

ISOLATE THE SPLITTERS

Defend The Party Of The Working Class

NEW AGE

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THE SPLITTERS HAVE NOT WAITED LONG TO SHOW THEIR HAND. P. SUNDARAYYA HAS PUBLICLY ANNOUNCED THE FORMATION OF HIS SO-CALLED "ANDHRA COMMUNISTS COMMITTEE". SUNDARAYYA IS, OF COURSE, "SECRETARY" OF THE COMMITTEE AND M. HANUMANTHA RAO, WHO STOOD AS A RIVAL CANDIDATE TO THE OFFICIAL NOMINEE OF THE PARTY IN THE RECENT RAJYA SABHA ELECTIONS IN ANDHRA PRADESH, IS THE "ASSISTANT SECRETARY".

THE splitters in West Bengal have announced that they do not "recognise" the National Council. It is reported in the press that they have followed this by printing new letter heads describing themselves no longer as the West Bengal State Council of Party, but as the "Communist Party of India, West Bengal State". Whatever the truth or otherwise of this report, it is clear that the "Andhra pattern" will be followed.

By

ROMESH CHANDRA

What were till now "parallel centres", virtual parties within our Party, will now be openly declared as separate parties and committees. Each of these will announce preparations for Party conferences on district and state levels, leading to what they would like to describe as the "Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India".

This open withdrawal from the Communist Party of India by the splitters, this open establishment of another party is accompanied by a non-stop series of press conferences and press statements. The press conferences which were till recently the special forum of activity of M. Basavapunniah, have now become the daily routine of the splitters.

Whenever they can muster a group of journalists, they give them their quota of anti-Party lies and slanders—together with announcements of their rival committees, their acts of defiance of the National Council, and their appeals to Party members to leave the Communist Party and join their bandwagon of disruption.

NO HEAVENLY MANDATE

Whom are the splitters helping by these disruptive acts? Whom are they fooling by claiming that they have the right to use the sacred name of the Communist Party of India? The Party Constitution and the principles of Party organisation make it absolutely clear that no self-styled group of "genuine Marxist-Leninists" can claim a

mandate from heaven, to split the Party and proclaim itself the Communist Party.

The splitters and their spokesmen announce every day that the "majority" of Party members support them. Such wishful thinking is the pastime of all splitters—who seek 'justification' for their disruptive activities, by pretending to speak in the name of a 'majority'. The facts however are too well known to allow any one to be deceived.

Out of 97 members of the National Council present at the recent meeting in Delhi, only 32 walked out—65 remained and participated in the rest of the meeting.

And yet the spokesmen of the splitters keep on claiming that they have a majority. They even claim that the decisions taken by the National Council to suspend them were taken by a 'minority'. All these fantastic lies have been nalled again and again.

The splitters claim to be "stronger" among the Party membership than they are in the National Council. In order to "prove" this they have

spread a story that at the Vijayawada Party Congress, where the present National Council was elected, there was a "compromise" as a result of which, the "Left" did not receive its rightful share of seats on the Council.

There is a limit to untruth! The fact, which every delegate to the Vijayawada Congress knows well, is that the "Left"—the same splitters group of today—threatened to "walk out" and split the Party, if they were not given representation in the National Council far beyond their actual strength among the Congress delegates.

CONCESSIONS GIVEN

It was as a result of this blackmail and threat, that Comrade Ajoy Ghosh persuaded the Party Congress to give the "Left" a far greater proportion of seats in the National Council than they could have secured, had there been a straight election by the Congress delegates. But today, they claim that

their share was less than they could have won, had there not been a "compromise". If that were so, why did they threaten to walk out, why was there the mass withdrawal of their names from the first National Council list which was prepared?

There is no answer to these questions from those who insist on making up stories to suit themselves.

P. Sundarayya in his latest press conference claims the support of a majority of Andhra Party members. In Kerala, in daily press conferences and public statements, similar claims are being made.

The question to be asked is: if this is true, why did you not wait till the Party Congress in September, where you could have had the majority?

But it is NOT true. The great majority of Party members are not prepared to split the Party. Even those who may disagree with certain aspects of the policies being pursued by the National Council, are against splitting the Party.

SUPPORTERS OF SPLIT

Only those who stand by the ideological positions of the

international splitters support the disruption organised by the splitters inside our Party.

The answer of the Party is being given at meetings of state councils, district councils, branches—where resolutions endorsing the decisions of the National Council are being adopted by overwhelming majority.

PARTY MEMBERS ARE ALERT

This is the voice of the Party membership—the Party membership which is not prepared to allow the years of sacrifice of millions of working people of our country to be destroyed by the disruptive activities of a dogmatist minority, seeking to fall in line, whatever the cost, with a world-wide move to split the international Communist movement.

The Communist Party is the creation of the blood and sweat of India's working people. To defend it is the sacred duty of every Party member who deserves the great title which any man can bear: COMMUNIST.

WITHDRAW 18th CONSTITUTION

AMENDMENT BILL

67 Leading Lawyers Write To P.M.

By OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

NEW DELHI: Sixty-seven leading members of the Supreme Court Bar have appealed to Prime Minister Nehru to desist from proceeding with the Constitution (Eighteenth Amendment) Bill in Parliament.

IN a letter to the Prime Minister, they have requested him to receive a representative delegation of the Bar. M. C. Setalvad will be requested to lead the delegation.

Among the signatories to the letter are Sarjoo Prasad, former Chief Justice of Assam and Rajasthan High Courts, A. V. Viswanath Shastri, former judge of

Madras High Court, S. T. Desai, former Chief Justice of the Gujarat High Court, D. Munikantiah, former judge of the Andhra Pradesh High Court, S. G. Patwardhan, former judge of the Maharashtra High Court.

The Constitution (Eighteenth Amendment) Bill is intended to reverse the democratic gains of the

Supreme Court judgment holding that suits for damages for unlawful detentions would be maintainable after the emergency was revoked. The members of the Bar in their letter to the Prime Minister have said:

"You will kindly appreciate that we in this country are wedded to the rule of law. Governments constituted under the Constitution are pledged to respect the fundamental rights. A temporary suspension of a remedy during the period of emergency is what was intended by Article 359.

LIMITLESS DANGERS

"To depart from temporary suspension of the remedy and to provide for abrogation of the fundamental rights by orders issued by the President is, we may be allowed to suggest, an un-

democratic assumption of powers by the executive and exposes the citizen to limitless dangers of violation of fundamental rights of life and liberty."

LEGALISING CRIMES

Giving an instance how the proposed legislation would affect the people's right to life and liberty, the members of the Bar say that the amendment can be used even to legalise unlawful killings of the people if the state shoots down people without lawful authority under protection of Article 21 by the President.

The letter requested the Prime Minister to reconsider the decision to move such an amendment in view of the far-reaching consequences it entailed.

FOR THE UNITY OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

*FROM CENTRE PAGES

smallest Communist Party as to the largest. All fraternal relations between Communist Parties would be destroyed if this principle of independence and non-intervention in internal affairs as between Communist Parties were not recognised and if, instead, the principle of factional intervention by any Communist Party to promote disruption within another Communist Party were to become recognised as the principle of relationship between Communist Parties.

Against Factionalism

Factionalism has nothing in common with the essential principle of the fullest and freest discussion within a Communist Party. Factionalism, or the formation of counter-posed groups around opposing platforms within a Communist Party was condemned by Lenin and on Lenin's initiative prohibited by the Tenth Congress of the CPSU in 1921, as incompatible with the principles of democratic centralism of a Communist Party. Factionalism is no less impermissible on an international scale.

During the 1930's Trotskyism tried to organise factionalism on an international scale, with the customary call to "All true Marxist-Leninists" or "All true Bolsheviks" to form their grouplets or "would-be parties" in each country in opposition to the Communist Party and the international Communist movement (portrayed as hopelessly corrupted, bureaucratic, betraying Marxism-Leninism, and jumping obediently to "the orders of Moscow"), and on this basis to erect a so-called "Fourth International". The attempt was an ignominious fiasco from the outset; and the latest phase

of the myriad convolutions of the fragments of the so-called "Fourth International" has been their further disintegration into three rival mutually squabbling "international centres" in different continents—a feat surpassing the splitting of the atom.

Nevertheless even this puny and unsuccessful example of the attempt to promote factionalism on an international scale, did harm by providing the capitalist press with rich material for denunciation of the International Communist Movement, or for presenting the most honoured and fearless revolutionary working class fighters all over the world with long records of devotion and integrity through every ordeal, as "jumping to the orders of Moscow".

Thus the International Communist Movement has long experience of the harmfulness of factionalism and of the use of it made by the enemy. It is all the more serious if any established Communist Party, and still more a leading Communist Party, gives direct countenance and even incitement to such attempts.

Any attempts at factionalism require to be met with the united opposition of the entire International Com-

munist Movement. This is the emphatic warning of the 1960 Statement of the eighty-one Communist and Workers' Parties:

"Marxist-Leninist Parties regard it as a law of their activity strictly to observe Leninist standards of Party life in keeping with the principles of democratic centralism and to cherish Party unity like the apple of their eye."

The Communist Party in this country will continue to oppose all factional activities and disruption, equally in Britain or internationally, at the same time as carrying forward the struggle for the unity of the International Communist Movement on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, as set out in the 1960 Statement.

World Conference

The problems of the present situation are serious and unprecedented. To overcome them will require the united efforts of all sincere Communists. Our Party has advocated a World Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties to meet this dangerous situation.

At the same time our Party has also declared that such a World Conference should be adequately prepared by preliminary consultations to ensure that the conference shall serve the purpose, not of deepening or perpetuating a split, but assist to resolve differences by comradely discussion and to restore the unity of the International Communist Movement.

This remains our aim. Whatever the difficulties and obstacles still before us, we shall continue these

efforts in the cause of the unity of the International Communist Movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. We remain confident that, grave as is the present situation, the International Communist Movement will, in the end, solve the problems set by the present critical developments and emerge finally as it has emerged in the past from every preceding ordeal, with renewed strength and unity, to new triumphs in the cause of Communism. (7.4.1964)

(From Comment Weekly, April 18, 1964. All emphases have been added by New Age)

CANADIAN PARTY'S RESOLUTION

A resolution adopted unanimously by the 18th National Convention of the Communist Party of Canada held on March 27-30 says:

Our last Convention received a report by Tim Buck on the differences in the world Communist movement particularly as they bear on our own programme and policies. These differences have since become more acute.

What commenced as ideological differences has now been transformed by the C.P. of China in its February 4, 1964 RED FLAG article into organised efforts at splitting the world movement and individual Communist and Workers' Parties.

The leadership of the Communist Party of China is openly justifying and encouraging splits, thereby disuniting the world Communist movement and is in effect working for the establishment of an international centre under its leadership directed to pursuing an entirely different strategic and tactical line to that agreed to unanimously at the Moscow Conferences of 1957 and 1960 as embodied in the documents adopted by these Conferences.

A split in the world movement would be the biggest gain for imperialism. Imperialism, headed by the USA is working for such a split, seeking in every way possible to "fish in muddy waters", so as to undermine the unity of the world movement.

History will never forgive the leaders of the Chinese Party if they continue to pursue policies deliberately calculated to undermine and destroy the unity of the world Communist movement.

HONDURAS REJECTS CHINESE PROPOSALS

THE Communist Party of Honduras, in a recent resolution adopted by its CC reaffirms its full agreement with the contents of the 1957 and 1960 Statements signed at the Moscow meetings of Communist and Workers' Parties.

It rejects the "proposals concerning the general line of the international Communist movement" which the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China put forward in its letter of June 14, 1963.

The proposals of the Chinese leaders are a revision

of all the documents of the international Communist movement signed in Moscow, and are consequently harmful to the strategy and tactics of our Party.

The Communist Party of Honduras fully supports the just position of the CPSU and other Communist and Workers' Parties of the world which were slandered by the Chinese leaders in their efforts to impose their intolerable dogmatic and sectarian interpretation of Marxism-Leninism and of the entire policy of the world Communist movement.

BERLIN, April 16: The Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED), the great Party built by Thaelmann and Wilhelm Pieck, and thousands of martyrs, who fell in the anti-fascist resistance struggle that is now the chief ruling party of the GDR, has delivered yet another powerful blow against the detrimental ideological standpoint of Chinese leaders and their disruptive activities.

THE Central Committee of the SED in a 4,500-word statement published in all GDR papers and broadcast all over Europe yesterday, rejected the slanderous allegation of Chinese leaders that capitalism is being restored in German Democratic Republic.

The Central Committee statement, divided in seven parts, exposes thoroughly the disruptive policies of Chinese leaders and pledges the SED in the struggle for strengthening the unity and cohesion of the Communist and Workers' Parties, side by side with the CG of CPSU.

A significant paragraph in the statement underlined that "petty bourgeois nationalism and big power chauvinism, a characteristic feature of the leaders of Chinese Communist Party" was the basis of "their playing up of border disputes into military conflicts with India."

The proposals of the brother Parties to stop the open polemics and to conduct an objective comradely discussion were answered by the Chinese leaders with even more crass attacks, insults and allegations. Yes, they openly called for overthrow of the proven Marxist-Leninist leadership of the Party of Lenin and numerous other Communist Parties, said the SED.

The policy of the Chinese leaders had become a principal danger to the unity of the international Communist movement. Their ideology and policy was a mixture lacking principles, of petty-bourgeois nationalism, adventurism, big power

chauvinism and racism with which the Chinese leaders try openly to realise their claim to leadership.

It was necessary for the unity and cohesion of the world Communist movement to expose and break down completely the false anti-Marxist views of the Chinese Communist leaders. Our slogan is: CONSOLIDATION OF UNITY THROUGH CLARITY.

The policy of the Chinese leaders "does grave damage to the cause of peace, democracy and socialism," the SED Central Committee emphasised. The class basis of their false views had "mainly petty-bourgeois and nationalist nature."

"In China as a consequence of the primarily agrarian character of the country and the numerical weakness of the working class and of the social composition of the Party, the petty-bourgeois and nationalist influence is particularly strong," the statement explained.

Big Power Chauvinism

"Today big-power chauvinism has become a characteristic feature and the motive for the policy of the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party."

This was shown among other ways in their efforts for power and even for the atom bomb, in their playing up of border questions into military conflicts with India, and in their racist standpoint which determines their attitude toward other peoples.

TO THE CHINESE INSINUATIONS

GERMAN PARTY GIVES A FITTING REBUFF

From KUNHANANDAN NAIR

The policy of the Chinese leaders "is also reflected in the inability to develop revolutionary strategy and tactics on the basis of scientific analyses of today's situation and to organise and implement them, the SED Central Committee wrote. Thus the policy of the 'big leap forward', to the detriment of the industrious and prudent Chinese people, complicates the tasks of the continued building of socialism."

It should be added that the Chinese leaders defend a phenomenon so alien to Marxism-Leninism as the personality cult of Stalin, said the SED.

Today war cannot be a means employed in politics to solve disputed international questions. "For this reason our Party, government and National Front seize the initiative over and over again to normalise the relations between the two German states and between the GDR and West Berlin and seek to implement a policy of reason and goodwill."

The GDR had the historic mission to create through the all-round construction of socialism preconditions for ensuring triumph of the forces of peace and progress in the whole of Germany. In contrast to this the Chinese leaders do not believe that the liberated peoples, in spite of the existence of imperialism can build their new world by peaceful work, and

Theory Of "Shadow"

The Chinese leaders' "theory" that West German, French, British and Japanese imperialism are "only a shadow" of US imperialism, "ignores the notorious aggressiveness of West German imperialism and minimises its dangerousness," the Central Committee stated.

"And the leaders of the Communist Party of China dare to offer this as revolutionary policy to the German people and the peoples of the world who frequently enough have been victims of the rapacious nature of German imperialism. This policy of the Chinese leaders who like to pose as champions of the national liberation movement, explains the fact that they keep silent about the neocolonialist policy of an imperialist power of the 'intermediate zone' like West Germany."

The SED supported "the peoples still suppressed by imperialism not with pseudo-revolutionary clamour and 'intermediate zone' theories but by its unremitting struggle against any neocolonialist policy. It fights particularly against neocolonialism of the West German type. The whole history of the national liberation movements has demonstrated that the community of socialist countries especially with the mighty economic and military strength of the Soviet Union are the best backing and support for the just cause and the blossoming of newly independent states," SED says.

"In spite of this the SED made all efforts to continue to promote relations between the two states. The Socialist Unity Party expresses its hope that reason will prevail at least in this question among the Chinese leaders."

The Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party holds the opinion that another conference of Communist and Workers' Parties has become necessary. It therefore backs the proposal of the Soviet Communist Party to hold another meeting between delegations of the Central Committee of the CPSU and Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party this May, to convene in the months of June and July a conference of representatives of those Communist and Workers' Parties which participated in 1960 in the preparatory commission for the Moscow Conference, and that in autumn 1964 a conference of all Communist and Workers' Parties is held," the statement made clear.

GDR Policy "Revisionist"?

The successful policy of the GDR in the all-round construction of socialism has been described by the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party as revisionist, as a policy which allegedly leads to "restoration of capitalism". The statement of the SED Central Committee said with reference to this: "In the development of the national economy only those aims can be set for which the prerequisites exist. If we had not taken this into consideration our

revolution would have been nothing but an equitable distribution of poverty."

"The Communist and Workers' Parties including the Communist Party of China at their conferences of 1957 and 1960 had pledged themselves to fight resolutely against any remnants of bourgeois nationalism and chauvinism. The statement said, 'Our Party has done that from the beginning. It is one of its greatest historical merits to have encouraged nationalism and chauvinism, fascist intolerance in the GDR.'

"Why then do the Chinese leaders want to replace internationalism, the proved and finally resolved general line of the world Communist movement, by their own 'general line of 25 points' marked by the hateful dragon's teeth of big power chauvinism, national arrogance and high-handed claims to leadership," SED asks.

"The Central Committee of the SED continued: 'Inculcating in the Chinese people the vile idea of anti-Sovietism, stands in deepest contradiction to proletarian internationalism, for the Soviet Union is the centre of the international workers' movement. It must not be forgotten that the countries of people's democracy have been able to create the fundamentals of socialism above all thanks to Soviet help.'

"Our Party rejects with the same decisiveness the un-Marxist view according to which every country builds its socialism on the basis of its own strength' separated from the brother Parties.

Weakening State Relations

"The Chinese leaders have transferred ideological differences also to state relations, the SED Central Committee stated. 'They consciously worked towards worsening the relations between the two states. The reduction in trade and their cancellation of supply of important raw materials led to considerable difficulties for our economy. The Chinese leaders however thought it appropriate to strengthen at the same time their economic relations with the capitalist countries.'

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CHINESE LEADERSHIP DOING GREAT HARM TO CAUSE OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM

Raymond Guyot's Report To Central Committee of French Communist Party

Political Bureau Member of the French Communist Party Raymond Guyot addressed the Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party, on March 25-26, 1964, about the situation in the international communist and working-class movement.

DURING the past few years, Raymond Guyot said, the peoples have scored big successes in their struggle for peace and disarmament, for national independence and socialism. During this period the leaders of the Communist Party of China, contrary to the majority of Communist Parties, trampling, underfoot the jointly adopted decisions, tried to divert the international communist movement to the road of sectarian, adventurist policy.

Precisely in this period, Raymond Guyot stressed, the leaders of the Communist Party of China continued to step up their campaign against the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet government, against the Communist Parties which abide by the positions of the 1957 and 1960 Meetings.

Their attacks on our Party and its leadership have become more frequent and ruder.

An article which appeared in the Chinese press on February 4 this year, and which openly recommended a split, revealed the following intentions of the Chinese leaders: to set up under their hegemony a factional bloc with a special platform; to appear with ever growing arrogance in the role of the only heirs of the

founders of Marxism-Leninism, in the role of supreme judges in the theory and practice of communism; dictate to all Communist Parties, both in capitalist and socialist countries, as well as in countries which have newly won independence, what they should or should not do; while they, the Chinese communist leaders, are to decide as to who should be classed as outstanding Marxists and who as modern revisionists.

Mao Tse-tung's pronouncements concerning the atomic bomb during his talk with the Gaullist MPs who had been to the People's Republic of China have much in common with de Gaulle's claims: "I know that you have outstripped us, but we shall have our own bomb, too. This is a means of ensuring our might."

The Central Committee believes that the line adopted by the Chinese Communist Party leaders in opposition to the general line of the international communist movement, Raymond Guyot said in conclusion, their splitting activities in different countries, the material and moral support they are giving to the splitting groups in different parties, their insulting attitude to the leaders of fraternal parties—all this is doing great harm to the entire movement, to the cause of peace and socialism.

The Central Committee believes that a conciliatory attitude to the leftist and nationalist line of the Chinese leaders, and their subversive activities may endanger the international movement, the Chinese people themselves, our Party and its broad policy of unity which is needed for the struggle against the personal power regime.

FINLAND DENOUNCES CHINESE LINE

THE Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Finland discussed at its meeting on April 8 the present situation in the international communist and working class movement in view of the fact that the Chinese Communist Party leadership had rejected the suggestions of many fraternal countries for ending the public polemics and restoring the unity of the world Communist movement.

The statement says that the Party frequently had to study the position of the Chinese leaders which deviates from the unanimously accepted decisions of the Moscow Meetings of 1957 and 1960. Many other Communist Parties, which are also being attacked by the Chinese leaders, also studied the differences and supported the proposal for the holding of an international conference with the aim of eliminating them.

In view of the fact that the Chinese leaders continue to incite the Communist Parties and international democratic organisations to split the movements, the resolution stresses, the central committee of the Communist Party of Finland considers that it is no longer possible to bypass in silence this splitting policy in the international Communist movement. It is now necessary to make a concerted effort to renounce the threat of a split within the Communist movement and wage a resolute fight in defence of the Marxist-Leninist principles.

All this makes the convocation of an international conference of Communist and Workers' Parties imperative. This conference must mobilize the forces of the Communist movement to struggle for socialism and national freedom as well as appraise the changes that have taken place in the world situation of late.

CYPRIOI FREEDOM FIGHTERS ARE INDIGNANT

AS far as our country is concerned, I must declare with all responsibility that the position of the Chinese leaders is putting spokes in the wheels of the anti-imperialist struggle of the Cypriots for the liquidation of the hangovers of colonialism and impeding its

struggle for the sovereignty, independence and complete freedom, says Andreas Phantis, Deputy Secretary General of the AKEL of Cyprus in course of an interview denouncing Chinese stand and tactics in the world Communist movement. Phantis further says:

We Cypriots are profoundly indignant over the absurd assertions of the Chinese leaders to the effect that the Soviet Union allegedly took a wrong stand as regards Cyprus during the bloody events provoked by imperialists last December. These leaders have even gone to the extreme of absurdity saying that by its position the Soviet Union had saved the aggressive NATO bloc from breakdown.

True to their position and minding only themselves rather than the people, the Chinese leaders wanted a war in the Mediterranean, a war between Greece and Turkey as NATO members. But do they think about the people of Cyprus, do they give a thought to the destiny of the Greek and Turkish peoples? The only answer to that question is: of course, not!

All the world knows that it was precisely the peace-loving countries and above all the Soviet Union with its firm stand in the Cyprus problem that saved our country from armed invasion and occupation by the NATO-bloc imperialists.

It was precisely thanks to

CEYLON COMMUNIST PARTY'S

Our party is a comparatively young party, just over 20 years old, working in the difficult and complicated conditions of a newly-independent Asian state. Although our country is small, the Ceylonese people have played a creditable part in the fight for peace and against colonialism.

CEYLON'S role in the affairs of the Afro-Asian and the nonaligned states has also been an important one. Recent examples of this role have been Ceylon's initiative, together with other Colombo Powers, to promote a peaceful and negotiated settlement of the Sino-Indian border dispute and its sponsorship of past and forthcoming conferences of non-aligned states.

Despite differences on specific questions with its neighbours like India, Ceylon has maintained a policy of friendship with them and has resisted all attempts to exploit these differences in order to draw it into specifically anti-Indian alignments.

During the past two decades our party has upheld Marxism-Leninism and endeavoured to apply its scientific teachings to the concrete conditions in Ceylon. We have upheld proletarian internationalism against bourgeois nationalism and racial chauvinism. We have maintained and developed relations of fraternal solidarity with all our brother Marxist-Leninist parties.

We have valued highly their assistance to and encouragement of our struggle and have always supported their struggles in such ways that we could.

Our party has consistently supported and solidified with the great Chinese revolution and explained its profound significance to our people. We have stood in the van of all the struggles to strengthen and consolidate the friendly relations between Ceylon and the People's Republic of China. Our relations with the Communist Party of China have always been warm and cordial.

Condemn Chinese Encouragement

Even when we disagreed with specific political positions and actions of the Chinese leaders, we have never permitted this to impair the respect and regard in which we hold the Communist Party of China and its achievements.

For all these reasons, we do deeply resent and condemn the open support and encouragement that the Chinese press and radio have given and continue to give a small group of Ceylonese opportunists and renegades in their factional struggle against our party.

This is not a question of "ideological differences" but a gross interference in the internal affairs of a brother party, an impermissible violation of the norms that regulate relations between fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties.

Day in and day out, the Communists of Ceylon read and

hear the pronouncements of the Chinese leaders about the "equality of all parties, big and small" and against big-power chauvinism. Is it any wonder that we feel deeply grieved and indignant at the support and encouragement that the leaders of the Communist Party of China have given to attempts to split a young and small party like ours?

To judge from the statements in the Chinese press and radio, our party's crime, in the eyes of the Chinese leaders is the statement of our Central Committee of September 26, 1963 in which we upheld the agreed general line of the international communist movement evolved at the 1957 and 1960 Meetings of fraternal parties and expressed our disagreement with the attempts of the Chinese leaders, as witnessed by their letter of June 14, 1963 to the CPSU, to impose on the international communist movement a unilateral "general line" of their own.

Why We Differ

The Central Committee's statement of September 26 was the first public expression by our party of any disagreement with the Communist Party of China. We had, of course, expressed disagreement with certain positions of the Chinese leaders at the 1960 Meeting of fraternal parties and in personal discussions with responsible representatives of that party. But we refrained from any public comment or polemics.

It was only after the Chinese leaders openly challenged the general line of the 1960 Statement, to which our party was a signatory, that our Central Committee felt it necessary to make our own position clear in public.

We cannot accept that the September 26 statement of our Central Committee is any reason for the open encouragement and support that the Chinese leaders have given to those who sought to split our party. But in point of fact, we are well aware that, long before September 26, 1963, the Chinese leaders had established special relations with opportunists and anti-party groups within our party who, as was discovered subsequently, had conducted a systematic and planned campaign to split our party.

In its struggle for a correct Marxist-Leninist policy for our country, the Ceylon Communist Party has had to wage a systematic and continuous struggle against both dogmatic "Leftist" and reformist "Rightist" deviations within our party.

In August 1962 our Central Committee took a historic decision to initiate a campaign for a United Front of the Left parties on the basis of a common agreed programme. The establishment of such a United Left Front would enable the working class to rally and lead all other progressive forces in the struggle to complete those tasks of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and democratic stage of the Ceylonese revolution which still remain unaccomplished.

But when our party began to implement this decision, representatives of both the "Left" and "Right" deviations in our Central Committee combined to oppose this. The splitters were headed by N. Sanmugathasan and P. Kumarasiri.

This period also coincided with the Caribbean crisis and the outbreak of hostilities on the Sino-Indian border. Our party was not in agreement with the position of the Chinese leaders. We did not, however, express these disagreements publicly but concentrated on the positive presentation of our point of view.

It was in these circumstances that the opportunist groups within our party, who had begun to take the path of anti-party factionalism, embraced the erroneous views that the Chinese leaders were publicly advocating.

Clandestine Organisation

Without the knowledge of the party, they set up a clandestine organisation called the "Ceylon Marxist Study Circle," which was the nucleus of a new party that they intended to form. Membership of this "circle" was confined to handpicked individuals.

A special committee was set up to guide the work of the "circle." A series of lectures were given to members of the "circle" by Sanmugathasan in which the leaders of our party and other fraternal parties were slandered as revisionists and traitors and an attempt was made to create ideological cohesion among members of the "circle" on the basis of the special views advanced by the Chinese leaders.

The anti-party group also began at this time a surreptitious whispering campaign, slandering the leadership of the party and other fraternal parties, principally the CPSU. Special materials sent from China and Albania were duplicated and circulated.

The anti-party group also intensified their opposition to the great campaign for a United Left Front, which was then in full swing, and earned the plaudits and support of the reactionary monopoly press.

In July 1963, when our party was celebrating its 20th anniversary, Sanmugathasan attempted another open sortie against the party. He announced through the medium of the bourgeois press a public lecture on "Marxism-Leninism or Modern Revisionism." But he was once again forced to retreat when the Political Bureau ordered him to cancel the lecture and his attempt was condemned by the party membership.

He also withdrew a special article which he had submitted to the bourgeois newspapers without the knowledge or sanction of the party.

Shortly afterwards, the Central Committee became aware of the existence of the "Ceylon Marxist Study Circles" and other parallel organisations that had been started by the anti-party group. When the Central Committee began to investigate these organisations, the anti-party group panicked and informed the party that the "circle" had been dissolved.

The activities of Sanmugathasan and the anti-party group were subjected to severe criticism at the Central Committee meeting at the end of August 1963. In order to give them a final opportunity to take the correct course the Central Committee decided to call an extended session to discuss the differences within the party and the international communist movement.

This meeting of the Central Committee also decided to summon the 7th Party Congress in April 1964.

The attitude of the anti-party group to the extended session of the Central Committee showed clearly that they were not interested in a democratic discussion of the issues involved. They sought merely to delay decisions in order to gain time to perfect their practical preparations for a split.

After the failure of an initial attempt to prevent the Central Committee from supporting the conclusion of the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, P. Kumarasiri absented himself from all further sittings. Sanmugathasan appeared only to make occasional statements denouncing the Central Committee and other fraternal parties.

But none of these tactics could prevent the Central Committee from adopting by an overwhelming majority the statement of September 26, "On Questions of the International Communist Movement."

Although Sanmugathasan and his handful of supporters had the further opportunity to canvass their views during the pre-

congress inner-party discussion and at the 7th Congress itself, they preferred not to do so. Instead they rushed to the bourgeois press with statements denouncing the Central Committee and its decisions and attempted, without success, to organise a revolt in the party against the Central Committee.

Sanmugathasan and Kumarasiri were then served with specific charges of violations of the party constitution and rules and given an opportunity to appear before the Central Committee to answer them. They refused to avail themselves of this opportunity, issued statements to the bourgeois press justifying their anti-party factionalism, and were expelled from the party.

They began with an attempt to split the Federation of Communist and Progressive Youth Leagues of Ceylon. Without the knowledge of the President or the majority of the committee, a handful of committee members held a secret meeting and announced to the bourgeois press that they had dismissed several of the principal office-bearers, appointed new ones, and shifted their headquarters. This disgraceful and unconstitutional tactic was soon exposed and defeated.

The attempts to set up a new "communist party" received the open support of the Chinese leaders.

The first step was to issue on October 27, 1963 a so-called public "reply" to the Central Committee's statement of September 26. Although this reply is said to have been signed by 4 out of the 25 full members of the Central Committee (including Sanmugathasan and Kumarasiri who had been expelled) and 6 out of the 10 alternate members, such a signed document was never presented to the Central Committee or the party.

The November 29 issue of Peking Review also carried a special article of its own entitled: "Protecting the Revisionist Leadership of the Ceylon Communist Party." This tendentious article, which is full of inaccuracies and misstatements, glorifies Sanmugathasan, Kumarasiri and other splitters by name and seeks to interfere in the internal affairs of our party. It describes the disciplinary action taken against Sanmugathasan and Kumarasiri as "unwarranted."

STRUGGLE AGAINST

accusing the party leadership of "manipulating" the C.C. statement of September 26 and brands them as revisionists, "parrotting the tone of the CPSU leaders."

IT IS WORTH NOTING THAT, IN ALL THESE EVENTS, THE LEADERS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA NEVER CARED TO ASCERTAIN FROM OUR CENTRAL COMMITTEE WHAT THE REAL POSITION AND FACTS WERE.

The next step of the anti-party splitters was to hold a secret meeting on November 17, 1963. 85 persons were present, including persons who were not members of the Communist Party and persons who had been expelled from the party at various times for factional activities. P. Kumarasiri made the main report where he stressed the need to set up a new "party." Sanmugathasan gave a report on the organisational steps that should be undertaken.

The meeting issued an appeal addressed "To All Marxist-Leninists Inside the Ceylon Communist Party." The substance of this appeal was to split the party and set up a parallel "Communist Party."

This appeal for a split of our party was also given wide publicity in the Chinese press and radio. It was reprinted in full by PEKING REVIEW (December 13), together with a report of the meeting.

In the face of this open call for a split, the Central Com-

mittee and the membership of the party rallied to protect the unity of the party. The Central Committee called district meetings of all members of the party where the record, conduct and aims of the anti-party splitters were exposed. These district meetings of party members passed resolutions condemning the splitters and supporting the actions taken against them by the Central Committee.

How can Ceylonese Communists take seriously the claim of this unprincipled gang to be considered as "genuine revolutionaries" when we know that Kumarasiri, the "general secretary" of the new "party", was one of the main spokesmen in our party for a Rightist policy of class collaboration and sub-

ordination of the party to the national bourgeoisie, a man who used to boast openly that he had opposed all strikes and mass struggles since 1950?

Do the Chinese leaders expect any Ceylonese Communist to regard D. Jinendrapala, the "Assistant National Organizer" or the new "party", as a "heroic fighter" when we all know that he decided to join the opponents of unity only after a party commission had found him guilty of financial irregularities?

It seems to us that the Chinese leaders do not mind what stick they pick up to beat those who do not agree with them.

The neo-Trotskyite positions of the anti-party group are also extremely striking. They prate about "return to capitalism" in the USSR, and resort to other familiar Trotskyist slanders.

The anti-party group led by Sanmugathasan suffered a big and rapid defeat in the trade unions as well.

Workers in factory after factory and innumerable plantations and other workplaces held meetings of protest, condemning Sanmugathasan and his co-conspirators and affirming their support for the Communist Party and the United Left Front.

As a result, when the anti-party splitters held their so-called "7th Congress" in January 1964 and set up their split-away, parallel "party", they cut no ice among the working people. Even the reactionary bourgeois press, which had earlier given these splitters tremendous encouragement and support, felt that they were backing a losing cause. In point of fact, this so-called "7th Congress" of the splitters received more attention in China than it did in Ceylon.

In the fight against the splitters and their supporters, our party has acquired many useful experiences. Our experience has confirmed Lenin's teachings that dogmatic ultra-leftism mainly attracts the petty-bourgeoisie and has little or no support among the workers. We have seen in practice how the Left-deviators and the Right-capitalists feed each other and unite. We have seen the connections between dogmatism and opportunism.

Another important lesson that we have learnt is the need to pay great attention to the social

SPLITTISM

of the Ceylon Communist Party on April 16 to 19, 1964 are further landmarks in this struggle.

The Chinese press and radio have sought to depict the anti-party splitters group as "genuine revolutionaries" and "heroic fighters" for Marxist-Leninist principle. But the Ceylonese Communists are well aware of the histories of persons concerned and the despicable methods, used by

mail of the splitters, to expose the real aims of the splitters to the widest masses; to show them what dogmatic and splitting policies mean in practice for their own struggles.

We have also learnt that a successful struggle against splittism should be linked with the struggle to build the widest unity of the masses in the fight for their vital interests.

By forcing a split on the Ceylon Communist Party the anti-party group and their supporters hoped to weaken our party. But the opposite has happened in practice. The Party has been strengthened by purging itself of opportunist and corrupt elements and in the mass fight against the splitters our ties with the working-class and the broad masses have also been greatly strengthened. (Pravda, April 6. In full.)

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composition of the membership of the party, to strengthen continuously membership from among the working class. This is especially so in countries like ours where petty-commodity production and semi-feudal relations are strong.

In conducting the struggle against splittism, our experience has shown that it is necessary to wage an offensive struggle and not submit to the black-

PIETER KEUNEMAN

General Secretary, Ceylon Communist Party

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CPI GREETINGS N. S. KHRUSHCHOV

The National Council of the Communist Party of India on April 16 sent the following message of greetings to Comrade Nikita Khrushchov, First Secretary of the CPSU on the occasion of his 70th birthday. The message is signed by Chairman S. A. Dange on behalf of the National Council.

Dear Comrade, Please accept warm affectionate greetings from the National Council of the Communist Party of India on the happy occasion of your seventieth birthday.

The decade during which you have headed the Central Committee of the CPSU has seen mighty victories for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism. In each of these, the role of the CPSU and your personal role have been of vital significance.

The Indian people know you as their true friend, one who has at all moments of greatest need, extended to us solidarity and cooperation. On the issue of Kashmir, at the time of Goa's liberation, in our work for our country's economic development, your concrete assistance has been of profound value for India.

We wish you many more years of service to the great common cause of the international Communist movement.

Yours fraternally, S. A. DANGE, Chairman

DANGE'S MESSAGE TO CEYLON COMMUNIST PARTY CONGRESS

The following message has been sent to the General Secretary, Central Committee, Ceylon Communist Party, by Comrade S. A. Dange, Chairman of the Communist Party of India.

I have the honour to convey to your Congress the warmest fraternal greetings from the Communist Party of India.

We have been closest neighbours from ancient times and the relations between our two countries have always been of closest brotherhood and friendship.

The selfless sacrifices of your Party along with the leadership of the Ceylon national movement, in the cause of liberation of Ceylon from British imperialism have earned for you a position of prestige and respect amongst the masses. Your fight against British imperialism and that of the Indian people's has been a common fight for a long time.

Since independence, both our countries have been faced with the common task of reconstruction and freeing our people from the clutches of monopoly capitalists and imperialists. You in your country have to contend with the same kind of monopolists whom we have got in our country. In the struggle against imperialism your Party has adopted a political line which is beneficial not only to the working class but also the general masses of people.

It has been always an inspiring news to hear your government headed by Mrs. Bandaranaike taking steps to break the grip of foreign monopoly on your economy in such vital fields as oil, foreign trade, banking and so on.

Though the imperialists tried to use such foul means as the assassination of your Prime Minister Mr. Bandaranaike, in order to impose neo-colonialism on your country, the unity of the people and all the progressive parties in your country, in which the Communist Party has played a positive role, has foiled the attempts of the imperialists.

In the field of Afro-Asian cooperation and solidarity your Party and your country have played a progressive role and it is happy to note that the Government of Ceylon headed by Mrs. Bandaranaike and the Government of India headed by Shri Jawaharlal Nehru generally agree on questions of

Afro-Asian solidarity; peace and nonalignment. There is a sizeable Indian population in Ceylon. Most of them belong to the mass of working people and a small section belongs to the trading and capitalist elements. The problem of these people and their status in Ceylon has led to some difficulties between the governments of India and Ceylon.

But we, as the Party of the working class have always sought a solution of the problem on the basis of fraternal relations between the two countries and protection of the interest of the working class of Ceylon and the working class of India, both of whom, as detachments of the world's working class, have common solidarity as against the exploiting classes.

There is no doubt that the exploiting classes utilise the differences on the question of Indians in Ceylon in order to divide the working class and foment chauvinism on either side.

The Communist Party of Ceylon and the Communist Party of India must solve this problem within the framework of the principles of proletarian internationalism and the protection of the interest of the working people of both countries and not allow the monopolies and imperialists to divide us by utilising this issue as they try to do in Cyprus and other places.

Your Party has recently been the victim of the sinister activities of splitters and you have to contend against them even in the field of trade unionism. We are glad to learn that your Party has succeeded in protecting itself from these splitters and protecting the trade unions also.

We in India also have been subjected to the attacks of these splitters in accordance with their policy of splitting the Communist Parties of the world in order to impose on the world Communist movement their sectarian and adventurist policies.

These splitters no longer abide by the unanimous conclusions of the World Conference of 1960 and the Moscow Declaration and

the Statement on such vital questions as peace, disarmament, national liberation, peaceful co-existence and the ways of achieving socialism. They have openly repudiated the unanimous conclusions of the Moscow Conference of 1960 and have openly proposed not only an alternative adventurist line but are even carrying out open splitting activities throughout the world Communist Parties.

But we are sure that the Communist Parties of the world will defeat the plans of these splitters and adventurists, who talk so much of world revolution, Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism while in actual behaviour, spread ideas of racism, of putting the Afro-Asian working class in conflict with the working class of socialist countries and break the solidarity of the national liberation movement with the people of the Socialist camp. They have raised splittism to the level of a theory and are not ashamed to swear by the name of Marx and Lenin.

Our Common Task

It is the common task of our two Parties to defeat this game of disruption and splittism and protect the forces of world revolution, national liberation and socialism from their sinister attack.

We Indian Communists look forward to fraternal consultations and active cooperation between our two Parties:

—for protection and consolidation of our independence from the attack of neo-colonialism;

—for helping in the development of the economy of our two countries by fraternal cooperation on the basis of the Five principles, preservation of democracy and protection of the interests of the working class.

LONG LIVE WORLD COMMUNIST UNITY AND SOLIDARITY!

LONG LIVE THE FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN THE PEOPLES OF CEYLON AND INDIA!

LONG LIVE THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CEYLON!

LONG LIVE PEACE, FREEDOM AND SOCIALISM!

Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, April 19, 1943

LAST ACT IN THE GREAT TRAGEDY

By Dr. KRZYSZT

The September 1939 catastrophe and the Nazi occupation brought fundamental changes in the position of the Polish and Jewish populations.

REPRESSIONS and discrimination were practised against the Polish population, at first mainly directed against the intelligentsia and progressive political figures. The Hitlerites then aimed to gradually exterminate the entire nation by the most thorough exploitation and exhaustion of its labour force.

Towards the Jews the Hitlerites applied different, much more oppressive methods. They first applied brutal discrimination and through exploitation of their labour power, then the rapid and complete biological extermination. This process developed in stages and lasted over the entire period of Hitlerite occupation.

The moral and material situation of the Jews was not uniform in the occupied areas. For the intelligentsia and assimilated sections of the bourgeoisie who had friendly and professional ties with non-Jewish Poles, the possibilities for survival were much greater than for the masses of poor Jews and the orthodox communities, who were for many years isolated from their gentle surroundings. Furthermore, once the Ghetto was closed, only an insignificant part of those condemned to live there could resist this measure and risk hiding among non-Jews, with false papers.

Ever new discriminatory measures were applied against Jews: confiscation of wealth, expulsion from work in institutions, the order to wear special arm bands or badges, prohibition of free movement, etc. Besides, there was absolute forced labour for all between 14 and 60 years of age. The Hitlerites established, first labour camps for Jews in 1940 and Ghettos, or the so-called "Jewish residential districts" were instituted in the larger Polish cities at the beginning of 1941.

Aid To The Jews

All this had a broad reaction in Polish public opinion. There were many Poles who, faithful to their principles and often linked with ties of friendship, of professional and social mutual collaboration with Poles of Jewish origin, regarded their cause as their own, and felt their tragic fate with all their hearts.

Individual aid to Jews hiding outside the Ghetto and material help to those shut in the Ghetto or concentration camps began with the occupation, and in measure with the growing seriousness of the situation began to take on ever broader and more organised forms.

A great many Jews, often entire families, hid themselves in villages, obtaining work there. Hiding places were built for them in barns, cellars, garrets or in the woods.

Among the workers there was often the distribution of aid to acquaintances from the same district or street, from the same factory or shop. A special role was played by Polish railwaymen in helping Jews escape from transports. Professors of higher educational institutions, the intelligentsia of the free professions, artists were very active in all the larger cities.

Aid to Jews in Poland was

extended spontaneously by thousands of individuals, acting on their own and with their own means. It should be remembered that in no occupied country in Europe were conditions less favourable for this kind of activity. In no country can the intensity of the terror directed against the people be compared with the situation in Poland, where hundreds of thousands perished alongside Jews in concentration camps and mass executions.

Fascist Reprisals

On November 10, 1941 Fischer, governor of the Warsaw district proclaimed the death sentence for everyone who consciously provided shelter or in any way aided Jews in hiding. Then commenced executions of Jews caught outside the Ghetto, mass arrests, transportation to extermination camps and the murder of Poles aiding them.

In the summer months of 1942 the occupation authorities proceeded with the planned complete liquidation of the Ghettos in various cities of occupied Poland. And their inhabitants were evacuated by force to extermination camps. On July 22, 1942 began the first large extermination campaign in the Warsaw Ghetto, in which more than 300,000 people were incarcerated at the extermination camps of Treblinka or were murdered on the spot. This genocidal event lasted uninterruptedly at the Warsaw Ghetto to September 12, 1942. The extermination of the population in the Lublin, Krakow, and Radom Ghettos occurred almost simultaneously.

A group of leaders of the Jewish underground, active for some time in the Warsaw Ghetto, then weighed the possibilities of armed resistance with the full understanding that this may well mean the complete destruction of Warsaw's Jewish population.

The first proclamation on this matter appeared in August 1942 issued by the underground Catholic organisation "Front of Poland's Regeneration" (FOP). It published a special broadside entitled "Protest", written by the well-known authoress Zofia Kosak-Szczucka. The Polish Workers' Party, the Socialist Party and Democratic Party almost simultaneously called upon the Jews to organise resistance to deportation and to save themselves by escaping from the Ghetto.

The socialist underground paper "WRN" in number 18 of September 28, 1942 declared: "For aiding Jews who in significant numbers managed to elude the bloodhounds, the Germans have designated the death sentence. Every honest person regards this threat with contempt, for he knows that aid to the unfortunate, saving a near one threatened by death is an obligation stronger than death. It is the duty of every Pole to aid the victims of German bestiality."

Jewish orphans or children separated from their parents were individually placed in willing Polish families, or distributed among various institutions, hospitals, orphan asylums or other

child care and educational institutions. An especially fine role in this was played by Catholic monasteries and convents where hundreds of Jewish children found shelter.

The activity of the Jewish Aid Council covered Lublin, Lodz, Kielce, Czestochowa, Sosnowiec, Zamosc, Siedlce, Piotrkow, Radom, Skarzysko, Rzeszow, Przemysl, Stanislawow, Drohobycz, Stryj, and from time to time embraced other cities and towns.

By March 1943 the KWC (Direction of Civil Struggle) issued a circular calling for an out and out fight against cases of blackmailing Jews and Poles helping them. By the end of March of that year representatives of the Council decided to make public the carrying out of reprisals against blackmailers, which before long had its effect.

The Ghetto military organiza-

tion "ZOB" (the Jewish Fighting Organisation) set itself the tasks of training fighting personnel, to obtain the technical means for waging armed struggle (arms, ammunition, explosive materials) and to influence the people of the Ghetto to take an active position in resisting the occupiers. Their contacts with Polish underground organisations played no small role in the realisation of these military and political tasks by the Jewish fighting organisation.

The Peoples' Guard took similar action, supplying the Ghetto with carbines, short arms, grenades and ammunition.

The Warsaw Ghetto armed uprising broke out on April 19, 1943. Soldiers from the sabotage groups of the AK, members of various socialist organisations and the Peoples' Guard fought with arms against the troops of General Stroop from the beginning of the German siege of the Ghetto. Peoples' Guard units carried out a number of relieving actions which facilitated the ZOB defence, or enabled groups of Jewish fighters to break out of the Ghetto walls.

During the fighting in the Warsaw Ghetto "Zegota" leaders, Jews and non-Jews, maintained informational contact and hastened to make use of the possibilities for extending

the most effective aid. But the self sacrificing efforts and courage of the Poles engaged in armed action could not alter the fate of the burning Ghetto.

After the defeat of the Ghetto uprising the Polish and Jewish underground faced the common task of saving the survivors hiding under false names in the larger Polish cities and towns. The underground newspaper "Information Bulletin" devoted itself to this task. It carried an editorial on April 20, 1943 when the fighting was still raging in the Ghetto, entitled "The Last Act in the Great Tragedy", in which it called for aid for the refugees from the burning Ghetto.

The Jewish Aid Council was active in the capital until the outbreak of the Warsaw Uprising. After its defeat it continued to operate at Milanow near Warsaw. And like its Krakow annex, it continued to work there until January 16, 1945, though with a small staff and on a reduced scale.

The aid campaign under the difficult conditions of the Hitlerite occupation was undoubtedly successful in saving large numbers of persecuted people sentenced by the Nazi regime to inevitable death.

Hungarian Party's Resolution Against Chinese Splittism

On the latest steps taken by the leaders of the Communist Party of China aimed at disruption, a resolution was adopted at an extended meeting held by the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party on February 20-22, 1964.

THE resolution made public on April 3 says that the open utterances of the Chinese leaders against the common policy of the international communist movement on many questions are known to the membership of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and to the Hungarian people.

After the overwhelming majority of the fraternal parties come out against these erroneous views, the Chinese leaders entered upon a course of activity aimed at disruption. They organised factional groups made up of Trotskyites and unscrupulous renegade elements and they do not refrain from attacking the name of Communist Party to some of these groups.

The behaviour of the Chinese leaders is characterised by the fact that they are conducting not a theoretical discussion on ideological problems of great importance, but a political struggle against the CPSU and other fraternal parties.

The Chinese leaders are attacking the unity of the socialist countries and the international Communist movement, they are making the position of imperialism easier in its opposition to the advancing socialist world, and are hampering the Communist Parties' struggles in certain countries and in the international scene.

In unswerving pursuance of the line of the 1957 and 1960 Moscow Statements, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, together with the fraternal parties, turns resolutely against the subversive activities of the Chinese splitters, the resolution says.

The Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party is in complete solidarity with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, with its Leninist Central Committee and with Comrade Khrushchov personally. It is absolutely clear that the Chinese leaders are aiming their attacks primarily against the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

It is mainly due to the unshakable Marxist-Leninist policy

Up to now, the Central Committee of the HSWP and the Hungarian people have unanimously rejected the harmful views of the Chinese leaders and now more resolutely than ever they condemn the increasing splittist activities of the Chinese leaders and their unbridled anti-Soviet slanders.

In a difficult period, the resolution says in conclusion, through struggle and at the cost of great sacrifices, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party shaped its ideological, political and organisational unity in the struggle against counter-revolutionaries, revisionists and invertebrate dogmatists, and has the necessary experience to repulse both Rightwing and Leftwing attacks.

Those who come out with subversive intentions shall find that the Party will rebuff their attacks with energy and determination.

SOVIET-HUNGARIAN JOINT COMMUNIQUE

"The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party denounce most emphatically the factional activities of the Chinese leaders."

THEY "believe that in the present situation it is necessary to give a resolute rebuff to the anti-Leninist conceptions and subversive activities of the Chinese leaders." This was stated in a joint Soviet-Hungarian statement published upon the conclusion of Nikita Khrushchov's visit to Hungary.

The statement notes that there is a complete identity of views between the CPSU and the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party on all major questions of the international Communist and working class movement.

"Both Parties believe that the most important task of Marxist-Leninist Parties in present-day conditions is to work for strengthening

the unity of the international Communist movement against the splittist activities of the Chinese Communist Party leadership which do great harm to the cause of the struggle for socialism and communism."

The rising tide of the international working class movement in recent years has confirmed that the ideological activities of the CPSU and its 20th and 22nd Congresses "are of great significance for all Communist Parties because they are topical for all."

The achievements of the Soviet people in building communism are of historic significance, they illumine the path to a happy future for mankind.

MOSCOW: The celebration of the 70th birthday of Nikita Khrushchov was not merely a sincere tribute to the Soviet leader for his lifelong devoted service to his country and people and to the cause of communism.

It also became a mighty demonstration of the unity and solidarity of the Party and the people behind their leadership and reaffirmation and rededication to the Leninist line of the CPSU and the decisions of its 20th and 22nd Congresses.

The worldwide support and tributes to Khrushchov were of course for all that Khrushchov has stood for and fought for. And the Soviet people's expression of profound love, respect and appreciation for him has not been a fearful worship of a remote demigod but the celebration of the birthday of a friend and comrade who is one of them—a true Leninist, an outstanding leader of the CPSU and the Soviet state, of the international Communist and labour movement, a leader who is a courageous fighter against imperialism and for the cause of peace, democracy, national freedom and socialism.

Decorating him with the Order of Lenin and the gold star of the Hero of the Soviet Union in the Yekaterina Hall of the Kremlin President Brezhnev said, "You know from personal experience what is the labour of a worker and peasant and the life of a soldier. That is why the thoughts and aspirations of the working people have been so dear to you."

Brezhnev declared that the Soviet people would always be thankful to Khrushchov for the courage-

ous initiative he took to expose the Stalin personality cult and for his leadership in removing the harmful consequences of the cult and for the restoration of the Leninist norms and Leninist spirit.

Khrushchov's name, he said, was associated forever with the new stage in the life of the country and had become a symbol of the struggle of peoples for peace against imperialist aggression.

Khrushchov was deeply moved by the high honour and the warm greetings of all present. Making a moving and inspiring speech he thanked the Party, the Government and the people for everything. "A man at 70 does not have so much time to pay back all that is said to him on his anniversary", he said.

LIVING FOR THE PEOPLE

"Those of you who have passed 70 I shall not teach, but to those comrades who are creeping up to this age I would say, don't be scared, there is nothing terrible about it. Given the desire to work, a man can work if he really wants to work. And this is the main thing."

"For certain political leaders death sometimes comes on before their physical death. The prolonging of life for a political leader means working together with the collective for the good of the Party."

HOW TO BECOME A CABINET MINISTER

CALL Nehru all sorts of names. Denounce Krishna Menon as a crypto-Communist. And then keep your fingers crossed and wait. Sooner rather than later you will hear that the President, of course, on the advice of his Prime Minister, has been pleased to appoint you as a Cabinet Minister.

The first man to be elevated in this fashion was Ram Subhag Singh. Not long ago as the secretary of the Congress Parliamentary Party he was wholly engaged in baiting Menon and decrying Nehru.

He subjected the government's border (with China) policy with withering (wholly ill-informed) criticism. He rushed up to Ladakh and, on return to the plains, gave a call for opening up the snowy waste of northern Ladakh for cultivation, especially for fish mongering.

He vigorously kept it up and one fine morning he was transferred to the Treasury Benches as Minister for Agriculture.

At Bhubaneswar he joined up with his natural allies on the Right and threatened to stand as a candidate for election to the Working Committee as against the High Command nominees.

He went about vigorously canvassing for himself and for his buddies when he again ran into extraordinary luck in that he was absorbed into the official panel.

A fortnight ago yet another super-critic of official policy

ON THE OCCASION OF KHRUSHCHOV'S SEVENTIETH BIRTHDAY

Mighty Expression of Solidarity with CPSU

PEOPLE ARE WITH LENINIST PARTY

From MASOOD ALI KHAN

"The joy of life is not that a man simply exists—everything alive exists—but that he lives consciously and works in the collective, for the collective, for the people. Herein lies happiness, herein lies reward."

Khrushchov said that he was satisfied with his life and fate. He was not born at the high positions he now occupied. In youth he had to go through the most severe universities of life. "I grew up in the Party, the Party raised me, comrades. I have ascended the ladder without jumping over its rungs, figuratively speaking, fulfilling every assignment given by the Party."

"I am proud that I have grown and advanced all the time together with the Party. In our public life the Party has placed me at the summit of the possible and I am deeply grateful for it to the Party and the people."

Of special importance in the life of the country has been the period which began after 1953 which has been marked by the 20th and 22nd Congresses.

"You remember these Congresses of the Party. That was a critical moment when a sharp turn had to be made, the consequences of the personality cult had to be done away with, the force of inertia had to be overcome and the right direction taken in our further advance. The force of inertia is a tremendous force. It requires a lot of effort to overcome it and to turn the moving forces in the necessary direction."

"The Party and the people having overcome the difficulties of the personality cult period have confidently moved forward. I am proud of the time and consider that it has been extremely useful for our Party and our people."

"Lenin's principles have been fully re-established and the harmful outgrowth has been removed from the life of the Party and society. And I would say that it has been done without surgical intervention. Therapeutics were applied here, to use the language of physicians."

RECENT SUCCESSES

Khrushchov spoke of the recent successes of the Soviet Union in various fields, the stability of the socialist system and confidence in its future. Coming to the international field he said:

"Our Party has strengthened and will continue to strengthen its fraternal contacts with the Communist Parties of the whole world. In spite of the splitting activities of the leaders of some of the Parties, the unity will grow and the splitting activities of those who engage in them will fail because they have no root in life."

Bombastic phrases not taking

into account the vital interests of the people and not substantiated by creative work were a mirage, he said.

"We have always adhered and will continue to adhere to Marxist-Leninist positions. One should not be conceited with success, but should wage the struggle and advance. We should not sever all relations with those with whom today we do not have full unity, but should always provide an opportunity for rapprochement and understanding."

"However, this should be attained not by concessions in principles but by the correct explanation and understanding of Marxist-Leninist teachings."

COMPLETE UNITY

"I would like to point out with satisfaction that we today have the complete unity of the Party and the people. Plenary meetings of active Party members have been held and everywhere they took place in an atmosphere of unity, still greater solidarity and cohesion. Our people are always with the Leninist Party, the Party is always with the people."

Party veterans who knew Lenin and worked under him and who have been in the Party for 48 to 68 years declared in a message published in Pravda that they were proud of the Party carrying aloft the banner of Lenin. "It is a joy to see the Party and its central committee approaching in the Leninist way the tasks of all-out construction of communism." The old Bolsheviks expressed their indignation at the monstrous slander and curses against CPSU and other Parties hurled by Chinese demagogues.



climbed the ministerial ladder by resorting to the same technique as Ram Subhag had employed.

INSIDER understands that the caucus that rules the roost is wanting to appoint a man called Morarka as chairman of the Public Accounts Committee. If one is to go by the debate on this year's budget, there is no difference between Morarka and Masani.

Another appointment in the offing—to the Committee on Public Sector Undertakings—is that of K. C. Pant. He was a high-paid employee of the Birlas and simultaneously holding another job under another tycoon. INSIDER does not know yet whether he still continues to hold the twin jobs.

Readers will remember that some years ago when Gopinath Ballabh Pant was alive C. D. Deshmukh kicked up a row over this among other issues and demanded the appointment of a tribunal to go into it.

At that time Nehru demanded that C.D. place facts first before him to ascertain whether they constituted a prima facie case for an enquiry by a tribunal. Deshmukh insisted that he would submit the evidence he had before a tribunal. There the matter ended.

And if people like Pant—and most of the Congress Party nominees on the Committee on Public Sector Undertakings are friends of the private sector—are to guide our public sector enterprises, then God help the public sector.

—INSIDER

The Path of 'Genuine Marxist-Leninists'!

THE splitters' "revolution" has begun! The first salvo they fired was to ask the Chairman of the Party Comrade S. A. Dange to vacate the rooms in which he was staying in North Avenue.

The flat in North Avenue had been allotted to Com. Niren Ghosh, member of Rajya Sabha, and Com. Dange had been staying there on the basis of a decision of the Party and of the Parliamentary group leader for the last one-and-a-half years.

Suddenly, in the middle of the splitters' Conference of April 2 to 9, on April 7 Com. Niren Ghosh sent Com. Dange a letter by post, asking him to quit the flat. Com. Dange packed his belongings and left the same day he received the letter.

For several days before the receipt of the letter, the bourgeois press had been publishing news items stating that the splitters group had decided to throw Comrade Dange out of his rooms in the flat, since it was in the name of one of the pillars of the splitters.

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ANDHRA GOVT. YIELDS TO GRAIN-DEALERS' PRESSURE

From MOHIT SEN

HYDERABAD: The foodgrains dealers have called off their strike which was scheduled to have commenced from April 21. Announcing this decision K. Seethiah Gupta, president of the ad hoc committee of the Foodgrains Dealers Federation, stated that the government had agreed to their demands and relaxed some of the stringent sections of the Food Licensing Order.

THUS, the blackmail has paid off. It was evident to every impartial observer that the wholesale dealers were far from prepared to go ahead with the implementation of their threat to starve the people. They merely wanted to give the government a pretext to modify some of the measures of control so that higher rates of profiteering might be legalised.

The dummy nature of the threat and of the "stern action" promised by the government is proved by the fact that the very president of the wholesalers, Seethiah Gupta, occupies an important position in the Congress legislature party. And a goodly number of the other blackmailing wholesalers are the socio-financial base of the Congress leadership, when they have not themselves blossomed forth as Congress bigwigs.

It is significant that the Agriculture Minister, A. Balaram Reddi, who appeared together with the president of the Foodgrains Dealers Federation, to announce the happy settlement, stated that the prices would now stabilise, i.e., remain at the present inordinately high level.

He declined to admit whether the current high prices would substantially come down stating with all the air of profound inanity that this would depend on supply and demand!

Another piece of "good news" was that the government has not come to any decision to increase the woefully inadequate number of fairprice shops in the capital—105 for the twin cities—not to raise the number of authorised retailers above the previous 250.

It is significant that the Con-

rally at Pratapgarh Kothi, Hyderabad, the NGO leader Sriramulu pointed out that they were prepared to forego their demand for a pay increase if the government brought down prices. After all that was the essence of their demand for linking DA with the cost of living index.

Sriramulu stated that the government should realise that the people were not going to rest content with only processions and meetings. "Today the state machinery was on the streets after working hours. It may be that we shall be compelled to be on the streets during working hours at some future date", he declared. The response of the huge audience was indicative of

the mass desire for militant action. As yet the state government shows no signs at all of listening to the voice of the people. On the contrary, it seems determined to go its merry way of building up the monopolists and landlords.

Shortly before appeasing the wholesale profiteers, the Congress Ministry made a wholesale surrender of the state-owned Rajahmundry Andhra Paper Mills to the Somanis. The denationalisation move has now been sealed and signed.

The government claims that its decision to reduce its ownership to a 33 1/3 minority holding is based on the advice of Asoka Mehta, vice-chairman of the Planning Commission. From saying that no case has been made out for the nationalisation of banks, the partyless leader has now established a precedent for re-privatisation which can mean the doom of the public sector. Observers here underline the

fact that the government is not taking the public into confidence. It has not given out the full details of the deal nor of all the offers received. The sum involved comes close to what Somanis are going to be advanced as a loan by the government.

Several Congress MLAs and Opposition leaders, including Tenneti Viswanatham, have come out against the deal. The Andhra Pradesh Communist Party Secretary, Rajasekhara Reddy, had at the outset called upon the people to protest against this sell-out.

Official circles claim, however, that P. Sundarayya had many months ago given Sanjeeva Reddy, the then Chief Minister, the green signal to go ahead with denationalisation, along the lines of the present deal entered into by the government. Observers are surprised at this disclosure in view of the "leftist" views said to be professed by the suspended member of the CPI's National Council. A public probe into all this would be eminently desirable.

The attempt came three days later. The neutralist Premier was made prisoner and a statement was broadcast in his name expressing helplessness and inability to cope with the situation and announcing his resignation.

All this went on as the Seato ministerial Council concluded its session in Manila and Dean Rusk came over to Saigon to make an on-the-spot study of the situation in South Vietnam.

The attempt having been made it seems that its principal inspirers got cold feet. There were loud declarations from American spokesmen, including Dean Rusk himself, disowning the attempt and actually disapproving of it.

Just as the news of the coup being in the offing had come from Bangkok, the news of its "collapse" also came from another US outpost, Saigon. It was there that "diplomatic sources" reported on Monday that "the coup in Laos had collapsed."

"The situation is back to where it was 36 hours ago", said an American diplomat who had been in contact with the US embassy in Vientiane. "It is generally believed in Saigon", said the AP, "that the US ambassador, Mr. Leonard Unger, has applied pressure on the coup leaders to restore the status quo."

The declaration, according to New York Times, endorsed the new military and political programme of the South Vietnam government. It stated:

"The Council agreed that the defeat of the Communist campaign is essential not only to security of the Republic of Vietnam but to that of Southeast Asia. It will also be convincing proof that Communist expansion by such tactics will not be permitted."

"The Council agreed that members of Seato should remain prepared if necessary to take further concrete steps within their respective capabilities in fulfillment of their obligations under the treaty."

The contemplated measures to which the US had reportedly secured commitment from its Seato allies, according to New York Times, include "increased economic aid to the South Vietnamese government and extension of the war to North Vietnam, which was charged with directing, supplying and supporting the Vietcong guerrillas." (Emphasis added)

"The Communique," says the New York Times despatch, "one of the strongest and most specific in the 10-year history of the alliance, was adhered to in its entirety by the United States, Britain,

they had chosen the second course. The voice of truth rings clear and loud defying death and putting the racist regime in the dock. Just then a real big international conference on Economic Sanctions against South Africa, ended in London, pronounced South Africa an international delinquent and told the UN that the time for persuasion had run its full course.

Senator Morse had warned the Administration last month—and that is a warning all Seato members should ponder—that US actions in South Vietnam could "lead to a holocaust which would spread round the world." He had reminded them—and the reminder is addressed to all those who have signed the Manila Communique:

"We cannot show that there are in South Vietnam any foreign troops from China, or any foreign troops from Russia, or any foreign troops from North Vietnam. The only foreign troops in South Vietnam are US troops."

Pakistan, Britain and all the rest of them who signed the Communique will be answerable to the world for the crime that the US madmen are preparing.

As the first step towards achieving this he has placed the national leader Joshua Nkomo under restriction and unleashed a new wave of terror. Within three days of the restriction being placed on Nkomo, 239 people including a number of women had been arrested following numerous cases of police violence against protesting crowds.

Whether the new Premier, Ian Smith, and his white-rule-at-any-cost gang is going to wait till the next meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers, or whether they will declare Southern Rhodesia independent even before that, is a matter of speculation in the Western press at the moment.

Ian Smith himself says he can't remain in a Commonwealth of which Zanzibar and Ghana are members. This incidentally coincides with the British-inspired worldwide campaign against the new revolutionary regime in Zanzibar.

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And on April 20 Verwoerd's court in Pretoria heard Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu declare that emancipation and end of apartheid was something for which they were "prepared to die". Experience had convinced them that the South African government "intended to rule by force alone" and faced by the choice of accepting apartheid or fighting against it with arms,

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LAOS NEUTRALITY HANGS BY THREAD

Thailand, the Philippines, Pakistan, Australia and New Zealand.

US plans to expand the war in South Vietnam and carry it North are no product of some Communist's imagination. An influential group in the government at Washington is pressing hard for bombing and attacking North Vietnam. Even the provisional target date—late May or early June—has been fixed by these reckless elements which are to be found in the Pentagon, the CIA as well as in the State Department.

This objective was announced by the Wall Street Journal even as the Ministerial Council was starting its session in Manila. Washington Correspondent of the Journal, William Beecher reported in its issue of April 13 that the Pentagon "is fast arming South Vietnam with a bomber force capable of devastating air attacks on industrial and military targets in North Vietnam."

Beecher said that "some Administration policy-makers are debating whether the hope of thus halting Hanoi's support for Red Guerrillas below the border might conceivably outweigh the risk of escalating the Vietnam conflict into Korean war dimension."

Senator Wayne Morse in course of a speech in the US Senate revealed a few days earlier that "there are already 18,000 American boys over there" and said a few days later that the plan, if the war was escalated into North Vietnam, was to "use nuclear weapons," because, "it is not possible to put conventional troops into North Vietnam and win."

It appears that the Pentagon would like to make it appear that the vastly built-up air force and other military groupings that may be used in the attacks on North Vietnam will be manned by personnel from the army of the US puppet military dictatorship in Saigon, although the lie to that has been given in the US press itself by letters of numerous US airmen already killed in the war and their relatives. Senator Ernest Gruening—Democrat of Alaska—declared in the Senate on April 3:

"I said that all of South Vietnam was not worth the life of a single American boy. I have received hundreds of letters supporting my position to get our boys out of the firing line which is no place for them to be.

"Allegedly they are in South Vietnam as advisers, but they are actually in

combat uniform and have been for some time. It is time that Pentagon stopped deceiving the American people."

The Pentagon far from listening to that advice—of stopping to deceive the American people—is actually going ahead to deceive the whole world by claiming that the projected enlargement of the war by attacks on North Vietnam is going to be the Seato powers' collective war.

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State Conferences on Peace & Afro-Asian Solidarity

A series of state conferences, organised by the All-India Peace Council and the Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity, has begun with two extremely successful conferences in Madhya Pradesh and Orissa.

THE Madhya Pradesh conference for Afro-Asian Solidarity and World Peace held at Bhopal, was inaugurated by state Chief Minister D. P. Mishra. Chief guests K. D. Malaviya and Aruna Asaf Ali; Chairman of the Reception Committee Education Minister S. D. Sharma; President of the conference Mahesh Misra MP, General Secretary of the All-India Peace Council C. N. Malaviya and others stressed in their speeches, the key significance for India and the world of the policy of nonalignment.

The crowded hall heard delegates from different districts discuss detailed resolutions on the key issues of peace and our foreign policy. Special interest was focussed on the question of Kashmir, and a special message assuring support against the Pakistani conspiracy was sent by the conference to Kashmir Prime Minister G. M. Sadiq.

Resolutions were adopted congratulating the Indian delegation to the Algiers meeting of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Council on the success of their mission, endorsing the decisions of the Amritsar Peace Congress and the Jaipur Afro-Asian Conference on the issues of colour bar and racialism, on disarmament, on the advent of the Seventh Fleet into the Indian Ocean, urging the acceptance of the Colombo proposals etc.

A state council for Afro-Asian Solidarity and World Peace was elected by the conference. The constitution of the new body has incorporated in its aims and objects those of both the Peace movement and the Afro-Asian Solidarity movement and has affiliated itself to the national bodies of both the movements.

All the sessions of the conference and also the public rally addressed by Aruna Asaf Ali, Sha'ir Ali Khan and others were well attended. The inaugural session was attended by Cabinet Ministers, MLAs and municipal corporators, belonging to the Congress and Communist Party, as well as independents and by leaders of the trade unions and other mass organisations.

The Utkal State Peace Conference held at Cuttack was also an important event in the life of

the state. The inaugural session of the conference was addressed by Diwan Chamanlal MP, and Chitta Biswas, chairman of the Presidential Committee and general secretary respectively of the All-India Peace Council.

Congress leader and ex-Chairman of the Municipal Committee Manmohan Misra presided. Among those present were Deputy Minister Fahlad Mullick, Congress MLA Gopinath Bhai, the well-known poet Padmashri Sachidananda Rautroy, former Finance Minister Radhanath Rath, the scientist Dr. Radhanath Rath, former Law

Minister Dinabandhu Saha, sarvodaya leaders, trade unionists and leaders of mass organisations. Dr. U. Misra MP, addressed the concluding session of the conference.

Apart from special attention paid to immediate questions like that of Kashmir, the conference naturally devoted a considerable part of its time to the question of communal peace. The recent events in Kourkela had left a terrible mark on the entire state and the conference pledged itself to do everything possible to quell the mischievous activities of the communalists which only blacken India's name.

Similar state conferences are to take place in the coming months in other parts of the country.

XXXIII
POZNAN
INTERNATIONAL
FAIR
7-21 June 1964

GENERAL SAMPLES FAIR
PRESENTING A SELECTION OF WORLD PRODUCT
MOST CONVENIENT FOR EAST-WEST TRADE
19 EXHIBITION HALLS AND 100 PAVILIONS COVERING A
TOTAL AREA OF 2,30,000 sq. m. IN 1963
167 PARTICIPANTS FROM 60 COUNTRIES (INCLUDING 37 OFFICIALS) EXHIBITED THEIR PRODUCTS

Trade, Technical & Press information available from:
MANAGEMENT OF THE POZNAN INTERNATIONAL FAIR
14, Glogowska, Poznan (Poland)

Or
THE POLISH COMMERCIAL COUNSELLOR'S OFFICE
42-44 Sundar Nagar, New Delhi

Jute Workers Facing Unemployment

CALCUTTA: Jute workers around Calcutta are facing the prospect of unemployment as a result of the unlawful closure of jute mills by the managements.

THE Clive Jute Mills in Garden Reach has been closed down from March 12. About 3,000 workers have been affected by this closure.

The reason for the closure is internal quarrels in the management and embezzlement of funds and resultant litigation.

The closure of the mill was anticipated and the Central and state labour departments were informed of the situation. However, the government took no action in the matter.

A tripartite meeting was held on March 16, but the management could not even say when the earned wages of the workers for one week lying with the company will be paid.

A big procession of the workers came all the way from Garden Reach to the Assembly House to apprise the state Labour Minister of their grievances.

On March 29 a public meeting was held to explain the workers

demand that the government should take over the mill. Bhowani Roy Chowdhury presided and Indrajit Gupta MP spoke at this meeting.

The Angus Jute Mill (Managing Agents: Thomas Duff & Co.) in Bhadreswar has been locked out since March 31. The management took this step because the workers refused to run the double looms.

About 5,000 workers have been thrown out of jobs as a result. They have taken out a big procession to the District Labour Commissioner's office at Chandernagar to demand unconditional reopening of the mill.

Though two tripartite meetings were held at the DLC's office on April 4 and 9 respectively, no decision could be arrived at because of the adamant attitude of the management.

A public meeting held to protest against the lockout was addressed by Girja Mukherjee MLA and Bhowani Roy Chowdhury.

MAY DAY MANIFESTO

On this day of international solidarity, the AITUC greets the working men and women of all countries. The AITUC greets the World Federation of Trade Unions, the mighty organisation of the international working class.

THE workers of socialist countries led by the USSR have achieved tremendous successes which have proved to the broad masses throughout the world the invincibility and superiority of socialism. In capitalist countries, broad fronts are emerging against the international monopolies which not only fleece the working people of their 'own' lands but had kept under colonial slavery vast masses of people. Even now they seek to retain whatever empires they have, to impose neo-colonialism and, where forced to retreat, wreak vengeance through blood and fire.

In countries which have thrown off the yoke of colonialism, the working class had played a vital role in the national liberation movements and is now engaged in the vital task of reconstruction and consolidation of their independence.

On this day of international solidarity, we pledge to carry forward our incessant struggle for unity of the workers and with the broad masses of toilers. Unfortunately, new trends are emerging in the international working class movement which threaten to split our solidarity. The working class must reject all attempts from whatever quarters which endanger our unity.

GRAVE PROBLEMS

In India the working class is facing grave problems and serious hardships. Rising prices have corroded real wages to such a low level that living is becoming an impossibility. Taxes on the poorer sections continue, belying the people's expectations that now that the emergency is really over, some relief would be afforded. Speculators in food and monopolists are making huge pro-

fits while people starve. Corruption is rampant and bureaucrats continue to ride roughshod over the suffering people.

The working class, which had consciously borne all hardships and contributed much beyond its capacity during the days of Chinese aggression, can no longer tolerate the attack on their wages, living conditions and trade union rights which employers in private and public sector alike have launched.

MIGHTY MOVEMENT

The mighty movement of Bombay workers culminating in BOMBAY BANDH, the movement of the Ahmedabad workers under the aegis of the Sangharsha Samiti and the strikes and actions of workers in various industries have already won some relief. Increase in DA has been snatched in Bombay and Ahmedabad by partial corrections in cost of living indices which had for years defrauded workers of lakhs of rupees. The Bonus Commission has submitted its report. Wage Board for Engineering Industry is on the agenda and second Wage Board for textile has been decided upon.

However, the basic demands of workers continue to be denied. Cost of living indices have not been corrected in the overwhelming majority of centres; DA has not been linked with cost of living indices; neutralisation is at very low figures; prices continue to mount; the Bonus Commission report has not yet been accepted by the government, and trade union and democratic rights of workers are continuously denied. The 11-point Charter of Demands has not been conceded.

The working class under the leadership of the AITUC launched a mighty nationwide movement through demonstrations and hungerstrikes in which lakhs of workers of all views participated. Women workers staged huge demonstrations in Bombay, Chandigarh and many other places. The movement embraced workers, trade unions and

organisations of various views. Bank and insurance workers, railway workers, government employees—all put forward similar demands and carried on campaigns for their achievement. The INTUC and HMS had also taken up the question of DA and prices, etc. The AITUC had decided to launch a national satyagraha in front of Parliament from April 16.

But as the movement was going forward, forces of communalism and right reaction inside our country, taking advantage of communal frenzy and war hysteria against India deliberately fanned in Pakistan, succeeded in inflaming sections of people in India and at a number of places communal riots took place. What was particularly distressing was that some industrial centres were also involved. The national satyagraha had to be abandoned, once again demonstrating the immense harm which communalism inflicts on the working class movement.

UNITE TO ACT

The AITUC appeals to all workers to forge unity in their ranks and unite as one not only to achieve their economic demands but also to rout the forces of communal hatred and religious fanaticism.

On this May Day, dedicated to working class solidarity throughout the world, the AITUC calls upon all workers to pledge themselves to fight communalism, restore fraternal solidarity between all workers whatever their religion and to march forward on the basis of the widest unity for the achievement of their just demands.

Brothers and sisters! Let us not forget the glorious traditions of our common fight against imperialism, in which martyrs of all communities have shed their blood so that India should be free. Now free India has to be built and socialism achieved.

Inspired by our traditions, let us unite and march forward.

There are many inconsistencies and inaccuracies in the alleged "Dange Letters" found in the National Archives which make it impossible even for a layman to accept them as genuine.

EVEN after a brief examination of these "letters" and the files which contain them, I noticed many such instances, besides the fact that those who have been insisting that they were genuine had committed distortions while reproducing these letters and releasing them to the press.

The first and foremost inconsistency found in the files concerns the first name of S. A. Dange, namely SHRIPAD. It is here also that the biggest distortion has been committed by those who insist that the "letters" are genuine.

In the two supposed letters to the Viceroy dated July 28 and November 16, 1924—these are the ones on which the slander that Dange offered his services to the British is based—the name is misspelt as SHRIPAT: with a 'T' at the end instead of the 'D'. It was also found that the prosecution in filing the plaint had written "King Emperor Vs. Shripat (note the 'T') Amrit Dange". This points to the possibility that the British government had something to do with the writing of these alleged letters.

M. Basavapunniah who released letters to the press did not correctly reproduce the spelling of the name as it exists in the files in the National Archives. He spelt it correctly as "SHRIPAD" instead of the "SHRIPAT" found in the files.

It is interesting to note that the CURRENT weekly also used the correct name when it published the alleged letters and did not reproduce faithfully what is seen in the files.

The immensity of the blunder committed by those who forged the letters will be realised only when it is noted that "SHRIPAD" is a Brahmin name in Maharashtra while "SHRIPAT" is a non-Brahmin name. This single but

vital slip exposes the forger. He could not have been a Maharashtrian.

Except for the letter of May 24, 1924 asking for transfer from the Sitapur jail to Bombay, the general tenor of the handwriting of the other letters appear to be prima facie different from Dange's handwriting.

It is also significant that the formation of many letters of the alphabet is dissimilar in the letters dated July 28 and November 16 from those in the letter dated May 24.

Cross References

Almost all the cross-references in the four files shown are signed by British officers and most of the derogatory remarks about the character of Dange, reproduced by Basavapunniah are written by one Col. Kaye, Director of Intelligence.

Yet, it is this very officer who throughout his book written after retirement, "COMMUNISM IN INDIA, Delhi, Government of India Press 1928", which was used by Intelligence officers as a guide book, shows Dange's active and militant role in building revolutionary groups of Communists in India and in building up a mass movement and also an underground contact apparatus.

Another book, INDIA AND COMMUNISM by Williamson compiled by the Intelligence Bureau, Home Department, Government of India, 1933, has the interesting passage that the names of Shaikat Usmani, M. Ahmad and S. A. Dange have already been mentioned elsewhere and they need no further introduction unless it is to say that their activities in the period between their release from Cawnpore jail and the institution of the Meerut case and their statement in the latter

Dange Letters Forged by British Intelligence

By RENU CHAKRAVARTY

From the jottings in the files, it is clear that apart from Kaye, other British officers in general did not hold the same opinions as offered by Kaye on Dange.

In the notings by T. Sloan, Government of United Provinces, No. 3794 dated July 29, 1924 on the alleged letter to the British government signed jointly by Dange and Nalini Dasgupta saying that they would not commit any more offence, he says:

"The desire for release on the part of these two prisoners does not appear to be activated by any motive of genuine repentance."

On the alleged letter of Dange, offering his services to the British, Sloan wrote under No. 2932 dated September 19, 1924: "... in view of his past activities, it is extremely doubtful if it would serve any useful purpose..."

On this, Crerar, Home Secretary to the Government of India wrote on September 26, 1924: "This is interesting and rather amusing. Orders may be as proposed."

In the end, Dange was not released. As a matter of fact, he was released after the full term of his sentence with the usual remission permitted to him while Nalini Dasgupta and Muzaffar Ahmed were released much earlier on grounds of health. Nor were the ideas of Kaye pursued by the officers who followed him.

An important fact to be noted is that just at the time of the hearing of the appeal, Kaye's request for extension of service was not granted and he was removed from the post of Director of Intelligence.

He was succeeded by D. Petrie, who clearly rejected the line which was being pursued by his predecessor as the Director of Intelligence. Petrie's notings on the last letter supposed to have been written by Dange to the Viceroy is dishonestly quoted by Basavapunniah, suppressing certain important parts in that note.

While rejecting the mercy petition, Petrie wrote that M. N. Roy has been disconcerted by the results of the Cawnpore case and the government would be merely playing into his hands if it condones the conduct of men who lend themselves to Roy.

After mentioning that Dange had been the main contact of Roy since 1922, the note said: "Dange was acting from deliberate conviction; not momentary impulse, rendering him unfitting object for clemency."

Only at the end he had said that the matter might be reconsidered after Dange underwent half the sentence; Basavapunniah quoted only this last but, giving a totally wrong impression about the evaluation of Dange by British intelligence.

After half the sentence period was over, no trace of any renewal of the mercy petition by Dange is found in the files.

Thus, it is clear from circumstantial evidence, the cross references, notings and communications in the given files that the letters are not genuine but are a clumsy forgery, that Dange never wrote those letters, that he was not a British agent, as the slanderers allege and was never believed by the British as their own notings show.

Deliberate Twist

Basavapunniah has taken this passage and twisted it to make out that if carefully followed Dange would be a good source of information.