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE CPI

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## 800TH ANNIVERSARY OF LEIPZIG AUTUMN FAIR

Willi Stoph, Prime Minister of the German Democratic Republic in a letter to Prime Minister Shastri has requested him to send an official delegation to the Leipzig autumn fair which begins from September 5. This is the 800th anniversary of the fair.

ABOUT sixty countries would be represented at the fair this time, among them, the US would for the first time be taking part in it. India would be the biggest overseas exhibitor like the previous years.

Addressing a press conference here on August 10 the acting Commercial Counsellor of the GDR Trade Representation Herbert Baler elaborated the tremendous scope India has in selling its goods in the GDR. Leipzig fair is truly a meeting ground between the East and the West providing

opportunity to establish trade and other commercial contracts.

Despite the necessity felt in all quarters for an Indian Trade Representation in the GDR for export promotion of Indian goods, the Government of India has not so far taken any step to set-up any sort of official agency in the GDR for this purpose.

India holds the second position, next to Great Britain, as a trading partner of the GDR. Since 1958 all trade between the GDR and

India is being to effected on rupee payment, and the total turnover is increasing steadily. From a total turnover of about Rs. 70 million in 1955, it reached about Rs. 210 million in 1963. In 1964, the turnover has gone up further.

There is a great demand of engineering goods from India in the GDR but there being no proper arrangements in this regard, the market is going mostly by default.

In the September Leipzig fair there will be about 6,500 exhibitors. It is expected that about 350,000 visitors from some 80 countries, including some 50,000 buyers and sellers, technicians, scientists, producers etc. will be there.



# BEHIND THE CRISIS IN GREECE

It is over three weeks since Greece is being rocked by the most acute political crisis touched off by King Constantine and the extreme rightwing forces supported by their NATO patrons—principally the United States.

**F**OLLOWING the unprecedented illegal action by the King—in what is supposed to be a Constitutional monarchy—in dismissing Papandreu from premiership who commanded a clear majority in Parliament, Greece has been turned into an arena of stormy action by the popular mass actions that shook the country during the summer of 1963.

It will be recalled that normal constitutional government was restored in Greece and the country got rid of the hated semi-fascist Karamanlis regime thus opening the way for comparatively democratic elections only as a result of similar country-wide popular mass actions that shook the country during the summer of 1963.

Now as then the Communist-supported United Democratic Left has thrown in its lot in support of constitutionalism and

democratic liberties and constitutes the biggest single factor in hitting back the Rightwing offensive.

Although Papandreu has a considerable record in the suppression and massacre of Greek Communists, his Centre Union undoubtedly stands today for adhering to the democratic path and opposing a return to fascism and monarchial dictatorship.

It is also interesting to remember that the present royal family is not only wholly non-Greek and of German descent but has the most unsavoury record of collaboration under the German occupation.

The fact is that following the civil war of the immediate post-war years the way was cleared for the setting up of an openly fascist regime under the extreme

rightwing National Radical Union. During this period rigged elections were the rule and a police-cum-fascist regime maintained the Karamanlis government. It was from this regime that the popular upsurge initiated both by the liberal Centre Union Party and the Communist-sup-

## By BAREN RAY

ported United Democratic Left had liberated the country in 1963.

Following the first fair elections, although Papandreu's Centre Union Party emerged with a majority and was entrusted to form the government, the United Democratic Left emerged as a considerable national political force.

It is this crucial fact that prevented the Papandreu government from succumbing to

fighting pressure and the progressive forces were thus able to mobilise the popular masses for an uncompromising fight for constitutional democracy and against the machinations of the NATO powers. One of the obvious popular issues in Greece is the question of solidarity with the Government of Cyprus under President Archbishop Makarios in their struggle for self-determination and full sovereignty and against the Treaty of Zurich imposed by imperialism.

This of course is opposed by the NATO powers who want the Greek government to cooperate with Turkey in the interests of the NATO. Similarly Greek rightwing forces look with alarm at the developments of events in Greece in which the Papandreu government had to increasingly depend on the popular support mobilised by the United Democratic Left.

It was against this background that the King both under the influence of his mother the notorious Queen Frederica as well as guided by ambitions of greater Royal powers took advantage of the so-called "Aspida" case in precipitating the present crisis.

As a matter of fact there was an impending army purge directed against notorious rightist officers with records of fascist activities during the Karamanlis regime when this "Aspida" case was created alleging the complicity of Papandreu's son (who is in Cyprus) with the supposed secret Leftist group of that name within the Greek Central Intelligence Service.

It was at this stage when a general enquiry into the activities

of the rightist officers and the Intelligence Service was impending that the King precipitated the situation and dismissed the Government. The King was hoping to split the Centre Union Party and get a majority in support of the "Palace Government" of Athanasiades Novas who however in spite of all the Rightwing votes could not muster more than 131 votes in a 300-strong parliament.

In fact when at first an extraordinary session of Parliament had to be called on July 30 as a result of nationwide demonstrations against the imposition of the illegal government, there were less than a hundred members present, that is less than the required quorum and the Speaker announced that the Government has fallen.

Despite this the Palace government refused to resign and the rightwing elements began to pull strings for a coup and to bring about a rightist government or even establishing a military dictatorship.

As these machinations gradually began to be understood, in the course of the struggle there began to take shape united action of most diverse sections of the population for the safeguarding of democracy. The US diplomats have been conspicuous with their hectic activity during the crisis about which the popular Greek newspaper NEA wrote:

"The aim of the Americans is clear—to muster a 'right-of-centre' bloc and on this basis instal in power persons who suit Washington and thus prevent not only the restoration of the lawful central government but also a new general election which the reaction fears like fire."

However, although the crisis is not yet over it looks that the united front of all the democratic forces will foil this conspiracy against the constitution and will ensure the maintenance of people's liberties.

## Whose War it is in Vietnam?

Flame throwers are being used by Americans to burn down villages along with their inhabitants in South Vietnam. Some 100 houses were razed to ground and over 100 civilians killed in one such operation near Da Nang on July 23.

**T**HIS fact is pointedly brought out in a message sent by Vietnamese Women's League to the Women's International Democratic Federation.

Meanwhile, the South Vietnamese puppet army continues to fall apart under the blows of the patriotic armed forces of South Vietnam.

Hundreds of soldiers of the Saigon forces in complete units are going over with their weapons to the side of the people or returning to their families, the Vietnamese News Agency reports, quoting the Liberation News Agency.

More than 400 officers and men of the puppet army went over to the Liberation Army in Mi-Tho province in July. Defection grew particularly in this province after the successful operations of the patriots in Mi-Han-Dong district this June.

An entire Battalion—300-man strong—disbanded in Ba Gia province in fear of an expected attack by patriotic army detachments.

About 200 officers and men from the puppet army, carrying their arms, went over to the people earlier in July near Thu-Dau-Mot and Gia-Dinh.

In the first six months of this year, 13,450 Saigon army officers and men have gone over to the people with their arms.

Talking to correspondents in the "Meet the Press" television programme on August 8, General Maxwell Taylor admitted that the position of the American

troops and the Saigon regime had worsened in recent months.

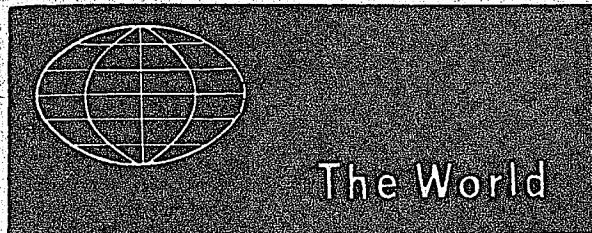
Replying to questions, Taylor, who recently resigned as the US Ambassador in Saigon, said that the two most unfavourable factors for the United States in South Vietnam were a shortage of troops capable of coping with the growing Vietcong offensive and the instability of the South Vietnamese regime.

**U**PI commentator Stewart Hensley reminded Taylor of the statement by the present South Vietnamese Premier Nguyen Cao Ky that 4-5 thousand men were deserting monthly from the Saigon army. Taylor confirmed that desertion had been one of the main problems this year.

**T**HE NEW YORK TIMES correspondent Jack Raymond recalled that McNamara and Taylor had in their time predicted that the war against the guerrillas would be concluded successfully soon. According to them, American troops could have been home by last Christmas.

Raymond asked how these forecasts could be squared with the present estimates of the situation in Vietnam. Taylor replied that the reason for the changes was the stormy developments in Saigon.

Taylor evaded the correspondents' pressing questions about the real reasons behind his resignation, repeating the unconvincing official version that he was to stay in Saigon only for a year.



# RACIALISM, LABOUR STYLE

"Discrimination on grounds of colour is now the policy of Great Britain. Of course, this is virtuously denied by ministers and the word 'colour' never occurs in the White Paper on Commonwealth immigration."

**T**HIS is what Mervyn Jones wrote in NEW STATESMAN (August 6) and this explains the position in a nutshell. The Labour Party leaders who decried the former Tory Ministry on this issue and fought against their anti-immigration bill, have now come forward with the very same restrictions against the Commonwealth immigrants. Some of the provisions are even more retrograde than what the Tory Party wanted to make them.

The White Paper released by the Labour government last week restricts the inflow of immigrants to 8,500 annually and is directed specifically against the coloured peoples belonging to Commonwealth countries. The argument trotted out by the Labour government ministers in this respect is, to say the least, untrue and preposterous.

The drastic curbs on the immigrants are clearly based on a racial prejudice. There is no other reason. It cannot

be said that the immigrants add to Britain's problems of housing, health services etc. In fact, the immigrants have to a great extent contributed to Britain's health and hospital services.

In 1964, no fewer than 130,000 people from Britain emigrated to other countries. This is twice the number of immigrants from the Commonwealth countries who came to Britain.

Herbert Bowden brazenly told the House of Commons: "There is a limit to the number of immigrants this small and overcrowded country can absorb." He conveniently forgot to mention the British migration!

The Labour government by these restrictions has not only given expression to its racial bias but has also created conditions in which open racial hatred will be whipped up in Britain where organisations in the style of Ku Klux Klan are already gaining ground. To bank upon the scalled built-in tolerance in British

society is to deny the obvious: it is sheer hypocrisy, particularly when no steps are being taken to stop the racial propaganda.

The chairman of the CARD (Campaign Against Racial Discrimination) Dr. David Pitt—the West Indian GP and Greater London county councillor who won the Hampslead seat on Labour ticket in the 1959 parliamentary elections, has already resigned from the executive of the London Labour Party. CARD's vice-chairman Hamsa Alavi has resigned from the British Overseas Socialist Federation, an official Labour Party organisation.

Labour Party leader George Brown, like many of his illustrated and high-ranking colleagues, had declared in 1961 protesting against the Tory Bill that the bill was the "casual ending in a single sweep of a tradition of centuries of which this nation has been proud." After coming to power the Labour Party betrayed the trust reposed in it by the British people and effected exactly what the Tory Party wanted to do—namely racial discrimination.

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Along with the White Paper, the Labour government has also sought from the House of Commons power to deport Commonwealth citizens within six months of their entry into Britain, without reference to courts. A bill to this effect is to be introduced in the next session of Parliament.

Meanwhile, after delivering the White-Paper kick, Prime Minister Wilson has gone hollidaying and Parliament has been adjourned till October.

Wilson's betrayal is not merely to the British people; it is a betrayal to the people of the entire Commonwealth. Obviously, the countries of the Commonwealth cannot take this insult lying down.

## Singapore's Secession

**W**ITH the secession of Singapore from Malaysia, the British "East of Suez" policy has received a set-back.

Singapore was one of the four cornerstones of Malaysia (Malaya, Sarawak and North

Borneo are the other three), which is an imperialist creation directed against the national-liberation movements in this area.

Malaysia is meant to be a "fall-back" war-base of US and British Imperialism. After the formation of Malaysia, only a semblance of independence was granted to Singapore, by the British. Brunei opted out of the Malaysian Federation.

Singapore is a major port and a commercial centre with a population over 1½ million. About 60 shipping lines pass through Singapore port. Big British naval and airforce bases are situated here along with the headquarters of the Command of British armed forces in the Far East. Singapore is also a stronghold of the SEATO military bloc.

The secession of Singapore might accelerate the process of disintegration of Malaysia but so long it remains a British base, it will continue to provide ground to the imperialists to attack the national-liberation movements in this area.

The withdrawal of Singapore has weakened the case of imperialists to keep Sarawak and North Kalimantan tagged to Malaysia whose people had been demanding freedom for quite some time now. Although Singapore is out of Malaysia, the real intrigue persists.

## Ian Smith's Declaration

**R**HODESIA'S racist Prime Minister Ian Smith told his party congress on August 7 that his government was now in a position to declare independence unilaterally without any danger. And after independence, it would stay out of the Commonwealth.

He gleefully added that "certain countries" (meaning South Africa, Portugal etc.) have guaranteed official recognition when Rhodesia becomes independent.

The British Commonwealth Secretary Arthur Bottomley said in Accra on August 9, where he stopped on his way to Salisbury, that Britain did not want to "go to war" with Rhodesia on this issue.

The British attitude of playing safe (though nobody asked Britain to declare a war against Rhodesia!) on the Rhodesian independence issue and its attempt to keep the Ian Smith government in good humour is yet another proof of Labour government's weak policy and its tacit support to the racial stand. It has virtually ruled out the possibility of any strong action, even something like an economic boycott.

The immediate starting point is the convocation of a meeting based on the principles of the Geneva Agreements, already agreed to by 14 nations, to bring pressure on the governments of all countries to achieve such a settlement. This is the first and foremost task of the world peace movement.

It is now for the Rhodesian people and the people of Africa to take such steps as to ensure that Ian Smith's move does not go through.

—Sadhan Mukherjee (August 10)

# MILITANT VIETNAM RESISTS US ATTACKS

The article is based on the first hand information gathered by the World Peace Council delegation which went to Hanoi in July. A report of this delegation was narrated at the Helsinki Peace Congress by the leader of the delegation Isabelle Blume:

In Vietnam today the struggles for national liberation and for world peace, join hands. For, if US aggression in Vietnam were to be successful, it would open the way to further provocation against the socialist world and further aggression against the national-liberation movement.

**A**LREADY the US has been able to escalate the military war by securing the pitiful support of the Australian, New Zealand and South Korean governments.

Further extension could even lead to a general nuclear holocaust. The US war-lords are recklessly pursuing a policy leading to an unlimited extension of the war.

This, together with the actions of the US government, in establishing a base for Polaris-carrying submarines in N.W. Australia and its further plans for nuclear bases on the shores of the Indian Ocean, greatly extend the area of nuclear danger.

It was in this situation that the World Peace Council sent a delegation to Hanoi to discuss the issue with the peace movement and government leaders of Vietnam.

The delegation found a people united in support of their government, and prepared to make any sacrifice needed to safeguard independence and the right to reunification. The Vietnamese government

planes. All the bridges damaged or destroyed by US air-attacks have been replaced, in some instances by temporary bridges, by the voluntary labour of thousands of peasants and workers.

In the region subjected to heavy bombing, the Peace Council delegation met the local public organisations which were responsible for organising civilian support. The delegation met children who when their elder brothers had been killed or maimed in carrying munitions to the defending forces, had taken their places; and parents who had similarly replaced their sons or daughters who had fallen.

The fighting Vietnamese have already brought down over 300 US war-planes.

The most stirring perhaps was the interview with two American pilots, Lt. Cmdr. Schumaller and Lt. Robert Piel who had been shot down and subsequently disarmed and captured by the Vietnamese peasants.

Both men stated that they had suffered no violence and that after their capture they had been well-treated and their personal lives treated with respect; a sharp contrast to the savagery, torture and sudden death inflicted on captured Vietnamese by the Americans and their puppets in the South.

The treatment of the pilots by the Vietnamese peasants is all the more remarkable when it is remembered that the US planes have bombed hospitals, schools, pagodas etc., killing and maiming many patients, young school children and ordinary people going about in their peaceful vocations.

The delegation was able to that in some cases peasants bathing in village pools after their day's work, had been machine-gunned from the air

and many were killed and wounded. This savagery by the most powerful and wealthy country in the capitalist world inflicted on a small country, struggling to raise its low living standards, is an even more atrocious crime against humanity than the other wars. Far from breaking the spirit of the people, it has strengthened them in their determination to defend their right to be independent and free.

The Vietnamese people, after twenty years of invasion of their country, sustaining the most savage violence, long for peace. But as their government has clearly stated in its four points for settlement of the problem, peace is only possible if external aggression ceases. The DRV has very clearly outlined these four points on which alone a stable peace can be established:

1 Recognition of Vietnamese independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity.

2 Pending peaceful reunification, the two zones must have no military relationships with foreign countries.

3 The internal affairs of South Vietnam must be settled by the Vietnamese people themselves in accordance with the programme of the South Vietnam National Liberation Front.

4 Peaceful reunification of Vietnam without foreign interference.

It is the view of the world peace movement that sooner or later these terms must provide the basis for a peaceful settlement. To ignore any one of them would ensure no stable settlement and would merely sow the seeds of future wars.

The immediate starting point is the convocation of a meeting based on the principles of the Geneva Agreements, already agreed to by 14 nations, to bring pressure on the governments of all countries to achieve such a settlement. This is the first and foremost task of the world peace movement.

By **W. E. GOLLAN**  
Member of Political Committee, Communist Party of Australia

This is in sharp contrast with the US policy which has already persuaded three countries to send troops to South Vietnam and is seeking to involve others.

The people of North Vietnam have shown their support for their government in a number of ways. The World Peace Council delegation was driven 150 kms to the south along roads that had been attacked repeatedly by the US

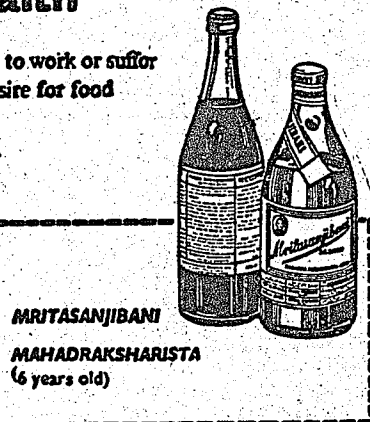


## Paramount necessity for the formation of health

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

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

**SADHANA AUSADHALAYA—DACCA**  
35, Sadhana Ausadhalaya Road  
Sadhana Nagar, Calcutta 48



**MRTISANJIBANI**  
**MAHADRAKSHARISTA**  
(6 years old)

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

Calcutta Centre: Dr. Nures Chandra Ghosh,  
M.B.B.S. (Cal) Ayurvedacharya.



# Firing, Lathicharge : Eight Dead In Bihar

## SAHAY SEEKS TO QUELL FOOD MOVEMENT

From OUR CORRESPONDENT

**PATNA:** The complete closure of all activity in Patna which came about in response to the joint call of the CPI, RSP and SSP for a PATNA BANDH on August 9 unnerved the Shahay Ministry to such an extent that he sought to create a terror raj in the later part of the day by resorting to use of brute force.

**I**n retaliation to the PATNA BANDH, the Shahay Ministry let loose mounted police and armed BMPs on the students demonstration which congregated before the state government secretariat in the afternoon to demand reduction in tuition fees. The other demonstration, organised by the CPI and other political parties on the issue of food and rising prices was broken up before it could reach the secretariat.

Police resorted to indiscriminate lathicharge, tear-gassing and firing. About eight persons are reported to have been killed. The Government of Bihar, of course, is stoutly deny-

ing this and is claiming that none has lost life. Over a hundred people have been injured, about a score of them seriously.

Police even invaded the Assembly premises and dragged out MLAs and MLCs from the lobbies and canteens and severely manhandled a number of them.

The Shahay Ministry's draconian measures to deal with the just demands of the people naturally infuriated all sections of the society.

In the evening, a mammoth mass meeting was held at Gandhi Maidan attended by over a lakh of people. The rally was addressed by Sunil Mukherjee M.L.A., leader of the

Communist Group in Assembly; Indradeep Sinha M.L.A., secretary of the Bihar state council of the CPI; Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia MP and Karpuri Thakur. The rally adopted a resolution condemning the brutality of the Shahay Ministry.

A call was given at the rally to observe hartal again next day in Patna. Government immediately clamped down a dusk-to-dawn curfew in Patna and promulgated section 144 in all towns of Bihar. Early morning next day, Sunil Mukherjee, Indradeep Sinha, Dr. Lohia and Bhola Prasad were arrested.

Meanwhile the students also went on an indefinite strike and student communities in other towns joined in. The people's demand for an end to such brutality was replied to by further attacks by the Shahay ministry. Police opened fire in a number of places on demonstrations which demanded judicial enquiry into Patna firings.

In the evening of August 10, another meeting was called jointly by the CPI, RSP and SSP at Gandhi Maidan which was attended by over ten thousand people. Police at-

tacked the meeting and a number of people were taken into custody from the meeting. Chandrashekhar Singh M.L.A., deputy leader of Communist group in the Assembly was severely hit on the head and taken into custody.

Throughout the evening and night arrests followed. Communist leaders Ramavter Shastri, Tej Narayan Jha M.L.A., Rajkumar Purbey M.L.A., Krishan Chandra Choudhuri; SSP leaders Karpuri Thakur, Ramanand Tiwari; leaders of Bihar

state non-gazetted employees Ram Iqbal Singh and R. K. Sinha; and numerous others were arrested. According to a report editor of SEARCHLIGHT has also been arrested.

Against this atrocity, the CPI and other parties have given a call for a BIHAR BANDH on August 11.

(Reports reaching Patna till 10 a.m. on August 11 indicate that the call has been fully responded to by the people. Details are not yet available. —ed.)

### G. P. I. STATEMENT

**T**HE central secretariat of the CPI has severely condemned the unprovoked and indiscriminate police firings in Patna. In a statement issued on August 10, it said:

"The people of Patna, including the students, had gone on hartal and taken a peaceful demonstration before the Vidhan Sabha which was in session to ventilate their grievances against rising pri-

ces, food scarcity and enhancement of fees."

"The government, instead of accepting this popular verdict, has chosen the path of repression."

"We demand an immediate judicial enquiry into the firings, compensation to the families of those killed and release of the arrested leaders."

"We appeal to the people of Bihar and all other States to express their solidarity with the sufferers of the fighting students and people of Bihar."

# ZIMBABWE FIGHTS FOR FREEDOM

The four million African people of the British colony of Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) are now completely baffled by the British government's attitude toward their legitimate demand for a democratic say in their country's affairs.

**T**HE recent Commonwealth leaders' conference in London left the oppressed people of Zimbabwe with the feeling that they had only one course open to them for the attainment of their national rights and dignity, because of the flat refusal of the British Premier, Harold Wilson, to give a time-limit for the convening of a constitutional conference on Rhodesia.

That course is the violent one. The Commonwealth leaders' conference communique said on Rhodesia, inter alia, that Britain would consider calling a constitutional conference if the present secret Smith-Wilson independence negotiations did not make headway "in a reasonably speedy time."

This was seen by the indigenous people of Zimbabwe, led by the Zimbabwe African People's Union, as another attempt by the British Government to shirk her responsibilities over her Rhodesian colony. Britain has said, and is still maintaining, that because of the existence of a convention between her and the white minority settler regime of Rhodesia she has no power to deal effectively with the Rhodesian issue without the risk of interfering in the colony's internal affairs.

Soon after the Commonwealth conference, the Rhodesian minority leader, Ian Smith, warned Britain that any attempt to convene a constitutional conference on Rhodesia would be regarded by his regime as interference in the country's internal

affairs. Ian Smith went even further. He said as far as he was concerned there were only two questions which faced Rhodesia at the moment.

The first was independence, and the second was whether this would be within or without the Commonwealth.

"As for the first, the issue is clear and decisive. We will have our independence. The only question to be determined is when," he told the minority's House of Assembly soon after the Commonwealth talks.

In the meantime, Britain's Harold Wilson has repeated to the House of Commons that the British Government would

For Britain has proved to be treacherously selling out the four million Zimbabweans to the minority settler regime.

Now all Zimbabweans ask what Bottomley meant to achieve when he pleaded to all and sundry to refrain from violence, though his own Government is not taking decisive and positive steps to avoid violence.

The Zimbabwe African People's Union does not accept the validity of the British Government's claim that the existence of the suspicious convention has rendered it powerless to act decisively on its colony of Rhodesia.

The African people of Rhodesia rightly feel now that Britain is deliberately treating the Rhodesian issue on a kith-and-kin basis by putting the interests of 20,000-odd white settlers above those of the four million indigenous people of

the height of moral laxity and racialism.

The Smith regime would maintain law and order in Rhodesia after a unilateral declaration of independence only by means of violence, just as it does now.

If Smith continues to refuse to attend a constitutional conference on Rhodesia and goes on waving the U.D.I. sword, will the British government sit glumly and claim impotence?

If she does, as she is doing now, it is quite difficult for us to avoid a violent racial clash on Rhodesia.

The present eight-month-long clandestine correspondence be-

tween Wilson and Smith has made the African people of Zimbabwe more resentful than ever before toward Britain.

Only an immediate, positive and decisive action by the British government to ensure the democratic advancement of the four million indigenous people on a one-man-one-vote franchise will change their bitter attitude.

ZAPU, like Kenneth Kaunda, President of Zambia (formerly Northern Rhodesia), maintains that justice knows no friend, relative or colour, and that military force must be used by Britain to compel Ian Smith's minority regime to respect justice and fair play.

### Democratic Alternative

FROM PAGE 17  
present situation, the all-India left parties and the left parties in the states, should consider the following issues for arriving at a minimum platform of action and leading a united mass movement:

- 1 Slogans for the solution of the serious food crisis and high prices facing the country;
- 2 Increase of wages, D.A. and bonus of workers and middleclass employees commensurate with the price rise;
- 3 Agrarian reforms which give the agricultural labourers and peasants land; cheap credits, fertilisers and improved seeds so that they may increase production of foodgrains and make the country self-sufficient in the matter of food and other agricultural products;
- 4 Measures for lessening the tax burden on the poor people; unearthing black money; nationalisation of banks;

5 Scrapping of the DIR, release of detenus and restoration of civil liberties;

6 Measures for fighting the monster of corruption;

7 Measures for removing dependence of our country on Anglo-American imperialists for its defence and strengthening the defences of our country; searching ways and means for a peaceful solution of our border problems with China and Pakistan;

8 Measures for solving the language problem and strengthening the cause of national integration;

9 Measures for making a common front against the Congress and the parties of right reaction in the elections.

Will the left parties come together and put such an inspiring, democratic alternative before the people of our country?

(August 10, 1965)

\*\*\*\*\* by \*\*\*\*\*  
\* SAUL GWAKUBA NDLOVU \*  
\* Editor, ZIMBABWE REVIEW \*  
\*\*\*\*\*

not legislate for Rhodesia on those issues within the competence of the Rhodesian Parliament.

The British Commonwealth Relations Secretary, Arthur Bottomley, ruled out the question of military action against an adamant and rebelling Rhodesia.

This clearly showed the majority of the people of Zimbabwe that relying on Britain to rectify her political mess in her colony of Rhodesia is tantamount to relying on a broken reed.

the country.

It is again on this basis that Wilson's Labour government is conducting the secret negotiations for independence with Rhodesia's little Hitler, Ian Smith, to the exclusion of the indigenous people's popular leader Joshua Nkomo.

If Smith declared independence unilaterally and the British Government depended only on economic sanctions as a remedial or punitive measure against a rebellious colony, it would be