

NEW AGE

* COMMUNIST PARTY WEEKLY *

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AFTER THE NATIONAL COUNCIL MEETING ENDED ON APRIL 15 AND MEMBERS RETURNED TO THEIR STATES, MANY STATE COUNCILS HELD THEIR MEETINGS TO GIVE THOUGHT TO THE RESOLUTIONS OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL, PARTICULARLY THE RESOLUTION ON SPLITTING ACTIVITIES AND THE DECISION OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL TO SUSPEND THE 32 MEMBERS WHO HAD WALKED OUT AND ISSUED THEIR PUBLIC STATEMENT.

AT the central headquarters, we have not yet received full reports of the meetings of the state councils at the time of writing this. Preliminary reports show that

done to prevent worsening of the situation, to bring these comrades back, if possible to review the suspensions.

The National Council when it meets next will cer-

by
S. A. DANGE

the vast majority of state council members stand by the National Council.

Except for the state of West Bengal, where also the situation is mixed and the splitters have no absolute majority, no state council has denounced the National Council and endorsed the line of the rival body of 32.

One thing has become clear. No one in the Party, except a handful, desires to split the Party or set up a rival Communist Party.

This being the dominant desire of Party members, in

tainly review the position and do all it can, consistent with the principles of Party functioning, Party line and interests of unity, to save the Party from wrecking activities and winning over as many of the 32 leaders as possible.

While it is right that Party comrades should do their best to win over these 32 back to the Party, yet we cannot forget some basic facts of the situation which have been mentioned in the resolution of the National Council.

There have been differences

some places there is a genuine sadness that 32 leaders and members of the National Council had to be suspended.

To find wellknown leaders like Comrade Jyoti Basu or E. M. S. Namboodiripad in the list of suspensions is certainly an unhappy position, in the opinion of many Party members.

Some have anxiously asked us, if something could not be

in the Party of a very acute character many times in its past history, on ideological, political, organisational questions.

But at no time (except in 1930) did these differences lead to open polemics in the press, open statements against each other, ultimately leading to walkouts and open denunciations and splits as between majority and minority.

Neither in 1947-48, nor in 1950 nor later on.

A deliberate walkout and splitting away from the central committee, with rival meetings, documents, press briefings and statements had never taken place in any crisis in Party controversies (except as said above in 1930).

One must remember that a meeting of the open faction

or a rival national council was called to meet in Delhi on April 2 and did meet from 2 to 9 April, as they themselves admit, just when the National Council of the Party was to meet on April 10.

One must remember that the 32 walked out of the National Council before any decision on any question was taken.

And they refused to return.

when the main part of Comrade Bhupesh Gupta's resolution was adopted by the National Council, which conceded the main procedural point of their demands. The National Council in fact, adjourned on the request of Bhupesh Gupta, to enable him to bring them back. But they refused and issued their call for a

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MAY DAY 1964: NEW AGE SALUTES THE WORKING CLASS
They toil so that the wheels keep turning, the smoke comes out and wealth is created

CAN PARTY UNITY BE SAVED?

Record Mass Reception for S.A. Dange at Nare Park in Bombay on April 26



TTK SATISFIES HIS AMERICAN MENTORS

TTK's guests — the American businessmen — have returned home elated at the success of their mission. They had been attracted by the "message" in TTK's budget, and the compliment they paid him was not undeserved.

The budget was the first official indication of the policy to open the door wider to foreign investors and the US businessmen were naturally thankful for this gesture. Finding the door ajar, they could not but "step in" to make their choice of industries and projects, and, as they must have sensed soon after their entry, their visit was eagerly awaited.

But the visitors were not out for a "safar" nor had they come on a probing mission. They had received enough assurances before their departure regarding the "potential" of the Indian economy, about which the US Under Secretary of Commerce Franklin Roosevelt Jr. waxed eloquent.

This potential, he said, was "mighty" and had "reached a developmental stage where investment has been attracted." The visitors had also been convinced as their leader Galloway said that the Indian government had "both the intent and a specific programme... to improve the climate for foreign investments."

They had, therefore, not much to investigate about New Delhi's readiness to allow substantially larger US investments during the coming years. If they still chose to come it was to advance further in pursuance of their aim.

And they had no reason to be disappointed. They were not only able to strike a number of deals of collaboration in important industries like heavy machinery, fertilisers, petro-

chemicals, electronics and machine tools, but were also assured opportunities to make investments in other, including export-orientated, industries.

Steel Minister Subramanian told them that even in steel, which has been reserved for the public sector, the existing private sector units were being allowed to expand—a clear hint that the foreign interests could have a finger in the pie through collaboration in steel accessories, while K. P. Goenka, president of the FICCI held out the prospect of considerable profits by investment in industries which could sell their products to neighbouring countries.

A few of the projects—like Coromandel Fertilisers for national Development has which the US Agency for International granted two loans—were already made public, and talks about others are fairly advanced. No wonder they were much impressed by the government's pragmatic approach and its readiness to help them all along the line.

Two points on which they felt particularly satisfied were (a) the assurance that the government would spare no effort to provide rupee finance to their Indian collaborators and (b) that it would not want to control the management of undertakings for which it provides such finance.

There is, however, nothing surprising in this development. For it is a logical consequence of the TTK policy to make our country a haven for private enterprise—both indigenous and foreign. Nor is it surprising that the American businessmen should rush to tap the opportunities offered by him.

The profitability of their earlier investments has been so striking that they would not be businessmen if they did not strive to make more. An idea of this profitability

is provided in a study published in the *EASTERN ECONOMIST* (April 17). Based on official statistics from India and the USA this study shows that during 1957-60 the average rate of profits as percentage of net worth in the case of American companies in India was not only almost double the rate for the Indian companies but was also higher than the rate of some of the parent companies in the USA.

While the maximum dividend declared on net worth by an American giant was 17.4 per cent, two US-controlled companies in India, of which one is a subsidiary, declared a profit exceeding 100 per cent. Of the remaining 10, which were the subject of the study, only one did not pay any dividend in that particular year, while the rates for the rest

ranged between 10 and 75 per cent. Obviously, with such high profits within their reach how can the US investors be expected to contain their enthusiasm?

Yet, was it also necessary for TTK to provide them with further incentives? He naturally feels it was, because foreign investment "in the shape of equity capital has the special advantage of not adding to the heavy and growing burden of debt repayment."

But expert opinion from a quarter which TTK should have

exchange... In India or other underdeveloped countries a project is not considered attractive for foreign investors unless it promises to yield the subsidiary company at least 20 per cent profits after tax.

He adds: "The underdeveloped country must be prepared to repatriate each dollar of foreign investment \$ to 5 fold depending upon the profitability of the enterprise within 10 years after start of full production. The repatriation burden on foreign loans by contrast would be only 1.60 dollars per dollar even on the basis of the harsh World Bank loans."

TTK is by no means ignorant of these facts. Still, if he chooses to prefer foreign investments to loans, it can only indicate his subservience to foreign and indigenous tycoons. He of course, now gives stern warnings to stock exchanges and monopolists. But how can he convince these people that he means business when his policies directly strengthen these elements?

—ESSEN

Economic notes

no reason to suspect points to the contrary. In an article in the *ECONOMIC TIMES* on "Policies on Foreign Collaboration" Matthew J. Kust says "Foreign equity investment is unquestionably the most costly or potentially costly development finance in terms of foreign

A WIDE CHOICE OF LABORATORY EQUIPMENT

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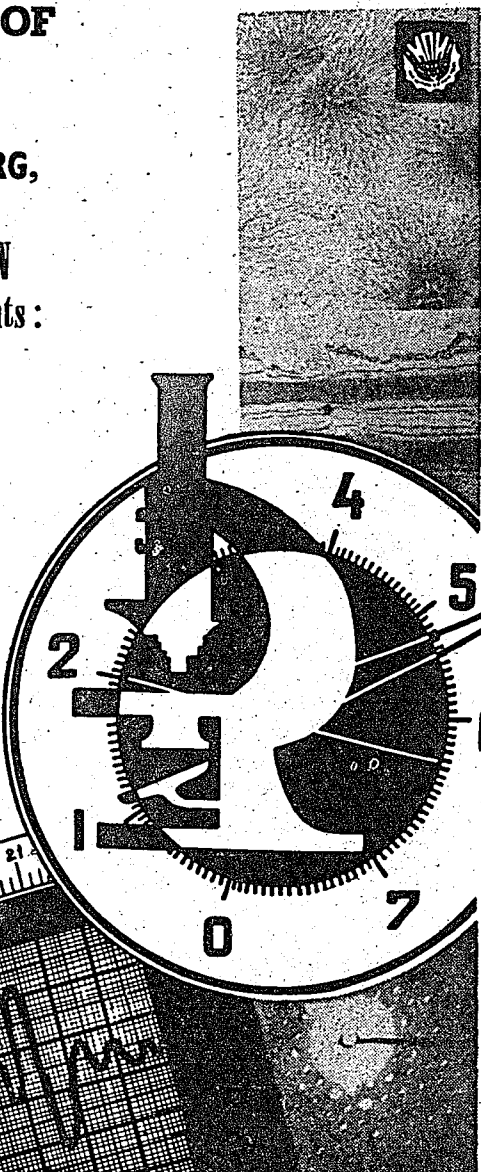
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PUNJAB PARTY TO CONFER IN AUGUST

JULLUNDUR: The executive of the Punjab State Council of the Communist Party of India has decided to recommend to the state council to hold the State Party Conference in August this year. The conference will be in preparation for the Party Congress.

THE state council itself will be meeting in an enlarged plenum. Because of the harvest and municipal elections, it was decided to postpone the plenum meeting to June 3 to 5. The venue, agenda and time table of the Party Conference will be decided at this plenum meeting.

These decisions were taken at a two-day session of the executive held at Jullundur. The meeting, presided over by Nazar Singh, heard a report on the last meeting of the National Council of the CPI from Avtar Singh Malhotra, secretary of the state council.

The meeting also heard reports from the districts. After discussions the executive passed a resolution unanimously, which said: "This meeting of the Punjab state executive of the Communist Party of India fully supports and endorses the resolution of the National Council of the Party regarding the so-called Dange letters and welcomes the

appointment of the seven-man high-powered enquiry committee.

"It also fully endorses the resolution against the splitters and their platform.

"Having heard reports from various districts, the executive has noted the important facts that stand out. The ringleaders of the leftist splitters led by Comrades Harkishen Singh Surjeet and Jagjit Singh Lyallpuri in the state, instead of retracting their steps, have intensified their disruptive activities and are doing all they can to split the Party.

"They are resorting to double-talk to hoodwink the Party members. On the one hand, they say that they do not stand for the rival party. On the other hand, they are taking steps to set up rival bodies as they have already done in Ludhiana city and as their two

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SOHAN SINGH JOSH APPEALS TO DISRUPTORS

Discuss Differences, Uphold Party Principles

Comrade Sohan Singh Josh, a veteran Communist leader and founder of the CPI in Punjab granted the following interview to Comrade J. S. Anand, Chief Editor, the Daily Nawan Zamana.

QUESTION: What are your views on the present situation in the Party?

ANSWER: The situation in the Party today is causing a lot of anxiety. The 32 members of the National Council have committed a great blunder by staging a walkout, and have given the go-by to the principles of Party organisation by issuing an open statement. Their refusal to accept the decisions of the National Council makes their blunder an anti-Party blunder.

Whatever they may say, the logic of their activities can only result in the setting up of a separate anti-Party organisation, in opposition to the genuine Communist Party.

To me this stand seems to be against all those Party principles which I have been preaching throughout my life among my comrades.

QUESTION: What are your views about the efforts regarding setting up a party against the Party in Punjab?

ANSWER: I am strongly opposed to the setting up of any other party against our Party. I have been fighting continuously from the beginning against the efforts to set up a party against our Party. It is most unfortunate that I am facing such a situation for the third time in my life. Before this, we have twice faced the attempts to set up a parallel Party in the Punjab and have defeated them.

This splittism greatly harmed our anti-imperialist and working people's movement in the past. In those struggles against splittism, Comrade Surjeet had actively participated shoulder to shoulder with me. I am unable to understand how he has taken into his head to set up a parallel party.

This attempt at splittism will greatly harm the rising class high prices, corruption, favouritism, nepotism and autocratic methods etc., of the

ruling Party, because this can only lead to a sort of civil war which will benefit none else but our enemies.

QUESTION: What is your opinion about the claim of Comrade Surjeet that he and his colleagues are the genuine Communist Party?

ANSWER: This claim of theirs is utterly bogus and false. The existence of differences inside the Party is a healthy sign. To resolve the differences in a Party way is the most precious principle of the Marxist organisation. Nowhere has the Communist movement made any headway by throwing the Party principles overboard.

Without a strong and united organisation of the proletariat, all politics is sheer bunk. Organisation is the only instrument for the success of politics. Till yesterday Comrade Surjeet himself was preaching these elementary truths. It is difficult to understand what arguments he will bring up to justify his conduct now.

Theories And Ideals

QUESTION: Is Comrade Surjeet not expressing his lack of confidence in the Party ranks by taking to the path of setting up a second organisation?

ANSWER: Yes, he is exactly expressing that. Party Members do not come to the Party for the sake of a personality, however big. They come to the Party because they are attracted by the Marxist theory and ideals.

There have been changes in the Party leadership in the past as a result of inner-Party struggles for correct principles and politics and, in future, too, such changes will take place on the same basis. Comrade Surjeet himself was, only a few years ago, completely isolated on a certain question and he wanted to give up all responsibilities at that time. But the State Party Council decided not to remove him from his office, when he adopted a self-critical attitude and bowed to the Party decision.

Changes have been taking place in the past in the Party and they will take place in future too. Giving up confidence in one's Party comrades and turning one's back on norms evolved out of more than 100 years' experience, will not take one anywhere.

If Comrade Surjeet and his colleagues do not accept Party principles today, the same fate will follow them in their own break-away Party. History bears out that only a few months after the formation of the Lal Communist Party, the Datt group broke away from it.

QUESTION: What is your opinion on the attitude adopted by Comrade Surjeet regarding Party finances and records?

ANSWER: This attitude has been the most shocking to me. Refusal to account for Party money and records cannot be justified in any way whatsoever. If leaders of higher committees resort to such practices what will happen to Party morality at any level of Party organisation?

The statements that Comrade Surjeet has made on this issue are also self-contradictory and wrong. And these statements have deeply pained me.

QUESTION: Those who are setting up a separate party say all sorts of things about the Commission set up by the National Council to investigate the question of alleged "Dange Letters". What is your opinion about this Commission?

ANSWER: Firstly, this Commission consists of the oldest and most tried and tested Communist leaders, who have devoted their whole lives to the service of the Party and the cause of communism.

Secondly, the Commission has yet to give its verdict. What that verdict will be, I cannot foretell. But I do know that whatever conclusions the Commission comes to, it will do so after a thorough examination of the alleged letters and all connected material.

QUESTION: What are your views on taking out the Communist Party of the present crisis?

ANSWER: I will continue to serve under the flag of the Party which I have built and nurtured with my own blood. I shall strictly adhere to the principles and norms of Party organisation and shall persuade all comrades to firmly uphold them; because this is the only method of strengthening Party organisation and carrying forward the political line of the Party.

Inner-Party Struggle

In the past, the struggle for the correct Party policies has always been carried on in this manner and the required changes in the Party have been brought about thus. The experience of all countries shows that successes have only followed in the wake of strengthening the solidarity of the Party.

Comrades very well know that I have differences with certain aspects of Party policy and I hold some of the things that have happened to be wrong. But I will try to convince my Party comrades by placing my views before them. In a Party way and I have the confidence that they will accept whatever is weighty in my viewpoint and I will accept whatever is correct in theirs.

I hope that all comrades will give due consideration to whatever I have expressed above and will not take any hasty step in the direction of breaking away from the Party.

ANDHRA COUNCIL TAKES ACTION AGAINST SPLITTERS

From MOHIT SEN

HYDERABAD: The Andhra Council of the CPI has moved resolutely and swiftly against the splitters, headed by P. Sundarayya. Political-ideological exposure has been followed up by firm organisational action. The Party members, supporters and the general public have appreciated these just measures.

THE Andhra Council of the CPI had a membership of 98, since some members have died since the last conference. Of these 53 attended the Council meeting. Out of the absentees 34 have deserted the Party and ganged up with the splitters. Five absentees, including K. L. Narasimham and K. Gopala Rao, did not indicate why they were not attending the meeting. Four absentees are firm supporters of the National Council and indicated their inability to attend due to unavoidable circumstances.

In addition 35 special invitees attended the Council meeting. Rajasekhara Reddy and C. Rajeswara Rao gave detailed reports on the proceedings of the National Council. Makhdoom Mohiuddin gave an account of his painstaking examination of the so-called Dange letters and from internal evidence demonstrated their forged character.

Badam Yella Reddy made an intervention exposing the Sundarayya - Basavapunniah group's scheme to split the Party from the time of the Chinese aggression. He expressed regret that Jyoti Basu and Nambodiripad had joined the splitters, and added that it was now clear who was leading whom. He appealed to them to retrace their steps.

During the discussion two points were repeatedly emphasised. One was anger at the low tricks of the splitters who had stooped to using letters forged by the British Intelligence services. The other was the need to give no quarter to the splitters, who had been treated too leniently in the past.

After the discussions, the Council unanimously endorsed the actions of the National Council through a resolution moved by Y. V. Krishna Rao.

The deliberations then turned to a detailed analysis of the situation in Andhra. After listening to a host of facts and figures the unanimous conclusion was that the splitters have so far managed to confuse and keep with them only less than one-third out of the 30,000 membership.

Punjab Council's Resolution

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lieutenants in Jullundur openly propose to do there.

"Instead of honestly putting forth their political differences, they are resorting to personal slanders and character assassination. They are not hesitating even to rally to their anti-Party banner anti-social elements who were expelled from the Party years ago.

"Their so-called Ludhiana city committee is a glaring example of this, of which at least four members were expelled for moral turpitude and other serious charges during Surjeet's leadership.

"All such methods however are only exposing and isolating the splitters. The executives notes with satisfaction the fact that the overwhelming majority of Party members in the state as a whole are refusing to fall a prey to the demagogic propaganda appeals of the splitters, are loyal to the Party and are determined to defend its unity and more and more district bodies are meeting and condemning the splitters.

"The executive notes with particular satisfaction that a large number of even those comrades who have differences with the line of the Party in certain aspects are standing firm on the principles of Party organisation, are strongly defending its unity and are giving no quarter to the splitters.

"While taking note of all these healthy features, the executive feels that it would be wrong to underestimate the harm which the

anti-Party activities of the splitters can do to the Party and the mass movement. The splitters activities in fact constitute a stab in the back as the rising toilers' movement is concerned.

"To expose the anti-Party nature of the activities of the splitters and to isolate and defeat them is the foremost and noblest task of every Communist today.

"Our Party and the movement led by it is the embodiment of sacrifices of countless revolutionaries over a number of years. The splitters are out to disrupt such a Party. The executive is confident that the Communists in the Punjab will give the splitters the rebuff they deserve and thereby serve the Party and the common people who look to it for leadership.

The executive also reviewed the situation in Kashmir and expressed grave concern over the statements of Sheikh Abdullah questioning the relationship of Kashmir with the rest of the country.

Such statements do not help the Kashmiri people but only facilitate the designs of the Anglo-American imperialists to detach Kashmir from India and turn Kashmir into a cockpit of cold war, it felt.

The executive expressed the hope that during the Delhi talks, the Prime Minister will make it clear that Kashmir's accession to India cannot be questioned and within the four corners of that stand the Indian people and government will do all they can to help the people of Kashmir to solve their problems.

Chavan's Dangerous Mission

Editorial

IN A FEW DAYS, Defence Minister Chavan flies to Washington at the head of a delegation of top officers from the services and the Defence Ministry. His mission is not a secret: his talks with US Defence Secretary McNamara and his colleagues will not deal with the weather alone; they are expected to cover a wide range under the all-embracing title of "military assistance."

The question which the Indian people have to ask themselves is this: How can any long-term agreement for military "aid" from the US imperialists be consistent with our policy of nonalignment?

Every one knows what US military "aid" has meant in all cases in which it has been given: the forfeiture of a country's independence and sovereignty, its reduction to the position of a satellite of the imperialists.

What could perhaps have been attempted to be explained away at a moment of crisis as an unwelcome necessity cannot be justified by any stretch of reasoning on a long-term basis.

Blackmail and pressures have been used by the US imperialists against India, at every turn, every occasion when Indian government representatives have asked for any substantial and effective assistance.

The story of the demand for supersonic aircraft is wellknown. So also the blackmail round the proposals for the setting up of the Bokaro Steel Plant. The VOA deal was another flagrant example of US imperialist terms for "aid" to India.

No wonder there is considerable apprehension among all circles of Indian opinion regarding the Chavan mission to Washington. This apprehension has grown with the realisation that the timing of the mission follows closely the dates of the Security Council debate on Kashmir. The US imperialists are bound to put on the maximum pressures—using as a bait the carrot of a "favourable response" to Chavan's demands.

Democratic opinion in this country fully supports all measures which are taken to build up India's independent defence potential. This is absolutely necessary in the face of threats and aggression from across the border. But the experience of many countries shows conclusively that US military "aid" never builds up the independent defence potential of any country. It is given only in return for the sacrifice of sovereignty and independence.

In no circumstances can the Indian people allow our country's sovereignty and independence to be sold. In no circumstances can the Indian people allow any surrender to US blackmail and pressures.

The Soviet Union and other socialist countries have shown by concrete actions their willingness to help nonaligned developing countries to build up their own defence potential. Such assistance is completely different from the dubious "aid" offered by the imperialists.

In India's case also, the Soviet Union has proved its friendship by its repeated offers of assistance in building our defence potential. These offers, when accepted, have been translated into reality as in the case of the MIGs factory agreement.

To build up our own defence potential requires that we steer clear of the noose set by the US imperialists for us. US "aid" can never build India's defence—it can only spread wider the net of US war plans in Asia.

Chavan's mission is a dangerous one. The US trap is set, ready to catch India the moment we put our foot in it. The trap is, as always, heavily baited. India must not fall into it. (April 29)

KASHMIR IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL

Once again on May 5 begins another round of imperialist intrigues against India in the Security Council. Pakistan Foreign Minister Bhutto is in Washington—attending CENTO meetings—being briefed by the imperialists for his role in the coming debate.

THE US imperialists are acting hurt and offended, because Indira Gandhi dared to accuse them of "partiality" on the Kashmir issue. The American war-lords had feted Indira Gandhi and given her a place of honour at their World Fair. In their insolent pride, they may have imagined that their guest would help them mask their anti-Indian role on the Kashmir issue: they were doomed to disappointment.

The imperialists' "partiality"—their conspiracy on the Kashmir issue stinks to the high heavens. No one can deodorise it.

The US and British press have naturally been making the most out of Sheikh Abdullah's recent speeches, using what suits them best. Support is sought to be built up for the so-called "independent Kashmir" plan, and CIA agents are reported to be visiting Kashmir and making contacts with different types of shady politicians.

While the Sheikh's talks begin today in New Delhi and all who value India's independence are watching anxiously the outcome of these talks the Indian agents of the imperialists are busy creating an atmosphere of uncertainty and even demoralisation.

It has been no accident that the Swatantra leaders like Rajaji and Masani have been among the first to join the bandwagon of the plebiscite-mongers. What- ever the face-saving, in which

they may now indulge, the Indian darlings of Washington are true to their salt.

It has equally been no accident that the Jan Sangh and the other Hindu communalists should be leading the tub-thumping against the government for releasing Sheikh Abdullah. The perilous part of this activity is that it is only the facade for the spread of the worst communal poison.

The uncertainties arising out of the Sheikh's reported speeches are being utilised by the communal forces to build up communal tension. Sheikh Abdullah's calls for communal harmony are welcome: but he must be made to see that his utterances on the issue of Kashmir's status have become the inflammable material, with which

notes of the week

By ROMESH CHANDRA

the Jan Sangh and the RSS gang seek to spread the fire of communal violence.

It is to be hoped that Sheikh Abdullah during his stay in Delhi, will not be led astray by the imperialist lobby and the right reac-

tionary chieftains who are through the capital. The democratic forces must be able to make it clear to Sheikh Abdullah that any move which plays into the hands of the imperialists will meet with the stoutest resistance.

Only in closest alliance with the democratic forces in the rest of India can a new life for the Kashmiris be built.

Release the Detenus

THE Eighteenth Amendment Bill has been withdrawn. This is a signal victory for democracy. But the very fact that government felt it necessary to draft this amendment throws the spotlight once again on the violations of the Constitution on the pretext of the emergency.

Whatever indemnity measures are later introduced, nothing can hide the anti-democratic character of the detentions of Communist leaders under the Defence of India Rules.

Government has been compelled by public opinion to scrap the Eighteenth Amendment. Public opinion's concern arose out of respect for fundamental rights.

The withdrawal of the amendment must be followed up by the release of all the remaining Communist detenus in Maharashtra, Tripura, Uttar Pradesh and other states.

(April 29)

Lok Sabha Committee Elections

Splitters Fail to Defeat Party Candidates

The recent elections to the three Parliamentary committees—Committee on Public Sector Undertakings, Public Accounts Committee and Estimates Committee—brought out in sharp relief the activities of the splitters, who seek to disrupt the unity of the Communist Group in Lok Sabha.

THEY had put up their own candidates against the Party candidates: Anandan Nambiar against Homi Daji for the Public Undertakings Committee, and P. Kunhan against Dr. Ranen Sen for the Public Accounts Committee.

The splitters have been forced to swallow their bragging about defeating the Party candidates because both Nambiar and Kunhan hardly got any votes. Nambiar got 9 votes (the minimum among all candidates), in place of required 35.84 for the PSU, while Kunhan got even less than Nambiar in the PAC. Homi Daji got 36.7 votes, and was elected to PSU. Dr. Ranen Sen was re-elected to the PAC.

In the Estimates Committee, the Party candidate E. K. Vasudevam Nair was re-elected and the other seat held by A. K. Gopalan went to R. Umanath

dates, such as S. M. Banerjee or Dr. U. Misra but none of them was acceptable to the rebels.

The meeting was however adjourned to enable Nambiar and his friends to reconsider the matter but even on the next day they maintained their stand. Hence, the official candidates filed their nominations next day: April 16, the last day for filing nominations.

When the list was out, it was found that Anandan Nambiar and P. Kunhan had also filed nominations for the Public Sector and Public Accounts Committees respectively. After filing the nominations, Nambiar started intense lobbying and sought succour and help of the MPs belonging to the DMK, Jan Sangh and other reactionary parties. Kunhan's nomination, the splitters openly say, was only meant for putting pressure on Dr. Ranen Sen, who they thought could be forced to help Nambiar to win by arranging votes.

The results are self-explanatory. The Party candidates secured more than the required number of votes while the rival candidates were ditched even by their reactionary patrons.

JULLUNDUR: The second phase of the agitation launched by the Punjab Istri Sabha (women's organisation) demanding opening of more fair price shops, reduction in taxes, state trading in foodgrains and nationalisation of banks has been successfully concluded.

FROM April 20 to 22, women undertook hungerstrikes in five industrial centres in the state: Amritsar, Ludhiana, Phagwara, Chandigarh and Bhiwani.

Thousands of women joined in the rallies and processions organised in this connection. Solidarity actions in the form of processions and help in publicity came from trade unions.

At Amritsar, 20 women went on hungerstrike for three days. Camps were set up at Chheharta, Pull-



Women Hunger strikers being taken in a procession at Bhiwani

OIL COMPANIES GO FOR AUTOMATION

Automation in offices of oil companies has become a major issue of dispute and attempts are being made by the trade unions to seek governmental intervention, particularly in banning entry of the electronic computing machines.

THE All-India Petroleum Workers' Federation has decided to lobby Members of Parliament to help ward off the serious unemployment which would be caused by the introduction of automation in offices.

The mechanisation in offices introduced so far has already displaced 200 clerical workers, according to trade union circles. The machines installed so far were 30 punching machines, two tabulators, four sorters, two reproducers, one collator and one IBM-1401.

Leading employing firms in other industries are stated to have evinced interest in getting these business machines. The LIC is reportedly keen on acquiring these electronic machines.

Trade Union Protest

Trade union circles have alleged that the introduction of automation is ill-suited to our economy which is already burdened with a huge backlog of educated unemployment. It is also claimed that the import of these machines would involve a large sum of foreign exchange, besides having a direct adverse impact on the wages bill.

The oil company managements maintain that the electronic accounting machines constitute a business necessity and they resent any T.U. or government intervention against the introduction of modern office equipment. It has been stated on behalf of the employees that the introduction of the automated equipment in offices would go contrary to the Model Agreement on Rationalisation in Industry, which had banned all such schemes if they led to displacement of labour.

The oil company employees' unions are seeking united action with other commercial employees since the issue is assuming wider significance. —(IPA)

SECOND STAGE OF CAMPAIGN

Women Resort To Hunger-Strike

From OUR CORRESPONDENT

Among the hunger strikers were eight year old Neelam, eleven year old Raj and twelve year old Rita, as also white-haired grandmothers. The hunger strikers were led by Vimla Dang, municipal commissioner and general secretary of the Punjab Istri Sabha, Bibi Guro and Mata Harbans Kaur.

The hunger strikers broke their fast on the third day by sipping fruit juice given by Baba Sohan Singh Bhakna, veteran revolutionary and founder-leader of the Ghadar Party. Among those present was Gurbux Singh Preetlari.

The public rally in Amritsar was attended by about 8,000 people, 2,000 of them women.

At Ludhiana seven women went on hungerstrike. Leading them were Sheila Didi and Mimla Walia, president of the Ludhiana Istri Sabha.

A huge rally was held to mark the end of the fast, to which workers came in large processions. About a thousand signatures have been collected in Ludhiana on the charter of demands of the Punjab Istri Sabha.

At Chandigarh, Rupvati, Surjit Kaur, Devki Bai and Shanti observed the hungerstrike. On the last day, a huge rally was held which was addressed by trade union leaders.

The hunger strikers at Phagwara were led by Karan Kaur Sohni. Here also, there was a big procession on the last day of the hungerstrike action.

Five hundred women took out a procession to mark the end of the hungerstrike action at Bhiwani. The hunger strikers were Ganga

Devi and Veeran Devi.

Earlier on April 6, 7 and 8, women joined in a mass hunger-strike of Panches, Surpanches and Block Samiti members in Goraya and Nakodar blocks of Jullundur district. Prominent among the women hunger strikers were Sheila Chain, Bishan Kaur, Swaran Kaur and Tejwanti Dhir.

The first stage of the Punjab Istri Sabha's agitation was the big demonstration it organised before the government secretariat in Chandigarh on March 9.

At that time, the Sabha had presented the Home Minister with a memorandum detailing their demands. No action has been forthcoming from the authorities on the demands and the Sabha went ahead to the second phase of its agitation.

West Bengal

FALL IN WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT RATE

From AJOY DAS GUPTA

CALCUTTA: The number of women working in jute mills in West Bengal fell from 50,000 in 1950 to a mere 10,000 in 1963.

This is pointed out in the report submitted to the state government by the committee which enquired into women's employment opportunities.

The number of workers in jute mills fell from 2,85,000 in 1950 to 1,80,000 in 1960 when the full impact of rationalisation was felt. But the strength went up after the unsealing of looms and abrogation of the loom-hours agreement by the IJMA.

Today, the number of male workers is 2,40,000. The number of women workers did not go up in

conformity with that of the male workers.

The committee has said that prohibition of employment of women workers during night shifts and carrying of heavy loads by them were the main reasons for the fall in the number of women workers employed in jute mills.

This contention has been blown up by the Bengal Chatkal Mazdoor Union, which has pointed out that women were also capable of working on the machines. Four women workers are working as weavers in the Hooghly Jute Mills in Calcutta. Previously, they were in the roving department.

Trade union circles point out that even in other industries, the number of women workers is on the decline. In textile mills in the state, their number has fallen from 1500 in 1950 to 300 in 1963. In tea and rice mills industries also, their number is falling.

The Indian Jute Mill Association however, holds that the fall is due to the introduction of modern machines and the unsuitability of women for jobs in other departments.

The main Reason

Trade unions allege that the main reason for the fall is the employers' reluctance to engage women workers since that would entail provision of maternity benefits, creche facilities etc.

The Indian Jute Mill As-

Bombay Action Against Disruptors

A special meeting of the Bombay Council of the CPI was held on April 26. About 150 leading functionaries from all Party branches and fronts attended as special invitees. S. G. Patkar presided.

P. PRABHAKAR Valdia, secretary of the council gave a detailed report on the activities of the disruptors and their subsequent statements openly slandering the Party on false pleas and their activities in furtherance of the line of open revolt against the Party.

After discussions the meeting unanimously decided to suspend S. Y. Kolhatkar and Dr. A. B. Sawant for an indefinite period in which they are to work strictly under the direct guidance of the Bombay Executive.

Seven other leading func-

tionaries were publicly censured and removed from all Party committees and posts. They are given the last opportunity to return to the Party fold and submit themselves to the discipline of the Party.

Important organisational directives were adopted for the guidance of all Party units and functionaries.

A tentative programme was drawn up for the coming Party Conferences.

DOES CPI SUBSCRIBE TO "DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM"?

Q. The CPI has done nothing to expose the so-called democratic socialism of the Congress government. It has been publicly asking the Congress to cooperate with it in order to build socialism in India under the leadership of the Congress. Is this not a violation of the 1960 Moscow Statement which clearly points out that Communists should expose the demagogic use of socialist slogans by bourgeois politicians? (H. M. Patwari, Ashtal Bohar, Rohtak, Punjab).

A. If the CPI had done nothing to expose the "socialism" of the Congress government and if it had stated that socialism is going to be built in India under Congress leadership, it would certainly be violating the Moscow Statement of 1960. What is more it would be sinning against the very tangible realities of the Indian situation and would have been thrown overboard by the toiling people.

The answer to this question can be best given by referring to facts. But before we come to facts let us recall the basic formulations of the Party on the question of Congress "socialism."

In the Vijayawada Party Congress Resolution and the speech of Ajoy Ghosh, it was very clearly stated that what is being built in India is not socialism but independent capitalism and that, too, by compromising with imperialism and allying with the landlords.

It was pointed out that the reactionary anti-people policies of the Congress were bringing grist to the mills of the extreme Right.

It was also pointed out that the forces of Right reaction were not only to be found outside the Congress but that they were strongly entrenched within the Congress at various levels and that their influence was growing.

All these formulations have been quoted so often in these columns that it would be tedious to repeat them again. Can anybody who has read those formulations come to the conclusion that the CPI is committed to the belief that socialism will be ushered in by the Congress leadership?

Lie To Slanders

It may be argued that all these formulations were made in the "good old days" before the "revisionist clique" took over the CPI. Unfortunately for such critics, there are some other basic Party documents of a more recent period that give the lie to such slanders.

In his reply to the slanderous attack on the CPI by the leadership of the Communist Party of China revisionists, S. A. Dange refuted the allegation that the CPI nourished any illusions about the nature of Congress "socialism."

He dealt exhaustively with the dual process going on in Indian economy and politics—neither was socialism being built nor was the country being handed over to the imperialists.

Still more recently, the January 1964 meeting of the Central Executive Committee of the CPI adopted a comprehensive resolution on the

In the name of exposing Congress "socialism", the CPI cannot be pushed into the position of building a general anti-Congress united front, together with Right reactionary parties like Jana Sangh, Muslim League, Swatantra Party, DMK etc.

That is why the CEC, together with outlining its basic differences with Congress "socialism", went on to add that the Bhubaneswar session "highlighted the rising Left trends within the Congress... The Left forces within the Congress came out sharply not only in criticising the monopolists and the vested interests, but in pressing forward certain concrete urgent demands in the interests of the people and country."

"All this reflected the growing democratic urges among the people, including the masses that follow the Congress. Never in recent years has the Left in the Congress been so forceful and articulate as it was at Bhubaneswar...."

If more formulations are wanted reference can be made to the speeches of the Communist MPs on the recent budget of the Congress government. But mass movements and actions speak far more loudly than any formulations or speeches.

Mass Struggles

Take the mighty all-India mass campaign of the summer and autumn of last year culminating in the unprecedented Great March to Parliament. Was this mighty mobilisation the work of a Party and leadership that believes in singing the praises of the Congress and hugs illusions that it is going to bring socialism?

Take the sweeping and sustained action of the peasants of Andhra against the Additional Land Levy Bill. Time and again the Congress leadership of the state made demagogic appeals to call off the struggle for the sake of "development", "defence" and "socialism." The action committee, in which the Communists are the major force, exposed these appeals and intensified the struggle.

Many more examples could be cited. What cannot, however, be cited is a single instance when any struggle was not launched or abandoned because of the CPI's faith in the "socialist" protestations of the Congress leadership. It is nothing short of downright slander to charge the CPI with such beliefs.

Any such charge will be in line with the slander propagated by the 32 leading splitters, that the CPI leadership advocates a general united front with the Congress. It is merely a diversion to cover up their heinous crime of trying to destroy the militant vanguard of the toiling people.

However, the job of the CPI is not over with simply exposing the "socialism" preached by the Congress leadership. It has to go further and act as the builder of the national democratic front which will include the Left and democratic forces in the Congress.

YOUR QUESTIONS ANSWERED

"The CEC of the CPI highly appraise the rising forces of the Left in the Indian National Congress as has been witnessed at Bhubaneswar and look forward to the unity of the progressive forces which are within the Congress with those outside. Never since independence have the possibilities for such unity been so great and the need so desperately urgent."

Unity with the Congress Left will not come of itself. Nor will it be realised automatically through united mass actions. Ideological discussions, debate and dialogue will be essential. The CPI will have to take the initiative, eschewing all sectarianism, to open the dialogue.

While holding fast to its scientific socialist ideas and criticising what it considers erroneous, it will have to respect the integrity and honesty

of the Congress Left, recognise their genuine desire to bring India to socialism.

It will have to consider along with them the likely transitional steps and forms for the gathering of the forces of national democratic revolution even when seeking to correct their utopian views on socialism.

The exposure of Congress misdeeds is essential but not too difficult. Far more arduous and at least as essential is the development of the united front approach and the adoption of the policy of the outstretched hand.

—MOHIT SEN

A REVOLUTIONARY SPEAKS UP

Baba Gurmukh Singh's Statement Against Splitters

The veteran revolutionary leader Baba Gurmukh Singh issued a statement on April 21 urging the splitters to desist from their ignoble activities. The statement says:

"It is with great pain I am making a public appeal to my old and new comrades specially those from Kerala, Andhra, Tamilnad and Bengal, who have sacrificed a lot, both physically and economically, for the cause of the working class and the toiling people of our country. I highly respect them all.

Today when the imperialists and their reactionary allies inside the country, who played no role whatsoever in the Freedom Movement, are on the offensive to undo the gains of the toiling people, the Party which led the working class and revolutionary movement for many decades is being split by those who mouth revolutionary phrases but practically do nothing, specially those now most active in this game in Punjab.

The principles of Party organisation inherited from Lenin, which are our most precious possession, are being violated by these splitters and they have come out in the open to claim that they are the real Party. This move gives a stab in the back to the working class and other toilers who are in the midst of a struggle against rising prices, unjust taxes and their rights. This is resulting in the division of the revolutionary forces and help to the imperialists surrounding our country and their henchmen inside the country.

Surjeet and company who are leading the split-

ters' campaign in the Punjab, did next to nothing in their 13-year hold on the Punjab Party unit to prevent evictions of thousands of tenants, to secure a principled solution of the linguistic issue or to settle the Betterment Levy issue in favour of the peasants, though the toiling masses sacrificed in a big way.

Revolutionary Phrasemongering

This leadership which indulges in revolutionary phrasemongering has always joined hands with communal and reactionary forces during the last three general elections and was instrumental in getting the Swatantra Party members elected to the Lok Sabha under the Akali label.

Not only that this leadership, defying the repeated directions of the Punjab Council, has continued to withhold more than Rs. 40,000 of the Party Funds, including Building Fund and other property of the Punjab Party. I do not want to go into details, but wish only to say that such behaviour is unprecedented in the history of the Marxist-Leninist movement.

Now that they have been politically and organisationally isolated in the Punjab and have lost all hopes of coming back to power through proper party form, they have raked up the issue of Dange letters. I do not want to defend anybody but I

must express my clear views. Instead of taking up the issue in the Central Executive Committee meeting of January, 1964 or placing it before the National Secretariat, Executive or National Council thereafter, why did these people rush to the pro-American and bourgeois press?

Such blatant violation of Party forms is impermissible even in relation to ordinary Party members but they have sought the character assassination of the Party Chairman himself. I welcome the formation of the Party Commission to clear up the whole matter. But nothing has come to my knowledge during the past four decades which would show that Comrade Dange has ever shown any weakness at any time in the Party's history.

It is known to leading Party comrades all over India since Faizhat, I have serious ideological-political differences with the Party line for many years. I have never thought of splitting the Party on account of these differences.

The splitters have no faith either in their own political line or in the party ranks. Otherwise they would not have resorted to such anti-Party methods and gone to the length of open split on the eve of the Party Congress.

I appeal to the Party members all over India to beware of the real motives of the splitters and guard the unity of the Party which has been built with the blood of so many martyrs.

TRIVANDRUM: The Kerala State Council of the Communist Party of India has fully endorsed the decision of the National Council of the Party suspending 32 members of the National Council for their splitting activities and has once again appealed to these comrades to retrace their steps, give up their parallel party activities and return to the fold of the Party to discuss and resolve their differences within the Party.

The Council emphasised the paramount need for maintaining the unity of the Party and of democratic mass movements to replace the present corrupt Congress regime in the state in the elections due to take place early next year. In this connection, the Council also strongly condemned the activities of E. M. S. Namboodripad and six other comrades from Kerala who joined in the walkout from the National Council and it rejected their slanderous allegations against the State Council.

The Council which met here in an emergency session from April 21 to 23 under the chairmanship of T. V. Thomas heard a report on the National Council meeting and its decisions presented by C. Achutha Menon, secretary of the Kerala State Council. Seventy members of the 101-member Council attended the meeting. The Council after discussing the report and resolutions adopted a resolution endorsing the decisions of the National Council, with 62 members voting for it and three against.

The resolution, after recalling the walkout by 32 members from the National Council meeting, their refusal to return to the meeting, their separate conference and appeal to Party members to repudiate the National Council and their subsequent activities like the setting up of a rival state committee in Andhra etc. drew attention to what they were doing in Kerala.

"In the name of giving receptions to the National Council members from Kerala, who joined in the walkout, the National Council of the Party is being challenged and confusion is being created among the people here. Some of the

comrades who have been suspended have refused to vacate their existing positions of responsibility and have begun convening meetings of the official bodies of the Party as it were to challenge the authority and decisions of the National Council," the resolution said.

The Council endorsed the resolution of the National Council suspending the 32 members and it also called upon these comrades to give up their parallel party activities and come back to the next meeting of the National Council in May and explain their position. On the activities of EMS and others who are engaged in splitting the Party in Kerala, the resolution said:

"Among the comrades who staged the walkout from the National Council are Comrade EMS and six other members of the State Council of our Party here. The State Council had hoped and expected that comrades like EMS who had organised and led the Communist and democratic movements in Kerala would rise above partisan and sectional considerations and act with greater sense of responsibility to uphold the unity of the Party, of the movement as a whole.

The categorical stand of Comrade EMS which he made clear to pressmen before he left for Delhi, that he will attend only meetings of duly constituted bodies of the Party, and the resolution of the Kerala State Council of April 4 and 5 appealing to preserve the unity of the Party had added strength to these expectations.

The Council regrets that Comrade EMS and the six others acted contrary to the spirit of the resolution; and they after taking

Kerala State Council

FULL SUPPORT TO NATIONAL COUNCIL DECISIONS

A leading part in the walkout from the National Council have emerged as the propagandists and standard bearers of split and indiscipline.

The State Council declares that the action taken against them is correct. The State Council once more appeals to them to realise their error, give up their present splitting activities and return to the path of unity and discipline of the Party.

The resolution further said: "The State Council is firmly of the view that till the next Party Congress and during the period when preparations and inner-party discussions for the same take place, the basis for maintaining unity in the Party is the political resolution of the Vijayawada Party Congress and the organisational resolution adopted by the National Council meeting at Hyderabad. The State Council stands firm on these two documents.

The State Council in all seriousness and responsibility charges that it is these 32 comrades who walked out of the National Council meeting and are engaged in parallel activities that have deviated from these two documents in their political and organisational activities.

The State Council desires to point out that under the pretext of opposing the anti-people policies of the Congress and breaking its monopoly of power these comrades in practice are advocating a policy of forging directly or indirectly alliance with such Right-reactionary and communal parties as the Swatantra Party, the Jan Sangh, the Muslim League etc.

Such alliances or understandings are diametrically opposed to not only the Vijayawada resolution but also the basic class approach of the Communist Party. Such a posture will only help and strengthen the anti-national and anti-democratic, reactionary forces. If will surrender the working class and its interests before its class enemies. No genuine Communist can support or approve such a policy.

It is only to hide this policy of theirs that they are propagating the allegation that the State Council of the Party here is implementing a programme of Congress-Communist unity. This allegation is contrary to truth and there is no basis whatsoever for it. The Vijayawada Party Congress has rejected the line of the general united front with the Congress. But the Vijayawada Congress resolution underlines a democratic front which unites the democratic forces inside and outside the Congress against Right reaction.

None here is interested in characterising any comrade as pro-Chinese. But one question remains. Are there not comrades who support the positions taken by the Chinese Communist Party on ideological issues as against the stand of the 31-parties Statement? If there are, or if there are not, why not the truth be stated publicly?

It has got to be underlined that the split in the Communist Party has come about at a decisive moment when not only the Party but also the democratic opposition forces have to unite to face the imminent general elections. In a situation, when the Land Reform Act is being implemented and a united resistance against its adverse effects on the peasantry has to be built up, when spiralling rise in prices is becoming unbearable every day, when different sections of workers are conducting struggles and preparing for struggles unitedly for winning their immediate demands, only people's enemies are jubilant at the sight of a section of important Party leaders getting engaged in parallel and splitting activities.

ELECTORAL UNDERSTANDING

The resolutions and activities of the Kerala State Council from April 1961, the date of the Vijayawada Congress, to this day have not overstepped the limits set by this understanding. Comrades who raise these allegations today did not hold the same view earlier that an electoral understanding regarding two or three seats with the Congress by the Party to defeat Right reactionary and communal forces will amount to a general united front with the Congress or a violation of the Vijayawada resolution.

The decision to support a Congress candidate against the Muslim League in the Kuttippuram bye-election and the open statement that the Communist Party was willing to come to an understanding with the Congress in regard to three seats in the 1962 Parliamentary elections to defeat the Muslim League were both unanimous decisions of the State Council.

But it is curious that these comrades are now characterising as class treachery the stand of the Party based on the same principle in regard to an understanding with the Congress in the three bye-elections of May 1963 to the State Assembly. Even these comrades dare not state that the policy followed by the Council in the recent elections to civic bodies amounted to a general united front with the Congress.

What these comrades repeatedly point out is one or two articles of Com. K. Damodaran. The State Council has already reviewed these articles self-critically and corrected them.

What was it that took place between February 1962 and May 1963 that was responsible for such a shift in the views held by these comrades? The Chinese aggression took place in October 1962 and the National Council of the Party adopted its resolution on Chinese aggression on November 1, 1962. The 32 comrades refer to this in their statement as the turning point. When this is the reality there is no meaning in Comrade EMS repeatedly attempting to characterise the issues involved in the present crisis as mainly organisational.

The fact is that these comrades who are now generally known as "leftists", have very

sharp differences with the resolution of the National Council on Chinese aggression as well as the stand taken by the Party on the ideological debate taking place in the international Communist movement. When this bare fact is told, there is no point in complaining that these comrades are being dubbed as Chinese agents. This is only a move to prevent the real issues being placed before the people.

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BASIS OF UNITY

All genuine democrats and common people are grief-stricken at this. Subject to the aim of creating the necessary pre-conditions for ushering in a non-Congress democratic government on the basis of unity among the democratic opposition parties and the defeat of the Congress in the polls as declared in the resolution of the State Council of the Party, subject to the aim of preserving and strengthening the unity of the mass movements and mass struggles and their victory, the State Council is willing to discuss all inner-Party problems and attempt earnestly to solve them. The interests of the Communist Party and the mass of

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BIHAR STATE COUNCIL EXHORTS: SECEDERS, RETRACE YOUR STEPS

PATNA: The Bihar State Council of the Communist Party of India held an emergent meeting in Patna from April 16-19 1964, in order to consider the reports of the recent meeting of the National Council of the Party and the situation arising out of the threatened split in the Party.

The meeting was presided over by a presidium of three: Chandrashekhar Singh MLA, Ramavtar Shastri and Chaturanan Mishra. Fifty-nine members of the State Council attended the meeting. The Secretaries of all district committees of the Party and members of the Communist legislators' group were specially invited. Yogindra Sharma, member of the Party's Central Secretariat attended the meeting.

Indradeep Sinha, secretary of the State Council of the Party made a report on the decisions of the recent meeting of the National Council of the Party.

The State Council expressed its deep shock at the walkout of 32 members of the National Council and their subsequent statement announcing a programme of action leading to the formation of a rival Party.

The State Council painfully noted the fact that the disruption inside the Party largely disorganised the all-India mass movement of the toilers that was being built up by the Party during the last one year.

The Council was firmly of the opinion that in the present

difficult political situation in the country when reactionary forces inside and outside the Congress party had made an alarming advance and the democratic forces stood divided and disorganised, the setting up of a rival Communist Party could only facilitate the advance of reaction.

Paramount Importance

In view of the paramount importance of the unity of the Communist Party in the present political situation, the State Council appealed to the seceders to retrace their steps. The State Council decided to request the National Council to rescind the disciplinary action against the seceders provided they returned to the fold of the Party by accepting norms of democratic centralism.

The State Council further requested the National Council to enable all Party members who were on the rolls at the time of Vijayawada Congress to renew their membership.

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Eighteenth Amendment

ENTIRE PRESS WAS CRITICAL

The fate of the 17th Amendment will remain a standing disgrace to the Congress Party whose overwhelming majority in the Lok Sabha should have assured its smooth passage, as it was urgently needed to enforce the accepted land reform measures however inadequate they might be.

THE withdrawal of the 18th was however a signal victory for healthy public opinion which asserted itself both inside the ruling party and in the opposition.

The press as a whole had not reacted favourably to this attempt on the part of the powers-that-be to curtail still more the rights guaranteed to the citizens under the fundamental rights of the Constitution.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES said on April 24, the day on which the amending Bill was introduced in the Lok Sabha, that the government's intention to proceed with the Bill "shows that the appetite for arbitrary power grows with what it feeds on".

It added: "So far from showing any willingness to surrender the enormous powers it has acquired under the emergency, the government, through this Bill, is not only seeking more powers but more protection from the wrongful use of such powers."

Pointing out that under the present provisions of Article 359 of the Constitution the citizens' right to go to court to enforce his fundamental rights could only be suspended through a presidential order and that this was different from Article 358 which provides that the state had powers to make any law or take executive action which ran counter to the constitutional guarantees under Article 19, the paper said:

"The distinction is important. It means that an illegal act (on the part of the state) does not become legal merely because the citizen is not able for the time being to challenge it in the courts."

Intention Behind Distinction

The intention in making this distinction, according to THE HINDUSTAN TIMES, was clearly "to remind the government that the obligations to respect fundamental rights should not be set aside lightly and that violations would have to be answered for when the emergency was over".

"On the pretext of removing doubts caused by the difference in language between Articles 358 and 359, the government is only trying to remove whatever is left to protect the rights of the citizens", it said.

The Bill had not sought just to suspend the rights of citizens, but it went further. "It enables the government to pass retrospective orders under the Article so that

even if it does something which it is not specifically authorised to do by a presidential order, the illegality can be cured long after the emergency has ended if the President issues a notification validating the actions complained of."

The editorial also added: "It seems strange that these vast powers should be sought at a time when there are persistent demands that the emergency itself should be ended."

THE STATESMAN, though holding that the amendment was "obviously undesirable" in principle, found one point in its favour: "If this is an indication of the government's preparation for an early return to normal conditions in which all the rights will be fully restored, there may be something yet to be said in its favour." (April 25)

Anxiety To Avoid Challenge

The reasoning which made the paper draw such a conclusion was that the government was anxious to avoid challenge before courts for its actions during the emergency.

"Article 34 of the Constitution provides for legislation by Parliament to indemnify its officials against breaches of fundamental rights only during martial law, but not during an emergency. Hence the present devious process of rewriting an unambiguous provision under the pretext of removing doubts and providing for retrospective effect both for the amendment and for any presidential order issued earlier."

Earlier in the editorial, the paper noted that the amending Bill provided that all the fundamental rights would cease to be operative in an emergency. "Whether such complete abrogation is necessary or desirable is arguable; many will agree that during war, external aggression or internal disturbance when an emergency is proclaimed, the state cannot be expected to safeguard the sanctity of the citizen's rights."

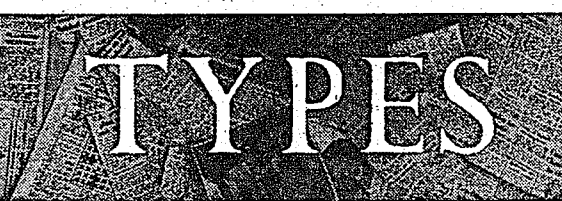
It felt that "much of the present criticism is perhaps inspired by the thought that the government can keep an emergency alive even when the conditions in which it was required change".

The paper had this much to say about the government's claim—which it described as "disingenuous argument"—that the amendment is being brought forward to remove doubts: "This is clearly not a

case of removal of doubts, as the Bill purports to be, but the addition of an altogether new restrictive provision with retrospective effect."

THE TIMES OF INDIA called the introduction of the amendment "a devious way of enacting a statute of indemnity". In an editorial on April 22 it noted:

"The detentive provisions of the Defence of India Act are clearly violative of Articles 14, 21 and 22 and, as the Supreme Court has noted, the state was unable to challenge this and instead preferred to insist that the detenus were barred



from questioning the validity of the Act.

"The 'deeming' provision will now prevent those citizens who have been deprived of their liberty by a law which Parliament was not competent to pass and by orders which the executive was not empowered to issue, from seeking any relief even after the emergency is over."

Act Of Indemnity

It further said: "An act of indemnity is the supreme exercise of legislative sovereignty as it retrospectively gives protection to those who have broken the law for reasons of state. The proposed immunity against claims by persons who have been illegally detained in violation of their fundamental rights is a dubious exercise of such protection, particularly when more than six months have elapsed since the Supreme Court expressed its views."

"Parliament must now consider, with a clear assessment of all the implications involved, whether it is in the national interest to empower the government to suspend rights and liberties that are fundamental to genuine democracy", the editorial concluded.

Referring to the opposition both inside and outside Parliament to the proposed amendment, THE HINDU said on April 26: "All this is as it should be, for it would be a sad day for democracy in this country if an attempt to amend the Constitution and that too apparently abridging the fundamental rights of the citizen, should go unchallenged and without a detailed debate or discussion."

However, the paper itself was not against the proposed amendment. It said: "The object of the eighteenth amendment being to remove a constitutional impediment to indemnifying the executive for its acts in what it thought to be the interests of national security, there should be no serious objection to such amendment."

"And the contention of the Union Law Minister that, if Article 359 as it exists could take away the remedy by an order of the executive, the rights which were covered by the remedy also were automatically barred has substance."

The paper said that "the only question that may arise is whether the amendment seeks more powers of indemnification than are necessary and customarily taken even in other well-established democracies in similar circumstances".

The AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA was "afraid" that the storm provoked in the Lok Sabha "will have repercus-



sions among the people and weaken the government's moral authority".

Commenting on the Union Law Minister's claim that as long as parliamentary control over the executive's action remained there could be no danger to democracy, the paper said: "Mr. Sen certainly knows that such text-book maxims cannot actually govern human affairs and protect citizens' rights".

It asked, "why did the framers of the Constitution include in it a chapter on fundamental rights if provision for parliamentary control over the executive was enough" and replied:

"The executive might go wrong; Parliament, controlled by the whip of the executive, might go wrong. That is why democratic countries enact basic laws or constitutions which cannot be altered by the fleeting whims or needs of the executive or the legislature..."

The paper noted that under the existing provisions themselves, the government enjoyed wide powers—"very wide indeed"—in the emergency period. "Has the government's experience of dealing with the current emergency proved that those powers are inadequate for the protection of the country's interest and security?"

"A categorical, unassailable reply to this question in the affirmative is an essential prerequisite to a demand for larger powers. So far, no such reply has come from the Treasury Benches. In other words, the government has not convinced Parliament and the country that there is an urgent, imperative, inescapable need for amending the Constitution today."

—PARAKAL

LETTERS

Extraordinary Reasonings of the Splitters

SOME of the leaders who had walked out of the last meeting of the National Council of the Communist Party of India seem to be having hallucinations, not only regarding their support among the ranks but on many other things. Typical are the statements being made by E. M. S. Namboodiripad these days.

At a press conference in Trivandrum, Namboodiripad is reported to have said that only 50 members had supported the National Council's resolution suspending the 92 who had walked out. He was, of course, only repeating what his friend M. Basavapunniah had said two days earlier in New Delhi. The press by which these leaders reached such a conclusion is intriguing to say the least.

Their argument runs on the following lines: Only 96 members attended the National Council meeting. After the walkout only 64 remained. One member voted against the resolution. Many were absent at the time of voting (certainly not for reasons ascribed by these leaders). And then there is a jump to the conclusion that only 50 voted for the resolution. If asked to give the names of those absent during the voting they give the names of four and there ends the matter. The formula thus is 50+1+4=64!

At the same press conference in Trivandrum Namboodiripad also gave an interesting definition for the term "definite majority" which he has been using rather profusely. "I will say that a decision has been taken by definite majority if that decision can be implemented through the party membership as a whole," he said.

Earlier at a press conference in New Delhi, he had given the reasoning behind the extraordinary manner in which he and his friends had behaved and flouted the party forms: "An abnormal situation has been created; the party machinery has broken down and so we have no other way except to repudiate the Dange leadership." Does this remind anybody of the argument and words used by the Centre to dismiss the Communist-led government in Kerala in 1959?

Namboodiripad himself has not forgotten about it. For, in Trivandrum he also said: "Let Achutha Menon dismiss me from the post of Leader of the Opposition just as Pandit Nehru had dismissed me from the post of Chief Minister." But what a tragedy that Namboodiripad cannot distinguish between the thoroughly undemocratic manner in which the Centre dismissed the duly elected government in Kerala which still enjoyed the support of the majority in the legislature, and the strictly democratic manner in which the CPI National Council took action against him. After all, the removal from the post of Leader of the Opposition is only consequential to the decision of the National Council to suspend him.

If he had any respect for democratic forms, he should have stepped down on his own rather than wait to be thrown out. It is absolutely clear that he does not command support of the majority in the Kerala Communist Legislature Party. Perhaps Namboodiripad's stand is in conformity with the new form of "democracy" which he is championing and in which the majority should abide by the will of the minority!

—PARAKAL

Let Us Pledge Anew

FOR TOTAL VICTORY OF

Writing in 1913, Lenin concluded his famous article, *The Historical Destiny of the Doctrine of Karl Marx*, with the following prophetic words:

"Each of the three great periods of world history since the appearance of Marxism has brought Marxism new confirmation and new triumphs. But a still greater triumph awaits Marxism, as the doctrine of the proletariat, in the period of history that is now coming."

RECENTLY the press controlled by the imperialist monopolies of the West has been rejoicing and declaring from house-tops that however much the above-quoted prophecy of Lenin might have held till now, the latest phase shows that the doctrine and the movement founded by Marx is disintegrating and falling apart as never before and Lenin's prophecy has had its day.

BOURGEOISIE REJOICES TOO SOON

We need have absolutely no doubt that the imperialist monopolies are rejoicing too soon, that even this rejoicing is simulated and fake for they know very well that the assumptions on which it is based are not true. They indulge in it to boost their own sagging morale and the morale of their hangers-on and dupes.

NOTHING SECTARIAN

"The history of philosophy and the history of social science" wrote Lenin, "show with perfect clarity that there is nothing resembling 'sectarianism' in Marxism; in the sense of its being a hidebound, petrified doctrine which arose away from the high road of development of world civilisation. On the contrary, the genius of Marx consists precisely in the fact that he furnished answers to questions already raised by the foremost minds of mankind..."

HAUNTING SPECTRE

Paying a just tribute to the ever-growing power of Marxism an eminent non-Marxist intellectual, C. Wright Mills, wrote in his last work, *The Marxists*, published posthumously in 1962:

"It is the intellectual scope and brilliance of its theoretical content, as well as the political force of its ideological message, that has indeed made Marx's ideas a spectre that at once haunts and attracts the non-Marxist world."

LINK WITH EPOCH ESSENTIAL

"And by losing sight of it", he wrote, "we turn Marxism into something one-sided, disfigured and lifeless; we deprive it of its living soul; we undermine its basic theoretical foundations—dialectics, the doctrine of all-embracing historical development full of contradictions; sever its connection with the definite practical tasks of the epoch, which may change with every new turn of history."

"Marxism" which has lost "its connection with the definite, practical tasks of the epoch" is one-sided, disfigured

and lifeless. Severed from the epoch under discussion and from its practical tasks, "Marxism" is a dogma and no guide to action—thus the greatest disciple and continuer of Marx and his work.

NO UNALTERABLE ROAD

It is good to recall Marx's words on a burning issue under discussion today. While stressing the necessity of the conquest of political power by the proletariat for the socialist reconstruction of society, Marx said at a meeting held in Amsterdam after the Hague Congress (1872) of the First International:

"We have never claimed, however, that there is but one unalterable means to this end."

"We know that special regard must be paid to the institutions, customs and traditions of various lands; and we do not deny that there are certain countries such as the United States and England, in which the workers may hope to secure their ends by peaceful means."

How could anyone erase those words from the teachings of Marx?

The First International (International Workingmen's Association) which was founded exactly a hundred years ago in 1864 and functioned under the direct leadership of Marx and Engels for eight years laid "the foundations of the proletarian, international struggle for socialism" (Lenin). It prepared the ground for the creation of mass proletarian parties in various countries of Europe.

Among the alien trends which the First International had to contend with, one most pernicious was that represented by Bakunin; the ideology of petty-bourgeois anarchism which denied the very need for a proletarian party and the necessity of proletarian discipline. Following the suppression of the Paris Commune this trend became the chief obstacle, the main deviation, hindering and afflicting the Communist movement. It acquired a certain foothold in Spain and other Southern countries where the movement had not developed sufficiently till then.

INDIA SHALL WIN

The Bakuninists launched the worst smear campaign against the General Council of the International, so much so that Marx and Engels had to publish a circular entitled "The Imaginary Split in the International" exposing the intrigue, double-dealing and the splitting activity of the Bakuninists who were seeking to wreck the International from within.

Ultimately the Hague Congress expelled Bakunin and his gang from the International.



KARL MARX (May 5, 1818 to March 14, 1883)

Though capitalism entered its imperialist stage long after Marx had passed away and it was left to Lenin to give a thorough analysis of imperialism and work out the tactics of the epoch of imperialism and the proletarian revolution, Marx saw early the role of colonies in giving a new lease of life to capitalism. He wrote in 1858 to Engels:

"We cannot deny that bourgeois society has experienced its sixteenth century a second time—a sixteenth century which will, I hope, sound the death-

By ZIAUL HAQ

knell of bourgeois society just as the first one thrust it into existence."

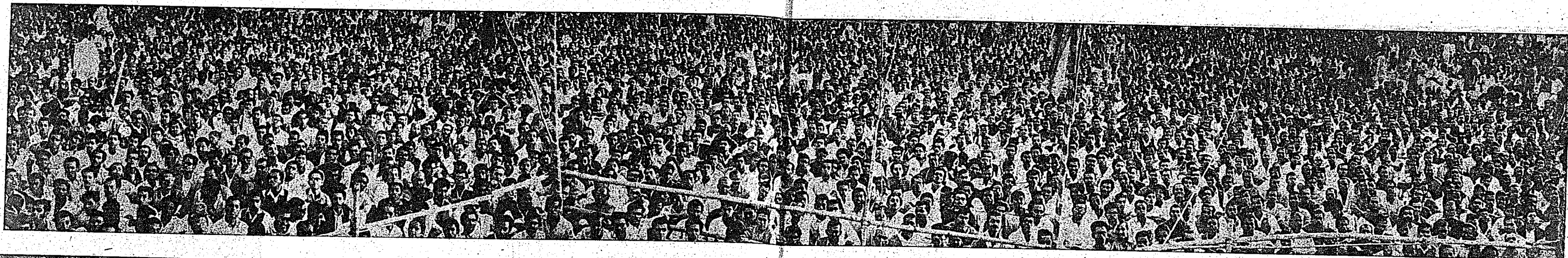
INDIA SHALL WIN

Following from this clear vision, he paid considerable attention to the development of the national liberation struggle in Asia. It was in 1853 that Marx began his famous series of articles on India, including *The British Rule in India* and *The Future Outcome of British Rule in India* with the prediction of the eventual victory of the cause of Indian independence.

"Between 1853 and 1857 no less than twenty-three articles by Marx and eight by Engels were devoted to the subject of India, the exposure of British rule in India, including the system of adm-

ministrative torture, and to the first Indian war of independence. In a memorable phrase Marx declared in a letter to Engels in January 1858, at the time of the great Indian revolt, that 'India is now our best ally'." (R. Palme Dutt: *Problems of Contemporary History*, p. 84)

In the mastery of the vast and immensely rich treasure-house of Marxism-Leninism—not as a dogma but as a guide to action—lies today as yesterday the hope of the emancipation



THE GLORIOUS RECORD OF AITUC AND

"YOU MAY THINK THAT BY HANGING US YOU WILL PUT OUT THE SPARK, BUT THERE!... AND THERE!... AND THERE! BEHIND YOU, BEFORE AND AROUND YOU A FLAME WILL BURST FORTH! IT WILL BE A SUBTERRANEAN FIRE WHICH YOU CAN NEVER SUB-DUE."

THESE were the words, Spis, one of the five strike-leaders sentenced to death after the Chicago uprising of May 1, 1886 proudly voiced at their trial. And these words soon became reality.

May Day has since become the International Labour Day. The day of the first organised

action of the working class for an 8-hour working day is now commemorated every year as the day of proletarian solidarity.

The Indian working class observed May Day for the first time in 1923 in Madras, under the leadership of Singaravelu Chettiar, and it was observed on a national scale in 1927 at the call of AITUC, the most

militant and representative and the oldest central trade union organisation of the Indian workers.

From the days under British Rule till the present days of Congress rule, the Indian working class has fought many a battle under the banner of the AITUC. In fact, the history of the AITUC is the history of militant trade union movement of our country created by the blood and sweat of thousands of martyrs and millions of toilers who stood behind these pioneers.

Today when one looks back over the span of last 45 years of AITUC's existence and growth, one can rightly feel proud of the great heritage and the militant tradition of the fighting workers of our country who have together built up the AITUC what it is today.

Despite the splits that have occurred time and again, despite the repressions unleashed against the organisation, despite the wedges driven against the bulwark of unity, the AITUC has grown and gathered strength. The weakness has been fought and won. Today's young workers bear the glorious banner of a militant organisation whose records are inscribed in golden letters.

Today, on the occasion of MAY DAY 1964, it will be useful to recount the history of the premier organisation of the working class: It is all the more necessary because one has to know how step by step, slowly but resolutely, through struggles and unity, the Indian working class wrested from the hands of employers and government important concessions under the leadership of the AITUC.

Most of the beneficial labour legislations, rules governing working and living conditions, amenities and benefits, social security etc. are the results of steadfast struggles.

By SADHAN MUKHERJEE

The AITUC was born in 1920 and its first conference was held in Bombay on October 30, 1920. The first president was Lala Lajpat Rai.

The first recorded strike of Indian workers was in 1877 at Nagpur in the Empress Mills over low wage rates which was followed up by the subsequent actions in various parts of the country in several industries under local leaderships.

After the World War I, there was a spurt of strikes, the year 1920 alone accounting for more than 200 strikes. In 1921, there were 400 strikes involving more than five lakh workers and these strikes took more and more organised characters.

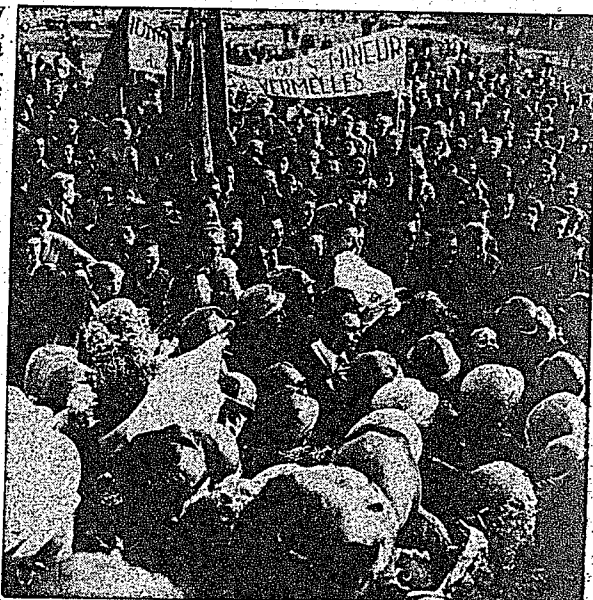
In 1924 was instituted the famous Kanpur Conspiracy Case in which S. A. Dange, Muzaffar Ahmad, Shaikat Usmani, Nalini Dasgupta, S. S. Mirajkar, S. V. Ghate were the accused. The AITUC this year submitted a trade union bill to the then government for adoption.

Next year, the AITUC in its 5th session in Bombay demanded an 8-hour working day, introduction of adult suffrage for election to central and provincial legislatures, and also demanded maternity leave, minimum living wages etc.

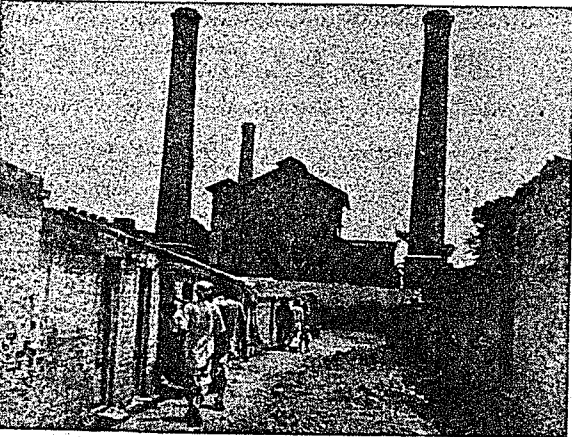
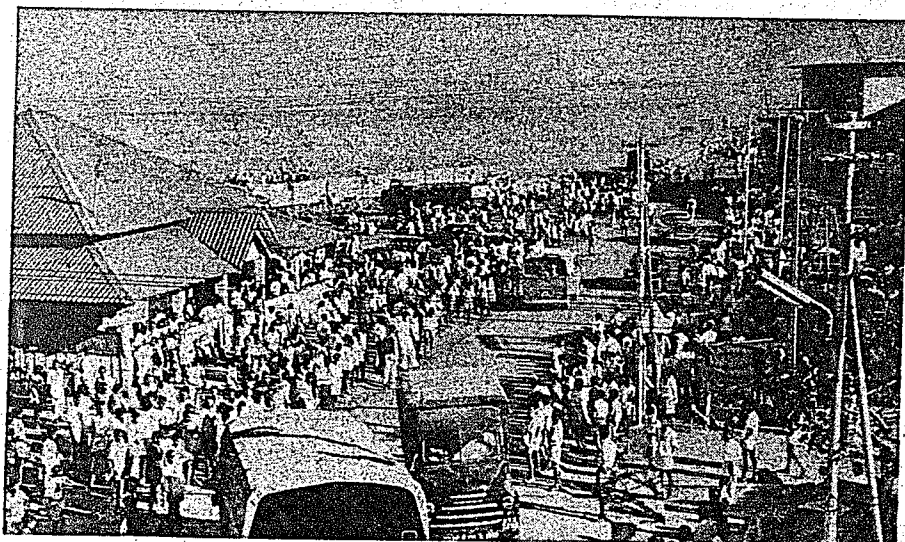
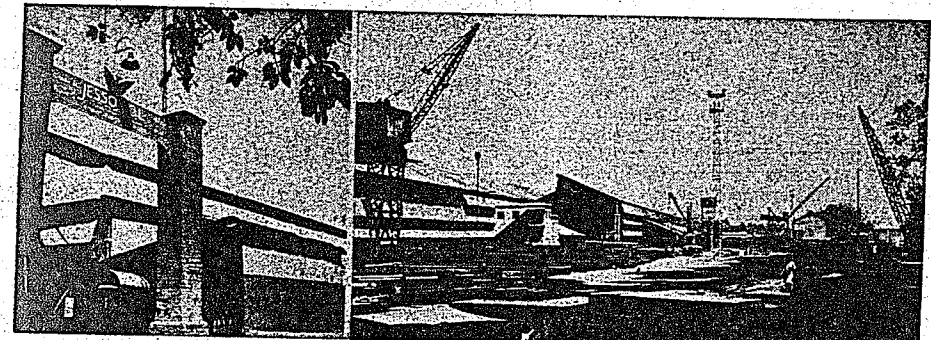
Then came the depression, wage cuts were resorted to but the workers under the leadership of the AITUC fought back. In 1925, the strike wave throughout the country resulted in a loss of 12.5 million mandays. Many of these struggles were completely successful. Bombay textile workers remained on strike for four months and secured restoration of their wagecuts. N. W. railwaymen also struck work this year.

The B. N. Railway workers struck work in 1926, followed up next year by another strike. The AITUC demanded fixation of minimum wages. The depression of 1928-29 came as another blow against the workers but they faced the situation with determination and courage, and did not allow the employers to pass on

* ON PAGE 1F



Workers in action in Hamburg and Paris.



TOP: A meeting of workers in Calcutta.

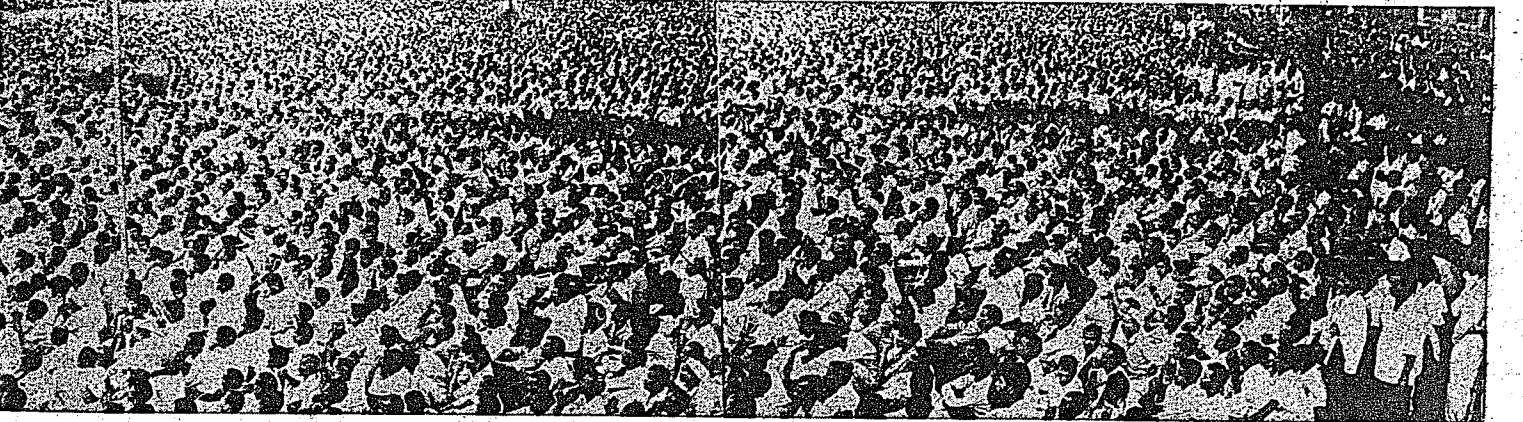
LEFT (top to bottom): Strikes in Jessops (Calcutta), Marmagoa Port, Kanpur Textile mill and Demonstration in Baroda.

Cols. 4 & 5: A group of Strikers, Demonstration in Lucknow, and a group of demonstrators being addressed by AITUC President.

RIGHT (bottom): A meeting in Bombay



MAY DAY 1964



PEACEFUL TRANSITION OR

The latest document of the Communist Party of China* marks a sharp and serious change in the controversy in the International Communist Movement.

HERETO the Chinese Party has claimed that it was the faithful interpreter and most resolute supporter of the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement on the general line of the International Communist Movement. It was others, it said, who were deviating.

This new Chinese statement completely abandons this attitude. It reveals that the C.P.C. has always been sceptical of the policy of the possibility of peaceful transition to Socialism, holding firmly to the standpoint that it can envisage no circumstances where this could take place.

Both the Declaration and Statement stressed the possibility of the peaceful achievement of political power by the workers in some countries. These basic documents did not regard this as a universal law. On the contrary, they recognised that there was no way to power in a number of countries that did not involve revolutionary violence.

However, the Chinese comrades now admit that they never believed in the possibility of peaceful transition anywhere, and that they only supported this concept in the two basic documents of the International Communist Movement for tactical reasons and that "if comrades now make the criticism that we were wrong in giving this consideration to the leaders of the CPSU, we are quite ready to admit this criticism."

They now tell us that both the Declaration and the Statement "fail to stress violent revolution as a universal law".

The Chinese now pronounce the two documents, whose purity they so recently pretended to defend, to be wholly inadequate, and demand their revision.

"We hold that in the interest of the revolutionary cause of the international proletariat, and in order to prevent the revisionists from misusing those programmatic documents of the fraternal parties, it is necessary to amend the formulation of the question in the Declaration and the Statement through joint consultation of Communist and Workers' parties, so as to conform to the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism."

This clarifies the Chinese position and it is a pity that it has taken them so long to come out in the open.

THE BASIC DISPUTE

It is not a question of anyone trying to dictate to any Communist Party that it must renounce the strategy and tactics of armed struggle. Our

*The Proletarian Revolution and Khrushchev's Revisionism (Hsinhua News Agency, March 31, 1964).

PAGE TWELVE

Party has certainly never done so, and has fully supported all armed struggles of the workers and of colonial peoples, oppressed by imperialism.

The Chinese comrades, however, want to revise the Declaration and Statement and force every Communist Party to adhere to the dogmatic proposition that there cannot be peaceful transition to Socialism; that the road of armed insurrection is the only possible one, and to defend this standpoint in their daily agitation and propaganda.

This thesis, as usual, is backed by massive misrepresentation and abuse of those who support the view that in present-day circumstances in a number of countries peaceful transition is possible, and by interminable and indiscriminate quotations from Marxist-Leninist works.

TWO EXAMPLES

Two examples of abuse will suffice. The Communist Party of Italy is accused of trying to bring about a Socialist transformation of the national economy through such nationalisation and planning "as serve monopoly capitalism". No proof is offered of this wild assertion.

We are told that "the capitalist forces in Soviet society have become a deluge, sweeping over all fields of life in the USSR, including the political, economic, cultural and ideological fields. The social source of Khrushchev's revisionism lies precisely in the capitalist forces which are ceaselessly spreading in the Soviet Union."

Such accusations ought never to be made by a Communist Party, unless backed by overwhelming proof. Not a vestige of proof is forthcoming. Only screaming hysteria.

The Chinese approach is dogmatic throughout. There is no careful analysis of the situation in the world or in any capitalist country. There is just an array of quotations (some of which have little meaning when unscrupulously divorced from their context), which are advanced as infallible prescriptions for all circumstances.

Lenin, in April 1917, referred scathingly to "Those old Bolsheviks, who have more than once played so sorry a role in the history of our Party, by repeating a formula meaninglessly learned by rote, instead of studying the specific and new features of actual reality." (Italics JRC's) This is exactly the Chinese method.

The misrepresentations consist of accusing those Communist Parties who believe in the possibilities of peaceful transition of entertaining the most naive illusions about capitalist parliaments. It is asserted that: "Khrushchev maintains that if the proletariat can win a majority in

parliament, this in itself will amount to the seizure of state power and the smashing of the CPC has always been (Italics JRC's).

No Communist Party that we know believes this. We have spent years propagating the exact opposite amongst Labour workers.

The position of Communist Parties who believe that there are possibilities of peaceful transition is equated, in another part of the document, with that of right-wing Social Democrats who believe that capitalism will grow into socialism, and that therefore the conquest of political power by the workers is unnecessary. The whole history of our party has seen a determined struggle against such illusions.

Finally, Comrade Khrushchev and, by inference, all Communist Parties who believe in peaceful transition are equated with Bernstein, the father of reformism, and with the renegade Earl Browder of the USA, neither of whom believed in workers' power at all. The manipulation of quotations to prove this absurd thesis sinks to the lowest depths of trickery.

MAJORITY IN PARLIAMENT

No Communist who declares that in the new circumstances facing us there is the possibility of peaceful transition has ever said that a majority in parliament can by itself lead to the seizure of the bourgeois state machinery.

We in Britain have seen every succeeding Labour majority in Parliament operating within the hallowed conventions of the British Constitution and the bourgeois state machinery.

A parliamentary majority, claiming to speak in the name of the workers and the people, can have a wide variety of meanings. It could merely aim to administer the capitalist system more efficiently than the open capitalist parties, even though this means putting the trade unions and other working class organisations in a capitalist strait-jacket. A right-wing Labour government is of this type.

The Chinese comrades quote the statement of Nikita Khrushchev that in capitalist countries:

"the working class, by rallying around itself the toiling peasantry, the intelligentsia, all patriotic forces, and resolutely repulsing the opportunist elements, who are incapable of giving up the policy of compromise with the capitalists and landlords is in a position to defeat the reactionary forces opposed to the popular interests, to capture a stable majority in parliament"

In "refutation" of this the Chinese point to a number of countries where the monopolists and their governments have to some extent succeeded in restricting the powers of parliament. They seem to think that this disposes of the policy of a peaceful road to Socialism.

They point to France where, under de Gaulle, this policy has temporarily had some success, and deliberately underplay the powerful counter movement of the working class and progressive sections of the middle class against Gaullism and for the restoration of democracy.

WITHOUT EVIDENCE

Without a lot of evidence they assert that the French Communist Party "has become increasingly isolated from the masses and has deteriorated more and more". It would be quite impossible to find any worthwhile political observer in Europe who shares this absurd view. In France there is a growing unity of the people against de Gaulle.

Naturally, the Chinese do not in this context mention

by
J. R. CAMPBELL
Member of the Leadership of the Communist Party of Great Britain

Italy, where the attempt of the monopolists to change the electoral law met with a rebuff as a result of mass struggle, strikes and political action.

MONOPOLIES AND DEMOCRACY

Surely the decisive question is whether the working class, allied with other progressive sections in society, can defeat this reactionary attempt of the monopolists, and can clear the way for an attack on the monopolists themselves.

Of course, the monopolists are everywhere attacking the democratic rights of the people; seeking to undermine existing parliamentary institutions; engaged in Britain in heavily subsidised campaigns which reduce to a farce the law limiting expenditure on elections; seeking to shackle the trade unions by formulating laws which abolish the right to strike; striving to whittle down the social insurance system; endeavouring to worsen the position of the farmers and the small businessmen.

In such conditions the working class has the opportunity of rallying the mass of the people to defeat the offensive of the monopolists against democratic rights and to carry the struggle into the enemy camp. The whole essence of our present tactics is to isolate the monopolies and to advance the struggle to the point of being able to overthrow them.

There is no question here of passively waiting until a General Election comes along. Action against all phases of the monopolists' offensive must be organised here and now. Strikes, mass political demonstrations, rent strikes, struggles against unemployment and rising prices must be undertaken. It is in the

course of such struggles that the mass organisations of the people (the trade unions, shop stewards' committees, the co-operatives and tenants' organisations) are built up and the alliance of the working class and other progressive sections of society is cemented.

The election of a parliamentary majority, as a consequence of this mass agitation and struggle, could mean something very different from a mere swing of the electoral pendulum. The Chinese comrades seem very concerned with the dangers of "parliamentary cretinism" when the problem facing our party is to intensify the mass movement and the electoral fight to the utmost.

The Chinese document admits that there can be no revolution without a revolutionary situation and admits that this does not exist in many parts of the capitalist

world. But such situations can only arise as a result of the development of the class struggle, and the great question before the Communist Parties in capitalist countries is how to develop the struggle around questions which expose and challenge the monopolists and thereby create conditions for social revolution.

The CPC has nothing but generalities to offer in this regard, such as that the Communist Parties must take part in the everyday struggles of the workers, while never forgetting to emphasise that in all capitalist countries armed struggle against the bourgeois state is "a universal law."

STATIC VIEW

The Chinese take a static view of parliament which does not take into consideration the stage reached in the people's struggle, and the actual relation of forces between the contending classes at any given moment.

"Events since world war two have demonstrated yet again that the chief component of the bourgeois state machine is armed force and not parliament. Parliament is only an ornament, a screen for bourgeois rule. To adopt or discard the parliamentary system, to grant parliament greater or less power, to adopt one kind of electoral law or another—the choice between these alternatives is always dictated by the needs and interests of bourgeois rule."

This is typical of the Chinese method. The organised working class, and the other social groups under its influence simply disappear. All the pressure which is exerted on parliament through mass political campaigns is treated as non-

CHINESE BLIND ALLEY

existent. The bourgeoisie apparently has all its own way in society, and parliament is nothing more than "an ornament and screen". This is to act on the assumption that there are no real working class forces which can be mobilised to back the parliamentary majority, no organised political parties, no trade unions embracing millions of workers, no well-organised factories with workers under the influence of militant shop stewards, no co-operative societies, or tenants' organisations.

MORE THAN A SCREEN

But if these social forces are real, if they are engaged in struggle, if they are prepared to support the elected M.P.s, then parliament is very much more than an "ornament and a screen" for bourgeois rule. It is an institution into which the great class issues can be brought to the fore and debated, and in which legislation can be enacted and emergency powers obtained by the parliamentary majority.

The whole history of Britain is replete with instances where, by pressures inside and outside parliament, the working people have won important concessions.

As the class struggle intensifies the workers are stepping up their pressure on parliament and on the state—not merely for reforms but for basic changes. So in Britain, where parliament has existed for hundreds of years; where general political struggles have raged in and around this institution; where existing political rights are the product of a long-drawn-out struggle of the British people, it is essential for any movement seeking to transform society to strive for a parliamentary majority.

To advance on the basis of control of parliament, instead of against parliament, is an enormous advantage to the workers engaged in struggle.

STATE BUREAUCRACY

Despite Chinese insinuations, we in Britain have never argued that all of the existing bureaucracy of the capitalist state would co-operate in the transition to Socialism. We have always insisted that it would be necessary for the parliamentary majority, basing itself on the activity of the mass organisations, to transform the state machine, putting the supporters of Socialism in all key positions.

At the same time it would be absolutely wrong to treat the armed forces and the civil service as one reactionary mass. There are quite a number of elements in the middle and lower ranges of these institutions who are very far from being out and out supporters of Toryism and monopoly capitalism.

So long as the monopolists remain unshaken such elements remain relatively quiescent. They have, however, been alienated by the Tories

on account of the pay pause which bore exceptionally harshly upon them and in the recent period have cast their votes against the Tories.

They could be greatly influenced by the development of the mass movement, both before and after the winning of a parliamentary majority. Probably a majority of those in the lower ranges of the armed forces and civil service could be won solidly for a Socialist government, based on the mass movement from the first.

That they were co-operating with parliament and not operating against it would be of decisive importance in their eyes. So the British Road to Socialism says, amongst other things:

"Using the rights won in the Labour movement's historic struggle for democracy, we can change capitalist democracy, dominated by wealth and privilege, into Socialist democracy, where only the interests of the people count. But this change can only be brought about through struggle. The British ruling class is experienced and ruthless in defence of its selfish interests. It is necessary for the Labour movement to understand this and at the same time to realise that the working class has the strength, united in struggle for socialism, to overcome all resistance and reach its goal."

But it was not the present leaders of the C.P.S.U. but Lenin who wrote in May 1919:

"The form of transition to the dictatorship of the proletariat in Hungary is altogether different from that in Russia; the voluntary resignation of the bourgeois government, and the instantaneous restoration of the unity of the working class, the unity of Socialism on a Communist programme."

TRANSITION IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

So eager are the Chinese to reject the possibility of peaceful transition in all circumstances that they refuse to believe that there was the peaceful conquest of political power in Czechoslovakia in 1948.

How can people talk about the peaceful conquest of political power, they ask, when the German Fascist troops and their servile regime in Czechoslovakia were driven out by the Czech people, led by the Communist Party, "with the assistance of the Soviet army"?

The Chinese then ignore the fact that there was an election which made the Czech Communist Party the strongest party in parliament and the leading force in the national front coalition government. They then depict this national front coalition government as being already "a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat".

So what happened in 1948 was in Chinese eyes merely "the February incident", in which certain reactionaries inside Czechoslovakia backed by U.S. imperialism "plotted a counter-revolutionary coup to overthrow the people's government by armed rebellion".

This leaves the impression that it was merely a move against the People's Government by reactionaries outside the government. On the contrary it was a move from inside the coalition by right-wing socialists and members of national Socialist (Benes) Party, to drive the Communist Party and its supporters out of the government.

It was that move which was defeated by the mass action of the people so that a genuine dictatorship of the proletariat emerged. There was no armed rebellion and no civil war.

PEACEFUL TRANSITION

If it is argued that this definitive establishment of working class power was facilitated by the changed relation of forces in Eastern and Central Europe, as compared with pre-war, one could readily agree. For it is precisely the changed relation of forces in the world today that increases the possibility of peaceful transition in a number of countries. But this the Chinese deny.

Enraged by the very idea that there can be peaceful transition to Socialism anywhere the Chinese comrades say:

"The leaders of the C.P.S.U. are telling a glaring lie when they say that the Hungarian revolution (of 1918-19) was an example of peaceful transition. It is alleged in the Soviet press that the Hungarian bourgeois government 'voluntarily resigned' and this is probably the only ground that the leaders of the C.P.S.U. base themselves on."

But it was not the present leaders of the C.P.S.U. but Lenin who wrote in May 1919:

"The form of transition to the dictatorship of the proletariat in Hungary is altogether different from that in Russia; the voluntary resignation of the bourgeois government, and the instantaneous restoration of the unity of the working class, the unity of Socialism on a Communist programme."

True the Hungarian revolution of 1918-19 was defeated by blockade and foreign intervention, and was undermined by its mistakes, but power was surrendered by the voluntary resignation of the bourgeois government.

Of course Lenin emphasised that the peaceful conquest of political power by the workers was a comparatively rare event in human history, but the Chinese comrades are now beginning to deny that it is a possibility at all and are further denying the possibilities created by the changed world conditions as compared with 1918-1919.

ROLE OF SOCIALIST SYSTEM

The argument that the growth of the Socialist system is facilitating peaceful transition, is dogmatically rejected by the C.P.C.

It is, however, a fact that to the extent that this system achieves ever greater successes, it stimulates the movement for Socialist change in the capitalist world.

It used to be argued by right-wing Labour leaders in Britain that a revolution, however achieved, would be destroyed by the intervention of the surrounding capitalist

states. When Soviet Russia was itself subject to vicious capitalist encirclement that argument had some influence, despite the powerful support which the British workers rendered the first workers' state.

Now, however, the Socialist world has grown economically, politically and militarily, the relative weight of the capitalist world has declined, and the workers' revolution is assured of firm allies from the outset. That is a tremendous change of circumstances.

The growth of the Socialist world is a tremendous revolutionising factor to the workers in capitalist countries and those struggling for national independence in the colonial countries, who are pressing forward unrelentingly for an improvement in their standard of life.

Despite difficulties and setbacks, the working people are immensely more powerful than at any previous period in capitalist history and are capable, on the basis of a powerful struggle against the monopolists, for democracy and peace, of effecting a decisive advance to the capture of political power.

To achieve this advance it is necessary to destroy the in-

fluence of the reformists in the mass movement. This will be successful to the extent that a realistic revolutionary policy is pursued by the Communist Parties.

The defeat of the opportunists in the mass movement would be made much more difficult, if not impossible, if Communist Parties proclaimed that in all times and circumstances armed struggle is a "universal law" for the working class capture of political power.

The attempt to impose this dogmatic Chinese approach on Communist Parties everywhere is already doomed to failure.

CLOSE OUR RANKS

The Chinese Communist Party, evidently realising this, is encouraging the formation of breakaways which are then used by the Trotskyists to spread disruption further. It is essential for Communists everywhere to close the ranks and rout those who would create divisions at the moment when immense opportunities are presenting themselves to Communist Parties throughout the world.

(Comment, April 25, Slightly Abridged)

Kerala Action Against Splitters

TRIVANDRUM: The Kerala State Council of the Communist Party of India has drawn up a detailed programme of political campaign to explain the resolutions of the National Council to the Party members and to the people.

It has fixed the dates for meetings of the district councils where members of the National Council will report on its resolutions.

The political campaign is being inaugurated in Trivandrum at a public meeting on April 27. It will be addressed by C. Achutha Menon, secretary of the state council, and P. T. Punrose and V. Bhargavan.

An organisational decision taken at the meeting was to elect N. E. Balaram and P. T. Punrose to the secretariat of the state council.

A resolution adopted by the council on the splitting activities of certain members of the Party in the state said:

The State Council has noticed that certain Party committees and important Party comrades are today engaged in such activities as organising receptions to the comrades suspended from the National Council, convening meetings of Party members and Party bodies for these comrades to address etc.

Such activities are wrong, unauthorised and contrary to the basic principles of organisations of the Party. They do not go to help build the unity of the Party. The State Council appeals to all Party members and committees to disassociate from and discourage all such activities.

On April 20, a meeting of the Calicut District Council of the Party was convened under the chairmanship of Comrade C. H. Kanaran who has been suspended from the National Council. Comrade E. K. Nayanar, another suspended National Council member

led the discussion in the meeting. The proceedings and resolutions of this meeting are opposed to the principles and policies of the Communist Party and amount to a challenge to the National Council. The State Council, therefore, declares the resolutions as unauthorised and not binding on the Party. The State Council appeals to the District Council not to implement these resolutions.

The Council further authorises the secretariat to take suitable action to combat such activities.

MAY 3, 1964

NEW AGE

PAGE THIRTEEN

NEW AGE

MAY 3, 1964

Bombay Council Endorses National Council Resolution

The Bombay Council of the Communist Party of India which met on April 20 unanimously supported the decisions of the National Council of the Party and pledged itself to carry them out. S. G. Sardesai presided.

The Council heard a detailed report on the decisions of the National Council from Sardesai and discussed the tasks arising therefrom.

The Council further heard a report by Prabhakar Vaidya, secretary of the Bombay Council about the organisational situation in Bombay. In his report Vaidya detailed the various activities of the splitters and their efforts to organise and run a parallel centre and establish apparatus in various branches and fronts. He suggested certain measures to meet the disruptive activities of the anti-Party group.

The Council then decided to suspend L. K. Oak and Ahilya Rangekar for an indefinite period, though the Council thought their disruptive activities really deserved expulsion.

The Council further noted that there are other leading comrades besides these two who are also responsible for similar disruptive and anti-Party activities. The Council called upon all the Party units and Party members to be on guard against the disruptors and expressed the confidence that the Party and the working people will overcome the disruptors and maintain and strengthen the unity of the Party and the mass organisations.

The Council also condemned the entirely unwarranted and unjustified walk-out staged by eleven ringleaders of the anti-party group. It was quite clear

that these comrades staged the walkout as they dared not face the Council and answer charges against them. Further the walk-out itself was a deliberate act of disruption and was a signal for open defiance of the authority of the Bombay Council.

In fact within a few hours, a press-conference was called by

these leaders in which false and slanderous statements were made against the Bombay Council and the Maharashtra Council Secretary. Their statement alleged that the Bombay Council wanted to expel many leading comrades, suspend various Party branches, seize Party offices etc. In fact the Council had not a single such proposal before it, nor did the Council actually do anything of the kind.

A significant aspect of this statement was that it was claimed to be signed by 12 Council Members who staged the walk-out. Actually only 11 had walked out. The twelfth name given was that of Kisanrao Adak, a Municipal

Councillor from Bhandup. This comrade had actually stayed on while the disruptors had walked out.

He even attended the huge meeting of Party Members and sympathisers held in the evening. It is quite obvious that disruptors forged his signature on their statement. So the disruptors in Bombay have fulfilled all the assignments given to them—parallel centre, apparatus, slander campaign, walkout and forgery as well!

The Council stands by the National Council and makes it quite clear that the only valid and proper Party Congress shall be the one to be convened by the National Council.

The Council appeals to all Party units in the State and all comrades to stand firm and united in this hour of supreme crisis facing the Party, and make vigorous effort to defend the Party from the division, defeat any such move and fight for Party unity on the basis of accepted Party principles.

The Council appeals to the 32 comrades that they should reconsider their decision to withdraw from the National

M.P. COUNCIL CONDEMNS SPLITTERS

BHOPAL: The M.P. State Council of the Communist Party of India which met from April 17 to 19 considered the report of the meeting of the National Council, the statement issued by 32 comrades and the National Council Resolution thereon, and endorsed the resolution of the National Council suspending these comrades for their splitting activities. The resolution passed by the State Council on the subject said:

The Council views with grave concern the crisis inside the Party, particularly after the walkout and joint statement by 32 comrades.

It is of the view that it is the biggest crisis in the history of the Party, and it will bring great setback to the progressive movement in the country and strengthen the reactionary forces and anti-people policies of the government.

The Council is of definite opinion that whatever might be the differences—ideological or

otherwise—any attempt to resolve the same from outside the Party or by forming a rival Party is anti-Marxist and against the interests of the people.

The Council condemns the way the question of alleged

"Dange letters" was utilised in the public in an anti-Party way. The Council is of the view that the letters were mainly used for diversionary purpose in an attempt to discredit the Party and divert attention from the real issues of political and ideological differences as has been brought out even by the statement of the 32 comrades. The Council repudiates the slanderous accusations against Comrade Dange sought to be made on the basis of the alleged letters.

The Council appeals to the 32 comrades that they should reconsider their decision to withdraw from the National

GIVE UP PARALLEL ACTIVITIES KERALA STATE COUNCIL'S APPEAL

*FROM PAGE 7

common people whom the Party represents demand this unity.

The State Council desires to ask: are these comrades who have walked out of the National Council and are today engaged in parallel party activities prepared to adopt such an approach? If they are, the proper climate can be created to resolve all inner-party differences on the basis of discussion and agreement.

Those who have walked out from the National Council are propagating the curious theory that it is the majority in the National Council and the other elected bodies who are carrying on splitting, anti-Party and factional activities inside the Communist Party. But facts show just the opposite. These splitting activities have been going on for the past one and half years.

Spokesmen of the minority who had fundamental differences with the resolution of the National Council on Chinese aggression resigned from the Central Secretariat destroying the composite leadership formed in April 1962. The West Bengal State Council refused to implement the same National Council resolution. They began their separatist activities like conducting separate meetings, sending out parallel circulars and instructions, running their own journals and publications and non-cooperating in carrying out Party decisions—all this, with increasing vigour and consistency.

Organisational Principles

This is the basis for the present crisis and split in the Party. It is these comrades who are responsible for the present grave situation. No honest person can deny this. The parallel conference in Delhi of April 2, the walk-out of the 32 comrades from the National Council and their subse-

quent call and programme of action are a culmination of this.

Comrade EMS and others argue that the organisational principles of the Party are being violated because there is an abnormal situation in the Party. But what is the reality? Who created the abnormal situation? It is clear that what the so-called leftists are engaged in today is not an ordinary violation of discipline. Those who are in minority in the duly elected bodies of the Party have been and are acting today in such a way as if they constitute a parallel Party.

With the conference of the Party leaders convened in Delhi on April 2 this has become too open a reality to be denied by anyone. Such an effort to form and function a parallel party is unprecedented in the history of our movement. Differences of opinion and violation of discipline have been there in the Party earlier. They have also been resolved on the basis of mutual discussion, compromise and adjustments. But how can one compromise with a parallel party and its activities and what do comrades EMS and others have in their minds when they talk of compromise and plead for unity?

Matters Can Be Discussed

Comrade EMS is placing certain conditions and demands before the Party today. But unfortunately, he has not expressed readiness to accept even the most elementary of conditions to ensure Party discipline, either on his behalf or on behalf of his colleagues. On the other hand, he is at the head of a state-wide campaign leading and organising parallel party activities. It is rather difficult to appreciate how this approach expresses his urge for unity.

If Comrade EMS and his

colleagues genuinely desire the unity of the Party, let them put an end to the parallel party activities and call upon all similarly placed to give up such activities. Let them come back to the next meeting of the National Council and explain their position. We believe that if they take this one step, the National Council will be ready to withdraw the disciplinary measures taken against them. The Resolution of the National Council itself makes this clear.

Accept Party Discipline

We assure that the State Council will throw its entire weight in favour of this. All the other issues raised by comrade EMS such as, solution of disputes regarding Party membership entitled to elect delegates to Party Congress, ensuring free inner-party discussion etc.—can be discussed and solutions found satisfactory to all. Those who feel anguish in becoming a party to breaking up the movement which has been built up by the blood and sweat of countless workers, peasants and common people, as well as by the efforts and sacrifices of all of us should be prepared to take at least this step.

The State Council fervently appeals to all Party members, sympathisers and the people to persuade these comrades to return to the straight path, and come together to solve the differences inside the Party; the State Council further calls upon all Party members not to encourage in any way those who are unmindful of this appeal continue disruptive activities and to disassociate themselves from such activity.

The State Council appeals to all party members to stand firm under the glorious banner of the Communist Party of India and spare no efforts to maintain and strengthen its unity and discipline.

It cannot be denied that this moment the international working class and Communist movement is passing through a rather difficult test. One must however, immediately add that this test is accompanied by—and even closely connected with—a growth and expansion of the power and influence of this movement in all parts of the world, in a measure that only some years ago it was not easy to foresee.



they develop a furious agitation to the point of exasperation and here all the real aspects of the present situation disappear, hidden as they are by a void or deliberately distorted and camouflaged phraseology so as to reach uproarious condemnations and appeal-less excommunications which, however, fail.

It appears to me obvious that in this way it is the very method of the Marxist thought and action that is abandoned and denied. Hence it is not surprising also that when really existing problems are faced, the result is deeply mistaken.

It is nonsense to assert for example that there are Communists who forget that the main enemy against whom our struggle always should be directed is imperialism, who forget the aims which, due to its nature, imperialism is striving for and what means it might resort to in order to attain these aims.

Struggle Against Imperialism

It would also be equally and even more nonsensical to deny that the struggle against imperialism should be carried on by rightly keeping in mind the deep transformations that have occurred and are occurring in the world, such as the creation and constant consolidation of a system of socialist states, the collapse of colonialism, the internal crisis hitting the imperialist camp, and at the same time also by rightly keeping in mind the nature of war that have taken place due to the appearance and spread of weapons that may cause extermination of all mankind.

Wrong Assessment

By this I do not mean to say that in their articles the Chinese leaders have not tackled problems existing today, problems that require meditation and firm orientations. But what they have done and continue to do is contrary to what should be done.

In fact, in dealing with every question whatsoever they do not start from an examination of the actual conditions—new, to such a great extent—facing us, but from some schematic assertions of the principle (or so-called principle), which are placed, like primitive idols, beyond time and space. On the basis of these assertions

A CHALLENGE THAT WE ACCEPT

to be carried out in order to come nearer to their achievement in advanced capitalist societies, where nobody can play at insurrection, but where the working class has become stronger, more organised, where it is possible to win enormous strata of middle classes to socialism and where at the same time it is possible to conquer a democratic regime in which the progressive forces are able to secure a stronger and stronger position and to carry on more and more successfully the struggle against the ruling capitalist groups.

It is superfluous at every moment to remind those who in this situation are working to open new avenues of advance for the working class what can be done by these ruling groups. If we had forgotten that, we would not be Communists anymore.

Attitude To Communists

Neither would we remain Communists if, while remembering this, instead of carrying on a wide action giving us major possibilities to defeat these ruling groups in all fields, we would abandon this mass political action and mass struggle in order to confine ourselves to repeating a rosary of quotations.

It is absurd to assert that within the very camp of socialist countries there do not exist new problems created by life itself, concerning both the construction of a new society in every country—the forms of planning, the specific role of different production branches, etc.—and the reciprocal relations among the different countries—their full autonomy, 'combined' at the same time with their essential economic and political cooperation so as to consolidate the socialist world in militancy, efficiency and unity in the world competition with capitalism. But to start from the existence of these problems in order to carry on—as is done by the Chinese comrades—a splitting and disruptive activity within the socialist camp, by launching the most absurd charges against the greatest and first socialist country, the Soviet Union, is a foolish work.

No matter what might be said by the Chinese comrades, it is a great decisive historical merit of the leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union that by criticising and openly rejecting the cult of Stalin's personality in the 20th Congress, they started a wide process of criticism and correction of the mistakes made in building socialism and that by re-establishing the right bond that should exist between the socialist economic development and the development of democracy they opened a process of genuine and non-artificial consolidation and renovation in the whole camp of socialist countries—an unavoidable vital process, even though in some moments and in some countries it was accompanied by hard troubles.

This does not mean that we intend to depreciate the value of the present polemics—this debate has been carried on widely also by us. It means only to stress that in the big clashes of opposite trends that have occurred in the working class movement, it has always been the success of the action that has decided. It was the organisational and political victories gained by the parties of the Second International in the last decade of the past century that put an end to the remnants of Bakuninism and anarchism. In the same way the opportunism of social

democratic parties was defeated by the victory of the October Revolution. Trotskyism was ousted by the success in building up the socialist society.

The true unity of the movement is reached and consolidated not so much by approving joint resolutions—a thing which has its great importance, of course—but in the common actions and in the success of those actions.

Be it allowed to us to add that this is the more true at the moment when the very extension and richness of our movement necessarily leads to a diversity of objectives from one country to another and therefore to the full independence of parties in their political elaboration and in their action. It is clear that under these conditions there are dangers of isolation and dis-

By PALMIRO Togliatti
General Secretary, Italian Communist Party

principles, of dogmas good for all time and for all circumstances, to well-chosen ejaculations with which to rinse our mouth in order to console ourselves for not being able to intervene with a more effective action of ours in the evolution of the reality.

Action Decisive

From this complex of considerations arises our conviction, according to which the controversy with the Chinese comrades places on our movement above all the tasks of political action, i.e., a deeper elaboration of the objectives of the Communist movement in all its sectors and present circumstances, a more precise determination of these objectives and therefore a wider, more decisive, more effective action to achieve them.

This does not mean that we intend to depreciate the value of the present polemics—this debate has been carried on widely also by us. It means only to stress that in the big clashes of opposite trends that have occurred in the working class movement, it has always been the success of the action that has decided. It was the organisational and political victories gained by the parties of the Second International in the last decade of the past century that put an end to the remnants of Bakuninism and anarchism. In the same way the opportunism of social

Irrefutable Confirmation

In the world there is no person of good sense, no common man, who is able to understand why the Chinese leaders reject the Moscow agreement which already today is saving a part of mankind from the physical suffer-

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CHALLENGE THAT WE ACCEPT

* FROM OVERLEAF

ings and has at the same time opened up new possibilities of progress. For however much they might mix up and confuse the argument in order to hide the truth, nobody can deny that at least on this issue what they propose is contrary to the most simple interests of mankind.

Take another example. The Prime Minister of People's China made a lot of trips and visits to foreign governments. In Albania, at Yugoslavia's border, he made a useless and shameful speech, full of slanders against socialist Yugoslavia. But in the other countries, his statements were full of "peaceful coexistence", "disarmament" and respect of the United Nations Charter, of wishes for peace and relaxation.

Only one thing was lack-

ing: an emphasis as to the role which in the struggle for these objectives has been played by and belongs to the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. So, the speech was limp; nevertheless it revealed the contradiction between a positive policy and a series of deeply mistaken ideological positions. Coming in contact with the reality of the present world, they collapsed.

Remove Exclusions

It is therefore desirable—and one must work so—that all the hitherto existing exclusions against People's China are removed at the earliest and the Chinese leaders are compelled to expose themselves not by words but in the diplomatic and political action, with the necessities of

that constant, harsh struggle for relaxation and peace that is the true action of today against imperialism and upon which the destiny of mankind is depending today.

There is also another problem on which keeping silence would mean a big lapse. Hitherto the working class movement of the Western countries has not fully and properly played the role that belongs to it vis-a-vis the great liberation movement of the colonial peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. There have been a great upsurge and powerful campaigns of solidarity; but there have been areas of misunderstanding, delays and mistakes, too. The Chinese Communist leaders, as they are artificially trying to drive a wedge between the world of socialist countries and the world of peoples and states of recent independence; so they are also attempting to create a rupture between the emancipation movement of all peoples and the anti-capitalist one in the more advanced countries.

roots of the new forms of subjection which are imposed on the recently freed ones, are to be found here where the political and economic centres of imperialism exist, where the big monopoly groups succeed, with a simple play of international prices, in preventing the economic advance, the full and independent development of societies embracing hundreds of millions of people.

Concrete Action

Equally this is a truth that is not sufficient to know and to assert. It is a truth that we must be able to translate into an organised action, into a true and reciprocal contact and support between these two great struggle fronts against imperialism. Only if we succeed in doing so soon and with efficiency, the disruptive activity of the Chinese Communist leaders will fail.

Thus, we conceive the Chinese Communist Party's struggle inside the International working class and Communist movement almost as a challenge launched against this movement.

It is a challenge to go ahead in all fields of our activity where the doctrinal search

and the very experience of work and struggle of the broad masses of working people lead us to open new parts; to set tasks better corresponding to the reality; to overcome and remove old and harmful mistakes, sectarian and dogmatic narrow-mindedness and stagnation; to go on in the construction of socialist societies on a wide democratic basis, satisfying all the development requirements of human personality; to go on along the road of relaxation of tension, peaceful coexistence; to isolate and defeat the dihard groups of imperialism; to go on in order to open the road to deep-going economic and social reforms for the working people, creating more and more favourable conditions for their struggle to free themselves from the capitalist exploitation and to become the ruling class; to go on in the total destruction of colonialism through joint efforts of all the progressive forces; to go on—through denouncing all mistakes of the past and their causes—in the creation of a wide movement, articulated in autonomous parties and mass organisations, but united closely together by the active solidarity of all the oppressed and exploited people, by the unity of great common goals, by the consciousness that our epoch is that of the triumph of the great cause of socialism.

In this sense, the challenge that the Chinese comrades are launching against the movement is accepted by us.

Bridges Of Amity

Two More Giant Plants

TWO more giant industrial enterprises will be constructed in our country under the Soviet programme of economic aid. The protocol on this agreement was signed in Moscow on March 28.

One of these two new industrial projects will produce ten thousand tons of rolled steel sheets annually for the building of railway cars. The second one will manufacture compressors and pumps. Its rated capacity is 16,000 tons a year.

These plants will play a very important role in the development of India's independent industrial base like the heavy engineering, mining equipment, heavy electricals and other projects which are being built with Soviet assistance.

Larger Indo-Hungarian Trade

According to HUNGAROPRESS, the characteristic feature of KONSUM-EX, the Hungarian Foreign Trading Company, in the current year will be of increasing two-way trade with the developing countries.

The scope of barter deals in consumer goods will be considerably extended. The choice of commodities available in Hungarian market will be increased considerably by consumer goods from India.

Polish Ships For India

Poland will shortly supply India four cargo ships, construction of which has already

begun at the Gdynia shipyard. Each ship will be of 9,730 ton capacity.

The ships will be designed to sail under tropical conditions and equipped with air-conditioning and refrigeration plants. They will have tanks for the transport of edible oil.

On April 10, the Indian Ambassador to Poland presented a collection of Indian artistic craftsmanship products, to the director of the Poznan National Museum.

Soviet Educationists

A three-member delegation of Soviet experts on the liquidation of illiteracy left for the USSR on April 18 after completing their 3-week tour of the country under the Indo-Soviet Cultural Exchange Programme for 1963-64.

The Soviet experts were paying a return visit to India. Last year a five-member Indian delegation visited the USSR.

Czech Machine Building Plant

The Czechoslovak Foreign Trade Corporation—TECHNO-EXPORT will shortly be supplying a complete machine tool factory to Nava Bharat Enterprises Ltd., the order for which has already been placed.

Indian Post-Graduates In GDR

Three post-graduate research students from India have submitted their theses for doctorate at the Technical University of Dresden where they are doing post-graduate research work for three years.

The Dresden Technical University is Europe's biggest polytechnical training institute. At present there are 60 research workers there from 17 countries. Eighteen of them are from India.

Serious Political Mistake

It is a serious political mistake contradicting all our principles and above all against the present reality, because today the very roots of the slavery of peoples are not yet independent, the

Uncle Sam's Umbrella

IT'S FUN TO SEE ONE DIE

IT happened in the land of Uncle Sam a few days ago. And it was not an isolated incident.

A mentally unbalanced youth stepped on to the ledge of an Albany hotel to jump twelve stories below to kill himself. Before he was able to do it, words got round and hundreds of spectators flocked in. Some hired cats to witness the suicide; firebride men arrived; even housewives gave up marketing and rushed to the scene of the latest "fun."

But the youth did not jump; he was goaded by the mob below to jump; he was called "coward," a "chicken," a "yellow." Several times the youth hovered to jump but each time drew back at the wild shout of jubilation down below.

Finally, his six-year old nephew was brought up there by firebride men. He urged the uncle to come with him; the uncle did. The thrill-seekers called the youth by names; they had spent their time and money for the fun which did not come off.

To see a person die is a fun and so it was several days ago in the case of a young woman in Queens where she lay writh-

ing in pain after being stabbed by some miscreants. The on-lookers neither called a doctor nor the police. They saw her agony till the death and enjoyed the fun.

Yes, this is "fun" in the land of dollar; it is "fun" and that is why the number of crimes is highest in the Uncle's land than in any other country; it is "fun" that 387 major crimes are committed every four minutes in the USA. It is "fun" that human values hardly exist under the Uncle's dispensation and everybody "enjoys" a free life! Human beings no longer remain human, isn't it fun?

Patronage In Brazil

As is well known, Brazil had been running a constitutional government but the Uncle was not "satisfied" the way things were shaping.

Under the Uncle's active 'aid' programme, the cost of living in that country shot up by 300 per cent and the value of currency fell by 83 per cent. The government carried a burden of foreign debts amounting to 3,700 million dollars. US investments ranged around 1,100 million dollars.

But President Goulart of Brazil has been desperately trying to save his country

from crisis and at the same time resisting the US attempts at grabbing his country. This situation could not be tolerated by the Uncle. So a coup was ordered and carried out.

On April 2 American President Johnson sent his greetings to the leader of the coup. He promised US assistance and conveyed "warmest best wishes."

The Brazilian sentiment was aptly described when a Brazilian citizen wrote a letter to NEWSWEEK. It said:

"As a Brazilian citizen, may I reciprocate, President Johnson's good wishes to Mr. Ranieri Mazzilli? Warm congratulations for the addition of another puppet to his collection.

The cause of American democracy has been served: a government elected and supported by the great majority of the Brazilian people (January 1963 referendum) has been violently overthrown by the traditional guardians of medieval privileges.

To hell with democracy and the working class. After all, profits from US investments will be safer and fatter."

JOSE TOSI

Does not the qualification fit Uncle Sam to the brim?

—CHARVAK

The current visit of the Algerian President Ahmed Ben Bella to the Soviet Union has once again brought out the close links that the Soviet Union has forged with the newly liberated countries, the major part of it has played in their liberation by its moral and material help in the freedom struggles.

MOSCOW has gone all out to accord an enthusiastic, sincere and loving reception to the Algerian President.

At a luncheon given in honour of the Algerian guests in the Kremlin, Nikita Khrushchov declared that the Soviet people knew and highly appreciated the determination of the Algerian people to follow the road of socialism.

"On this road the Algerian people would encounter big difficulties caused by an acute shortage of funds, trained personnel, lack of experience in economic construction, stubborn resistance of internal reaction as well as the machinations of external enemies.

"But we firmly believe that the Algerian people will successfully overcome all the difficulties lying in their way," Khrushchov said.

Revolutionary Algeria, he said, had reliable friends and these

were first of all the countries of victorious socialism. "We" have always believed and do believe it our internationalist duty to support the peoples waging national liberation struggles against colonial domination and the peoples who have achieved independence and have embarked on the road of independent development."

Khrushchov said there was no doubt that the fighting programme of the development of the Algerian revolution adopted by the National Liberation Front of Algeria at its recent Congress would inspire the people to further deeds of labour heroism.

President Ben Bella said that the friendship of the two countries was not an empty word but had deep roots in common struggle and unshakable principles. "We felt this friendship at the time of our war of independence and it has grown even further after the

Moscow Letter

From MASOOD ALI KHAN

Growing Links with Resurgent Nations

President Ben Bella's Visit to USSR

achievement of freedom by us...

He thanked the Soviet Union for the help of specialists, technicians and doctors. Soon the Soviet engineers and experts will be helping to build dams, factories and unearthing the mineral wealth of the land, he said.

Friendship with the socialist countries who had been on Algeria's side in the most difficult moments in her history was a firm principle of Algerian policy, Ben Bella declared. He spoke of the importance of the principle of peaceful co-existence between states. The peace struggle must constantly

support those who fight for independence. After the appearance of nuclear weapons peace had become a sheer necessity for the world and he welcomed the Moscow Test Ban Treaty as an important step towards total disarmament.

Pravda in an article entitled "Who Profits from the Isolation of Asian and African Peoples," sharply criticised the stand of Chinese representatives at the Jakarta meeting held in preparation of the Afro-Asian states conference. The article said that the motives behind this were the same as those which prompted the actions of the Chinese splitters in the world Communist movement.

India's proposal supported by Ceylon that the Soviet Union should take part in the proposed conference had been met with ferocious attacks by Chen Yi who declared that the Soviet Union was a non-Asian power and therefore should have nothing to do with the conference.

USSR is Also Asian Country

But two-thirds of the territory of Soviet Union lies in Asia and, therefore, she is not only European but also an Asian country, declared Pravda.

Less than six years ago at the Afro-Asian cooperation conference called by the Afro-Asian Solidarity Organisation in Cairo in 1958 some anti-Soviet representatives, and particularly Pakistan, had declared that the USSR was a non-Asian power. At that time the Chinese representative had spoken, in committees and in the open meeting, defending the indisputable truth that the Soviet Union was an Asian country also and therefore must take part in such a conference. Now the Chinese had gone to the absurd length of defending the opposite and in Jakarta stood in the same bloc with Pakistan.

Pravda said that the Peking leaders tried to counterpoise the

second Afro-Asian Conference to the second conference of non-aligned countries. The first non-aligned conference of 1962 played an important role in securing the unity of all countries in the struggle for peace, disarmament and lessening of international tension. The very fact of its convocation showed that the important changes that had taken place in the world.

Rebuff Necessary

The Soviet Union was supporting the idea of calling the second conference of non-aligned countries because it could be conducted in the consolidation of the forces of peace.

The attempt to counterpoise the second Afro-Asian Conference to the second conference of non-aligned countries was an act of subversion against the people of the world, Pravda declared. The actions of Chen Yi go to show that the Chinese leaders were sliding to positions of racialism. Their own "special" line was nothing but a form of struggle against the Soviet Union. This line of isolating the Afro-Asian people from the Soviet Union only played into the hands of imperialists, colonialists, old and new.

Pravda said that Soviet Union will support the idea of calling the second conference of Afro-Asian countries if this conference sets itself the task of rallying all forces fighting imperialism and colonial slavery and if no other purpose such as the splitting of these forces is pursued.

The Soviet Union, being one of the big Asian states, was ready to do all it can to make this conference a success. Those who would like to disunite the Afro-Asian countries, to cut them off from the general anti-imperialist front should be given a resolute rebuff, the article said.

In China

MAO DICTATES PARTY LIFE

PRAVDA today (April 28) published the first instalment of a detailed editorial article entitled "Some Aspects of Party Life in the Communist Party of China" in which the paper points out the violation of the norms of Party life in the CPC.

The article notes that in the past 35 years only two congresses of the CPC have been held. The Eighth Congress in 1956 adopted important decisions which were basically in accordance with Marxist-Leninist theory. But the new line of the Chinese leadership in international and domestic policy has taken shape in recent years, the new ideological platform signifying a revision of the most important tenets of Marxism-Leninism.

This full sharp turn was taken without consulting the Party; without convening a Congress and contrary to the

decisions of the previous Congress of the CPC.

Rules adopted by the Eighth Congress are being violated on the question of the interval between Congresses and according to the rules the term of office of the Central Committee has long since expired but no one seems to notice this.

Everything points out to the fact that in the Communist Party of China these questions are now being decided not according to the provisions of the rules but by the instructions of Mao Tse-tung just as it had been in the Soviet Union under Stalin in the post-war period.

"Having revised the theses of the joint documents of the Communist Parties and the decisions of their own Congresses on questions of international life the CPC leaders decided to put the blame of revisionism on somebody else."

GLORIOUS RECORD OF AITUC

* FROM CENTRE PAGES

the burden of depression on them.

There were strikes in Tata Iron & Steel Company at Jamshedpur, five-month long general strike in Bombay of the textile workers, jute workers of Calcutta also struck work. There was a six-month long strike of Tinsplate workers at Jamshedpur during which the notorious Trades Disputes Bill was sought to be passed aiming at declaring the strike as illegal.

The 9th session of the AITUC adopted certain very important resolutions and government alarmed by the rising discontent and the organised strength of the working class, launched an intensive attack against the trade union movement. Trade union leaders were arrested and there was instituted the Meerut Conspiracy Case, in which the T. U. leaders were charged for "incitement of antagonism between capital and labour"; "encouragement to strikes" etc.

Independence Struggle

During the thirties, the political atmosphere of the country was charged with the growing tempo of national independence movement and the working class under the banner of AITUC took part in it. Hundreds of TU leaders were incarcerated. The economic crisis in the country deepened and the employers sought to impose greater work burden on the workers, reduced their wages and attempted retrenchments.

During this period, there were the strikes in the railways, textiles and the famous strike of 1934 of Calcutta port workers. The AITUC gave a call for one-day political general strike on April 1, 1937 to condemn the introduction of the new Constitution. In 1937 alone there were 329 strikes involving about seven lakh workers. Two and a half lakh workers of Calcutta jute mills carried on a 10-week strike, Kanpur workers had a four-month strike. March 6, 1938 was observed throughout the country as Protest Day on the demand of release of political prisoners.

In 1938, more than one lakh workers in Bombay conducted one-day protest strike against the introduction of Bombay Industrial Disputes Act. There were strikes in Jamshedpur where the employers' agents run a lorry over TU leader Hazara Singh and killed him. There was a strike in Assam Oil Company where military opened fire and killed three workers.

After the outbreak of war, there were anti-war strikes in Bombay and other centres. DA conferences and meetings over various demands of the workers were held throughout the country. After the "Quit India" call of Gandhiji, there were spontaneous upheaval and strikes were resorted to by the workers protesting against the arrest of national leaders.

Brutal repression followed and Defence of India Rules was imposed.

There were strikes in Delhi textile mills, Budge Budge jute mills, Madras textile mills where police firing resulted in the death of nine workers. Bombay dock workers struck work on April 20, 1942 where again police opened fire and killed six workers. There were strikes in GIP, EIR and NS railways in 1943. In 1945, AITUC resolved to affiliate itself with the WFTU.

During the years 1946-47, there were strikes in Calcutta tramways, Bombay BEST, in Dacca and Ahmedabad textile mills, municipalities in Madras, in postal departments and railways. These strikes brought significant gains though the workers had to pay heavily for them.

During these years there have been important political developments. There were strikes in the RIN and air force, and campaign continued throughout the country for the release of INA heroes. Prices rose and economic conditions worsened resulting in spontaneous actions by the workers.

In 1945, there were 820 strikes involving about eight lakh workers that resulted in a loss of 40 lakh mandays. In 1916, 1629 strikes, 19.6 lakh workers involved and 127 mandays lost. In 1947, the AITUC was formed.

In 1948, Coimbatore textile workers carried on a strike for three months demanding standardisation. There were strikes in coalfields and jute mills in Bengal, port in Bombay and in other industrial centres.

Repression & Revival

In 1949, terrible repression was let loose by the Congress government and most of the leading trade union functionaries were put behind prison bars. But again in the fifties, when the leaders came out of prison, the trade union actions of the workers took another powerful step forward.

There were the strikes of Calcutta tram workers, the teachers' strike, gheros of engineering and jute workers for bonus, and march of Madras handloom workers. Bombay textile workers went on one-day general strike in 1953, Burnpur steel workers fought for days against the steel baron's onslaught and eight workers fell victim to police bullets defending their democratic rights and wage demands.

From then on the struggles of the workers showed greater and growing tempo. In 1954, 34 lakh mandays were lost but next year it went up to 57 lakhs while in 1956 it shot up to 71 lakhs. There was the ninety-day long strike of Kanpur textile workers against rationalisation, protest actions and strikes in railways, banks and insurance industries. Important demands were won through these struggles.

1953, the famous strike of Tata Iron & Steel Company workers took place on wage and DA demands, after a

long gap of thirty years. About 400 workers were victimised, police resorted to firing killing three workers. Police instituted a number of criminal cases including the so-called conspiracy case in which the TU leaders have been sentenced to imprisonment.

Same year, there were the all-India port and dock workers strike, the strike in Premier Automobile works, Calcutta Tramways, strike in Hindustan Aircraft factory, and general strike in the plantations in West Bengal. In 1960, there took place the strike of Central government employees demanding revision of DA, wages etc. Government tried to thwart the action but failed to do it. Five workers were killed in Dohad police firing.

These struggles forced the government to make some

amends to its labour policy and various truce and codes were formulated during the period since 1953.

After 1960, there has been a comparative lull in the strike-actions of the workers as such but there were manifestations in other forms. Workers took to more organised steps and in many a case, settlement of disputes was arrived at before the stage of strike was reached.

The mightiest action of the workers in recent times was the BOMBAY BANDH on August 20, 1963, followed up by a general strike in Calcutta demanding relief from the growing burden of cost of living. Then came the Great March and Great Petition, the biggest ever action of the people of our country against the reactionary taxation policy of the government. The AITUC played a very important role in this.

The gains of the Great March and Great Petition movement were followed up by the AITUC when it held an all-India conference of trade unions in Bombay in Decem-

ber 1963 and formulated a national campaign plan of tollers on an eleven-point charter of demands.

The two stages of this national campaign are over and presently the Campaign Committee is seized with the subject of calling a general strike of workers throughout the country.

These are just glimpses of the glorious history of the AITUC, whose leaders have been tested in struggles and the workers under which have been baptised in innumerable militant actions. They bear the militant traditions of their older colleagues and hold high the banner of the AITUC, the RED FLAG.

It is under this flag the workers have rallied and secured important gains and are today striving to achieve further benefits and contributing towards the establishment of a new society, free from the exploitation of man by man. The AITUC thus today stands synonymous to the militant actions in defence of the interests of the Indian working class and betterment of their living and working conditions.

S. E. D. STRIVES FOR UNITY IN WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

From P. KUNHANANDAN

BERLIN, April 25: This week the Communists and working people of the German Democratic Republic celebrated two important anniversaries dedicating the two occasions to the ideological education of the masses against splitters of the Party in all countries and for the unity of the international Communist movement.

APRIL 21 marked the 18th anniversary of the founding of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED) in which were united the Communist Party of Germany and the Social Democratic Party in the present GDR territory in the year 1946.

On this historic day working class unity in East Germany was fully achieved paving the way for the foundation of the German Democratic Republic which came into existence on October 7, 1949.

April 22 was the 94th anniversary of the birth of V. I. Lenin, the great architect of proletarian revolution. This mountain eagle who fought against all sorts of splitters and unified the Russian Communists in the great CPSU, the best friend of the German working class who corrected many mistakes of the German working class movement in his lifetime, was again honoured everywhere in Germany.

The SED while celebrating Lenin Day reminded all Communists that Lenin's message of proletarian discipline, monolithic Party and democratic centralism which he outlined in the organisational principles of the Communist International and since then became the cornerstone of statutes of all Communist and Workers Parties would be defended today against the onslaught of splittism.

The SED pledged itself anew to uphold the great Lenin's commands on the iron discipline and democratic centralism of the vanguard organisations of the proletarian revolution.

The assurance that the Socialist Unity Party allied with the CPSU would continue to consistently struggle in future for the unity of the world Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism was given by Comrade Hermann Matern, member of the Political

countries, but said nothing about relations among the socialist states.

"The German militarists and revanchists make no bones about the Socialist GDR and the revolutionary workers' movement being their main enemies. According to the Chinese recipe the worst enemies of the German people should be the allies of the GDR; the GDR should not fight with all means available against the West German militarists, nuclear armament and their greed for thermo-nuclear weapons."

The Chinese leaders' recipe in the last analysis meant completely forsaking the GDR as the world socialist system in Europe and a re-edition of the conception of the policy on Germany which was smashed by the Central Committee of the CPSU under the leadership of Comrade Khrushchov, he disclosed.

Giving the example of the anti-fascist democratic revolution in the East of Germany which created the conditions for a peaceful transition to socialist revolution, Comrade Matern reduced to absurdity the Chinese leaders' assertion that there existed no example for a peaceful transition to socialism.

He said it was by no means just an accident that in the past eight commentaries of the Chinese leaders, the question of democracy did not play any role at all; the elaboration of violence left no room for this.

An editorial in Neues Deutschland on Wednesday paid tribute to the merger of the Communist Party and the Social Democratic Party into the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED) 18 years ago as the "biggest achievement in the history of the German workers' movement since the proclamation of the Communist Manifesto by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels."

The editorial said: "The unification of the working class in April 1946 gave us the key to solve all the complicated tasks of the anti-fascist, democratic and of the socialist revolution. It was at the same time the basis for the historic programme of the all-round construction of socialism decided at the Sixth SED Congress and now

*ON FACING PAGE

Zimbabwe, which the British named Southern Rhodesia after Cecil Rhodes, the founder of British colonialism in Africa, is one of the three countries which the British unified to form the infamous and now defunct Central African Federation.

THE dissolution of the Federation on December 31, 1963 is a landmark in the history of the national independence struggle of the three Central African peoples. It represents a tremendous blow to the colonialists, both economically and politically. According to Welensky himself, during the ten years the Federation lasted, about £300 to £400 million were invested there with a profit of £40 million per year. Politically, it is the capitulation of a major citadel of colonialism in Africa.

Southern Rhodesia lying south of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, with Mozambique in the east, Bechuanaland (a British "protectorate") in the west and South Africa in the south has an area of 3,89,000 sq. kms. and a population comprising about 3,700,000 Africans, 250,000 Europeans and 2,000 people of mixed descent.

It is immensely rich in natural resources and it is said that what attracted the British colonialists to it was the belief that the legendary King Solomon's mines were situated there. It has rich deposits of copper, gold, coal, asbestos, iron, mica, beryllium, lithium and emeralds. Its agricultural resources consist of tobacco, maize, cotton, groundnuts and fruits. It has excellent conditions for cattle and poultry-raising and a pleasant climate.

All this great wealth of their country is as good as non-existent for the Africans who make up 98 per cent of the total population of Southern Rhodesia. Ruthless oppression and exploitation deprives them of the ample benefits such huge wealth could have provided them with.

The regime under which they live is in every way similar to the apartheid regime of South Africa. Segregation and discrimination based on the colour of the skin dominates the laws of the country. Segregation is everywhere: in residential areas, in schools, in hospitals, in public transport, in cinemas, hotels and restaurants and even in churches.

As in South Africa, the African in Southern Rhodesia cannot move out of his residential locality without a special permit and the Pass controls his every movement.

Wages and salaries too are according to the colour of the skin. Whereas the average income of a European worker is £1,145 per year, that of the African worker is £95. The average African lives on a single meal a day. His earnings do not allow more.

The Africans living in urban areas are not allowed to stay in the central parts of the town; they live in certain "locations" situated on the outskirts of the city and very often beyond its boundaries, in filthy abodes, with no running water, no electricity and no sewerage. Very many have no shelter at all and sleep in the open.

The bulk of the African population, about 2,500,000 people, live

in the rural areas crowded in what are called Native Reserves in dire poverty and squalor. This vast section of the population which depends entirely on agriculture for its subsistence, however, has hardly any land to cultivate.

The major part of the land, and at that the most fertile, is owned by the Europeans. While 3.7 million Africans own 39 million acres of barren sandy tracts, 250,000 Europeans own 48 million acres of the very best land.

Some of the European tobacco and maize plantations are huge enterprises employing hundreds of African labourers at starvation wages, which ensure the super-profits earned by the Europeans.

Most of the owners of those big farms live in England and employ people to manage their affairs and send them the profits. It happens too that large portions of the land owned by Europeans are left uncultivated. Yet it cannot be utilised to meet the land hunger of the Africans.

On the other hand, the Africans can any moment be deprived of even the limited plots they own, to have them made over to Europeans.

As far as education goes, the racist government rather than foster education, takes good care to see that as little as possible of it is imparted to the Africans. Whereas primary education is compulsory for European children and the government provides the necessary schools and teachers to implement the rule, spending £108 per European child, it spends just £8 for every African child.

The education of the Africans, as in all colonial countries, is left to the care of the Christian missionaries—the universally recognised experts in mental enslavement. There are no facilities for the African for technical training. In its 70 years the colonialist "civilizing mission" in Southern Rhodesia has produced just seven doctors, four lawyers and one school inspector.

But poor, illiterate and backward the Africans have not failed to react with dignity to the savagery of their self-appointed "civilizers", defying with remarkable courage, and in spite of the brutal processes of repression, the inhuman laws and regulations which seek to crush them.

During the ten years of the Federation's duration the struggle of the South Rhodesian Africans for its dissolution and their right to self-determination grew in intensify, in proportion to the ruthless frenzy of the colonialist-racist repression.

The great strike of the coal miners in Wankie in 1954

SITUATION IN ZIMBABWE DEMANDS

Immediate Action By Anti-Colonialist Forces

By BERTA BRAGANZA

illustrates how, for the Africans their freedom movement and their economic interests are inseparable. As everywhere else in Africa, in Southern Rhodesia too the labour and peasant movements are part of the freedom struggle.

COAL MINERS' STRIKE

Banning of political parties as a means of eliminating African resistance has been a characteristic fascist feature of the racist regime in Southern Rhodesia. In 1959 the Southern Rhodesian African National Congress was

adopted by the racist government and remains in force to this day.

Even after arming themselves thus, the racists did not seem to feel secure. As a measure towards the elimination of all African opposition in the elections, on December 1961 they banned the National Democratic Party, confiscated its office effects and transported worth about £80,000, clamped a ban on nearly 5,000 patriots from entering the Native Reserves, and forbade Africans from holding meetings for three months.

But it proved a futile attempt to silence the Africans. With the exit of the National

Government, however, having come to power on just 38,000 votes represents no more than 1 per cent of the population.

With the dissolution of the Federation and Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland on the verge of independence, Southern Rhodesia has assumed new importance in the neo-colonialist strategy.

It is no longer only copper that matters now to the colonialists—even if it still is the main consideration. But for the very purpose of preserving their hold in Africa, the strategic position of Southern Rhodesia, with Salazar in Mozambique in the east and Verwoerd in South Africa in the south, is equally valuable.

Winston Field has since been succeeded by a still more outspoken protagonist of white minority rule. His armed strength added to by Britain's generous gift of the Federal armed forces—something like four army battalions, seven air force squadrons, etc.—Ian Smith is now demanding independence for South Rhodesia with greater insistence.

This has added to the tension. The Africans strongly oppose the move, which would mean the domination of 1 per cent over 99 per cent of the population. They demand that no independence be granted to Southern Rhodesia till a new Constitution guarantees the Africans a representation proportionate to the population and new elections have been held on the basis of one man one vote.

Britain pretends helplessness, conveniently pushing forth the status of Southern Rhodesia, as a "self-governing colony", which it claims is sovereign, not allowing interference by Britain, making nought of its "Reserved Rights" which still figure even in the present Constitution.

Nothing has exposed the hypocrisy of the British more than their performance in the U. N. Thus, when the Security Council discussed the Ghana-Morocco resolution last September, demanding the postponement of Southern Rhodesia's independence till the legitimate right of the African to adequate representation was conceded, Britain vetoed that resolution.

And when the resolution came up before the General Assembly and was adopted by 73 votes against two—the inevitable twin brothers, South Africa and Portugal—with 19 abstentions, the British representative protested and refused to take part in the voting.

Today the dangerous situation created by the imperialist conspirators in the very heart of Africa demands the immediate and active intervention of all anti-colonialist forces of the world to force a speedy solution of the Southern Rhodesian problem in keeping with tenets of justice and freedom.



18th ANNIVERSARY OF S.E.D

*FROM FACING PAGE

being systematically realised in GDR.

The organ of the GDR trade union organisation Tribune wrote on Tuesday on the 18th anniversary of the founding of the SED, that without the SED the workers and peasants' power could not have been created in one part of Germany.

Without the construction of

socialism the GDR would not have existed as the power which by way of its example is gaining ever greater influence on the development in the whole of Germany.

It added, "What would have happened, where would we be today, had we acted in 1946 according to the idea that the division of the working class was a legitimate phenomenon. The dangerous German imperialism would be ruling whole of Germany

and probably would have resorted to new coldblooded acts of violence against other peoples."

Finally, the trade union paper stated: "Under the tried and tempered leadership of the SED we will continue along the successful path indicated by the Party, for it was and is a good one, the path of a consistent peace policy, of economic and political strengthening of the GDR through the all-round construction of socialism."

The Rhodesian Front

TWO BIG REVERSES FOR GOVERNMENT

17th Amendment Falls Through, 18th is Withdrawn

(By Our Parliamentary Correspondent)

The two big reverses for the government this week in the Lok Sabha epitomise the confusion that rules Congress activity in Parliament and consequently the vulnerability of the Cabinet.

THE defeat of the Constitution (Seventeenth Amendment) Bill has not only brought humiliation for the ruling party, but even more serious it has sabotaged, at least for the time being, a progressive legislation that ought to have been on the statute book long ago. The defeat was too diabolical to be excused.

In the second case, the decision not to proceed with the Eighteenth Amendment Bill was a wise afterthought but welcome all the same as it showed that the strength of public opinion can still curb Authority from destroying the fundamental rights of the citizens under the influence of some delusion.

The only criticism would be that the obvious thing could have been done with better grace. In fact this pernicious amendment should not have been attempted at all.

In both cases therefore there was evidence of thoughtlessness and a mess in the making of laws.

LONG DELAY

The Seventeenth Amendment Bill was introduced in the Lok Sabha on May 6, 1963, that is, almost a year ago. It had been necessitated when the Supreme Court struck down some of the vital provisions of the Kerala Agrarian Relations Act, 1960 as being ultra vires of the Constitution and a number of land reform legislations in other states also were similarly affected by the Supreme Court decision.

But the government took enough time to bring forward the Bill to amend the Constitution in the light of the Supreme Court judgment and give protection to the land reform enactments in the states. All the while, the peasantry agitated for such a measure. When the Bill was finally brought forward, it was welcomed by progressive sections and stoutly opposed by the vested interests under the leadership of the Swatantra Party.

The Bill which sought to enlarge the definition of the word "estate" in Article 31-A of the Constitution and also included a number of state enactments in the Ninth Schedule to the Constitution to put them above litigation was referred to a Joint Committee of the two Houses of Parliament which took nearly six months to complete its report.

REPORT OF JOINT COMMITTEE

The Joint Committee held 14 sittings in all between September 23, 1963 and March 17, 1964. A great deal of evidence was gathered by the Committee and twice it was given extension of time to submit its report.

After all this labour and waiting, when the Bill ultimately came before the Lok Sabha for consideration, it was blocked only because a majority of the total membership of the House was not present to vote for the Bill.

Any constitutional amendment has to be passed by a majority of the total membership of the House

and by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the members present and voting. In this case, when the division was taken on the government motion to take the Bill into consideration, there were only 206 votes for and 19 against. Since the total membership of the House is 510, the motion was declared not carried.

ABSURD AND TRAGIC

That the Bill failed in such circumstances was both absurd and tragic. The blow fell most unexpectedly after the House had a fullscale discussion on the Bill in its first reading stage.

In the discussion, the Swatantra opposition to the Bill was more than met by the strong support which the Communist Group gave it. Both Homi Daji and P. K. Vasudevan Nair who spoke from the Communist Group supported the Bill. Their criticism was on the failure of the Congress governments in the states to implement land reform legislations sincerely and seriously.

The Congress attitude to the Bill was divided, as was evident from the trend of speeches from that side. Some of those speeches revealed a close identity of views with the Swatantra and it was demonstrated again when some Congress members joined in the spontaneous cheer from the Swatantra benches when the fatal result of the division was announced.

As to the failure of more members to reach the House, when the division bell was rung and before the doors were closed for voting, their explanations that they were engaged in the elections to Parliamentary Committees which went on at the same time in another part of the building and that the division bell was not heard there, only helped to make their predicament and distress more understandable.

But as the Speaker rightly remarked, "what has happened may be very unfortunate, but the facts are to be accepted, whatever the consequences." He was not prepared "to sacrifice the traditions of Parliament" and he also observed: "It is for the Whips to muster their strength and bring the members here."

Obviously the Whips had failed. And the reaction in the lobbies was particularly strong and a confirmation of this view. It was the general opinion that the Whips of the Congress party should be taken to task for failing to ensure the attendance of the large majority on the government side at a crucial voting on a Constitution Amendment Bill.

Parliament knows what this majority can do at other times. But here it was completely ineffective in spite of the support that the government got for the Bill from the Communist, PSP, and some other members on the Opposition side. One might say that the size is the biggest weakness of the ruling party.

It is numerically so big that it does not bother to take its work seriously. Also it has allowed ample room for sabotage of poli-

cies from inside. The story of the Seventeenth Amendment further exposed its inertia in the face of challenging situations that are becoming too frequent in the life of the nation.

After his discomfiture on the Seventeenth Amendment, Law Minister A. K. Sen sounded more pathetic when he briefly told the House that the government does not propose to proceed with the Constitution (Eighteenth Amendment) Bill. But he was applauded nevertheless, because for once the government had reacted wisely to public sentiment, even though belatedly.

The vigorous opposition that the Bill encountered when it was introduced in the Lok Sabha last week, the strong condemnation of the measure by eminent jurists and appeals to the Prime Minister to withdraw the Bill all helped to force the government to reconsider its position.

CAN PARTY UNITY BE SAVED?

*FROM FRONT PAGE

rival meeting after two months and a rival party congress.

What could the National Council do in such circumstances? Let the Party members judge.

The National Council held back the resolution of expulsion of seven. But could it remain silent and do nothing, say nothing when all of these 32 in a joint common manifesto, based on falsehoods, called for a rival Party Congress and a rival all-India council of their own? Was it not the duty of the National Council to uphold its authority, uphold the dignity of the Party?

No doubt, some of the suspended members are big leaders. But have the big leaders the big right to split and walk out? Has the Party become a bourgeois Parliament or Assembly that these big leaders resort to the tactics of walkouts and open statements? In fact, are not these open walkouts from Party organisations an example of revisionism and splittism?

And is the National Council wrong if it is forced to take action against such behaviour of 'big leaders'?

Even then the Council only suspended them for the time being, hoping that by the next meeting of the National Council the situation would improve, tempers would cool down, and impulsive behaviour replaced by cool thought. But reports from some places show that attempts are being made to seize offices, papers etc., by arbitrary measures. What is the remedy to such a situation?

DON'T BE A VICTIM

Party members must stand firmly by the National Council. They can criticise where they like the National Council resolution or send suggestions to improve the situation and preserve unity. But in no case should they fall a victim to

Constitution Amending Bills

After the public apprehensions on the Bill had been voiced in no uncertain measure inside Parliament and outside too, the opposition to the Bill was joined by a determined section in the ruling party itself, Monday's meeting of the Congress Parliamentary Party Executive marked the return to sanity.

The Bill was severely criticised by Khadilkar and A. P. Jain and others including Education Minister M. C. Chagla. Krishna Menon's note to the Prime Minister on the Bill completely agreed with the Opposition's view that the Bill would do away with the fundamental rights in the Constitution. The Cabinet then wisely decided to drop the measure.

It was a clear victory for the Opposition which put up a big fight against the Bill even at the introduction stage and walked out of the Lok Sabha when leave to introduce the Bill was granted by 172 votes against 52.

Leaders of all opposition groups had earlier written a letter to the Prime Minister urging that the

Bill should not be introduced. When therefore the Law Minister sought leave of the House to introduce the Constitution (Eighteenth Amendment) Bill last Friday in the Lok Sabha, the entire Opposition joined hands in their protest against the move.

N. C. Chatterjee called it the "blackest day in the history of this country" and said the Bill was wholly illegal and unconstitutional. Hiren Mukerjee said that the real intention of the Bill was to "extinguish the fundamental rights". Members from other parties too used very strong language to decry the measure.

In withdrawing the Bill therefore the Cabinet bowed to criticism and the wishes of the Opposition came to be upheld. It also showed that the democratic conscience in the ruling party can be roused if there is a sufficiently alert public opinion to watch over the actions of the Executive. Only Asoke Sen looked a casualty in this painful process of discovering truth.

falsehoods, misleading statements and bullying tactics.

Party members everywhere should disown all activity to set up a rival party under any excuse or rival party committees, which disown the authority of the National Council.

The National Council has not finally closed the door to the 32. They walked out and deserted the Council on their own. Do Party members want the Council to condone such behaviour which is nothing but splitting the Party?

We call upon all Party members to think over all the facts that the Council resolution has put before them. If they want more facts, more clarifications, more evidence of all that is stated in the resolution, let them write to us. The Secretariat is prepared to answer.

DANGER OF SPLITISM

While it is correct to feel anxious about the unity of the Party, while it is correct to feel unhappy about the fact that 32 leaders had to be suspended, it would be totally injurious to the Party, and the masses, to overlook the harm and danger that splittism represents.

Splittism has not come upon us suddenly, or just because 32 leaders felt suddenly aggrieved. Seventeen of these 32 declared in October 1963, long before the forged Dange letters came up, that the Party had split ideologically, politically and emotionally and that formal split was not far off.

Splittism is being put forward since 1963 by the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party, as a "revolutionary necessity" under the grab of fighting so-called revisionism in the Indian Party, and in those Communist Parties which do not agree with the leaders of the Chinese Party on ideological political questions.

It is surprising that even those who do not agree with the Chinese leadership on many political questions have however taken to splittism as a weapon to force their line on the majority.

That is the main reason, though not the only one, why differences today are leading to walkouts and splits, while earlier differences in our Party, however acute, were settled within the Party.

When a big Party like that of China raises "splittism" into a theory and philosophy, an atmosphere of splits starts developing everywhere and even small differences are threatened with splits. When such an atmosphere comes into existence, even comrades who do not agree politically are inevitably drawn into the common net of splittism and are carried away by skillful manipulators, who utilise small grudges, jealousies, grievances or lapses and magnify them into "fundamental differences" to justify even a split in the Party. They do not hesitate to quote Marx or Lenin out of context, to quote what they said in situations where the fate of revolution was at stake, to justify their quixotic behaviour.

APPEAL TO PARTY MEMBERS

Hence, once again we would appeal to Party members to make a sober study of the prevailing situation which poses such danger, not only to the Party but to all our people in general. The reactionary forces in the country are going to take advantage of the situation and will try to annihilate both the majority and the minority in the Party, whatever be the platform of their differences.

Hence building unity, carrying out the Party line under proper Party guidance and doing mass work in defence of the working people's interests must be kept in mind by all of us, while carrying out inner-Party struggle for Party unity and Party line.