# 7 JUL'14 Copy 1964 WITHDRAW KASHMIR ISSUE FROM THE U.N.

#### By OUR STAFF CORRESPONDENT

NEW DELHI: There is no "Kashmir problem" or "Kashmir issue" as far as India is concerned, but only an imperialist conspiracy hatched by the United States and supported by Britain and Pakistan, S. A. Dange, chairman of the Communist Party of India, said in New Delhi on May 12.

SEE PAGES 9-10-11-12 FOR S. A. DANGE'S REPORT TO THE PARTY ON FORGED

"LETTERS", KANPUR CONSPIRACY CASE

AND EARLY PERIOD OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA minimum minimum

E was speaking at a pub-lic meeting organised by the Delhi provincial council of the CPI, on the Anglo-American conspiracy against Kashmir.

Kashmir. "The time has come to tell the imperialists that the Ka-ahmir issue is closed—for us and for you too", Dange said. To make this clear, the Gov-ernment of India should do three things

ernment of India should do three things. Withdraw the Kashmir issue from the United Nations and refuse to argue it before the world body. Reject the plebiscite de-mand outright, once and for all, and say that Kash-mir's accession is final and irrevocable. irrevocable.

Ask the UN observers, who Ask the UN observers, who have been acting as stoo-ges and agents of imperialist powers, to quit Kashmir. Dange said that these im-

erialist agents in the garb of perialist agents in the garb of observers, who had come in under the plea of keeping peace, were actually inciting more clashes and planning

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after a lapse of 16 years. With the current round of debate, it was the 107th time that India was arguing her case in

It was the form into the off India was arguing her case in the UN. The Kashmir issue would never be settled in the UN because the United States, the "upstart of the twentleth cen-tury", and Britain, "its 49th state" were trying to keep the issue alive, for their own im-perialist ends. Pakistan's dic-tator is being dictated to by these imperialist powers. Dange said that one could understand China trying to make friends with Pakistan, but the Chinese Premier's attempt to justify Pakistan's membership of the SEATO

membership of the SEATO was inexplicable. The Chi-nese Premier termed it as a defensive alliance, but de-fence against whom, Dange asked.

The issue of Kashmir's ac-cession could not be reopened, he said, because that would create other complica-tions as well. The basis of the Indian Union itself would be

at the airport and to treat him as a visiting dignitary. He contrasted this treat-He contrasted this treat-ment to a man who has been openly preaching separation of a part of the country to that of the ordinary worker who, for demanding a five rupee increase in his wages, was being detained under the Defence of India Rules. Dange asked why the Gov-enment of India and Prime Minister Nehru should nego-tiate on equal terms with

tiate on equal terms with Sheikh Abdullah. He said it was because they realise their

people, is based on the dis-satisfaction and discontent of , the people in the state. No-thing has changed for them in the last 16 years as far as their material conditions were concerned.

COMMUNIST

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Vol. XII No. 20

one single family and "the state's budget was actually a family budget", he said.

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PART

New Delhi, May 17, 1964

When this state of affairs is changed, Sheikh Abdullah's hold on the people would also

## Dange Suggests Immediate Steps For Solving The Present Impasse

reaknesses and the fear of the hold which he has over the Kashmiri people. Sheikh Abdullah's leader-

ship, his confidence to speak on behalf of the Kashmiri

For the people of Kashmir democracy had been bureaucracy in action, prosperity a name and poverty a fact. The government was being run for the benefit of

vanish, Dange said. It is the hope of a better deal and better living which make the people think in terms of supporting Sheikh Abdullah. Dange said that the situa-

tion in India was also not different. Reactionary forces like Swatantra and Jan Sangh were capitalising on the dis-content of the people. The problem in Kashmir is not a problem for Kashmir alone; it is of India as well; and the problem is how to bring pros-perity and growth for the people.

The CPI chairman called upon the people to campaign for their better living standards.

Earlier, Dr. Z. A. Ahmad, member of the central secre-tariat of the CPI who presi-ded over the meeting, con-demned the attempts to give a. communal. colour to the Kashmir issue.



sabotage activities in the state They were seeking to pro-long the tension as long as possible, engineering more possible, engineering house clashes and charting future conquests in the hope of converting the state into an imperialist war base directed against the socialist countries.

list countries. As long as these imperialist . agents remained in Kashmir, there would be tension in the area and the greater the dan-ger of war. Therefore, it was imperative that these obser-vers should go.

vers should go. No two newly liberated countries would go to war against each other unless the imperialists engineered a war between them, he said and cited the example of Cyprus to show how the imperialists are engineering clashes between countries to endanger the freedom of newly independent countries.

Dange said that there was Dange said that there was no dispute on Kashmir except that Pakistan had forcibly occupied parts of Indian ter-ritory. India had gone to the UN with a complaint against Pakistani aggression, but no thing has come out of it even

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shattered if the question of accession of any state was re opened now.

It is true that Prime Minister Nehru had at one time stated that the Kashmiri peostated that the Kashmiri peo-ple's will would be ascertain-ed. That has already been done, Dange said. Three gene-ral elections have taken place in the state, where the people of Kashmir have shown be-yond doubt their will to be part of India.

He regretted that people like C. Rajagopalachari and Jaya Prakash Narayan, who had taken part in the coun-try's freedom struggle, should

try's freedom struggle, should expressing doubts about the validity of Kashmir's accession. As far as Sheikh Abdullah was concerned, Dange said, the Communist Party had demanded his release because "we felt that if Kashmir could be part of India only by keep-ing one man in jail, it is bet-ter not to have it".

But the VIP treatment extended to him by the government was astonish-ing, he said. It was wrong on the part of the Prime Minister to have sent a De puty Minister to receive him

**OBSERVERS** 



(Photos: VIRENDRA KUMAR And R. PARASHAR)

## **CROSS ROADS TO UNITY**

BY PUBLISHING THE Foitorial BY PUBLISHING THE letters exchanged by it since November 1963 the Communist with

Party of Soviet Union, the leadership of the Communist Party of China has unmasked still more completely its own disruptive attitude towards efforts for the restoration of unity in the world Communist movement.

The Chinese leadership rejects the moves being made today to convene in the earliest future another world meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties. These moves already have the full support of some seventy of the eightyone Parties which participated in the conference in Moscow in 1960.

The Chinese leadership suggests a time-table of "preparations" for the conference-which is nothing but a time-table for complete and absolute disruption of the Communist movement. The Chinese leadership has the temerity to suggest, that "preparations" for an other world meeting should take four or five years or even longer "judging by present circumstances."

The Chinese leadership rejects the proposal of the Soviet Party to hold further bilateral negotiations now followed by preparations beginning in June-July by a 26-member drafting committee (with the same composition as the drafting committee which prepared for the 1960 conference) and the world meeting itself in autumn.

Communists the world over, who seriously desire unity, realise that further delay in holding common discussions to resolve differences can only mean further accentuation of the splitting activities, which have already spread to almost every continent. The Chinese leadership clearly desires more time to continue its splitting activities, to spread the virus of disruption to more parties-and that is why it declares its refusal to take part in any meeting of the world Communist Parties for the next four or five years.

The question which the international Communist movement has now to decide is whether it will continue to allow the Chinese leadership to sabotage the holding of the already overdue meeting of the world's Communist Parties.

In November 1962, the Communist Party of India had addressed a letter to all fraternal parties, urging the immediate convening of a world meeting. Indian Communists, facing the terrible aftermath of Chinese aggression against India, realised then through their bitter experience, the necessity for an early meeting to prevent further disruption, and to give a collective rebuff to the adventurist, splitting activities of the Chinese leadership.

It is now clear that the delay in convening a world meeting has already given the Chinese leadership time to spread the cancer of splittism to several parties. What the Communist Party of India feared, when it called for an immediate world meeting in November 1062, has already taken place.

The spectre of split looms over the Communist movement, as long as the Chinese leadership is not made to face the united will of the world's Communist Parties. If the Chinese leadership persists in its splitting activities, even after the world meeting has made all efforts possible to solve the differences-then it will place itself outside the world Communist family, with all the consequences which it would imply.

It must be the earnest endeavour of all Communist Parties to persuade the Chinese leadership to abide by the time table suggested and supported by the vast majority of Communist Parties. In all circumstances. world conference must be held this autumn, to resolve differences and to chart out the road to the unity and the strengthening of the Communist movement. (May 11)

### INDIAN LIMIT ON **TEXTILE IMPORTS:**

## Another Example of US "Friendship !"

to the Secretary-General of the

The pact, arrived at a con-

tries of the European Econo-

violation of Party Constitution

The resolution further said

that while there were differ-ences on political and ideolo-

gical issues in the Party, these should be resolved as

ever in a Party way. To form

pardonable action, as it will

not only weaken the party but will be tantamount to

stabbing the mass movement

The committee has therefore

discuss and resolve their

a new party under the con

of these differences is an ut

Party membership.

in the back.

UN Trade Conference, Prebisch.

Pact

shedding crocodile tears for the growth of develop-ing countries. But when it comes to taking practical steps to safeguard the eco-nomic and commercial in-terests of these countries, even entered into a secret pact terests of these countries, they are invariably found among themselves to keep "East to be dragging their feet. Not only that, whenever an opportunity comes their way, they take practical steps to to the same. They have even entered into a secret pact among themselves to keep "East European markets. India's dele-gate B. P. Adarkar has already submitted the details of this pact to be dragging their feet. Not only that, whenever an opportunity comes their way, they take practical steps to undermine the prospects of the undermine the prospects of the leveloping countries. Bokaro was recent case of their prevari ation-directed at injuring E.E.C. canon-directed at injuring. India's prospect to build an independent base. Now another instance of their perfidy has been provided in the form of an agree-ment limiting exports of Indian textiles to the United States.



The agreement in question limits India's exports of five cate-gories of textiles to the United States to an annual aggregate of 37 million square yards during the next two and a half years. It also imposes a cut on exports of a number of 'made-up' items like towels. the explanation given by the United States Information

The US Congress had recently

Intervised a law to subsidise the country's textile industry to raise its competitive power, not in relation to products from other developed countries—as one would presume—but vis-a-vis manufactures from countries like

#### Chronic Animus

How tronic that the first land of capitalism should be so scared of a few million square yards of cloth from a developing country that it should hurry to block its entry, and yet how true a reflection of the US imperialism's chronic animus towards our country? The irony is heightened by the fact that the agreement, imposing the cut, has been formalised under the Geneva Textile Agreement; which was supposed to provide for an order-How ironic, that the first Textile Agreement, which was supposed to provide for an ordersupposed to provide for an order-ly growth of textile exports from developing countries. What is ly grown or textile exports from developing countries. What is more, the plea offered for this blatant violation of the spirit of the Geneva Agreement is that an unregulated import of textiles from developing countries would 'disrupt' the market in the United States

As the Financial Express has As the Financial Express has said there is little justification for the plea "considering that imports form a very small part of earnestly appealed to all the the US textile trade." "There is little meaning in the talk of back into the fold of the Party the talk of

THE U.S. monopolists grow economically through aid account for nearly Rs. 60 mil-are never tired of shedding crocodile tears to their exports in fields in tiles she is able to make to West Germany and markets.

And yet, it is not that these And yet, it is not that these countries do not require any textiles from other countries. As Adarkar has shown, the United Kingdom, which in fact took the lead in curbing imports from India and other developing coun-tries, increased its imports of textiles from the ECM countries textiles from the ECM countrie by 130 per cent during 1957-61.

#### Rising Imports

Baul

From the United States too. its imports rose from 0.03 million square yards to 7.20 million square yards during the period. Its curbs were thus reserved only for the deve-loping countries of the Com-monwealth whose textile exmonwealth whose textile exports to it rose by a mere

The pact, arrived at a con-clave in Noordwijk in the Netherlands, envisages concert-ed action on the part of coun-tries party to it, to ban im-ports of textiles for purposes of processing and reexporting to other countries. These coun-tries are the six member coun-tries are the six member coun-tries of the Furgence Ferna ports to it rose by a mere 9 per cent. India and other developing countries have never been taken in by the pious declarations of concern for their plight, made by advanced capitalist countries. Still, they had not expected that at a time when the UN Trade Conference was engaged in field mic Community, Australia, Switzerland and the 'associat-ed' African states. Evidently ed African states. Ecidently India whose greys fall in this category, will be seriously affected by this ban. India has a special reason to resent this hostile act by the a regular buyer of textile machi-nerv and snares from the ECM a regular buyer of texture machinery and spares from the ECM countries. From West Germany alone her imports of these items May 12

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# the United States Information Service for imposing these ceilings is that they would "promote the orderly develop-ment and growth of cotton textile exports from India to the United States". And yet, is there any reason to doubt that they will have only a contrary effect? SPLITTERS' ACTIVITIES

The Amritsar district committe of the Communist Party of India which met on May 6 pledged itself to up-hold the unity of the Party and declared its support to the decisions of the National Council including the suspension of 32 members.

HE resolution adopted by differences inside the Party. e district committee re

called that these 32 members of the National Council had The resolution noted that these suspended comrades. valked out of the meeting and. along with their supporters, are issued a statement repudiating busy in forming a par the National Council. The Amparty. In Amritsar district too ritsar district committee of the some of them are holding pa-rallel meetings, trying to con-Party considers this an open fuse Party ranks and attempt and discipline, for which these 32 were rightly suspended by the National Council from ing to form a parallel unit.

The district committee condemned these splitting acti-vities and appealed to Party members to defend Party unity and Party Constitution refrain from attending and any parallel meeting organi-sed by the splitters.

The committee welcomed the decision of the National Council on the question of alleged "Dange letters" and the apnoint ent of a comm go into them.

The district committee assured the National Council that overwhelming majority of Party Members in this district remained loyal to the Party and would uphold its unity

MAY 17, 1984

HYDERABAD: The splitters' leader P. Sundarayya was in a desperate mood as he faced the press after his tour of some districts in Andhra. At one stage he practically asked the pressmen to leave if some them persisted with their awkward questions.

them persisted with their awkward questions. THE correspondents were treated to a harangue by Sundarayya from 10 a.m. to close to 12 noon. The manner of the harangue can be judged from the fact that the epithet "dirty lie" was used at least a dozen times. It was a "dirty lie" that he was splitting the CPI in accordance with the calls from the Chinese Comminist Party. If was a "dirty lie" that he was against the "de-fence of the country when the Chinese crossed the McMahon Line or that he differed from the National Council on this point. It was a "dirty lie" that he had ever advocated a plebiscite in Kashmir.

It was a "dirty lie" that he had<br/>ever advocated a plebiscite in<br/>Kashmir.United patient questions they were given<br/>a long homily about "etiquette"<br/>at press conferences.It was a "dirty lie" that he<br/>had worked out a plan for the<br/>denationalisation of the Rajah-<br/>mundry Paper Mills. It was a<br/>"dirty lie" that he had said<br/>anything against the Great Peti-<br/>tion and March. It was a<br/>"dirty lie" that the Party had<br/>disapproved of his role in the<br/>Pay Committee of 1958.Denying that the splitters had<br/>acted on instructions from China,<br/>he claimed that this was disproved<br/>been functioning as a faction<br/>since. November 1962 or even<br/>earlier. But again there was angry<br/>silence to the poser that factional-<br/>ism was different from open split.

tate council were present. Mohan Poonamiya, a member of the National Council who has been suspended from the

Party by the National Councli,

came and sat alongwith the members of the state council

and thus tried to force his pre-

sence and participation in the

The majority of the members

of the state council objected to

his sitting and trying to parti-cipate in the meeting as he had

doing so by the resolution of the National Council, and these

members requestd Poonamiya to leave the hall.

Poonamiya, supported by some members of the state

cuncil, persisted in their unruly

The meeting therefore had to be adjourned till 4 p.m.

the decisions of the National

The state council by a unani-

mous resolution condemned the call of open revolt and splitting

activities of the 32 members of the National Council. It endor-

sed the action taken against

. The meeting reassembled at

attitude and refused to

ecifically been barred from

primary

the meeting

some memb

Council.

MAY 17. 1964

membership of the

Role In Pay Committee Similarly all those who attended the Khamman conference of the Andhra Party many years ago remember how Sundarayya ago remember how Sundarayya was pilloried for his work agains

Rajasthan Firmly Behind National Council's Decision DISRUPTORS' CANARD NAILED BY VYAS

A meeting of the Bajasthan state council of the Com-munist Party of India was held at Bewar on May 8 and 9, democratic forces in the state 1964 to discuss the serious 1 inner-party situation in the country and the state.

WHEN the meeting was to completely in contravention of on the 8th, 38 members of the sation. the principles of Party organi-

The state council has in its resolution called upon these 32 members to retrace their steps and return to the fold of the Party; they should stop parallel activities, should agree to the principles of democratic centra-lism and observe the discipline of the Party

The state council has appealed to the National Council to make still more efforts to try to unify the Party; of course holding fast to the principles of Party organisation which should not be sacrificed at any cost.

The state council learnt that seventeen members of the state council who stayed away from the meeting separately met and had taken some decisions which they claim to be the decisions of the state council.

False Claim

The state council wishes to clearly state that their claim is absolutely false and their action utterly disruptive. Their actions are in the same line of splittnig activi-ties that were being done all

In Rajasthan where the democratic movement is relatively week, where the anti-people policies of the Congress regime are causing ever increasing hardships to the people, and where the feudal communal reactionary forces are so strong. the need for the unity of the progressive forces is all-the

more necessary. In its resolution the state These comrades who are thus s characterised their

A p.m. and continued its busi-ness with Swami Kumar-anand in the chair and with twenty-one members of the state Council participating. Some members of the state council stayed away from the meeting. The meeting coninu-ed on May 9 and finished its over the country. H. K. Vyas gave a report on

So far not a single district council has supported the splitters' platform as enun-ciated by the 32 who walked out of the National Council. And this goes to show up the hollowness of Mohan Poo-namiya's claim that the majority of the Party members in action as the forerunner of a indulging in disruptive activi- Rajasthan is wit parallel party and something ties should, realise that their splitters' group. Rajasthan is with him and his

## SUNDARAYYA HOLDS A PRESS CONF. EXPLAINS HIS POLITICS, **CONFUSIONS GALORE**

that he was not interested, and did not believe that anybody in the CPI was competent to judge the dispute between "two giants". But when atten-tion was drawn to a press report of his speech only a few days ago where he had few days ago where l said that China was China was "more than the Soviet Leninist"

and the movement, the council biez

The state council appealed to these comrades to realise the error of their acts and retrace their disruptive steps.

The state council wished at the same time to warn them that should they persist in their ways, action will have to be taken against them.

The state council in its reso-lution has warned all Party members and units in the State against the danger of disruption and the splitting of the Party, and has called upon them to foil the attempts of the splitters

and uphold the banner of the Party and the movement. The state council has au-

thorised the executive committee and the secretariat to take such disciplinary actions or such reorganisation steps as become necessary to carry on the decisions of the Na tional Council and the state council and to foil the attempts of the disruptors.

Meanwhile, six district councils in Rajasthan have endorsed the decisions of the National Council and condemi splitting activities engaged in by the 32 who had walked out of the National Council meet-

ing. The councils of Jaipur, Ajmer and Udaipur passed reso-lutions supporting the National Council unanimously, while in Jodhpur only one voted against the resolution. The Alwar and Bharatpur councils passed the resolution with overwhelming majorities.

NEW AGE

the NGOs in the 1958 Pay Com-mittee and how other Party lea-ders had to plead with the delegates to spare him, especially as he was quite ill. The late Ajoy Ghosh had also to persuade Ghosh had also to per angry delegates not to him out of the leadership. throw

Leninist" than the Source angry using the leadership. Union, he sneered , "you can believe it or disbelieve it and I shall not contradict or con-firm." A shall not contradict or congiving concrete details as to how the government should rey through de-This was many get more nationalisation. This was many months before the government had come to a firm decision and when the CPI, Congress MLAs and some other oppo-sition leaders were running a vigorous campaign against denationalisation more.

With regard to the Kisan satyagraha he had to admit that he was not in favour of its saryagrana he had to admit that he was not in favour of its launching at the time since "organisational preparations" had not been made. He had to admit that he was in favour of talks with the Congress quite early on in the struggle and that too without the sarction of the

#### From MOHIT SEN

did make. He frankly admitted that the socalled "Dange lei-ters" was not the reason for the split. There were political reasons for it, going back to reasons for it, going the attainment of reasons for it, going back to the attainment of indepen-dence. The "Dangeites" believ-ed that the bourgeoisie led by Nehru could carry through to the end the national demo-cratic revolution because of new conditions. The "true revolutionaries" opposed this proceed that revolutionaries" opposed this approach as the path of liqui-dation

Not bothering to substantiate his formulation, his charge still had some value. This was going to be the main line of the split-ters' slander — the CPI is selling ters' slander — the Car is out to the Congress. This is going to be the smokescreen behind which alliances are going be struck with the most to be struck with reactionary parties.

His bogus claim that 66 per cent—a comedown from M. Basavapunniah's 80 per cent —of the Party membership was with him sounded thoroughly Indicrous.

50 far only Srikakulam, Chit-toor, Vijayawada city, Kurnool, admit that he was in favour of Khamman, Hyderabad rural, totally winding up the move-ment at the last meeting of the councils have supported the split-action Committee. This was all because councils have supported the split-ters. These together have a total membership of a good bit less than 10,000. Even in these dis-

totally winning up the move-ment at the last meeting of the Action Committee. This was all because the approach of the CPI leaders was "too infantile"! So he had to tricts the vast majority of taluk teach them how to struggle by immediately wanting compro-district councils. The other sixteen district He claimed that he knew nothing about Namboodiripad's and stoppage! The other sixteen district He claimed that he knew nothing about Namboodiripad's to join the Congress. But he over 20,000 of the Party mem-could not restrain himself from that Rajasekhar Reddy had sur-rendered to the police in 1951 out of fear of being tortured. One useful admission he Red Flag for decades.

### **CALCUTTA DISTRICT COUNCIL REJECTS SPLITTERS' LINE**

CALCUTTA, May 10: The following resolution was adopted by the Calcutta District Council of the Communist Party of India at its meeting here today:

the declaration by "32" leading comrades of the Party repudiating the National Co the Party and the consequent suspension of their member-ship for an indefinite period by the National Council.

In this situation of grave danger facing the Communis movement, we appeal to the National Council of the Party to take a bold initiative in resolving the deadlock by inviting the "32" to the next meeting of the National Council and withdrawing the disciplinary action Simultaneously we appeal to the "32" to withdraw their latest statement announcing

their dissociation from the parent body of the Party and thrash out ideological and organisational issues from with-in. We believe that however licated and difficult the they can the issues are, within the should be solved frame work of the Party."

For the calcutta District The Council which met un a Council is shocked at the tense atmosphere was attended by 75 out of 89 available mempassed after a discussion on the inner-Party situation.

Altogether six resolutions were tabled and a resolution generally approving the state-ment of the 32 members of the National Council was rejected by 39 votes against 30. The resolution reproduced above was then passed by the meeting by 38 votes to 30 Other members abstained.

Another resolution requesting the "32" to come back into the fold of the Party and the National Council to withdraw their suspension, in this order, was defeated by 42 votes st 30.

against 30. Another resolution for calling a convention of the Calcutta Party organisation to discuss these issues was also defeated by 38 votes against 27. It was decided that any such proposal could be considered only the National Council me to be held in June next. afte meeting

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## BHUBANESWAR TO BOMBAY

The All-India Congress Committee meets at Bombay this week. It will have before it the report of the Dhebar Committee on the implementation of the Bhuhaneswar recolution on "Democracy and Socialism".

REPORTS indicate that once again, as at Bhubaneswar, the Right reactionary groups inside the Congress are determined to prevent any substan-tial shift to the Left in Congress economic policies.

What will the Congress Left do at Bombay? Will they, as at Bhubaneswar, in the end noromise and vote for a

molies **Week** 

By Romesh Chandra

reiteration of the old, inept and disastrous policies? Or will they assert themselves more forcefully and fight for a shift, without which there can be no halt to the devastating avalanche of mo-nopoly rule and control?

The Dhebar Committee has reiterated what everyone knows: the failures of Congress policies are not those of "strategy" but of "implementation". There is no limit to the grand words used by the Con-gress in setting out its aims: that they are not implemented results in the concentration of wealth which the Mahalanobi Committee has revealed with facts and figures, but which every Indian toiler knows every igh his own life's experi-

The Dhebar Committee makes not very radcial proposals. And yet will even those it makes be ill even those it makes be mented? It calls for effective control on the pace and manner of expansion of the private sector, and suggests for instance that a bar be placed on licenses for new projects to existing large industrial concentrations-so that large busi-ness houses do not become larger.

Is there any possibility of even such an obvious and moderate step being taken, as long as the monopolists continue to control, directly indirectly, large numbers Congress leaders at all level and Congress members vent and state legis of Parlia atures?

The Dhebar Committee lays special stress on agrarian reforms.

"We feel convinced that only a high-level political machinery will make for speedy implemen-tation of land reform in the states, and clear away political level the hurdles on he way."

The questions of price regulation and of state trading on foodgrains are also discussed,

and proposals made. The facts must be faced by sincere Congressmen, who seriously desire to curb monopoly if there is change, it is not f there is no change, it is not because of lack of proposals and committees-but because of the control of Congress Party ma-chinery at various levels by the pro-monopoly Right reaction

groups. Unless the Left in the Congress wages a persistent and principled fight against the Right inside the Congress, unless it steadfastly refuse to compromise on the essential and vital economic issues, the Right domination will only lead to further strengthening of the monopolists over our economy.

Such a fight by Congress Left can today meet with the support of progressive forces in-side and outside the Congress, of vast masses of toilers. It can help towards building the united national front of Indian de mocratic forces—which alone can help to end the domination of monopolists over our econo my, and open the road towards a new, non-capitalist path of development for our country.

#### India And Self-Reliance

May 10 will go down in Indian history as a day of decisive advance towards selfreliance in defence: our first indigenously designed, deve-loped and manufactured supersonic jet fighter aircraft entered the Indian Air Force.

With this striking advance in our air power, Indian engi-neers and workers have once again demonstrated that India can do it. The imperialiste have preached for too long that we are an "inferior" people, who must depend always on their

guidance, leadership and help n all matters. For long, we begged the imperialists for supersonic fight-ers. We have now successfully

ade our own. The Communist Party and other patriotic forces in the country have again and again insisted that we must build up our own defence potential and not remain der our defence needs on the im-

It is good that Defence Minister has seen the potentialities of our own factories, and the genius of our men-just before he leaves on his mission t Washington, to seek military "aid" from the US imperialists

The birth of the HF-24 "Maruth" should give Chavan and his team of negotia-tors the necessary self-confidence, to reject any un-worthy and insulting offers which the Washington lords may dare to offer us! US Military "aid" has only ne meaning—US domination,

one meaning—US domi blackmail and pressure. India cherishes its independence-that is why it rejoices today in the success of the HAL workers who built the HF-24. India can and must built its own defence potential, free of the nooses of imperialist "aid". The Soviet Union and the socialist countries are ready to assist India in this task, vital to our defence and to our sovereignty

#### Illegal Detention

The walk out by the Com-munist group in the UP Legislative Assembly to pro

**RELEASE COMMUNIST** 

DETENUS IMMEDIATELY

Bhupesh Gupta Asks Central Govt. To Act

against the government's refu-sal to release the eight Com-munist leaders still detained in this state spotlights once again the fact that the DIR continues to keep Commu-nists illegally detained in certain states.

The states most concerned besides Uttar Pradesh are those of Tripura, Maharashtra and

When all Communist detenus have been released in all other states there is no reason whatsoever for this dis-crimination in these states, except vicious vindictiveness

The Central Government pleaded that the responsibility was entirely that of the states when Communist concerned.

WORKERS SHOULD ELECT THEIR REPRESENTATIVES

#### **BY SECRET BALLOT** Dhebar Committee's Recommendation

Trade union circles are showing considerable interest in the proposals on labour policy contained in Dhebar report on implementation of Congress Party's resolution on socialism and democracy, reports IPA.

HE Dhebar Committee gement. The committee recommended that "methods should be evolved to imhas held that a new policy towards labour should be evolved to enable prove the situation in in-dustrial relations leading a disciplined use of our dustrial relations leading working force, without at to the association of labour the same time doing vio- more and more in the lence to the freedom of as- management of industries". sociation of labour. Meanwhile, the former

An important sugges-Oil Minister K D Mala tion by the Committee is to elect by secret ballot in viya, in a paper submitted at the seminar of the Congress Forum for Socialist Action held recently in each industrial unit. a representative body to negotiate and represent the labour force in the Delhi made the interesting suggestion that "some sort factory. The elected negotiating of a bonus system may have to be provided for

bodies, the Committee exsuch group of workers who contribute to the timely fulfilment" of the Plan tarpressed the view, will also enable increasing partici-pation of labour in managets.

leader: Bhupesh Gupta repea-tedly raised the question in the Rajya Sabha. But public opi-nion will not allow the Centre to go scot free. The DIR con-tinues, the "emergency" contitinues, the "emergency" conti-nues, because the Central Government wills it. The imple-mentation of the DIR and the use of emergency powers are the responsibility of the Cen-tral Government.

.: :

As the chairman of the Com-As the chairman of the Com-munist Party, S. A. Dange poin-ted out in his letter addressed to the Prime Minister, when the government has been forced by public protest to drop the undemocratic. 16th amendment, it is clear that the continued detention of Communists is illegal and must be ended without tention of Commu delay.

the majority in the Party is with May 11 The

executive in its resoluti on the situation created by the splitting activities of EMS Nam-boodiripad and other "Leftists" boodurnpad and other "Leftists" once again reiterated that unity was possible if only they gave up their splitting activities and accepted the norms of Party dis-cipline.

people.

cil are designed not to restore unity in the Party. It is only a clever manoeuvre to achive their aim of split-

ting the Party by exploiting the deep urge for unity

expressed by Party members and the mass of common

ening the unity of the party.

ening the unity of the party: The executios, however, re-corded its regret and surprise that Comrade E. M.S. Namboo-diripad and the six other com-rades who walked out of the National Council of the Party and who are engaged in build-ing a parallel party today, did not respond to the call of the State Council. They have not expressed readiness to give up their splitting activities and return to the fold of the Na-tional Council. They are, on the other hand, continuing their splitting activities and factional activities and denum-ciatony campaign against the

ciatory campaign against the Party with added vigour.

No Urge

their own.

The Ernakulan Convention of the "Lefist" members of the state council and nine district councils of the Party was called on a special invitation issued by EMS Namboodtripad, A. K. Conclor and free these actions by EMS Nambooathpaa, A. K. Gopalan and five other mem-bers belonging to the 32 sus-pended by the National Coun-

This convention had appointed an 11-member "Unity Commit-tee" and put forward some new conditions and demands before the Party "for restoration of unity. in the Communist Party.'

In the Communist Party. These demands included can-cellation of suspension of not only the 32 but all others, organisation of inner-Party discussion "on a free basis" and convening of a special state conference after branch, mandal and district level. conferences to elect a new leadership. is the life and soul of the Communist Party.

ship. Apart from these conditions, they also demanded the appoint-ment of "an agreed enquiry com-mission" to go into the so-called "Dange letters" and that pending such an enquiry Dange should step down from his post of Chair-man of the Party. The convention also decided to conduct a "signa-ture campaign" among Party members in support of these ture campaign" among members in support of the demands.

demands. The executive of the state coun-cil of the Party which met here on May 8 and 9 under the chair-manship of K. A. Keraleeyan considered in detail these activi-ties and demands of the "Leftists" and adopted a resolution. The resolution reads:

#### Resolution

MAY 17, 196

#### Against Splitters

"The executive reviewed The executive reviewed the steps it took to implement the resolutions of the National and State Councils of the CPI. The executive notes that the call of the meeting of the State Council to all party members and sym-pathisers to uphold the banner of unity and discipline of the Party and to fight all efforts at solitions the Party has been well splitting the Party has been well

units, in presenting

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A fraternal delegate from their Tamihad Committee attended and greeted the Kerala Conven-tion at Emakulam. In Uttar Pra-desh, their followers who are a minority in the State Council walked out of the same and set-ting up a state committee have severed their connection with the National Council of the next. National Council of the party. In Kerala, these comrades are engaged in organising pub-lic meetings and unauthorised meetings of likeminded Party members drawn from different

Under these circumstances, the executive is compelled to draw the only conclusion that the unity proposals put forward by the Ernakulam Convention are designed not to restore unity within the Party but are a clever manoeuvre to achieve their aim of splitting the Party into two, exploiting the deep urge for unity expressed by Party members and the mass of common people. Under these circumstances, the How else can one explain away their present stand that the state .council has forfeited the confi-dence of the majority of Party members and that despite the demand of five District Councils of the Party to convene a special conference, the State Council was refusing to accede to this, and the conservential demand they Stand by Principle The executive committee appeals to all Party members to discourage and activities aimed all attempts and activities aimed by these commades to import directions to the bourgeois methods of assessing in Trivandrum. uential demand they within two months the co that within

#### By OUR PARLIAMENTARY CORRESPONDENT a question of their discretion",

Jaisukhlal Hathi, Minister of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs, stated in the Rajya Sabha on May 8 that the Tripura Administration was not prepared to release the Communist detenus of Tripura, including the two members of Parliament, who had been kept in prison under the Defence of India Rules. Jaisukhlal Hathi in his

HE Minister made the statement after Bhupesh Gupta, leader of the Communist Group, had raised in the House the issue of continued detention of Comunists under the illegal DIR various states and demanded that they be released im-Tripur mediately. Hathi's plea was that it was

the discretion of the Tripura government to decide whether the detenus should be releas-ed or not. "What we can do would be to ask them to review their cases from time to time...", he said.

time...", he sala. This was strongly objected to by Bhupesh Gupta wh emphasised the Central Go vernment's responsibility in the matter. "It is no ques-tion of review, it is a politi-cal decision which should be taken", he said.

statement to the House said that Bhupesh Gupta had ap-proached the Home Ministry seeking the release of the de-tenus and also raised the is-sue in the House. The Home Bhupesh said: Ministry had written to the

Administratio review the cases. The Tripura government had reviewed the cases and out of 68 detenus they had released 47 and 21 are still in detention, the Minister said.

#### Detention At Discretion

"With regard to the two members of Parliament of course they are still in deten but the Administratio tior els that they will have to be kept in detention. It is purely

NEW AGE

e said. Bhupesh Gupta rose to protest against this and reiterat-ed the demand that the de-tenus be released. He pointed out that he had raised the question of not only Tripura detenus, but also detenus in other states. There are 50 per ple still in detention. In Maharashtra 13 are kept in letention; in UP there are 10, in Delhi 2 and in Bengal 2.

"All are in our view under illegal detention. That is why government came up with the Eighteenth Amendnt. Now they have withdrawn it. What is the review? They were arrested one and a half years ago. Is it a great war that is going

"Now nothing has hap-pened. Most of the people have been released. It is have been released. It is good that government has released them though bela-tedly. But why are the others detained?", he asked. Bhupesh Gupta then recall-ed the letter written by the chairman of the Communist

ment's attitude towards the Communist detenus to its attitude towards those who were openly advocating the secession of Kashmir from India. He cited the discussions in the Central Hall of Parliament "about the sell-out of Kashmir" Revenge Against CPI

Party to the Prime Minister

requesting his intervention and release of all detenus. Bhupesh also appealed to the Prime Minister on behalf of

the Party and all the familie

of the detenus to intervene in the matter and see that the

detenus are released imme-

He contrasted the govern-

integrity of the country. I do not know what would have happened to us, the Communist Party, if we had said some of the things Mr. Masani, Mr. Rajagopal-achari and Sheikh Abdullah are saving", he said.

tion of Tripura Communists, Bhupesh said it looked almost like revenge. Because in Tripura, the Communist Party enjoyed the majority, the government was trying finish off the Party by this method.

diately.

"It is said that these peo-ple (the Communist dete-nus) who were arrested stood not for the territorial

Commenting on the deten-

MAY 17, 1964



meetings distortions and false-hoods regarding accepted poli-cies of the Party, spreading oile slanders against Party leadership at various levels, fanning hatred against the Party as a whole and cracking up the Party at all levels. And yet they are coming out as the standard bearers of Party unity!

If these comrades were genu-inely interested in preserving Party unity, these comrades who have participated in the Ernaku-lam Convention could have through their respective units, placed their views and proposals for unity for the consideration of the State Council and National

Party with added orgon.
 They convened a parallel state level conference of comrades subscribing to their views but belonging to different committees on May 6 and 7 at Emakulam.
 It is a travesty of truth to say that this conference and reso-lutions adopted there were aim-ed at restoring unity inside the at restoring unity inside the that these activities of theirs culminating in the parallel con-ference, and its decisions, are fundamentally opposed to the constitution of the Communist Party, to the Leninist principle
 They convention could have through their respective units, placed their views and proposals for unity for the consideration of the State Council and National Council of the Party.
 If their desire for Party unity would not have put forward new and different from those placed in the statement of the 32 sus-pended comrades.
 If they were genuinely desir-fundamentally opposed to the constitution of the Communist Party, to the Leninist principle of democratic centralism which is the life and soul of the Com-

pended comrades. If they were genuinely desir-ous of restoring Party unity, they would have expressed their wil-lingness to return to the National Council, giving up their splitting activities and then placed their proposals and conditions before the Party.

No Urge for Uuity None can accept the claim made by the 32 comrades who walked out of the National Coun-cil, that the activities they are engaged in, after the 14th of April, here in Kerala, and in other states express their urge for unity inside the Party. In Andhra, they have set up and declared a sepa-rate state committee under their leadership and have begun their activities. In Tamilnad, they have set up a state committee of

work of the Commission. If they could not participate in the discussion on "Dange Letters" in the National Coun-cil, and if they are not able to take part in the enquiry Com-mission on the "Dange Letters", it is they who are responsible for their present predicament. Party members and public should judge the sincerity and honesty behind the proposals for unity put forward by these comrades who choose to hide these inconvenient facts.

#### Clever

#### Manoeuvre

branch-district-state level special conferences should be held?

Today, the question of holding a special State Conference of the Party does not arise at all. For, the National Council has already drawn up the programme of con-vening the Party congress in September next, and to hold the conferences from branch to state level by August 31. The ensuing state council will finalise the destate tails and dates of these conferences.

ences. The June meeting of the Na-tional Council will give final shape to the documents for dis-cussions for the ensuing Congress. The convention know these facts too well. What is the sincerity and honesty then, behind the demand for a special state conference in two months raised by these comrades?

There is no basis whatsoeve I nere is no basis whatsoever for their claim that the majority of Party members are behind them; questions of majority and minority are decided on the basis of policies and pro-gramme. The method and mergen to decide this are inner. gramme. The method and means to decide this are inner-Party discussions organised by and under the leadership of the National and State Councils the National and State Councils which were elected to imple-ment the policies adopted by the Party congress. Receptions, factional meetings of Party members, conventions and sigmembers, conventions and sig-nature campaign among Party members for carrying on denun-clatory and slanderous cam-paigns against the policies and leadership of the Party do not form the accepted party to methods.

All the bodies in the Com-munist Party of India from the national level to the branch are duty bound to implement the decisions of the National Council. If a majority in a particular body under the National Council de-cides to openly flout the deci-sions of the National Council, the decisions of the National Council, the

majority view and create allround disruption in place of Leninist organisational principles and me-thods of the Party.

conferences should be held? The fact of the matter is that no District Council has made a demand of the type they men-tion in their resolution. When the Kerala State Council of the Party decided to postpone the Moovat-tupuzha Election Convention as adopted resolutions in the first adopted resolutions in the first week of Apil criticising this post-ponement and pressing the de-ponement and tor holding the proposed special convention to discuss a tor in their resolutions of holding transfer to the top top the de-ponement and pressing the de-ponement and pressing the de-percent at the question of holding to the question of holding party does not arise at all. For, to the contract of the pre-tor the contract of the pre-tation of party unity transfer to the pre-tation of party unity to the the task of restoration of party unity bodies and units, but the entime party does not arise at all. For, the party. The executive appeals to these contractes to retrace the party. The pre-to the party. The pre-to the party membership into two parts the pre-the party does not arise at all. For, the party. the Party.

If these comrades are genu-thely destrous of restoring unity within the Party, it is enough if they take one single and sim-ple step: Withdraw the state-ment which they issued on April 14 repudiating the Na-tional Council of the Party and calling upon all Party members to do so; give up the campaign and splitting activities in fur-therance to their call; come back to the National Council to explain their stand and coopeexplain their stand and coope rate with the Party in the of the Party congress.

#### Clear Stand

If by such a clear stand, they prove that their aim is not to go out of the Party and split it in the name of ideological political differences, the National Council and the State Council will readily be remead to arough the disciand the State Council will readily be prepared to cancel the disciplinary measures these bodies were compelled to take to enforce discipline and unity in the Party in the wake of the April 14 state. ment of 32 comrades. This has been made abundantly 'clear in 'clear in tof the not only the resolutions of the National and State Councils but also in the article of Chairman Dange in New Age of May 3.

The state executive is prepared to and desirous of considering any proposals for restoring unity that may come from any quarters. But the executive desires to make it clear that the Party cannot turn a blind eye to activities aimed at a ond eye to activities aimed at disrupting the unity, discipline and strength of the Communist Party of India, under whatever deceptive signboards they might appear."

The executive also considered the question of the policy and tactics to be adopted by the Party in the ensuing corporation elec-tions in Trivandrum city.

The executive decided that the Communist Party should strive to formulate a programme to en-sure an administration which will be free from corruption and afford relief to the common people and build a broad front including R.S.P., P.S.P. and other demo-cratic elements and non-nerty R.S.P., P.S.P. and \_other demo-cratic elements and non-party independents for the above object. The executive authorised the secretariat to contact RSP, PSP and others to discuss with them these issues and give necessary directions to the Party committees in Teirenderm

PACE FIVE

## PRAVDA ARTICLE SPOTLIGHTS

Time and again, the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party has openly declared that the CPSU and other Communist Parties in the world have turned revisionists and have given a go-bye to Marxism-Leninism, and bragged that only the Communist Party of China and some other parties e.g. of Indonesia, are holding aloft the banner of "pure"

The article reproduced below exposes the hollow claim of the CPC leadership. The logical conclusion of the facts mentioned in it is that the CPC should better mind its own business and try to practice at home what it preaches abroad. The self-appointed role of a teacher by the CPC is all the more ludicrous because its approach is completely divorced from reality and based only on prevarication. It has no right to criticise other Parties.

Some of the aspects of Party life in CPC mentioned in this article were earlier referred to by S. A. Dange in his reply to the notorious Chinese virtuperations against the CPI titled "A Mirror For Revisionists".

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BACK in 1912 the Prague Conference of the Bolsheviks adopted a resolution, proposed by Lenin, "On the Chinese Revolution which was full of a warm feeling of respect for the Chinese revolutionaries and a readiness to give them every support. It stated: .The Conference recognises the worldwide importance of the revolutionary struggle of the Chinese people; which is bringing emancipation to Asia and undermining the rule of the European bourgeoisie. The Con ference hails the revolutionary republicans of China, testifies to the profound enthusiasm and complete sympathy with which the pro-letariat of Russia is following the successes. of the revolutionary people of China, and condomns the behaviour of the Russian liberals who are supporting tsarism's policy of con-quest." (V. I. Lenin, Works, 4th ed., Vol. 17, pp. 434-435.)

Ever since the victory of the October Revolution, which shook the foundations of capitalism ghout the world and opened the sluices wide for the powerful stream of the revolutionary movement to spread all over the earth. China included, our Communist Party has always supported and continues to support the Con Party of China, the Chinese revolution and main-tains friendship with People's China and trea-sures this friendship.

Until recently, while the leadership of the Communist Party of China was still capable of giving objective estimates, this leadership reneatedly expressed, at its congresses and in individual statements, great approval of the CPSU and its Central Committee, and of the line of the 20th Congress of our Party, and stressed the endous importance of the Soviet Union and of its support of and assistance to China.

We never believed it possible to critic e the internal life of the Communist Party of China, although we had, and have now, serious re-marks to make with regard to certain aspects of the activities of this Communist Party, and are critical of them. We acted in this manner because we regarded all this the concern of the Communist Party of China,—in the same way as, in other cases, it is the concern of other Communist parties.

However, of late, the Chinese Communists have appropriated the right to interfere in our inter-nal affairs, both of the state and of the Party.

The leadership of the Communist Party of China lauds the Stalin cult, opposing our criticism of the personality cult and our measures to combat its effects. This in itself, of course, is already serious interference in the affairs of our Party.

The CPSU Programme and Rules are subject ted to unscrupulous and utterly unfounded cri-

ticism in the Chinese press. Were we to do anything of this sort with res-pect to the Communist Party of China, its leaders abel to us. But when they do this themselves, they think it legitimate and correct.

Lately the leadership of the Communist Party Lately the leadership of the Communist Party of China has adopted a policy of unbridled anti-Soviet propaganda among its own people and in all other countries they find it possible to con-duct such propaganda. While attacking our Party and its Programme the Chinese leaders inordi-nately extol the internal conditions and prac-tices of their own party presenting its line of tices of their own party, presenting its line of activity as "the most Marxist-Lennist" line, as a faultiess one, that should serve as a model for others to follow—as if they really had serious grounds for doing this.

They varnish up the state of affairs inside their own party, and cover up their mistakes, of which, to take them at their word, they have none. This is indicative of the lack of the highly important qualities that the leaders of a Le-ninist type of Party must necessarily have.

Lenin said: "Frankly admitting a mistake, as-certaining the reasons for it, analysing the con-ditions which led to it, and thoroughly discussing the means of correcting it—that is the earmark of a serious party; that is the way it should per-form its duties, that is the way it should edu-cate and train the class, and then the masses." (Works 4th ad Val 31 n 39) (Works, 4th ed. Vol. 31, p. 39.)

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-Editor.

It has been precisely over the past decade, when the Leninist standards and traditions of party life were restored, that our Party gave an especially striking demonstration of its strength.

# CERTAIN ASPECTS

boldly revealing its mistakes and shortcomings, and taking radical measures to remove them. N. S. Khrushchov stressed in the report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 22nd Congress: "In conformity with the demands of its new Programme and Rules, the Party will unswervingly observe Leninist standards in Party life and the principle of collective leadership, will will make Party bodies and their members more strictly accountable to the Party and the people, will foster activity and initiative on the part of all Communists and their participation in the elaboration and implementation of Party policy, and will develop criticism and self-criticis That is particularly what the Chinese leaders

dislike today. In the obtaining situation, it would be use-

ful to expose the violations of Leninist stand-ards of Party life in the Communist Party of China, for these violations are directly connected with the roots of the present anti-Le-ninist stand of the CPC leadership. It goes without saying that we shall not imitate the Chinese methods of resorting to lies, falsifications, rule attacks, vituperation and insults. That would be unworthy of Communists.

#### **ONLY TWO PARTY CONGRESSES** IN THIRTYFIVE YEARS

A Marxist-Leninist Party is built on the principles of democratic centralism.

Any violation of these two elements of demo signifies a deviation from the Leninist principles of Party organisation and inevitably engenders their bureaucratic or anarchist tendencies in its development

It is generally known that Lenin, the greatest authority and universally recognised leader of the Party, did not consider it possible to direct the Party without regularly convening its conthe Party without regularly convening its con-gresses. His understanding of the role of con-gresses was for the leadership, the Central Com-mittee, to report to the Party, in accordance with the requirements of the Party Rules, so as to collectively elaborate further policy, by taking into account the experience of the masses and the accivities of the entire Party, or to have the activities of the entire Party, or to have necessary changes made in the decisions of pre-ceding Party Congresses, should this be called for by the changed situation.

A congress of our Party was convened already within four months after the victory of the Octowithin four months after the victory of the Octo-ber Revolution to formulate the tasks of streng-thening the dictatorship of the proletariat, and of the Soviet system, as well as the aims of so-cialist construction. Both in Lemin's lifetime and right up till the beginning of the Patriotic War, Party congresses were convened regularly. This tradition and major requirement of the Rules were restored in the CPSU after Stalin died.

NEW AGE

the world Communist movement and, no wonder, no other party has borrowed this "experience" from the Communist Party of China.

The Communist Party of China held its Sixth Congress in 1928, its Seventh Congress in

1945 and its Eighth Congress only eleven years

later, in 1956. Thus the Communist Party of later, in 1956. Thus the Communist Party of China convened only two congresses over the past 35 years. The CPC held its congress six years after complete victory was won in the whole of China in 1949. This Eighth Congress

of the Communist Party of China adopted im. ant decisions, which in principle corres-ded to Marxist-Leninist theory, and appli-

ed Marxism-Leninism to the conditions exist.

ing in China. This was pointed out time and again by our Party, which still continues to appraise the significance of the Eighth CPC

ongress of 1956, as it has always done

The Congress adopted the Party Rules. Accord-

ing to these rules. Congresses are to be conven-

ed once every five years, with annual Congress sessions held over this period. According to the Rules, the delegates, elected to the Congress in

1956, retain their powers for five years. The Se-cond Session was to be held in 1957. It was held in 1958. That was the last one. Six years have

already passed. And though the Third Session of

This method of keeping a delegate in office for

five years is unusual and is not practised in any Marxist-Leninist Party. This cannot be consider-ed a contribution to inner-Party democracy in

1960, but it has still to be convened.

CPC's Eighth Congress was to be held in

Let us examine, for instance, the following aspect of the matter. At the election of Con-gress delegates in 1956, the Communist Party of China had 10.7 million members. Today it the delegates elected in 1956 still represent the entire Party and retain their powers the entre Party and retain their powers though the five-year term envisaged by the Rules expired long ago. This means that almost half the Party, more than 7 million members, never elected delegates to the Congress. Where is inner-Party democracy then? Where are the rights of Party members?

Then, there is one more strange thing. Since the Party Rules have not been changed, it would seem one should abide by them. The Rules, however, are being grossly violated.

The five-year term envisaged by the Rules ex-pired in 1961 and a new Party Congress should have been convened and new delegates elected. ever, seven odd years have passed since 1956 and it is not even known when a Party Congress will be held or why it is not being convened.

According to the Rules the term of office of the Central Committee also expired lo However, it seems that nobody is notici that the Party itself is not noticing this. Can it really be that nobody in the Party is interested in this? Not even old Party members nor even those seven millions who joined the Part after the last Congress and thus never partici pated in the election of its leading bodies, and pared in the election of its leading bodies, and the elaboration of Party policy? Finally, can it really be that the sense of responsibility the members of the Central Committee of the Com-munist Party of China should feel to their Party here here burder of the canton of the comhas been blunted to such a degree?

The leadership of the Communist Party of China does not even consider it necessary to explain to its Party the reason for not complying with the Rules and for not convening congresses.

#### NOT RULES BUT DIRECTIVES OF MAO TSE-TUNG

Everything shows that these questions are now decided in the Communist Party of China not by the Rules, but by the directives of Mao Tse-tung as was also the case with us for a certain period after the war, when Stalin was alive.

After the Second World War, the question of After the Second World War, the question of convening a Party Congress was raised time and again in the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of our Party. Stalin, however, used every means to put off the convocation of a Party Congress. The Party was prepared for one and the entire post-war situation called for one; it was necessary, first of all, to discuss the plan for restoring and further developing the eco-

MAY 17, 1964

nomy. However, the plan was adopted without the sanction of a Congress, of the Party's supreme organ, thus violating its tradition and not

helping to improve its practices. On two occasions the Political Bureau of the helping to improve its practices. On two occasions the Political Bureau of the Central Committee did adopt decisions to con-vene a Congress, even appointing a definite date. Stalin afterwards managed to get it postponed again on the ground that he was not prepared to mescent the report of the Central Committee. o present the report of the Central Co that because of age he found it difficult to pre-pare it in time and hence more time was needed. As a result, the Party Congress was convened only in 1952 and not in 1946-48, although it had been quite possible to do that then. The only reason it did not take place was the personality cult, the inordinate role it played in the Party leadershir

Today it can be assumed that something simi-lar is taking place in the Communist Party of China. After all, they also failed to have the first five-year plan for economic develor discussed at a Congress; the "three red banners" policy and the transition from agricultural cooperatives to communes were carried out without any directives being issued by a Congress and even in contravention to the still valid directives of the 1956 Congress. A new five-year plan should have started already in 1963. However nothing is to be heard of a Congress being convened to chart the further development of economy.

More so should it be stated definitely that the new line of the Chinese leadership, which has emerged over recent years as regards the world Communist movement, international and domestic communist movement, international and domestic policies, and its new ideological plat-form, which is tantamount to revision of the major theses of Marxism-Leninism—all this sharp turn about was effected without the Party being consulted about it, without a Congress being convened and contrary to the degress being convened and contrary to the de-cisions taken at preceding Congresses of the Communist Party of China. This signifies not only revision of the Marxist-Leninist theory and practice common to the Communist Parties, but above all, revision with regard to the CPC itself, its principles and the decisions of its compresses of its congresses.

Hence an attempt to analyse on what noints and in what fashion the present ideological theses and practices of the Chinese splitting leadership digress from the decisions of Chine Party congresses, and how they contradict these decisions, can in no way be taken as an attempt to interfere in the internal affairs of the Comin common, either in form or in substance, with the rude interference of the Chinese leadership in the affairs of other parties.

#### **REVISION OF CPC LINE** IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

0 F

It will be easy, against the background of theses on international questions, to trace the fundamental turnabout in the position of the CPC leadership, its revision of points coordinated at international conferences of the Commu-nist and Workers' Parties and of resolutions adopted at its own Party congresses

Strangely enough the Chinese Communist Party has no programme of its own. This is a

serious question and we shall revert to it later.

serious question and we shall revert to it later. However, the Party Rules, which the CPC adop-ted at its Eighth Congress in 1956, are prefaced with a brief "Programme Outline." This docu-ment says that "the Communist Party of China advocates a foreign policy of the maintenance of world peace and the peaceful coexistence of countries with different systems." Such was the

Chinese Communist. Party's general line in in-ternational affairs then. And the interpretation

of peaceful coexistence was also identical then. wonder the CPC Central Committee report to the Eighth Congress emphasised that the 20th CPSU Congress "had put forward proposals for

the further expansion of peaceful coexistence and internal cooperation and had made a signal contribution to the relaxation of international

The Chinese delegates at the 1957 and 1960

Moscow Communist Party meetings proceeded precisely from these theses of their Congress

when they signed documents setting forth posi-

nen

IN COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

tensions."

tions with regard to war and peace, peaceful coexistence and the class struggle on the inter-national scene, positions that all Communist Parties in the world were unanimous on. Who is now authorising the editors of Jenmin Jihpao and Hungchi to publish theses that are poles apart?

The notorious "Sixth Article" (of December 12, 1963) about the CPSU Central Committee's Open Letter, mockingly calls it a crime for the "CPSU leadership to count peaceful coexistence the 'general line of the foreign policies of the Soviet Union and all the countries of the so-cialist camp'," claiming that this supposedly "means putting the sign of equality between the fraternal socialist countries and the capi-talists, that it means renouncing the socialist "accords with camp," that this line supposedly camp, that this line supposedly "accords with imperialism's wants and plays into the hands of the imperialist policy of aggression and war," that this line even "implies the substi-tution globally of class cooperation for the class struggle," etc. etc.

Apropos, about the USSR's international agreements and the class struggle in different capitalist countries, there was a time when Mao Tsetung had a good idea of the inter-relation be-tween these two questions. More than that, he saw to it that nobody in China misunderstood it, i.e., in the way now presented by Jihpao and by Hungchi for that matter.

#### ASSESSMENT OF STRUGGLES AGAINST CAPITALISM

In his explanatory notes to "About the Evalua-tion of the Present International Situation," Mao Tse-tung wrote then (in April 1946), when speaking of the likelihood of agreements between the imperialist and socialist countries and, in particular, between the USSR, USA, Britain and France, "that this does not at all mean the peoples in the countries of the capitalist world should also agree to compromises at home. The peoples of all countries will still continue the struggle, which will assume different forms de-pending on the situation."

Note how well put it is, with respect to a struggle that will assume different forms depending on the situation.

In their 1957 Declaration the Communist Parties jointly and unanimously stated with respect to the forms of the struggle and the forms of The forms of the capitalist countries: "The forms of transition from capitalism to socialism may vary for different countries. The working class and its vanguard—the Marxist-Leminis Party-seek to achieve the socialist re-volution by peaceful means. This would accord with the interests of the working class and the entire people, with the national interests of the country... In the event of the exploiting classes resorting to violence against people, the possibi-lity of non-peaceful transition to socialism should be borne in mind."

At its Second Session in May 1958, the Eighth Congress of the Chinese Communist Party adop-ted a special resolution in which it unanimously approved this Declaration and the Peace Mani festo and stated that these documents



ushered in a new stage in the international Communist movment of today and had lent tre-mendous inspiration to all the working people and to all the forces for peace, democracy and progress throughout the world." But what document of Chinese Communist

Farty Congress has legalised the departure from these positions and in particular, the crass misinterpretation of the forms of the of armed forms of struggle, regardless of the situation and of the balance of forces, as being supposedly the only possible way and the "universal law of the proletarian revolution" (from the Hungchi and Jenmin Jihpao articles on March 31 last) for all countries and nations? And, as conclusion stemming from this "law", that rude interference in the affairs. of the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries, demanding that they start the armed struggle and that labelling—when this demand is objec-ted to—of the leaders of the Communist Parties 



NEW AGE

Does that really correspond in any way to the spirit, letter or sense of the documents of the scow Meetings or of the 8th Congress of the Chinese Communist Party? There can be only one answer: not in the slightest! For that matter, that is no longer concealed in

China. In its eighth article of March 31 last, Jenmin Jihpao directly demands "a reexamina-tion and rectificatiaon" (which really means nothing but revision!) of formulations on major issues set down in the Declaration and Statement of international Communist Party Meetings. The attitude of the Chinese leadership to dis-

armament and the ending of nuclear tests has undergone a similar metamorphosis. Back, in the decisions of its Second Session adopted in 1958, the 8th CPC Congress clearly and definitely stated:

ted: "The Soviet Union was first to stop nuclear weapon testing, and the Government of the Korean People's Democratic Republic and the Government of our own country conjointly de-cided to withdraw the Chinese people's volum-teers from Korea. These facts show the peoples of the world that the countries of the socialist camp are prepared to do their utmost to main-tain Deace. However, the accreasive bloc under tain peace. However, the aggressive bloc under the aegis of US imperialism is still slighting the peaceful aspirations of the peoples of the world and is still refusing to stop nuclear weapon tests, and the cold war, reduce armaments o draw its troops from Korea, and is still doing everything to put off a summit conference." Thus, in 1958 even the unilateral Soviet end-

ing of tests was assessed as a mainfestation of the fact that "the countries of the socialist camp-are prepared to do their utmost to maintain peace," while the aggressive circles were criticipeace," while the aggressive circles were critici-sed for slighting the peaceful aspirations of the peoples. Now, in defiance of what the Chinese Communist Party Congress proclaimed itself in favour of, the partial test stoppage is declared "capitulation to American imperialism" and as having the aim of "consolidating the nuclear mo-nopoly of the three powers." (From the Jenmin Jihpao and Hungchi articles.) Now what has changed? Have nuclear tests started doing huma-nity less harm? No, it is the view of the Chinese leadership that has changed and turnd into the leadership that has changed and turnd into the direct opposite of what the Congress favoured. But it is not even thought necessary to inform the Party and the Congress, as its supreme organ, about that.

#### ATTEMPT TO SHIFT CHARGE OF REVISIONISM

Having thus revised the theses of joint Communist Party documents and the resolutions of its own congresses on international affairs, the CPC leadership made up its mind to try to shift the charge of revisionism to where it does smit the charge of revisionism to where it does not belong and has been drumming away in issue after issue in Jenmin Jihpao and Hung-chi, that it is the CPSU leadership which is "making propaganda for its revisionist line of socalled 'peaceful coexistence,' 'peaceful com-petition' and 'peaceful transition', and has started preaching the 'reasonability' and 'kind intentions of the impresented "("the the set intentions of the imperialists'." (From the article of September 6, 1963.)

The Soviet press need only note that some personality in the capitalist countries has displayed a reasonable approach, even on a trifling point, for the Chinese press to raise an incredible clamour.

We had particularly strong charges levelled against us for negotiating with Kennedy, whom the Chinese politicians saw as merely the perso-nification of US imperialism and reaction, maintaining that any sober approach on the part of his Administration or any act from positions of reason and common sense in matters of war and peace, was completely out of the question. Therefore, in the eyes of the "orthodox" Marxists of the present Chinese slant, our search for venues to establish relations of mutual confidence with the US in these matters, is betrayal of the cause of the revolution. However, in the CPC Central Committee's report of 1956, the Chinese leaders themselves singled out American persoworld war would not be of any advantage at all to US interests. That report said: "Even among US ruling circles we find more or less soberminded people who are beginning to realise that a policy of war woud scarcely be advantageous for America."

One must not forget the subtle approach Lenin took to such matters or the great importance that he attached to the evaluation of individual

**\*ON PAGE 14** 

PAGE SEVEN

## What is Responsible your questions For Split In CPI?

Is revisionism or dogmatism responsible for the split in the Communist Party of India? (M. SUB-RAMANIAM, Madurai)

A. If we look at the record that of a correct political orienta-nouncements of the splitters we shall find that it is a mixed bag of revisionism, dogmatism and petty been publicly thrown to the winds.

nouncements of the splitters we shall find that it is a mixed bag of revisionism, dogmatism and petty opportunism. If at all any generalisation can be attempted, we can say that the splitters have revisionist views on some-of the most basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, that they have dogmatic sectarian views on the problems of the tactical line of the CPI and that they are com-pletely opportunistic on questions of practical policy. the CPI and that they are com-etely opportunistic on questions practical policy.

Take their revisionism. The involuble principle of Party or-ganisation is democratic central-ism where the individual obeys the organisation; the minority ism where the individual obeys the organisation; the minority obeys the majority; the lower committees obey the higher com-mittees; all leading bodies are elected and are accountable. So far nobody in the Communist promout here suggested that these principles should be changed ex-cept for the publicly proclaimed onista.

The splitters in India are well aware of these principles. Indeed, some of them have been particu-tarly vociferous till the other day in maintaining that the main prob-lem confronting the CPI was not

says:

cost of living by

the announce

the dearness

3.50 to the lo

respect of its own employees. The satement adds that

ployees by only Rs. the lowest paid em-

mittees and so on.

mittees and so on. Even if we assume for the sake of argument that they have a majority of the Party membership on their side, the proper course would have been to oust the so-called "Dange clique" through properly elected Party conferences. Actually they know they are in a minority and, therefore, have no option but to flout the very funda-mentals of Marxism-Leninism. The milittee have daddd to

The splitters have decided to smash the CPI and in pursuance of this decision, have given up all Leninist norms of organi-sation. Being a thoroughly heterogenous group politically, it will be interesting to see norms of organ will adopt for their

## "new party". More walkouts and splits can be confidently expected.

expected. At any rate one claim the split-ters don't have and cannot make is that they uphold the Leninist principles of Party organisation. Here for them the situation is "extraordinary" and they have decided to be' "creative"—in reality, strict imitators of the Trotskyites. Now for their dogmatism and sectarianism. Refusing to accent

Facts? Analysis? There is no need for all this since the 1928 Colonial Thesis of the Com-

ing women in the world.

ANSWERED munist International had munist international fua said something along these lines. And in any case, Mao Tes-tung's "thought" has decreed all this since Chiang Kat-shek betrayed in 1927

In 1927.

tancy" and "revolution" but in practical politics all they are concerned about are elections and electoral adjustments, above and electoral adjustments, above all, with the Right reactionary parties like the Muslim League, Akali Dal, Jan Sangh, Swatantra Party, DMK and the like.

Similar positions are adopted with regard to the new theses on They talk of "pulling down" the government by "mass revolution" but they are terribly concerned about remaining the recognised about ren 

For them it is impossible to have a peaceful transition to socialism in India. Violent revolution is sesential because Lenin had said some forty years ago that as a general rule (he refused to be dog-matic and make it a universal law) is armed insurrection would be the form of socialist revolution. Time, place and the concreteness of truth --what are they when compared to the comfort of dogma1 "The national bourgeoise in perialism in the period of the struggle for freedom. And in any event, true independence cannot struggle. Hence, Nehru is struggle. Hence, Nehru is Tatgels. There is no Tatgels. There is

-MOHIT SEN

Base Tactics, Baseless Allegations

AT THE LAST NATIONAL COUNCIL MEET- told the National Council to Dang area. The remnants of up to something like Rs. 1300, ING (APRIL 1964) WHEN THE QUESTION OF THE FORGED "DANGE LETTERS" WAS TAKEN UP, I STATED MY VIEWS ON THE QUESTION. THEREIN I ASKED THE NATIO-NAL COUNCIL TO ACT AS A COURT OF JUSTICE, I WANTED THEM TO HEAR MY ACCUSERS AND ME.

UT instead of staying to accuse, the accusers walked out and went to the press to spread the slanders.

I wanted the Council members to raise all possible ques-tions about me, my whole life and not only on the letters. Because the "letters" are only a culmination of a longstand ing campaign of characterination carried on by a certain group of people inside the Party in league with the anti-Party elements outside to slander me with every kind of invented stories. slanders were not put forward in an open and straightforward manner before the CC or, the PB in the old days or in the National Council of today. I was never charged and asked to explain.

And once when I myself challenged and asked the CC to look into it and the CC also thought of doing it, a commission inquired into the allegations and cleared me. But the people who had been doing it did not give up their vow "to destroy" me. So at the last National Council meeting, I had to speak not only on the let-ters but also on other as-pects of the slanders.

Some parts of this speech got into the hands of the CURRENT which published its own version of it. Some parts were reported to committee National by some Counci members, in their own way or on the basis of general "impressions" they had gathered. And on that basis another round of "campaign" or "criticism" began against me.

FIRM ACTION AND PATIENT

**EXPLANATION** 

Today, the whole Party life is being spoiled and dis-rupted by these things. But merely mourning or moan-ing on them do not help. It is a well-calculated plan of disruptors, splitters and reactionaries, parading as "pure revolutionaries". Therefore, it has to be defeated by patient explana-tions and campaign and firm action.

Since I have now become the centre of attack, criticism and questions, which are less on politics and more or personal-organisational mat ters. I cannot help speaking to the National Council, to all Party members and, to the public also on these matters

OF PARTY In fact, it is a valid norm in the Communist Party to discuss a member's personal life and actions before his unit, ask explanations anything wrong is alleged and take decisions. It is obligatory in the Communist Party. Even in other parties also, this practice should be followed.

It is distasteful to have to

talk on personal basis. But

when a man's personal actions pertain to his life in the Party

and politics, it has to be done

VALID NORM

For example, it is necessary for the Party to know the sources of living and wealth, if any, of each member. For those who are workers, peasants, employees, living by their own labour, things are simpler but those who have

property or those who are full-time workers of the Party, those who are not paid such by the Party but find their own means through friends and relations, it is always necessary to check up. This is not considered unusual in the Communist Party and should not be so in any lutionary party. In India today, the public demands this from everyone, the ministers and leaders included

In the Communist Party. however. this is done in an organised manner within the Party, according to rules and norms. For quite some time (and particularly since the Chinese aggressi ion) ou Party has suffered from

I do not belong to a workopen disruption and viola-tion of norms in almost every field. I will not say er's family. Ours could be termed a landlord-cum-bank-ers family in the very old days here from which year, but and a middle-class family in for quite some time, things have been talked in circles the latter days. Our original home was in

and "groups", privately cir-culated in factions or Nasik district and we were spread through anonymous established by the Maratha rulers in the area of the preletters. sent district of Dangs in Maharashtra. We derive the name Dange from being the overall controllers of the

As certain people have made me the target of this shady and disruptive campaign, I



INTERNATIONAL MEETING I T is very much regrettable that the Union Government which recommends others to fully neutralise the rise in the ployees even after the aver-age rise of 10 points in the cost of living index for 12 months, is inadequate. For the lowest paid em-ployee, who faced the high prices for more than a year, this paltry increase of 50 per dearness allowance of the workers, itself refuses to imple-ment the tripartite decision in n employees, cent compensation from April nat adds that 1, 1964 is a drop in the ocean, ment by the The lowest paid employee de-India to raise serves more amount in the allowance of form of dearness allowance to announcement by the symmet of India to raise

Rs. meet the increasing cost of em- living.

### AIPC SPECIAL MEETING ON **KASHMIR & COMMUNALISM**

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**AITUC CRITICISES PALTRY** 

**INCREASE OF DA** 

The secretariat of the AITUC issued a statement

on May 8 criticising the meagre increase of DA for

the Central Government employees. The statement

enhancing of the

SPECIAL meeting A of the All-India Peace Council is being held in Delhi on May 30-31. A large number of representatives from variorganisations have been invited to take part

"The issue which must im-mediately occupy a place in our deliberation is that of Pakistanimperialist conspiracy against imperialists in their conspiracy Kashmir."

PAGE EIGHT

"The open adoocacy of what is virtually a complete nurrender to the imperialists by such political figures as Rajaji, Jaiprakash Narain and Minno Masani-make it more necessary than ever for patriotic forces in the country to cost doctionaly country to act decisively and unitedly," the circular emphasises. On the issue of communal-

in this important meet-ing. A circular on the subject issued by the AIPC says: On the issue of communai-ism; it has been pointed out that "communai organisations like the Jan Sangh and the RSS are using the Kashmir issue to foment communai which, apart from its barbarism and bestiality, disgraces the name of India and assists the and

Inglis etc. The contented with the latters under whose directing to the problems of the struggle for peace, disarmament and consolidation of international friendship.
The draft charter of the conference on the economic and social rights of working women is tresses women's right to work, remuneration, technical-training, working hours, social security, protection of mother and child, and the question of working women to the entire working women in our country during the to work at Bucharest.
Organisations of working during the company women is our country during the motions of the uncent.
Organisations of working during the company women is our country during the company women is our country during the company women is led by the article at the second the seco

NEW AGE

role in colonial countries, the ing part in the international con-struggle for complete abolition ference. The delegation consists of colonialism and for women's of working women and some of rights etc. The conference will their leaders under whose direc-also discuss the problems of the tion the movement of the work-

Take, lastly, their petty op-portunism. They talk of "mili-

WORKING WOMEN'S

From May 11 to 17 the Second International Trade Union Conference on the Problems of Working Women in Bucharest. The conference will Parvathi Krishnan, vice-president Congress and a well known leader of textile workers of Coimbatore. Other members of the delegation Roza Deshpande, genera

**4** Kamala Kolpe, joint secretary of the Committee for De-fence of Working Women's of the Committee for De-fence of Working Women's Rights. She is a worker in the Pfizer Pharmaceuticals Company and the president of the Pfizer Employees' Union;

MAY 17, 1964

T HE conference agenda in-cludes important items such preparatory work for this con-as the question of women's parti-cipation in the struggle against charter, holding meetings, demon-the anti-social discriminatory strations etc. policy of the capitalist monopolies against working women, women's gation left for Bucharest for tak-REQUER

**3** Tara Rakhade, a worker in the Reymond Woollen Mills who is a member of the execu-tive committee of the mill work-

deliberate upon the issues that vitally affect the work-

department who is a leading functionary in the Bombay Textile Workers Union;

L secretary of the Committee for Defence of Working Women's Rights; 2 Parvathi M. Shirke, a worker

hear me on every thing as I the old mansions of the was now fed up with whisper family still lie in ruins on the campaigns and anonymous circulations. And more so because now the same people have ganged up to print and publish anything about me in newspapers and with the help of agencies such as the CUR. RENT and others.

That is why apart from the

banks of the Godavari river in the village of Karanjgaon, Kothure.

The branch from which my father descended were bank-ers to the Holkars when they marched to the South. Near the ruins a big temple belong. That is why apart from the ing to the family's private "letters" issue, I had to speak worship still stands, unatten-on questions of my family and ded. Even today, as it is, it

if I remember right.

When the nost-war When the post-war boom, came in 1918, my father, though he was employed in a solicitors' firm, traded on the stock exchange on a small scale. And as I had grown up and was going to college I assisted my father on the stock exchange.

Our holdings and dealings in the following: Tata



"finances". Since it is not a secret or private affair. I have to put my report in writ-ing so that all comrades know what I have to say. In order to do that. I had to tell the Council about my family and my early life. A gist of it has to be given here.

I proose to deal with the whole subject in three parts, to begin with:

My family and early life till 1921; 

2 Rise of Communist thought, first steps and the Kanpur Case.

3 The forged letters and

would be worth several thou- Deferred. sand rupees. An enterprising occupant of one of the ruins a few years ago found a small gold treasure when he dug up to rebuild a portion.

When my father died in 1920, he asked me to go over to the village and take charge of all these things. I never went. Only in 1954 when litical conference of the Bom-bay Party and the then Left Socialists met in Nandgaon for merger, I was taken there to see my "ancestral home". In the British period, the family migrated to Bombay. One of my uncles was a rail-way station master first and to Bombay.

Scindia Steam Steam, Elphinstone Colonial Steam, J Mills, Kohinoors, Swadesh etc.

It is because of this that I began to know what the mills were, how profits were made and what speculations by the big bourgeoisie on the exchange meant to finance and industry. This knowledge helped me in my work in the later days and was reflected in the writings in reflected in the writings in THE SOCIALIST and the struggles of the textile workers.

In 1919 I joined the Congress movement. Before that



It has been circulated that I am a stock exchange specu-lator, that I hold a large number of shares in many companies, which do not look good or in fact are wrong for a Communist to do, and especially for the Chairman of the Party. So what is the truth about this?

#### **MY FAMILY** BACKGROUND

It has to be told in two parts. One part dates back to the period before 1922 when I began to work for communism in our country and the other part comes after that.

then became an assistant ourser in the Watson Hotel in Bombay, the only big hotel in Bombay in those days. There was no Taj Mahal Hotel, I think, in those days. That was somewhere in 1905 or before.

In that position, he and his brother earned quite some money and all of it was kept particularly in the form of gold sovereigns.

In the latter part of his life my uncle became insane. His mania was to take a lot of gold coins in his hand and go out and start distributing them to the passers-by one by one. When the day's "quota" was finished, he would dav's return. His wife and myself used to follow him and collect back the sovereigns which was easy to do because the passers-by very soon came to know the madman and his mania.

Our family owned company shares also. For example, we had the original Tata Deferred shares acquired at the rate of Rs. 30 and whose value in 1920 had gone

our student group had started a student magazine called the YOUNG COLLEGIATE. We arranged a welcome to Tala Lajpat Rai, when he returned from his exile. We got Tilak to preside over the meeting. were threatened that would be rusticated or imprisoned. No one would pay for the welcome because of fear. so a large part of the money required for the meeting and the address of welcome, had to be found by me. My father helped in it.

In the Congress, I came across Umar Sobani, the welknown millowner, who owned several mills. He was one of the biggest financiers of the Bombay Congress and many political leaders. He also financed the Bombay Chemicals. He helped our magazine and movement.

ultimately The British ruined Umar in the Cotton market by deceitful means. So he had to sell his two best mills to Sir Victor Sassoon, an international financier, who

\* OVERLEAF

# EARLY ASSOCIATION WITH COMINTERN

#### \* FROM OVERLEAF

had newly entered the financial world in India on a very big scale. Our holdings in the Elphinstone Mills became the holdings under the new control of the Sassoons. After years, Umar committed suicide.

My father died in 1920. I had by then already joined the non-cooperation and left college. we were conducting student strikes. I, in the company of two other persons (viz. R. S. Nimbkar and Mantri) also traded on the stock exchange on the holdings basis of the family some we lost in the crisis that came in 1921 and in some we gained.

In those days of the postwar crisis, the money mar-ket was full of deals in the German Mark, which was getting devaluated. There vas craze of huving Mark and the new share floatings of new companies. It was an atmosphere of South Sea Bubble. We bought several thousands of the falling Marks. But they were finally, repudiated by the new German currency. We en-joyed the joke of the "pa-per" we carried with us for some time and then three

#### GANDHI V<sub>8</sub> LENIN

Even while working in the Congress, I disagreed with its leadership on many questions of policy and ideology. So I began to seek a new path. The news of the Russian revolution and the subsequent developments in the Soviet Union attracted me. Therefo I began to study the philo-sophy and ideology of the Russian revolution and wrote my book on "GANDHI Vs. LENIN." I published it at my own cost. I started a publish ing company called the Liber-ty Literature Co. The book appeared in April 1921.

The British censorship around India was so rigid and all-pervading that very little literature of the Soviet Union or their Communist Party came to India But I gathered some material from the works of some English writers and wrote my book. Though it had shortcom facts and theory, yet it stood on the side of Lenin as against the line of Tolstoy, which I said, was the line of Gandhi.

#### APPROACH OF THE BOOK

The book minced no words about the capitalists and landlords and spoke of the -peaceful path as much clearly as was possible in the conditions of those days of British rule. If circun tances permit, I may reprint the book for historical study a part of the archive of the Communist Party.

As a non-cooperator, I was also doing teaching work in the National High School started by the Congress for non-cooperating students. My studies in the Russian Revolution and the writing of the scale.

book had made me restless. I had some contacts with the workers, as the place where we lived was near the textile mills, which were later removed to the north of the city. From my very young days in Nasik city, I had imbibed the traditions militant nationalism and anti-British feelings. Of that chapter. I cannot write in greater length in this brief account.

The publication of the book drew the attention of many people and many forces to my new thinking and activities One millionaire in Bombay.

name R. B. Lotwala strangely enough was very much interested in sociamuch lism. He sent for me and wanted me to: manage his library, read more books and write. He owned two daily newspapers and printing pre-sses, and had a huge library. He visited England every year and brought literature from there. He financed activities of Vithalbhai Patel. He asked me to work for some time as Vithalbhai's secretary, which I did.

#### BIRTH OF THE SOCIALIST

Then I took charge of his daily Marathi paper. That paper published the first Marathi biography of Lenin in 12 articles, written by a member of our group. In Aug-ust 1922, I started the first Communist weekly in India named THE SOCIALIST Tt was round this paper that the first Communist group was built in Bombay. You can find some of this in the book which Indulal Yagnik M.P. has written on Lotwala's biography. References to him also exist in the volume by Overstreet and Windmiller.

My association with Lotwala gave me tremendous scope for work. I had a huge my disposal; a weekly of my own; a publishing company; a Marathi daily to write.

As printing THE SOCIA-LIST in a very big press would endanger its security, I started my own prin-ting press, in which Com. Joglekar was my partner. We printed some 15 or so pamphlets and books. One of them was the Communist Manifesto, another was a book of "Politics of Oil" by Dalasi, one on class struggle, etc. As to what THE SOCIALIST

wrote can be seen from some of the headlines of the article I wrote in it. It spoke of Marxism openly and called for struggle for freedom and n. It printed news of strike struggles, of Party formations, criticism of the Congress and the alternative path. I have not got the full file of THE SOCIALIST except for some few issues.

As members of the Provincial Congress Committee, our group tried to push the Con-gress into trade union work. I had worked in the postal and tram strikes of earlier days. We now began to think of trade union work on a larger

This engrossment in new work and movement compell-ed me, once and for all, to give up trading or any other pecuniary occupations. I stop-ped going to the stock ex-change. I sold out all my holdings with the help of friends. I put all my assets in cash with one or two friends and their firms, which were rich enough to be entrusted with it Though we differed, people like Umar Sobani and others were not averse to do-ing that much for me. An annuity of about two to three thousand rupees per year could come out of these ar-rangements for a number of years. That was the end of my connection with shares and stock exchange.

#### NO MORE SHARE HOLDINGS

Since then, that is 1922, I have never gone into the exchange. If I had been do-ing that trade, the bourgeois papers and others would have torn me to pieces when I began to conduct the big strike struggles in Bombay and elsewhere—in 1923 or 1928 onwards ame the leading force in the trade union movement. They could not do so be-cause I had no connection with any share holdings.

Only when my daughter was married a few years back, her friends bought her a few shares as a present, which all told were worth Rs. 3.000 in all. I do not own any shares anywhere except in the Peo-ple's Publishing House and allied concerns, which are all political and not personal holdings or personal property in the strict sense of, the term.

Thus when people speak about me being a speculator they are being misled or misspeak informed. They may talk so hof 1922. But not any time after.

#### **INTEREST IN** STOCK EXCHANGE

I take interest in the stock exchange. This every stu-dent of economy or of trade

union struggles has to do. I do discuss rise and fall of the market. Recently I had to study the bullion market also to write on gold con-trol. But I do not trade. I have nothing to trade with.

And I do not want to either. Not that there are no traders or landlords as symnathisers or even members of the Party. Some years back, a big millowner gave the Party several lakhs of rupees as donation because, as a young man, he felt for the Party and wanted to do good to it. His family and Con friends tried to prevent him but he stuck to his resolve. All the blessings for such people. But the Party lives more by the support of the toiling million

But when one attains a leading position and does wholetime work, one has to choose between private life and life for the Party. Then the Party has a right to demand a particular type of life and behaviour from its mem-bers. I need not go into this in detail here. I want to close this part of the personal story here. But I will have to take it up later on because some people who want to slander me have brought up such questions from time to time before the CC and CEC and the National Council in clandestine way and I have had to deal with them. Their

manoeuvres failed and hence manoeuvres failed and hence they were not reported to the Party as a whole... 'That part I will take up when I come to that period. As I am on the subject, let

me make another declaration. Some people say I own houses and land. Let me tell you that I own no house anywhere nor any land of my own. I have three or four pieces of land in different places, all for the union offices of those places.

some indian revolutionaries who had migrated to Europe, particularly Germany, in search of support for their armed conspiracies against the British rulers had gone to They are not my personal property at all. If you wish, I will deal in some other place with the details of this question also, how it arose, who are the people who started it, the Soviet Union after the fall of Germany. They hoped the Soviet government would give who engineered the foreigr exchange case etc. I will now resume the political story from them arms and money in the same way as the German government used to promise. he period of 1922 and come to the Kanpur Bolshevik Con spiracy case and the alleged letters. Many of them were interested only in that and not in the question of the strategy and tactics of the Indian revolu-

## Beginnings of the **Communist Movement**

IN order to understand the real import of our work and the case, it is necessary to know the political situation of that period, when despite the setback caused to the liberation movement by the suspension of the Congress struggle, the masses were in fer-ment, parties and groups were trying to recover from the

The revolutionary wave in Europe had not subsided, the imperialists were trying to overthrow the Soviet Union and suppress the liberation movement in Asia and the world over. The British government, still the dominant imperialism in the world, was concentrating all its energy against the Soviet Union and the Comm International which was trying to help the liberation movement everywhere The Second World Congress

of the Communist International (1920) had discussed the question of revolutions in the colonies and dependent countries. It had worked out the strategy and tactics of the ndependence movement in these countries under the guidance of Lenin

grasp the essentials of the situation in which we had to work in India without getting a full political picture of that period in India and parti-India so far had neither a



question of Communist ideo-

logy and organisation, and its

INDIAN

REVOLUTIONARIES

Some Indian revolutionaries

tion and its ideological plat-

form. Some however turned to-

wards Marxism and partici-pated in the work of the International. A batch of Indians who had left India

as Muhajarins founded a

Communist Party of India

in Tashkent. In the Inter-national, M. N. Roy became

I will not go into the ideo-

India.

India's freedom.

ace in the struggle for

ularly in the international field, I have to skip over it

Communist Party nor any oganised Communist group. No one in India itself had come forward and raised the I am drawing attention to his because, when for the irst time, I published a book ppenly discussing Gandhi and Lenin, when I published THE SOCIALIST with articles comig from the Communist Inrnational press, it may not he Indian situation, yet it al-rmed the British imperialists o had tried to keep India npletely sealed from the nternational current and escommunist ideology.

#### FEAR OF BRITISH GOVT

They were more afraid of this new trend than the old onspiracies of Raja Mahendra Pratap or Bhupen Dutta and others to get arms from Germany to overthrow the British government. The colonial thesis of the Com-munist International had from greater dynamite in it than all the conspiratorial arms of all previous revolutionary groups.

When I began my work, I as not clear about these ings. As a young nationalist the spokesman of the In-dian group and he was put in charge of work regarding revolutionary, I was groping for a new path because the Congress, after Chauri Chaura d made me recoil from it logical and political questions that were argued and the organisational steps taken by and search for something lifferent, something which would rouse the masses as the Communist International to establish contact directly with revolutionaries in India. Gandhi had done but lead them against oppression in a more sure and concrete way in which not only natio-That is a far bigger question and would require a long re-view, not possible just now. Though it is not possible to al freedom but their own freedom from would also come. exploitation

So when my book, my paper and the group that arose around it began to think and organise in a new way, the British government began to take its own measure to sup- Roy, we used to come to know of it from our worker con-They first established the tacts most elaborate machinery of Roy was not very careful in his methods nor had he any idea of the kind of work and

censorship of our post. They followed every suspected Com-munist. They barred all literature from coming in. They arrested those who tried to come to India to make con-tacts with us. A number of Indians who were in Moscow and who tried to return for work here, were arrested. To seal India from outside contact and to blow up whatever little effort was made inside the country was the line of the government.

press us.

Now-a-days, we are so much free to contact the outside world, the word "Moscow" is so well-known and has acquired such friendly and popular meaning, the Communist Party is so well-known, that it is difficult for anyone to pro-ject back into the period of 1921-24 and really grasp in what atmosphere we were working.

**COMBINATION OF** TWO OUTLOOKS

As I had worked in the Congress from the very begin-ning and had also imbibed the phere of the revolution ary terrorism of the Savarkar Group in Nasik city where I had passed my childhood and school age, my approach had both the conspiratorial outlook as well as the mass movement outlook

And'as I was also a product of Bombay city. I had the natural setting and attraction of the working class. Hence I wrote openly of the new ideology, took to the Congress and trade unions for mass approach and used also the method of conspiratorial organisation to a small extent. So when the police swoop-

ed on me and warned me that I as a non-cooperating Congressman was stepping into dangerous waters by being in contact with the **Communist** International, I

pretended complete ignorince of the aims of the International but admited that I was openly preaching socialism and asked, was it illegal?

The police tapped all my correspondence. But whenever anything came and was first tapped by the police and then allowed to come to us. I knew it. How, you will ask. You must remember that even at that stage I was doing trade union work. I had participa-ted in the postal strike which was a very big action.

And workers had natural antipathy to the CID and sympathy for political workers. So one or two postal workers whom we knew in our postal zone as also from the General Post Office would inform us whenever the CID would pick up our letters from the post, read them and then send them to us. The chief CID officer

charge of the work of the special branch in this zone, Mr. Desai, used to live in the same building where the zonal post office was situated. So when he or his superior would pick up any letter from M. N.

One of the high-ups in the police service met me on the pretext of a technical legal point in THE SOCIALIST. He said, he appreciated my atti-tude of open work. That was what the Mahatma had done for the country. His war on the British was an open one. It was a moral non-violent war for him against the governmen



censorship I was subjected to. At first he started writing to my published address. Ever Shaukat Usmani, who had come to India secretly, not having any proper address of mine, wrote to my open add-ress and was therfore chased by the police.

#### POLICE HUNTS FOR USMANI

He escaped for some time and did not know how he was being detected. And I could not contact him because the police intercepted my letters which warned him not to write to me. I tried to warn Roy also, but those letters never reached him as is known now from the police records and the Kanpur case proceedings, where you have got all the evidence for this. I had to play a sort of gue-rilla tactic with the police, in order to protect the move-

ment

So I took the pose that I was following absolutely legal, permissible methods of political work as a good Congressman, though a dissident and critic, that I believed in pro paganda and agitation and had nothing to do with secret conspiratorial work as was being talked of by Roy and the Communist International. · And in order to make it And in order to make it sound real I wrote like that to Roy in a letter which I knew would fall in the hands of the police. It is there in the Kanpur Exhi-bits—the police were not cure whether I were sure whether I really was what I claimed to be, that is, innocent of secret work or whether I was playing.

#### DOUBT THAT SAVED NALINI

That little doubt of theirs helped me to save Nalini Gupta when he came to see me. Nalini was an expert bomb-maker. He had learnt it when he was employed as a worker in London during the war in a munition factory. One of his legs had been torn from top to bottom in an ex-plosion but he had survived He was a great favourite with He was very much hunted after by the British police, not for his Commun. nions but for his expert knowledge and great skill in underground work.

That he was coming to India was known to the British intelligence service. They tracked him upto a point and lost him.

Then he spoke of Roy and his methods of violent revo-

lutions. For example, he said, ed me if someou he was sending now a very important lieutenant of his to he was India. He was going to build an organisation for violent re-volution in India, for arms dumps and so on.

smiled and said that my. SOCIALIST and my work stood for open mass strug-gles and that was all. Every-one knew what we wanted and what we did.

From his talk. I learnt of Nalin's proposed visit. The problem for me was how to save him. So I changed my residence, my address which was public and known to Roy and everyone. That took away the CID watchers from that place to the new place. I put a friend in the old place and asked him to bring anyone coming to see me only at evening time in the most normal usual way.

#### WHY NO **ALERT GIVEN**

The question is why did I not tell him to ask the person, if it was Nalini, to run away not see me. In the first place, we did not know when he was coming. We did not know his face or what name he was going to give. And I wanted very much to let him know what bungling was going on in the matter of organisation, ete

Nalini came and was brou-ght to my place. The first thing that I told him was that his coming was known to the police and that he must be careful. Nalini was very violent and suspicious, as all underground workers are. He took out his revolver and said, "if anyone tries to catch me. T will use this" T osked him not to be foolish and hasty. We talked for a long time

He asked me if the they had sent me reached us. I said no, but I had built one of my own. He asked me if certain sum of money had reached me. None. How many copies of the newspaper prin-ted in Berlin reached us? Three or four occasionally. He was surprised to hear this. He found out how the organisation was failing and was unable to overcome the obstacles put in our way by the povernment

It was my hobby that every evening I went to the gymna-sium (Akhada) for exercise. On return I used to go to a milk shop in a nearby lane. That time the watchers would not follow me which they did whenever I moved out. You know what the watchers were in those days. We used to ask them to buy our rail tickets and hold our seats in the train which they would willingly do as it saved them the trouble of chasing the ticket lectors to know our destination.

When we three went out of the house, the watchers just salaamed and asked if I was going to the milk shop. I nodded and walked on. At the street corner, I asked Nalini to go away and leave Bombay as soon as

After three or four days the police called on me and ask-

me and showed me Nalini's photo. I did not exactly identify it but I said that som did see me. But then so many people came to see me. Whom were they driving at? They said they had information that Nalini had reached India and was heading towards Bombay to meet me. Their watchers' report gave them an idea that some new person had seen me.

#### POLICE TRACKS NALINI

From their talk I found that they knew what had happened. I tried to look innocent and speak as usual They asked me if this gentleman was staying in Bombay. I pleaded ignorance but suggested that he was going to leave India immediately. Nalini was not found. He had gone to Madras and from there to Calcutta. There he was arrested after 'a few months.

What were the circumstances of his arrest? Muzaffar Ahmad has recently joined in the campaign against me on the forged letters. He, in fact, asserts that I was a British agent from the very begin-ning; that I was responsible for betraying Ashleigh's visit to Bombay. But how Nalini got arrested in Calcutta, where he was under Muzaffar Ahmad's or his group's care, is not stated by him. He escaped safely from Bombay, is not from me, whom Muzaffar Ahmad does not hesitate to slander. But how did Nalini get betrayed. in Calcutta. Muzaffar Ahmad's article does not explain.

One more visit I have to tell you about—that of Char-les Ashleigh. He was sent to contact us in India and arran ge a delegation to the World ngress of the Communist International. Ashleigh was not an unknown man He had been an active Co was a writer and had been sentenced in America for strike work. Thinking that he would, as an Englishman, easily get into India and do contact work, he was depu-ted. He was detected while his ship arrived in Bombay and orders for deportation were served on him. (September 19, 1922)

But he was not jail or lock-up. Muzaffar Ahmad says he was in strict custody in Taj Mahal Hotel. But that hotel has no lockup for police custody which I think Muzaffar Ahmad should know. Ashleigh was taken into custody in order to serve the deportation order on him and to direct him to stay in the Taj Ma-hal Hotel till the next ship carried him. Of course, a plain clothes watcher was kept near his rom to see if he went out.

Muzaffar Ahmad says I knew of his coming. I never knew. But why does he sav so? Because he says that he knew that Ashleigh was coming to see him. If he knew this, why is it ruled out that his information may have leaked out and the police pre-

\* OVERLEAF

## **Muzaffar Ahmad's Peculiar Notions**

#### \* FROM OVERLEAF

pared to catch Ashleigh on that basis? The real matter is that Ashleigh's coming was known partly due to his being a wellknown person and part. ly to the carelessness of M N Roy, who had an uncontrol-lable habit of writing to all sorts of people about such things. I will refer to this

#### **MUZAFFAR'S** PREVARICATION

In his zeal to please his dictators. Muzaffar Ahmad ever says that I not only got Ashleigh arrested but that I met him in the Taj Mahal Hotel with the help of the police. He says this because I had told him in jail that I had met Ashleigh.

I did meet Ashleigh. But not in the Tai Mahal Hotel He left the Hotel by the back-door with the help of a bearer and as an Englishman it was easy for him to do so. He went to the office of THE BOMBAY CHRONICLE. He told them that he wanted to meet me and if they could arrange to fetch me.

THE BOMBAY CHRONI-CLE people sent their peon with a message that the editor would like to see me. went and was taken to the room of Prabhn Pra bhu was a progressive man and I think assistant edi-tor. He knew Lotwala and me and our friends. I would not be surprised if Ashleigh knew his name from the columns of the Chronicle.

We discussed the problem of sending an Indian delegation. I told him of the difficulties. most important one being that there was no underground apparatus with us. I had also to tell him about the failure of Roy to build any proper organisation. I agre o convey his messages to the people concerned.

After some time, there were reports in the newspapers that Moscow and Roy were that Moscow and Roy were trying to build contacts in India, that secret emissaries were being sent to meet me, etc. I had to contradict these eports. I wrote a short letter to the press about Ashleigh's visit and my meeting him denied all knowledge of any conspiracy. But I did not say where I met him as that would have put Prabhu and THE BOMBAY CHRONICLE in

₹ : <sup>1</sup>



writing this letter was that Lotwala came to know of this, most probably thro-ugh Prabhu. There was also the fact that Ashleigh had given to me some pounds for my fares in India to arrange for the delegation Thes notes I gave to Lotwala's manager for cashing at the money changers Lotwala was frightened and insisted that I write and disown the conspiracy at least for his safety, which I had to do.

It appears from Muzaffar Ahmad's account that he had arranged to leave for Moscow How I do not know. But while going in the streets of Cal-cutta, he was bitten by a mad dog and instead of Moscow he reached Kasauli. It is a mercy he does not say that the dog was also sent by me from Bombay to bite him and spoil his plan! Well, that bitterness seems to have filled all his life. Naturally. To be disappointed in such a way at the very beginning of one's inter-national career is really frustrating and creates bitterness Bitterness and suspicion

against everyone is the basicharacteristic of Muzaffar Ahmad's approach to every person. Everyone to hi suspicious, is a spy until pro-ved to the contrary.

#### DEPTH OF MEANNESS

Muzaffar Ahmad had a hobby to denounce not only individuals but the trade unions also. In one letter to Roy he wrote, "I have written to you time after time that more than 90 per cent of the trade unions here are government organisations." No wonder, poor Muzaffar could never become a working class mass leader.

In his correspondence with Roy he always had two points to make. First, someone that Roy was befriending was a spy. Secondly, money was lacking, hence no work could be done. This was done to such an extent that people in Moscow got exasperated, and once Roy wrote to him to send that very man whom he had denounced as a spy. Muzaffar Ahmad's bitterness agains the world is best seen way he wrote his most shabby and mean attack against Bhupen Dutta, in a review of his book

Despite this mentality of Muzaffar Ahmad, I did not expect him to descend to the low and mean depths he has in his attacks on me. He as-cribes all the accidents that took place, such as that to Ashleigh or to Nalini, to me. No doubt the sectarian split-ters are using his standing in the Party, his age, his weak-nesses and senility, to carry Out their plan of breaking up the Party and using a cow ardly attack on me as one of the means. Otherwise they would easily

have found from the archives and also from other sources police got their in-from the intercepthat the nolice mation ted letters from Roy to people in India. Muzaffar Ahmad makes a great play about Ste-wart, the Deputy Commission-er of Police in Bombay. He also quotes out of context

misrepresents the words in the note that Dange "under strict surveillance can be a useful source of informa-", that he is more useful than dangerous. How am I useful? Because, Roy used to write to me, as the person in charge of the work in India and as such the interception and as such the interception of Roy's letters could be the source of useful information to the police. Is there any evidence to say this?

When discussing the question whether I should be arrested or not, the Bombay government sent a secret dos-sier on my activities. In one of its notes dated June 11. 1923, the Bombay government writes as follows

"Dange is in close touch with Madras, U. P. and Punjab Communists and he has promised to join the Labour and Kisan Party of Hindustan which has been launched by Singaravelu from Madras

"He had endeavoured to maintain regular correspon-dence with Roy but not very successfully owing to, the measures taken to watch s mail. Letter from Roy to Dange has been interce ted-dated Moscow 29.9.22 Berlin 12.12.22: Zurich 4.12.22; Berlin 19.12.22; Ber-lin 25.2.22 and Berlin 23.3.23.

"In these letters Roy con-"In these letters noy con-gratulates Dange on the appearance of THE SOCIA-LIST, warns him to expect Ashleigh's action in entrusting Dange with the papers he was bringing from Europe, asks Dange to visit Berlin to attend Communist conference. In the more recent letters Roy discus arrangement for send sending oney to Dange to pay the journey expenses of dele gates to Berlin and he sends Dange articles for publica-tion in THE SOCIALIST."

#### COOKING UP **SLANDERS**

This report of the Bombay government clearly shows how they were getting information and how they knew about

Ashleigh's coming. And yet Muzaffar Ahmad and his associates bent on disrupting the Party, do not hesitate to cook up slanderous and cowardly lies about me. What a bunch of degenerate splitters! But fortunately their lies can be caught and exposed as is seen from the above. However, I will revert this subject when I

deal with the forged letters, their mechanism, their logic and the aims they were intended to serve. Though I could not go to

the World Congress and though I did not very much understand the line thinking in the International on the Indian problem except what Rov's writing used to convey, I pursued the line of work, as I understood it to be, according to the Communist Intern tional. We built our strength in the Bombay Congress We took to trade union work. We spread as much as possible socialist literature. We prepared to build a

seen in the

NEW AGE

shows that he was trying to build some sort of under-standing and alliance with C. R. Das and others. But th British gvernment's tactical manoeuvre of publishing Roy's programme on the eve of the Gaya Congress fright-ened many leaders, for seve-

ral reasons. I had gone to the Gava Congress for the same work. I also wanted to contact the Communist groups from other areas. The Communist International through Rov had wanted me to take charge of this work, coordinate it and centralise it in Bombay.

The Bombay group was very much in the picture because of its good and wide propaganda work through the press, publicity, pamph-lets, newspapers and trade union work. When at Gaya, I had an underground meet-ing at Dehri-on-Sone. Mu-zaffar Ahmad makes a mention of it. But he does not know anything about it. He was not there and not in the picture at all.

#### DISCUSSIONS WITH SUBHAS

After Gaya, where C. R. Das was defeated and humiliated by Rajagopalachari and his nochangers, C. R. Das's group was being pushed to the Left by the pressure of the young revolutionaries among whom a big part was played by Subhas Chandra Bose.

The result was that Subhas Bose came to Bombay in order to have consultations with me, as to the line that progressive should follow the Congress and what their relations should be with the Comintern. There was a small group meeting also the R. L. Trust Hostel Building. belonged to Lotwala and where I used to live.

Very soon, however, the British government launched an offensive against the prolaunched gressive forces in the Con-gress and outside. They ar-rested many people in Ben-gal, including Subhas Bose.

#### KANPUR CONSPIRACY

The government also decided to launch the Bol-Conspiracy shevik Four of us were brought to Kanpur, tried for conspiring with the Comintern to overthrow the British govern-ment by a violent revolution to be carried out by the workers and peasants. We were sentenced to four years' imprisonment. The judge was the same who had tried the Chauri Chaura peasants and hanged several of them.

Kanpur jail was myself. Next came Usmani. Then Muzaffar Amad and Nalini Gupta. The latter three had already been in detentior

As soon as I met Usmani told him how his writing letters to me at the public address had led to complications. When Nalini and Muzaffar Ahmad came, they kept glum and reserved. I could We prepared to build a not inderstand why. Then I Party. asked them. I found that Roy's correspondence, as Muzaffar Ahmad had it in his case exhibits, head that I was being made

"an approver" in the case of something like that. He, as usual, suspected me and he usual, suspected me had put it in Nalini's head also. But soon matters were cleared.

In fact, during the case, when it came to identifying Nalini's photograph and Muzaffar's reference as "M.A." T denied the identity.

#### JUDGE'S REMARKS

On this the Sessions Judge in the judgement said.

"Some points place the guilt of the accused (Dange) beyond doubt. The first is Dange's false statement that he gave Ashleigh to understand that he disap-proved of Roy's programme. The second is Dange's false denial before the Committal Magistrate that he knows who Com M. A. is. A man who was inside the conspiracy, as Dange, must have known who M. A. was, and unless he was desirous of shielding fellow conspirator, he would have said so. The third point is Dange's denial before the Committal Magistrate that Nalini visited him or that Dange was shown Nalini's photo shown Nalini's photograph. The fourth point is Dange admittedly wrote to Habib with instructions on the inner envelope "Please for-ward to Laiq" (i.e. Usmani). Remarks suggesting that Dange was opposed to Roy were pretence and put in to throw dust in the eyes of the government and the CID"

#### **MY POLITICAL** STAND

I also made a political statement in that case, with-out implicating anyone in any evidence as such. It was sary to do so because the newspapers and the whole country were discussing our case. Though my statement was too short and nothing compared to what we said in the Meerut case, yet it had a political content. The sllence of Muzaffar Ahmad and others had neither legal nor political value.

But for them it was natural, because they were essentially engaged in only conspiratorial activity. mani had at least the advantage of having gone and fought on the Tashkent e counter-Muzaffar front against the revolution. But Muzaffar and Nalini were only nurs-ing secret documents which they had neither converted into instruments of mass movement or ideological propaganda or anything. With that approach they kept their mouth shut both in law and in politics.

I had a different role to play. I had to look people, the masses, th masses, the trade ions and say something on politics, at least a few words Hence I steered a different course. But now my perver-Hence ted accusers read quite a different meaning in my statement and make a big virtue out of their chickenhearted silence, even on the **Politics of the case** 

(TO BE CONTINUED)

MAY 17, 1964

On May 19 the Vietnamese people celebrate the 74th birthday of President Ho Chi Minh. He is truly the Father of the Vietnamese Nation who has led them from the darkest depths of French colonialist rule to the victorious August Revolution of 1945, through the prolonged war of resistance culminating in the glorious victory of Dien Bien Phu and the establishment of the

Democratic Republic of Vietnam in the northern half of the country which has firmly taken the path of socialism.

**P**RESIDENT Ho's life of yen Ai Quoc in France: issue of activity has a great and pro-found meaning," wrote one of his of Colonial Peoples; political agi-closest colleagues, the Prime Minis-ter of the Democratic Republic in France, especially among the ter of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, Pham Van Dong, four years ago. "His life of activity re-flects the greatest epoch in the history of the Vietnamese nation, in which our people, under the banner of. Marxism-Leninism, stand up and become masters of their own destiny and build with their own hands their life and socialism."

Ho Chi Minh's life is remarkable and unique in many ways. Searching for the path of libera-tion of his oppressed people he found himself in France while he was still in his early twenties and there he plunged in revolutionary activity. Writes Pham Van Dong: "In the course of his activities

In the course of his activities in France Nguyen Ai Quoc (as Ho Chi Minh was then called) came close to the French working class and revolutionaries and found in them the true friends of liberation stry. It was the first of his country. It was the first time a Vietnamese patriot met French workers and revolutionaries.

"Nguyen Ai Quoc joined the French Socialist Party at that time, attended the Tours Contime, attended the Tours Con-gress in 1920 and definitely sided with the Communist Inter-national and the French Com-munist Party. The first Viet-namese Communist took part in the founding of the French Communist Party. in the force struggle against the socialist reformists and revisionists.

"The solidarity and friendship between our people and the French people, between the Vietnamese revolutionaries and the French Communists have existed since that time. Then followed a period of intense activity for Ngu-

"He had found the path for national salvation. At that time Nguyen Ai Quoc was just over thirty years of age.

## German and French Parties Laud **CPI's Struggle Against Splitters**

#### From KUNHANANDAN NAIR

BERLIN: Communists in Europe are expressing great concern and anxiety over the present situation inside the Communist of India, especially the splitting activities of the so-called "Leftists".

**R** ECENT articles in the central organs of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the Com-munist Party of France have fully supported the National Council of the Communist Party of India and condemned the activities of the bultters in the CPI. a general review of the political decisions of the CPI National Council and the working class

splitters in the CPI. The decisions of the April meeting of the National Council of the CPI to suspend 32 members, to convene the Party congress in September this year and the recom-mendation of the CPI that a world conference of Communist and workers parties was an immediate necessity, were widely publicised in the German Communist press and radio.

An article in the journal "Inter-national Working Class Movement" (Number 8, April) published by the international department of by the international uspatismum the Central Committee of the Sothe Central Committee of the Certral cialist Unity Party of Cermany (this journal usually reflects the official views of the SED on the pumblems of international Communist movement) has highly ap-preciated the decisions of the

MAY 17. 1964

soldiers; liaison at all costs with the country to send documents; appeal for solidarity and national salvation; writing of *Le Proces de la colonisation francaise* (French Colonialism on Trial); at the same time liaison and coordination of action with the patriots and pro-gressive people from other op-pressed countries.

"Right from that time Nguyen Ai Quoc realised clearly that it is Al Quoc redised clearly that it is necessary to unite the people's forces in the French colonies and to ally with the French working class to ocerthrow French Colonial rule and libe-rate the peoples oppressed by French imperialism.



struggles in India since October 1962.

The first man to arrive in

## Ho Chi Minh: Relentless **Fighter Againt Imperialism**

studied, and, on the other engaged in intense political activity, attend-ing the Fifth Congress of the Communist International and many Communist International and many other Congresses. In 1924 Nguyen Ai Quoc arrived in Canton and set up there the Vietnun Young Revolutionary Comrades' Association, the main predecessor of the Indo-Chinese Communist Party." By early 1930 Nguyen At Quo was able to unify the differen Communist organisations then ex-isting in Indochina, and the Communist Party of Indochina was founded.

"President Ho's merit," writes Phresident Ho's ment, writes Pham Van Dong, "is to have shed the light of Marxism-Leninism on the path of struggle of the nation, mobilising and developing to the utmost the enormous forces of our

#### Immage of Fraternal Union

"President Ho Chi Minh is the image of the fraternal union of the movement of national libethe movement of national libe-ration of our people with the world proletariat, the October Revolution, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. President Ho is the image of the focal point of patriotism and proletarian internationalism. proletarian internationalism. Therein lies the key for the suc cess of the Viet tion.

"Our era is that in which capiforces in the French colonies "Our era is that in which capi-talism is giving way to socialism on a world scale. The one and only French Colonial rule and libe-rate the peoples oppressed by French imperialism. If the had found the path for national salvation. At that time Nguyen Ai Quoc was just over "He decided to go hack home with the Soviet Union and the so-

withdrawal of the naval block-ade of Cuba. "This unfortunate armed conflict

ints unrotative article contact camp and an anti-imperialist power in the peace camp caused consi-derable damage to the growth of democratic movement in India.

democratic movement in India. "The conflict was a golden op-portunity for the reactionary Right-wing forces and chauvinist ele-ments to mount an offensive against the working class movement in the country and to unleash history's

worst anti-Communist hysteria. "This conflict disrupted Afro-Asian unity and weakened the struggle against imperialism in this

area." After a factual study of the situation following the Chinese aggression, the growth of Right reaction, the imperialist intrigues, chauvinistic offensive against the Communist Party and repression, the article said :

"Under these extremely difficult and complex conditions when the the paramount task of the Com-munist Party of India and the revolutionary forces inside the

and on his way visited the Soviet cialist camp. Nowadays when the against the people of South Viet-Soviet Union and the socialist nam. "In Moscow, on the one hand he studied, and, on the other engaged in intense political activity attend. colonialism is disintegratur imperialism falling into dec colon grating and decay, this

imperialism falling into decay, this path has proved the one and only path leading to success, "For the last thirty years, the Party and Comrade. Nguyen Ai Quoc (Ho Chi Minh) have shown that path to our people." Quoc (Ho Cm menople that path to our people cause nearest b

One cause nearest to the heart of Ho Chi Minh is the peaceful reunification of his beloved mother-land, Vietnam. Ten years ago the Geneva Conference had solemnly recognised Vietnam as one and in-divisible and the division along the 17th percentage and another and pea-

The people have risen in a most heroic resistance struggle most heroic resistance struggle against this regime of pillage and terror; they have rejected and toppled one American puppet after another. With 18,000 regular U.S. troops in that tiny bit of land, having failed all these years to subjugate it, the US imperialists are trying des-perately to internationalise their US imperation perately to internationalise their dirty undeclared war against in a South Vietnam.

the Ho people of South Vie Chi Minh has an appealed again and again to the conscience of the world to stop this cruel war and secure the full implementation and secure the full implementation 17th parallel as temporary and pro-visional. The American imperialists which will bring peace and reuni-have not only tried to perpetuate fication to his country. Let us that division; they have let loose pledge anew to do all we can to a most savage and barbaric war support this just cause.

### **GEORGI TRAIKOV**

April 23. At the time of his election he was First Deputy Prime Minister of a and secretary of the Agrarian Peoples Union. Born in 1898, he has a long career of anti-fas cist struggle behind him In 1923 he organised resistance in the Varna region against the monarcho fascist regime and was captured by the police. He was set free when an am-nesty was declared. During the Nazi occupation heorganised resistance against the Hitlerite hordes and was a member of the underground Varna district committee of the Fatherland Front. Last year Traikov was awarded the "In-ternational Lenin Prize for Strengthening Peace among People".

★ Fight back chauvinistic Right reactionary forces inside the country. Fight back chauvinistic Right munal, religious and caste anta-gonism among the toiling people."

elected President of the

Presidium of the Natio-nal Assembly of the Peo-ple's Republic of Bulgaria

Safeguard the economic inter-ests and civil liberties of the people and fight for them against which the government launched an offensive in the name of national

The article emphasised: "These tasks set by the Party before the country were in full conformity with the principles of proletarian internationalism and revolutionary patriotism of the working class movement."

After describing the difficult situation following the November resolution of the Party, the journal said: "The Communist Party of India then launched its counter-India then launched its counter-offensive against imperialist cons-piracy, the internal reactionary for-ces and the anti-people policies of the government and has registered many successes in its struggle since the dark days that followed the India-China border conflict."

The following several columns of the article contained a graphic description of the Bombay strike of August last, the Great Petition or August last, the Great Fernion campaign and demonstration, the campaign for the release of poli-tical prisoners and its success, the national campaign of toilers which began in January this year, the Kerala and Andhra agitations and a number of other struggles in a number of other struggles in India during the last two years. The article said that "revolu-

The article said that revolu-tionary movement in India has gathered further momentum." Referring to the communal ten-sion in India the article said the Communist Party "is now waging

The article further said that the Communist Party of India was to-day in the midst of a big struggle for the defence of the general line of the world Communist movement against dogmatist onslaughts

Narrating the October resolu-tions of the National Council, the article underlined: "In the assessment of the CPI, the present dis-turbing situation has arisen pri-marily because the leadership of the Communist Party of China has now moved far away from the collectively resolved general line of the international Communist move-ment and has finally repudiated it openly.

openiy. The article said: "Today the Indian Communists are fighting the worst attempts of the Chinese leadership to split the the worst attempts of the Chinese leadership to split the CPI and undermine the unity of the working class movement and disrupt class struggles in India.

The article concluded with these words: "The counter-offensive launched by the Communist Party of India to overcome the difficultie that followed the conflic has yielded good results for the Indian working class movement. There is no doubt that the CPI and the Indian working class will emerge stronger and more united from the forthcoming seventh congress of the Comn of India."

PAGE THIRTEEN



# **CERTAIN ASPECTS OF PARTY LIFE IN**

bourgeois politicians and the trends they stood for. No wonder he wrote, precisely in his "Left-Wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder":

"The divergences between the Churchills and the Lloyd-Georges with insignificant national differences these political types exist in all coun-tries on the one hand, and between the Hen-dersons and the Lloyd-Georges on the other, are quite minor and unimportant from the standpoint of pure, i.e., abstract Communism Communism that has not yet matured to the stage of practical, mass, political action. But from the standpoint of this practical mass action, these differences are very, very important." (Selected Works, FLPH, Eng. ed., Moscow 1947, Vol. 2, p. 622) Vol. 2, p. 628).

The policy documents of the Moscow Meetings of the Communist Parties confirmed the definition, given by the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, of the main content and main contradiction of our epoch. In its resolution of May 23, 1958, the Second Session of the Eighth All-China Con-gress of the Communist Party of China deemed it necessary to especially single out and stress the thesis of the Declaration that at the present time "world development is determined by the course and results of the competition between two diametrically opposed social sys-

The Statement of the 1960 Meeting of repre-sentatives of the Communist Parties clearly said: "The central factors of our day are the inter-national working class and its chief creation, the world socialist system.

On this point again, the Chinese leadership, grossly contravening the resolutions and direc-tives of the Congress of the Communist Party of China, have lent themselves now to the un-savoury business of trying to counterpose the national liberation movement to the world socialist system and the international working class movement

In particular, the so-called "Fourth Article" of the newspaper Jenmin Jihpao, and the magazine Hungchi (of October 22, 1963), is devoted to this. It "proves" that the main contradiction of the present epoch is the one between imperialism and the national liberation movement, whereas socialism is only a "base," an auxiliary force fo this movement. For instance, it is claimed that "the national liberation revolution in Asia, Africa and Latin America is presently operating as the most important force, that is directly deli-vering a blow at imperalism. Asia, Africa and Latin America are those areas where the con-tradictions present in the world are concentra-ted." ted "

The effort to drive a wedge between socialism and the international working class movement on the one hand, and the national liberation movement on the other, is futile and doomed to fail. It is perhaps precisely on this point that the Chinese splitters best show their true colours and expose themselves. Unity of the great movements of our time is the earnest of peece and the sceled precise of precised peace and the social progress of manking

#### ATTITUDE TO ECONOMIC COOPERATION

In the same fundamental way, in contravention of the Eighth Congress directives, has the CPC leadership changed its attitude to economic cooperation between the socialist countries, not-ably and especially, in the appraisal if our assist-ance to People's China.

Making the report of the Central Committee to the Congress, Liu Shao-chi said:

to the Congress, Liu Shao-chi said: "The Soviet Union lent tremendous assistance to the cause of socialist construction in our country; the People's Democracies of Europe and Asia also rendered great assistance in this res-pect. The Chinese people will never forget this comradely help of the fraternal countries. This help, as in the past, is help that we need now, and shall need in the future. China's unity and friendship with the great Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, which is based on comother socialist countries, which is based on com-mon aims and mutual assistance are ever-lasting and unbreakable. The further streng-thening of this unity and friendship is our supreme international duty and the basis of our country's foreign policy."

The Congress resolution underlined that the setting up in China of a new "industrial system setting up in china or a new industrial system is of tremendous importance not only for facili-tating the all-round development of the national economy of our country, but also for strengthen-ing the cooperation between the countries of the cialist camp, for promoting a general advance in the economy of all the socialist states."

But this Congress resolution, too, is evidently But this congress resolution, too, is evidently not obligatory for the Chinese leadership, which has begun to offer "the relying on one's" own forces" in opposition to co-operation with the socialist countries.

Addressing a rally in Pyongyang on September 18, 1963, Liu Shao-chi declared the exact opposite:

"There are some people today who oppose the promotion by the fraternal countries of a policy of relying, mainly, in construction on one's own forces. They say that since there exist a socialist camp uniting a number of socialist countries, it is necessary to draw on these splendid conditions and, in conformity with the principle of prole-tarian internationalism, implement in construction the policy of international division of labour and co-operation in production instead of stress-ing the principle of relying on one's own forces."

With what incredible spite did he go on to say things he knows to be untrue about advocates of mutual assistance, coordination and cooperation. In his opinion, they "are using this petty screen merely to follow the example of the capitalist countries, which in their mu-tual relations do detriment to others to grind their own axe, prevent the economically underdeveloped countries from developing their own independent economies, make these countries independent economies, make these countries dependent on them economically, and put them under their control politically. In their view, under their control politically. In their view, the other fraternal countries have only the obligation to sacrifice themselves for their dis-posal and, meanwhile have no right to develop an independent national economy."

#### INVENTING A POINT OF DIFFERENCE

Is there really such a question, and a controversial one at that, as to whether each country should, or not lean primarily on its own forces in the building of socialism? It does not exist. Why, then, have the Chinese leaders invented it and presented it as a point of diffrence? Simply because they have embarked on a nationalistic road, simply because the line of nationalism is now prevailing in their country, and the raising of this point accords with the aims of this fallacious

To deny the need of coordination between the socialist countries, of a division of labour bet-ween them—as the Chinese leaders are doing, in violation of the directives of their own Party Congresses—would mean to doom each socialist country to isolation, to a state of standing alone in the effort to overcome the difficulties encoun-tered in building up socialism, to insufficient use of the advantages of socialist production, and also of the advantages of large-scale production, generally.

One feels the Chinese leaders are themselves aware of the folly and inanity of all this. That is why their comments on this question are so confused and contradictory. They have been led to and placed in this position by the logic of factional struggle against the general line of the world Communist movement, by their vain at-tempts to ferret out differences even where they do not exist, deepen and inflate these differen-ces, and split the Communist movement.

They are, in effect coming out against close They are, in effect coming out against close cooperation between the socialist countries, because the Soviet Union accounts. for the greater proportion of this cooperation and in their anti-Soviet craze they are sliding down to negation of the absolutely correct and irre-futable propositions, adopted by the congresses of their own Party and by all the other Com-munist and Workers' Parties.

The crux of the matter does not at all lie in the differences on questions of cooperation within the socialist camp, but in the hostile attitude taken to the Soviet Union. That is the evil.

No wonder that when there was none of this hostility and rage, Chinese leadership's view on matters of co-operation was diametrically opposite to its present one. Here, for instance, is an extract from Chou En-lai's report on the Second Five-Year Plan to the Eighth CPC Congress, which he made on September 16, 1956. It speaks for itself, and, therefore, needs no comment.

"The other view—the effort to build alone, in isolation from the outside world—is also erro-neous. Needless to say, the assistance of the Soviet Union and the People's Democracles will, as before, be necessary for a long period of time to build up an integrated industrial system in our country; simultaneously with this, it is also necessary to develop and expand econd

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nical and cultural exchanges with other coun-tries. In addition, even in the future, when our country will be a socialist and industrial power, will it be difficult to imagine ourselves being able Hence the isolationist attitude to the building of socialism is also incorrect."

#### **REVISION OF CPC'S INTERNAL POLICY**

The socalled line of the "three red banners" has been proclaimed the expression over the past few years of China's internal economic policy. The "banners" policy is made up of the general line plus the great leap and the people's com-munes. It is queer already to see that the leap (the industrial policy) and the communes (the agricultural policy) are not included in but seem munes. It is queer already to see that the leap (the industrial policy) and the communes (the agricultural policy) are not included in but seem to supplement, the "general line." No wonder, no fraternal party, even ruling Communist Parties of Asia, adopted the "three red banners" policy, that dubious "contribution" of Chinese theoreticians.

You will look in vain through the decisions of You will look in vain through the decisions or Chinese Party Congress for anything about the "banners" policy. On the contrary, these deci-sions formulate the Party's general line quite differently, and further, more precisely, issues a serious warning against reckless " skipping of necessary stages of cooperative farm-

Thus, the CPC Central Committee report to the 8th Congress in 1956 pointed out that the rate of advance "should be stable and reliable, rate of advance "snould be stable and remable, in order not to digress from correct proportions. in developing the economy, in order not to place too heavy a burden on the people or to upset the economic patterns, in order not to frustrate the "ulfilment of the place in order to avoid motion fulfilment of the plan, in order to avoid waste-fulness, which would lead to adventurist blun-ders". This, certainly, hits the mark! It seems as if they themselves foresaw that prec selv ad ences. Unfortunately, that was what happened.

Another report to the same Congress, entitled "Proposals on the Second Five-Year Plan for "Proposals on the Second Five-Year Flan for Economic Development" gave the following warn-ing against a Leftist deviation in development rates: 'Some branches of the national economy and some areas desired to attain successes in a faster way: they attempted to attain successes in a faster way: they attempted to accomplish in three to five years or even one or two years, what could be done in only seven-twelve years. The Central Committee of the Party in time ex-posed and liquidated this deviation."

In its decision the Congress called on the Party "to combat the tendency of blindly push-ing ahead when the hard facts, the actual oppor-tunities and, the planned, proportionate deve-lopment of the national conomy, are ignored."

iopment of the national conomy, are ignored." On the theoretical plane revision of these Congress directives is evident starting with Liu Shao-chi's report to the Second Session of the Congress in 1958, in which the "leap" was men-tiond and the socalled theory of "saddle-type development" advanced. "Saddle-type develop-ment," the report explained, "implies peaks at either end and a drop in the middle." The fol-lowing movement of the economy, i.e., "high tide—ebb—a still higher tide, that is a leap— conservatism—a still bigger leap—which should sure be clear to all"—was elevated to the rank conservatism—a still bigger leap—which should sure be clear to all"—was elevated to the rank of a law of socialist development.

What really "is clear to all" in this respect is that a "theory" of this kind does not bear even a remote resemblance to Marxism which consi-ders planned and proportionate development the law of socialist economy. Meanwhile the ups-and-downs series are characteristic of capitalist economy with its inherent anonem of and-downs series are characteristic of capitalist economy with its inherent anarchy of produc-tion. Lenin wrote in Iskra: "Capitalist produc-tion cannot develop otherwise than as by leaps and bounds, making two steps forward and one (sometimes even two) step backward". (Collec-ted Works, IV ed. Vol. 5, p. 74, Russ. ed.) Evident in the same spect of the state of th

Evident in the same report were the danger-ous tendencies of recognising the inevitability of disparities in the economy, and a snobbish-Left attitude to technology and specialists. It deattitude to technology and specialists. It de-manded that the entire population take a hand in building up industry, so as to thus "refute the mysticism of this supposedly being the mono-poly of a few," so as to "necessarily campaign firmly and steadfastly against the undue bias towards the latest technology," and "against the overemphasis on specialists." This all resulted in the slighting of pronortionate development. in the slighting of proportionate development, in the scrapping of technological processes and in disdain for the quality of the articles made Inasmuch as the Soviet specialists naturally

could not depart from the attitude of promot

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## COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

ing balanced, technical progress, of respecting technical standards and well-founded techno-logical processes, they proved to be in the way of the organisation of the "big leap" and the Chinese leaders took steps which could not but result in their recall from China.

However, as far as concrete plans for industrialisation and the rates of advance were contrainstition and the rates of advance were con-cerned, the second 1958 Congress Session still took a realistic view of things, which in the main harmonized with the correct and proper decisions that the 8th CPC Congress had adopted at its First Session in 1956. The goals of the Se-cond Five-Year Plan were not modified and con-sequently, the 1956 decisions of the Congress still stood. The Leftist adventuristic changing of rates of advance and introducing the "three red banners" line was effected already after the Congress and over its head.

#### TECHNOLOGY COUNTERPOISED AGAINST MANPOWER

Whereas at the Second Congress Session in May 1953 mention had been made, for ins-tance, of setting the aim of overtaking Britain in the production of main industrial items in "15 years or sconer," in that same year of 1953 it was already stated that Britain could be overtaken in steel and pig iron output in one or two years. It was like that all along the line. There appeared in the 1960 "Long Live Leninisml" collection a "theoretical" argumentation of disdain for technology. It said: "Marxists-Leninists always observed that in world history the destiny of mankind depends not on technology but on the human being, on the masses.

Why did the Chinese leadership need to place technology in opposition to the human being? Merely to somehow vindicate in the eyes of the Chinese people the setting of un-real, fantastic, unfeasible tasks, to somehow justify its adventuristic policy.

In the First Five-Year Plan (ending 1957) In the First Five-Year Plan (ending 1957) China's industrial output was nearly doubled. That was a great achievement. The Five-Year Plan was fulfilled ahead of time, in four years. We rejoiced together with the Chinese people at those successes. The Second Five-Year Plan slated a doubling of industrial output. However, successes caused conceit to flourish and gave rise to wishful thinking of increasing the rates of advance two-fold, three-fold and even more. As a result, the goals of the new edition of the Se-cond Five-Year Plan, worked out by the PRC State Planning Committee in July 1958, or in other words, shortly after the Second Session other words, shortly after the Second Session of the 8th Congress, were arbitrarily boosted from a 2-fold increase to a 6.5-fold increase over the guinguennium, which thus meant an ave rage annual rate of increase of 45 per cent. Meanwhile, in agriculture goals were boosted to a 2.5-fold increase, implying an average yearly rate of advance of 20 per cent. This was pre-cisely what constituted that socalled "big" or "general" leap.

Five years went by but the Chinese leadership did not even think it necessary to render ac-count to the Party and the people on how the Five-Year Plan was being carried out. It lacked the courage to confess the shameful flace of the fantastic "leap", which is strongly smacked of those Trotskyite schemes for "superindustrialisation," that our Party had rejected in its day.

sation," that our Party had rejected in its day. The danger of these ultra-revolutionary Leftist schemes lay in the inevitable subver-sion of the alliance of the workers and pea-sants, as the policy of pushing things too far in industrialisation inevitably placed a heavy burden on the backs of the peasants. Natu-rally, this danger soon manifested itself also in China, during the period of the "leap." It was expressed in the establishment of the communes and in attempts to skip the neces-sary stages of cooperative farming in the counsary stages of cooperative farming in the coun-tryside, in Mao Tse-tung's formula "to work persistently for three years and reface, in the main, most parts of the country."

main, most parts of the country. Lenin precisely said that, "If any Communist dreamed of being able in three years to remake the economic foundations, to transform the eco-nomic roots of petty farming, he, of course, was nothing but a pipe dreamer." (Coll. Works, 4th Rus. Ed. Vol. 32, p. 193). That clearly shows everyone what utoplanism is and what Marxism is!

In its 1956 decisions the 8th Congress of CPC issued a serious warning against overdoing things in the collectivisation of farming. It pointed out:

"In the process of developing the agricultural producers' cooperatives care must be taken to s amalgamation of small coopeprevent heedles

ratives into large ones, so as to avoid difficulties in the work of economic management and production organisation together with the adverse effects they have on farming." However, again the decisions of the Congress

proved to be not obligatory for the CPC leader-ship. The "drive against the so-called 'overdoing of things'" was castigated in 1958 and in late August the CPC Central Committee adopted its decision "On the Institution of the People's Communes," in which it pointed out in part: "The transformation of collective property into the property of the whole people is a whole proeress. In some areas this transformation may be effected rather quickly, that is in three or four years; in other parts this transformation may take place at a relatively slower pace. meaning that five or six years or a still greater period will be required."

The Plenum of the CPC Central Committee that took this decision, put forward the super-Leftist motto: "We must not mark time at the stage of socialism? The Plenum decision supplied the following answer: "Apparently the realisa-tion of communism in our country is no longer something remote. We must make vigorous use of the form of the People's Commune and evolve through it a concrete way of effecting the transition to communism "

Now, however, the Chinese leaders are onestioning the possibility of the transition to com-munism in the Soviet Union, a country that has built socialism! How well does this, though in a somewhat modernised variant, harmonize with the Trotskyite claim that it was impossible to build socialism in our country!

#### TRYING TO OUTPACE SOVIET UNION

Though lacked the materal and technical foundation and other requisites for effecting the transition to communism, the Chinese leaders declared that because of the high level of cons-clousness among the peasants, they would never-theless be able to go over earlier to the communes-in contrast to the Soviet Tinion which had supposedly got stuck at the cooperative stage. There were plans, moreover, to organise mam-moth amalgamations of between 15,000 and 20,000 households. However, there were no experienced people to do the job and, for that matter, it was people to do the job and, for that matter, it was impossible to supervise such a vast volume of work. Finally there were plans not only to put the communes in charge of farming, schools and the local industries but also to militarise the labour communes, and even the turnout for work was organised as in military units.

One cannot but draw the conclusion that a petty-bourgeois ideology was manifest in the desire to pave the way of communism through the village, through a hasty transformation of forms of ownership in agriculture. This meant ignor-ing the Marxist-Leninist teaching on the transi-tion period, on the preparation of the necessary material and technical base, and the other essen-tial conditions for the building of socialism and communism. What is this but, undisguised petty-bourgeois utoplanism, which is being substituted for scientific proletarian socialism!

The communes were set up under the motio of "eliminating the remnants of private pro-perty." Private plots, household livestock, poultry, orchards, trees, and farm implements; and in many places, also lodgings and personal be-longings (such as sewing machines, bicycles, furniture, pots and other household utensils) were made the commonly-owned property of mammoth communes. Remuneration of labour in the countryside, based on the workday unit and the principle of the material incentive, was annulled and replaced by a system of a mini-mum wage and free meals, according to the "number of mouths," i.e., by a wage-levelling system. Scientific farming was proclaimed con-servative, interfering with a gigantic rate of de-velopment in agriculture. The decision adopted at that same Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee in August, 1958, said:

"The overcoming of Rightwing-deviationist and conservative views and the scrapping of custo-mary rules for the application of agrotechnical-measures have produced a situation in which agricultural produce is being increased two-fold, seven-fold, more than 10-fold, dozens of times

Fontactic projects were put forward to reduce the sown areas and there was talk about China having no place to store surplus rice over the next few years. However, several months later district after district in China slid to the brink of famine. Food rationing was introduced. It had to be announced that

harvest figures had been overestimated, that actually there were only about half as much. The resulting hardships coincided with crippling natural calamities.

Hard times set in for the next few years, called years of "regulation" in industry and agri-culture. The communes were reorganised. The old cooperatives were actually restored in the guise of big teams. The principle of the material incentive was also restored to a substantial ex-Incentive was also restored to a substantial ex-tent. But the courage to frankly confess that the Chinese leaders had suffered a serious set back in their communes policy, was lacking. The slogan of the communes, therefore, remained, though the substance changed most radically.

However, the situation could not be remedied. because of a new swing in economic policy now. from Leftist to Rightist deviation. Agriculture was proclaimed the foundation of the economy, and at its Tenth Plenary Meeting in September, 1962, the CPC Central Committee set the slogan of "putting agricultural development first." Neither is this, of course, any "new vital law of development of socialist economy," that has alle-gedly been discovered in China—as the Chinese press is trying to represent.

It runs completely counter to Marxism-Leninism and to the decisions of the Eighth CPC Congress of 1956, which say: "In order to trans-form our country from a backward agrarian one into a leading socialist industrial power, we should in the course of three Five-Year Plan periods or of a slightly longer time, create in the main an integrated industrial system, so that industrial production dominate in social producton... so that the technical reconstruction of the national economy receive the necessary ma-terial base."

It is hard to say anything definite at the mo-ment about the state of China's economy. No economic statistics, not even the briefest of information on economic progress, have been pub-lished over the past few years. All that is known is that 1963, as far as economic indices are con-cerned, was better than 1962, while 1962 was better than the preceding year. For peace-time development, this kind of statistics cannot be considered normal. Prior to 1958 the situation was entirely different.

These are all the peculiar "features" of the development of Party life in the Communist Party of China in the conditions of a flourish-ing personality cult. Neither decisions of con-gress nor of the Central Committee have any independent and defining significance now; they are only needed as comment on the ins-tructions of the leader. The newspaper Chung Kuo Ching Niev Pao frankly declared on March 10 1964. "The instructions and documents of the Central Committee of our Party and the supreme organs are the crystallisation of the ideas of Mao Tse-tung in present-day practical struggle and work."

#### A PARTY WITHOUT A PROGRAMME

The emergence of a neo-Trotskvite deviation as represented by the CPC leadership, and charac-terised by petty-bourgeois anarchism and na-tionalism; Leftist revisionism of the resolutions of its own congresses and the decisions of the Moscow Meeting of the Communist Parties, and the defication of a personality, is no chance thing.

A role of no mean importance was played in this respect also by the conceit the CPC leadership displayed after the major successes of so-cialist construction preceding the "three ban-ners" period. V. I. Lenin foresaw the danger of conceit that threatens a party that has won, a ruling party. He noted that the failures political parties sustained had often been preceded by a state in which these parties could have become conceited. Lenin warned against the grave dan-ger of a party "finding itself in a very dangerous position, namely, the position of a man who has grown conceited—a rather silly, shameful and stupid position." (Coll. Works, 4th Russ. ed., vol. 30. p. 493).

The way to the turnabout in home and foreign policy, and the departure from the standards of party life that Marxists-Leninists universally recognise, was paved over a long period by separate errors, expressions of dogmatism and partial contradictions with Marx-

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# PARTY LIFE IN CPC

ism—until the present system of ideological and political views finally developed. It is no secret that many of the political slogans to which international significance is now being pretentiousy attached were current n China over many years. The claim that the atom bomb was a paper tiger was made back in 1946, while the thesis that "the whole world can be remade with the rifle" is still older. Right up to the liberation of China, the CPC

fuenced its character as a Party. In an article marking the 30th anniversary of the CPC Peng Chen noted:

"As the Communist Party of China was for long a enemy-isolated villages, and hence peasant nd petty-bourgeois anarchy, subjectivism, sectarianism, burgaucratism, as well as adventu-rism, defeatism and other trends, at times with This helps us to understand much of what is going on in the Communist Party of China today. Prior to liberation, the CPC was made up chiefly

Prior to liberation, the CPC was made up chiefly of peasants, who comprised about 90 per cent of total party membership in 1949. The proportion of working class representation in CPC ranks climbed very slowly even after the founding of the People's Republic of China. On the eve of the 8th Congress, in late June 1956, CPC mem-bership had the following. social composition: workers, 14 per cent; peasants, 60.1 per cent; representatives of the intelligentista, 11.7 per cent; representatives of other sections of the popula-tion, 5.2 per cent. ion, 5.2 per cent.

The holding of party congresses also had some The holding of party congresses also had some serious peculiar features. For instance, when de-legations from the fraternal parties came for the 8th CPC Congess in 1956, it was learned that a whole fortnight before the official opening had been taken up by group meetings of delegates from the different provinces, of army delegates and of delegates from central officer This had been, in its way a dress rehearsal for the con-gress, with the texts of the various reports and resolutions being heard, discussions being held and speeches being made. These meetings had chosen the speeches that were to be delivered at. official sessions of the congress. It was even said that preliminary elections to the Central Comby secret ballot had already been held. mitte

Nor did the following strange practice on the part of the CPC Central Committee pass unnoticed, either. Delegations from 50 fraternal par-ties were invited to, and attended, the first ses-sion of the 8th Congress in 1956. They were given the opportunity to state their views at the session and describe the state of affairs in their own parties. That was good and normal, after the manner of other parties.

But when the second session of that congress was convened in 1958 no delegations from the fraternal parties were invited. Only two reports were published: by Liu Shao-chi, who delivered the Central Committee's report, and by Tan Chen-lin, who explained the basic points in plans for PRC agricultural development over 1956-67. The resolutions of the session and the communique on its meetings were also pu

Bridges Of Amity

INDO-CZECH

PAGE SIXTEEN

COOPERATION

More than 1,000 Czech

ever, Teng Hsiao-ping's report on the Moscow Meetings of the Communist and Workers' Parties was not published.

This suggests that evidently this report alhad some things about the international unist movement which the Chinese leaready had ders had not found possible to tell all the members nan not found possible to tell all the mem-bers of their own party or the fraternal Com-munist Parties. One may well imagine that the CPC had already started to evolve, in some measure, a special line, running counter to the agreed decisions the Communist Parties had

for was Mao Tse-tung's speech at that session of the congress published either, though the communique said that he had addressed the session. What sort of period in China's development is this when the speech that the party lea-der makes at a congress cannot be published? Or perhaps things of an extraordinary and secret

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#### GREAT IMPORTANCE OF PARTY PROGRAMME

There is no need to speak in detail in this article of the great importance that Lenin and our Communist Party attached to a Party programme.

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Can it really be that the Chinese leadership also regards a programme as being "secon-dary"? Can it really be that in the 15th year of a victorious revolution, the Chinese comrades are deprived of the opportunity to work out a Party programme? In PRC papers one will often hear it claimed that the Chinese cannot go by the decisions of other parties—though no-body has ever urged the Chinese Communist Party to do that. But we may well ask: Where is your programme? Is such a Party good and Farty to do that, but we may well ash: where is your programme? Is such a Party good and "correct"—as you yourselves are fond of say-ing? And by what is one to check the correcting? And by what is one to check the correct-ness of its home and foreign policy? Incidentally, in the attitude to a Party pro-gramme, too, one may draw a certain parallel, deriving from the personality cult in the USSR in Stalin's life-time and the personality cult that is now current in China. Back in 1939, our Party decided at its 18th Congress that it was necessary to draw up a new programme, as the old one had been carried out. It elected a com-mission to draft such a programme. However, like the other commission elected at the 19th Party Congress, this first commission did not meet once. Only after the 20th Congress did it become possible to draft and adopt the new CPSU Programme.

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CPSU Programme. Can it really be that China's Communists are not asking why, in contrast to the Communist Parties in other countries, their Communist Party, 18,000,000 strong, has no programme of its own? Is it not an axiom of Marxism-Leninism that to steer surely, never losing sight of the goals and prospects and never rushing from one side to the other, a party must have a compre-hensive militant long-range programme to cover a definite chapter of history? But the Chinese Communist Party does not have that. And does not that make one think that the absence of a programme presents favoarable

And does not that make one think that the absence of a programme presents favourable conditions for the personality cult—as in this particular case this cult is tied down to nothing and even fundamental programmatic party policies can be changed without particular difficulty and without caution, in 'conformity with the leader's directives? The absence of a programme, the failure to convene party congress regularly, the "ageing" of congress decisions, which thus cause the im-pression of their not being obligatory, all have little in common with Marxism-Leninism. On the contrary, these things are characteristic of a party leadership which has made the personality cult all-supreme and has embarked upon revi-sionism, because it is precisely in these conditions sionism, because it is precisely in these conditions that it is possible to substitute directives formu-lated under the impact of one or another impres-sion, for a programme, for the collective will of a party and for principles common to the entire munist move

MIDNAPORE: The Midnapore district council of the Communist Party of India has condemned the anti-Party activities of the splitters and declared itself firmly behind the National Council.

N extended meeting of the "to be alert and to resist the district council was held on splitting activities of those Party May 5 to discuss the inner-Party members who are already on situation. It was attended by the move to form a parallel 198 members. A resolution pass-party organisation in the district." ed by the meeting said: "This meeting

ed by the meeting said: "This meeting sharply de-nounces the call given in the statement of the 32 comrades (who had walked out of the National Council) for disobeying the leadership of the National Council and for forming a paral-lel party organisation, and re-solves to resist this open split." It said: "This meeting The Habra (district 24 Paral-ties engaged leaders. Strong Protest the second district and the ties engaged Protest

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This meeting acknowledges its full support to the National Council, elected by the highest organ of the Party body, the Party Congress.
"This meeting takes a firm resolve to struggle for solving the ideological differences through inner-Party discussions, for firm adherence to the principle of democratic centralism and to carry on the struggle against those comrades who play the forerunners of Party splitters."
The meeting called upon all Party units and Party members
Protest
It is a the struggle against the solution passed by the committee said: "This meeting further condemns the anti-party activities of the resolution sand decisions of the National Council on the activities of the splitters" and the forged "Dange letters" the committee called upon Party members not to associate them.

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The British government after consultations with its Atlantic allies has turned down on May 5 the Polish proposals concerning a freeze on nuclear armaments in Central Europe. The proposals were put forward by Gomulka in March this year.

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governments of the USA, Bel-gium and German Federal Re-public. The only tangible reason for the objection given by the British government seems to be the paucity of details of inspec-tion arrangements, and safe-guards in the proposals, while the GFR has put out a fantastic plea that the acceptance of these proposals would shift the balance of forces in favour of the socia-list countries.

**We at Figure** forces in favour of the socia-list countries. While the British rejection keeps the door open for fur-ther talks, presumably because of a very strong section of public opinion and the Labour proposals, the West Germany agreement on nuclear freeze is reply is utterly frioolous. The proposals only seek the freezing of nuclear arms and do not effect the conventionally arm-ed forces, ublich, as reports

The United States objection stems from the plea that the Polish Proposals affect directly the US plan for a multi-lateral Nuclear Force under NATO.

### Position

The West German position is guided by the sole motive that the proposals cut at the root of West Germany's bid to acquire nuclear arms. This has been un-mistakably spelt out by Von Hassel, Minister of Defence of GFR in a statement published in FRANKFURTER ALLEGE IN FRANKFURTER ALLEGH-MEINE on October 2, 1963 in which he says that the "Bun-deswehr must be equipped with the weapons possessed hy its only possible adversary (mean-ing USSR, Ed.) and by its

MAY 17, 1964



Yashpal in USSR during Indo-Soviet friendship month 

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#### NEW ECONOMIC AID FROM USSR

Indo-Soviet economic cooperation reached new heights with two recent

One is the offer to build the Bokaro steel plant and the other is the agreement signed be-tween the two countries for the Jetsar Central Mechanised Farm

The Jetsar farm will be the second biggest of its kind, not only in India, but in the whole of Asia. The first one was Suratgarh. The Soviet Union

NEW AGE



Indian showroom in last year's Poznan Fair,

will supply all the agricul-tural machinery for this farm under the agreement. INDIA IN POZNAN FAIR

India will be participating in this year's International Fair at Poznan as in ear-



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PARTY MEMBERS RALLY ROUND NATIONAL COUNCIL'S DECISIONS

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cil and its support to all its deci-sions to counter the activities of

the splitters and to maintain the unity of the Party. The Bansdroni branch com-



Resistánce To Split

## **ADDIS ABABA FAVOURED** AS VENUE FOR SECOND AFRO-ASIAN SUMMIT

NEW DELHI: Abyssinia's capital, Addis Ababa is considered to be the likely choice for the Second Summit meeting of Afro-Asian States projected to be held in 1965, reports IPA. HE selection of the Afro-tory meeting to be' decided by ras left by the Jakarta prepara-According to reports available here, the consensus in African capitals favours Addis Ababa for playing host to the Conference.



The Polish proposals emanated from the reality that despite a considerable relaxation of inter-national tension following the considerable relaxation of inter-national tension following the signing of the Moscow Test-ban Treaty, the progress of disarma-ment negotiations has not been able to keep pace with the progress of armaments. This is particularly evident from the manner in which the West Ger-man reurament drive hear nan rea ment drive has ated.

The Polish proposals concern only the Central Europe because time and again this zone due to the German warlords' intransience has been turned into theatres of war. Polish proposals, if accept-ed, will certainly ensure no more deterioration in the situation and pave way for further relaxation of tension and carry forward the noble idea of disarmament one step towards its realisation.

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#### Soviet **Participation**

# Reports also indicate a shift on the question of Soviet Union's participation in the Conference. It is learnt that the issue is being re-examined by a number of Afro-According to According to

tions' between Algeria and the Soviet Union have also become perceptibly warmer.

The expectation now is that the proposal for including Soviet Union in the Conference, initially sponsored by India, will be taken up by a number of other countries when the , other countries when the issue comes up for discussion at the next meeting.

Participation in the Conference.
 It is learnt that the issue is being re-examined by a number of Afro-Asian governments. An encouraging picture is stated to have emerged reflecting crystallisation in the attitude of a number of countries.
 The Soviet governments of Asian and African countries on this subject appears to have had an wholesome effect. Some of the government's note, such as Soviet Asia being 40 per cent of Asia's total land mass, and the existence of a 7,000 kilomet science of a 2,000 kilomet science of a



NEW AGE

PAGE SEVENTEEN

# PARTY LIFE IN CPC

-until the present system of ideological

Ism-until the present system of ideological and political views finally developed. It is no secret that many of the political slogans to which international significance is now being pretentiousy attached were current in China over many years. The claim that the atom bomb was a paper tiger was made back in 1946, while the thesis that "the whole world can be remade with the rifle" is still older. Right up to the liberation of China, the CPC worked among the peasants, which greatly in-fluenced its character as a Party. In an article marking the 30th anniversary of the CPC Peng Chen noted:

"As the Communist Party of China was for long in enemy-isolated villages, and hence peasant and petty-bourgeois anarchy, subjectivism, sectarianism, bureaucratism, as well as adventu-rism, defeatism and other trends, at times with extreme ease found expression in the Party." This helps us to understand much of what is

going on in the Communist Party of China today. Prior to liberation, the CPC was made up chiefly of peasants, who comprised about 90 per cent of of pecality, who comprised about 90 per cent of total party membership in 1949. The proportion of working class representation in CPC ranks climbed very slowly even after the founding of the Feople's Republic of China. On the eve of the 8th Congress, in late June 1956, CPC mem-bership had the following paciet workers, 14 per cent; peasants, 60.1 per cent; representatives of the intelligentsia, 11.7 per cent; representatives of other sections of the population, 5.2 per cent. The holding of party congresses also had some

The holding of party congresses also had some serious peculiar features. For instance, when de-legations from the fraternal parties came for the 8th CPC Congess in 1956, it was learned that a whole fortnight before the official opening had been taken up by group meetings of delegates from the different provinces, of army delegates and of delegates from central offices. This had been, in its way a dress rehearsal for the con-gress, with the texts of the various reports and been, in its way a dress rehearsal for the con-gress, with the texts of the various reports and resolutions being heard, discussions being held and speeches being made. These meetings had chosen the speeches that were to be delivered at official sessions of the congress. It was even said that preliminary elections to the Central Com-mittee by secret ballot had already been held.

Nor did the following strange practice on the part of the CPC Central Committee pass unno-ticed, either. Delegations from 50 fraternal par-tles were invited to, and attended, the first ses-sion of the 8th Congress in 1956. They were given the opportunity to state their views at the ses-sion and describe the state of sectors in their sion and describe the state of affairs in their own parties. That was good and normal, after

own parties. That was good and normal, after the manner of other parties. But when the second session of that congress was convened in 1958 no delegations from the fraternal parties were invited. Only two reports were published: by Liu Shao-chi, who delivered the Central Committee's report, and by Tan Chen-lin, who explained the basic points in plans for \_PRC agricultural development over 1956-67. for -PRC agricultural development over 1956-67. The resolutions of the session and the communique on its meetings were also published. However, Teng Hsiao-ping's report on the Moscow Meetings of the Communist and Workers' Parties was not published.

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Yashpal in USSR during Indo-Soviet friendship month PAGE STATEEN

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Resistánce To Split

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unity of the Party. The Bansdroni branch com-The Bansdroni branch com-mittee of the Communist Party of India has also declared its "unequivocal support and alle-giance to the National Coun-cil" of the Party. A resolution passed unani-

#### mously by the general body meeting of the branch com-mittee said that it "fully sup-ports and endorses all the reso-lutions of the National Council of the Party. It also fully endor-ses the resolution suspending 32. ses the resolution sus leading comrades for their passed unani- ting activities.

## **ADDIS ABABA FAVOURED** AS VENUE FOR SECOND AFRO-ASIAN SUMMIT

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NEW AGE

PAGE SEVENTEEN

# Taminad's Strong Condemnation of The socialism of the soc **Splitting Activities**

MADRAS: The Tamilnad state council of the a long resolution which nailed Communist Party of India has unanimously endorsed CONT National Council's design on the 32 memthe CPI National Council's decision on the 32 memthe CPI National Council's decision on the or more than the resolution decounsed the bers who had walked out of the April meeting of the canard that the present leadership of the Party in Tamilnad had sold the Party to the Congress.

But in the face of the new ituation created by the splitters' ictivities during and after the vational Council meeting, the activities National National Council meeting, the Tamilnad secretariat of the Party

batore from April 27 to 29. Simul-taneously with the meeting of the state council, the splitters in Tamilnad led by P. Ramamurti had called a meeting of their own in Madurai too.

The Madurai rival "council The Madural rival council meeting" had been announced with trumpet and fanfare. It had been propagated by the splitters that the Madurai meeting would be the coup de grace to the pre-sent leadership of the Communist Party in Tamilaad.

However, these tall claims of the splitters were belied and rebuffed by the Party member ship. The minority group in the state council, which had walkstate council, which had wak-ed out of Kumbakonam meet-ing of the state council in March, had to call in many others also to give the Madurai meeting the look of a confer-

to repudiate it. ORIGINALLY it was intended to hold a meeting of the state executive committee. only, state executive committee. only, state executive committee. only, state executive committee. only, soon after the meeting of the National Council. But in the face of the new situation created by the splitters but in the face of the new situation created by the splitters but in the face of the new situation created by the splitters of the splitters but in the face of the new situation created by the splitters but in the face of the new situation created by the splitters but in the face of the new situation created by the splitters but in the face of the new situation created by the splitters but in the face of the new situation created by the splitters but in the face of the new situation created by the splitters but in the face of the new situation created by the splitters but in the face of the new situation created by the splitters but in the splitters written to the council expressing inability to attend because of professional and domestic reasons.

National Council meeting, the Source A presidium consisting of decided to convene an urgent K.T.K. Thangamani, Alagirimeeting of the state council. samy and Somu was elected to conduct the business of the batore from April '27 to 29. Simul-

N. K. Krishnan reported on the National Council meeting and showed how the 32 who had walked out the National Council had preplanned it. The platform of the 32 had also been released to the press. Only after that had the National Council taken the decision to suspend them from Party membership.

#### Support To National Council

# After the reporting, nearly 40 comrades participated in the discussion. These comrades represented all the districts in the state. All of them con-demned the splitters and strongly supported the National Council and its decisions.

ence. A resolution on safeguarding In sharp contrast to this, the Party unity in Tamilaad was combatore session of the state also moved by Krishnan. It was

for the first time started imple-menting the resolution in prac-tice."

tice." The resolution pointed out how the Ramamurti group had in the past been mooing heaven-and earth to forge an alliance with the reactionary DMK. In fact the Ramamurti group at the special conference of the Party held in December 1962 characterised the DMK as "the progressive national bourgeoisle progressive national bourgeoisie of Tamilnad." But the Triple Alliance of the DMK, Swatan-

The resolution said: "The split-ters' group is keeping silent on the fact that on the basic political ideological issues before the world communist movement they are supporters of the positions of the Chinese Party leadership as against the 81 Parties' line. On the issues of the character of the epoch, the nature of the main contradiction, peace and war, peaceful co-existence, disarfna-

above. "From that time, step by step, "Why are they hiding these disruptive activities were widen-facts from the Party's rank and ~ ed. Factional general body meet-file? And concentrating only on ings, secret circulation of factional so-called attitude towards Con-gress? Is it because they know tacks on party policies, formation that the overwhelming majority of rival party committees the of the Party rank and file in splitters group passed through all Tamilnad remain loyal to prole-terian internationalism and to the 81 Parties' Declaration?

"It is also known that Rama-murti and his group had oppos-ed the resolution on Chinese aggression adopted by the National Council in November

#### Ramamurti's "Reasons"

# P. Ramamurti said that the reason for the split in Tamilnad was due to the policy adopted by the National Council in the recent elections to the municipal councils in Tamilnad, while A. K. Gopalan at his press conference said that the "Dange Letters" were the reason and M. R. Ven-katraman alleged that the mass disciplinary action in Tamilnad was the reason for the split. What is the reality? Here is what the resolution says: P. Ramamurti said that the

progressive national bourgeoiste of Tamilnad." But the Triple Alliance of the DMK, Swatan-in Tamilnad was fought reso-council in the recent municipal lutely by the Tamilnad state elections. The resolution said: "The split-nad. Their activity in Tamilnad was part of planned effort on an all-India scale.

"While Ramamurit was in jail in 1983, he had told A. K. Subbiah, MLA, who was also in jail with him at that time, An lat with him at that time, that a rival party was going to be organised in Tamilaad. A. K. Subbiah revealed this in the PEC meeting held in Satha-nur in 1963. In that meeting, the PEC passed a unand resolution warning the Party ranks' against the activities which were being carried out to form, a rival party in Tamil-

naa. "The rival paper, Theekkadir had already been started under the guidance of Ramamurti and A. K. Gopalan.

"From that time, step by step

"They sabotaged the victo r ney saoorageu the victory of certain Party candidates in Coim-batore town in the municipal elec-tions, secretly calling upon their followers and masses not to vote for Party candidates."

There was a five hour discus-There was a five hour discus-sion on this resolution when com-rades from each of the districts spoke of the disruptive and split-ting activities of 'Ramamurti's men, Persons against whom disci-plinary action had been taken by the previous leadership itself for matters involving moral turpitude and conduct unworthy of Party members were the hench-men of P. Ramamurti in various districts. members were the hench-men of P. Ramamurti in various districts

#### Unanimous Resolutions

The resolution was passed

A resolution suspending Ramamulti and 27 others who walked out of the Kumbakonam meeting of the state council was moved by A.S.K. Iyengar and passed unanimously.

Another resolution authorising the provincial secretariat and the PEC to dissolve any committee that refuses to abide by the Na-tional Council and state council decisions, also was passed unanim ously.

By a separate resolution the Madurai district council which had refused to accept the deci-sion of the National Council was dissolved and an organising com-mittee was formed to reconstitute Madurai district

Another dastardly chapter in the history of dirty colonial wars of suppression is being currently written in Southern Arabia. Dying and decrepit British imperialism, driven out of all its strongholds, is fighting a desperate last-ditch battle to retain its grip over the Aden military base and its ramshackle federation of tottering tribal chieftains in that area.

of tottering tribul chiertains in that area. THE Special Committee of the UN on Colonialism has condemned Britain's barbaric military campaign against the freedom-loving people of South-ern Arabia in unmistakable terms. Only the United States and Australia dared openly side with Britain; two of her Nato allies, Italy and Denmark, preferred to abstain in the voting in the UN Special Committee. But, as the London Daily Worker the British Communist Party's organ said in its editorial military, the military, the BBC, ITV and the Government are all res-ponsible for grossly deceiving the British people... "Whatever the origin of the lie," said the Worker, "the Gene-al Officer Commanding Middle East Forces gave it world-wide

taly and abeliance, provided to an end of the security Council to the dangerous situation" which had resulted from the gaginst the people of the territory". These actions, said the which had resulted from the recent British military action against the people of the terri-tory". These actions, said the Committee, "have endangered rity." Britain which was castigated only last month for its terroristic to Verneni fort of

Britain which was castigated only last month for its terroristic raid over the Yemeni fort of Harib when the Security Council had considered that question and called upon her to desist from military action, has return-ed to this course fully determin-ed to persist in it. The British spokesman before the Committee on Colonialism had the temerity to advance, in justification of his on Colonialism had the temerity to advance, in justification of his Government's action, the argu-ment that the 'dissident' tribes-men' who are sought to be punished are "being used as tools to further the designs of foreign powers", the implication being that Britain herself is no foreign power, but real blue-blooded Arab of all Arabs, plant-ed by some divine right in Aden and South Arabia! photographs of real decapitations and exhibitions of decapitated heads. None else than the British heads. None else than the British imperialists themselves had or-ganised these. This was done in Britain's war against the Malayan people when Britain engaged regular headhunters from among the Dyaks to do the job. In South Arabia in the mean-while the reign of terror conti-nues. According to the Times of India London correspondent's despatch of May 10:

They try to throw dust in the eyes of the British people and of the whole Western world by fabricating stories of decapitated heads of British soldiers being British soldiers being exhibited in the Yemeni of Taiz. From Prime down to the lowest heads of publicly e capital o Minister Minister down to the lowest hack in the Fleet Street, they all join in creating a hysterical atmosphere on the basis of such falsehoods.

#### FAKE STORY

Under questioning from the Opposition, Sir Alec Douglas-Home is compelled to admit in Parliament that the whole

in Parliament that the whole story from beginning to end was an utter fake! Yet it was none else than the General Officer Commanding of the British Middle East Land Forces who had started it. A report carried by the *Times of India* on May 4 tells us:

Officer Commanding Middle east Land Forces. "If this is true, it shows the type of men we have to fight and it will have a profound effect on our troops', General Cubbon said." That 'profound effect' that was aimed at was produced, not only on the men pushed in to fight this senseless, unjust war, but also on the trusting ordinary folk. The Yemeni Foreign Minis-try repeatedly issued categorical type and the termine the termine to the termine termin

To UAR THIS is the setting in the struggle against racial dis-which Khrushchov has crimination and for peaceful co-existence among nations." THIS is the setting in arrived in UAR on his firstever visit to any Arab or the youth of his country, Nasser African country. He has said:

Between themselves these two developments — the British 'war of annihilation' in South Arabia and the rapid advance towards completion of the biggest irri-gation and power project to rise in that part of the world, thanks to the aid of the Socialiti Soviet Union — symbolise the situation in the Arab, and in fact the logent tries which actively fight for the and stabilishing on our soil the freedom of which we are the architects." UAR and lauded their achieve-logent effecting the editice of a saying, "The nonaligned coun-tries which actively fight for peace, disarmament and elimi-nation of the threat of thermo-nuclear war' greatly contribute tensions." Repeatedly he returned to the peace of the people of the imperialism and colonialism.

IMPHAL: The Manipur tional Council and against state council of the Com-munist Party of India has nnanimously endorsed the

MANIPUR'S VOICE

AGAINST SPLITTERS

decisions of the National Council and the action taken against the 32 members of the National Counwho walked out of its last meeting.

The state council held a meeting on May 3 and heard the two National Conneil members from Manipur, Th. Bira Singh and Th. Meghachandra Singh.

They placed before the state council the resolu-tions of the National Council and explained its deci-sions and urged upon the members to endorse then unanimously.

After a thorough discussion the state council enorsed the resolutions and decisions of the National Council and decided to stand firm behind the Na-

PAGE EIGHTEEN

the Party splitters. The state council called upon all Party members to fight the splitters' disruptive moves and their anti-Party slanders and propa ganda. It asked Party 1 bers to strengthen the unity of the Party in the of the onslaught of the splitters.

The council also asked the members not to asso-ciate with any of the activities of the splitters and to keep high the banner of the Communist Party.

Through another resolution, the state council de-cided to hold the sixth conference of the Manipur state council of the Communist Party on August 21

The local conferences in preparation for the Party Congress will be held in July next.

**CAMPAIGN AGAINST SPLITTISM** NAVI PARISTHITHI-NAVA DRUSHTIKONE by Srikant Laud, published by the Maharashtra Committee

of the CPI. Price: 25 nP 

THE Communist Party of India today faces a difficult situa-tion following the splitting activi-ties carried on by a section of the leadership inspired by the Chinese positions on ideological questions. It has therefore become extremely urgent to keep the Party member and the broad masses informed about the issues involved in the split.



pamplet is a studied documen-tation which clearly proves the nature of West German military build-up and the aspirations of the revanchists to fulfil their ain of another conflagration to wipe out the "loss" sustained by Ger-many in the Second World War. The pamphlet establishes that the West German warlords have already built up the strongest con-ventional armed forces in Europe and combined with that their in-satable desire to secure hold on nuclear weapons constitute the big-gest threat to pace in our time. The second pamphlet deals with is the first of a series of five pamphlets in Marathi which will deal with the corious issues NEW AGE

NEW AGE

The present namphlet deals with the organisational questions con-nected with the execution of the Party policy. It has already become popular among the Party members and workers, and with those who facing the national and inter-national Communist movement. ( sympathise with the CPI.

\*

WEST GERMANY'S STRIVING FOR NUCLEAR ARMAMENTS (by Jerzy Kowalewski), and SELF-DETERMINATION AS SMOKESCREEN FOR OSTPO-LITIK (by Andrzej Lesniewski):

THESE are two latest Polish behind the issue of self-determina-tion as propounded by West Ger-many which is nothing but an pamphlet is a studied documen-tation which clearly proves the nature of West German military West German Chancellor Lud-

Visit ndia on May 4 tells us: "According to AP, the two British soldiers killed last Thursday were decapitated and their heads exhibited on sticks in Taiz according to "reliable information given to a press conference by Major-General John Cubbon, General Officer Commanding Middle east Land Forces.

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despicable fraud. "The British people are being deceived all along the line about the operations in Aden. "British soldiers are being sent to fight and die there in are differed and the there in

sent to fight and die there in appalling, conditions, not to defend any interest of ordinary British citizens, but to make the area safe for British im-perialism and the oil monopo-lies."

The Worker also produced photographs of real decapitations

despatch of May 10: "For the past one week, it has been a one-way war. On May 2, it is now revealed, British war-planes terrorised Radfanis by dropping 1,000-lb bombs. Now, there is talk of building roads to penetrate into the tribal settle-ments in the interior and punish them."

them." According to the same report, even Aden's tightly controlled Press has mustered courage to accuse Britain of 'waging a war of annihilation' against the 'defenceless tribesmen."

Khrushchov's

Momentous



whole former colonial world: Imperialism seeking to cling by all means to a vanishing empire resorting to desperate bloody gambles; Socialism responding with an open heart and with all resources at its disposal to the great urge of the long-suppress-ed, long-exploited peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America to rebuild a life of happiness for the people on the ruins léft by colonialism. It was the Societ Union, the world's first socialist state, whi-

world's first socialist state, whi-ch came to the aid of embatil-ed Egypt when the latter was under brutal attack from Bri-tish and French imperialism and from Israel which had joined them; it is the great Soviet Union again which has lent her a helping hand to stand up on her feet economi-cally to resist the designs of the imperialist wolves. The Americans, it will be recalled had refused help in building Asvan just as they did in the case of Bokaro. world's first socialist state, whi

#### MOST **BELOVED FRIEND**

It is easy, therefore, to under-stand the feelings of the Egyp-tian and the Arab people when Nikita Khrushchov comes to them as their guest. He is the most beloved friend from over-seas they know of. They go all out to give him a most glorious welcome and President Nasser tells him as he sets foot on UAR soil:

UAR soil: "Your name is always on the lips of millions of people in the United Arab Republic who know you as a courageous fighter who has dedicated his entire life to the struggle for lofty ideals and concictions, as a daring fighter whose sup-reme ideal is the struggle for world peace. The United Arab Republic ' knows you as the truest friend who has always been with us in our difficult times."

"Our friendship," said Nasser "is growing stronger with each passing day. Our cooperation has transcended the narrow passing day. Our cooperation has transcended the narrow bounds of interstate relations. It is closely linked with the efforts of all mankind in the struggle for peace and progress. We have joined our efforts in the struggle against colonialism in all it forms and manifestations, in supporting the liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America in the Africa and Latin America, in the struggle for disarmament, for the liquidation of foreign bases, prohibition of nuclear tests, in

African country. He has come there to participate in the inauguration of the first stage of the High Aswan Dam. Between themselves these two developments — the British 'war of annihilation' in South Arabia and the rapid advance towards completion of the biggest irri-

Britain's Barbaric Attack On People Of Southern Arabia

> United Arab Republic. They 'In our epoch when mankind highly appreciate the victory of your revolution as an important stage in the liberation struggle of the peoples of Africa. They have always displayed and conti-nue to display understanding for their struggle for strengthening Khrushchov said. their straggie for strengthening their independence, for progress in the development of the na-tional economy and culture." The present generation of the Egyptian people, he said, can be justly proud not only of their ancient, culture but also of the ancient culture but also or me new things they are creating with their own hands. Apprais-ing the achievements of the Egyptian Revolution and their positive significance for all newly independent countries, Khrushsaid:

chov said: "Your people, under the leadership of the Arab Socia-list Union headed by Presi-dent of the Republic, Gamal Abdel Nasser, are working to consolidate national economy, to raise the welfare of the working people. The nationali-zation of banks, large indus-trial enterprises and monopo-lies for foreign trade, the establishment of the state sector, in the economy, the in the state of the state sector in the economy, the state sector in the economy, the establishment of the state sector in the economy, the land reform and the development of co-operation in again culture, all this speaks better than any words, of the fact that the UAR people have rejected the capitalist system of oppression and exploitation and have risen to struggle for their social emancipation. "The youth of your country has a broad scope for work" Nikita Khrushchov stressed "Socialism is the only way prioations and backwardness within a historically short space of time and to ensure a working people."
Referring to the recent relaxaIberation movement does not subside, it will grow and become steed the sector in the strengent of the strengent of the capitalist system of oppression and exploitation and have risen to struggle for their social emancipation. "The youth of your country has a broad scope for work"
Nikita Khrushchov stressed "Socialism is the only way prioations and backwardness within a historically short space of time and to ensure a mit colonial front which unites in the capitalist countries," Khrushchov said.
Referring to the recent relaxa-

Referring to the recent relaxa-Reterring to the recent relaxa-tion to some extent of the inter-national tensions and the mea-sures which had brought this about like the partial test ban treaty, Khrushchov said they were "important steps towards improving the international cli-mate."

#### ONLY THE BEGINNING

"But this is only the begin-ning," he emphasised, "and we must step up our joint efforts to seek solutions to cardinal inter-national problems on the basis of the principles of peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems, in the incrests world peace."

He lauded the role of the non-aligned countries in this, saying, "The nonaligned coun-tries which actively fight for

**By** Observer

"It is impossible to tolerate the fact that millions of peo-ple in Angola and Mozam-bique, Arabs of the Arabian Peninsula and other peoples still remain in colonial cap-tivity 1 is it possible to remain ellent where colonicility and slent when colonialists sena slent when colonialists sena their aircrafts to bomb bar barously peaceful cities and oillages in the independent Y en en Arab Republic? colonialists send cities and independent

Khrushchoo asked. "Is it possible to tolerate the imperialists' gross interference in the internal affairs of the liberat-ed countries, the thrusting upon them of various enslaving, agree-ments and treaties?" Khrushchov-noted, further. "Of course, peo-ples cannot put up with such a situation. The great national liberation movement does not liberation movement do subside, it will grow and does not

value the ideas of freedom and independence must counter-pose to these efforts their closely rallied anti-imperialist anti-colonial front which unites in its ranks the socialist states, the world national liberation movement, the progressive for-ces in the capitalist countries," Khrushchoo said.

Opposition to the streng front has ng of this come from a new and unexpected quarter. cently rather rather unexpected quarter. The Government of the Peo-ple's Republic of China has gone to the extent of opposing and trying to impose a veto on the participation of the Soviet Union in the second Bandung that is to be held next March. Apart from flying in the face of elementary facts of geo-graphy (Chen Yi declared at Jakarta that the Soviet Union is not an Asian or an African country!), the Chinese Gois not in Asian of an African countryl), the Chinese Go-vernment is unashamedly play-ing the imperialists game on this issue, openly allying itself with imperialism and its stooges. No smokesbreen of ideolo-gical differences can justify such a stand which so patent-ly obstructs the adoancement and strengthening of the and strengthening of the worldwide anti-imperialist

worraws. front. There is no doubt that if the Chinese leadership persists in this unreasonable and harmful this unreasonable and harmful stand the peoples of Asia and Africa will brand it as the arch-disruptor and saboteur of their historic struggle. (May. 12)

# Workers' Patience Taxed Too Much **All-India Action On Bonus Soon**

#### By OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

The struggle of the working class against the reactionary monopolists and the government's labour policy which follows them is gathering momentum. Instead of paying heed to the legitimate demands of the toiling people, the Government of India in its vari-ous ministries follows a line which forces the workers to proper to driving des And when workers are form to resort to strike struggles. And when workers are forced into that position, the government either strikes back with all its force or agrees to compromise if force fails to work.

TAKE for instance their unpardonable refusal to give effect to the recommen-dations of the Bonus Com-mission. What necessity was there to send it to the states or to ask the various public sector industrial units about the effects of the Bonus Com-mission recommendations?

The states had already given their views to the Commission and the public sector representative Ma-thur was a member of the

Commission. / The public sector under-takings which are production units pay less wages than units of the same kind in the private sector. In some, the public sector has a monopoly. And moreover no industry in today's boom conditions is threatened with any losses even if it pays 25 per cent more wages.

The refusal of the government to act on the almost unanimous recommenda-tions is bound to be cons-trued as a deliberate attempt to please the monopolists who do not desire a uniform reasonable formula on bonus and do not want

to admit the workers' claim to a share in the profits and a rise in wages through that channel.

Should not the workers feel resentful about this? They should. And are they not bound to think of an all-India protest action? The AITUC has already re-

solved to work out an all-India general strike as a pro-test against high prices and for a general rise in wages, dearness allowance, bonus and for nationalisation

But apart from that general slogan, workers everywhere must mobilise for implemen-tation of the Bonus Commission report. If the government does not

take a decision, it is an obvious invitation to the trade unions to begin their annual round of disputes and actions for bonus.

And this is the government which talks of industrial peace and then works for industrial strife. It took the workers more than a year to convince the government that their cost

of living index is a "fraud". Government felt indignant.

Strikes took place. Experts' Committees in Bombay and Ahmedabad were set up and they admitted that the index was wrong, very much wrong. The workers fought and got increased dearness allowance.

And yet there are 27 or so centres whose indices are calculated by the Labour Bureau of the Government of India. That bureau sitting in Simla and the Labour Ministry sitt-ing in Delhi refuse to correct even those indices calculated by their own bureau. That means each industrial centre governed by that bureau must prepare for a strike to move the bureau to correct the indiwhich are found to be ces wrong.

And this is the government which talks of industrial peace and then works for industrial strife industrial strife.

🛧 As regards individual disputes, one need not go into that series now. The op-pression of the HEL workers of Bhopal, which is a clear e of sabotage and provocation by top management and their henchmen to hide their own sins and failures in production and supplies, is impos-ing unheard of losses on the public sector and the workers.

🛧 The prolonged strike in the Jay Engineering, a good foreign exchange earner and saver, is deadlocked be-cause an arrogant young owher who never knew how his father built the industry which he has inherited, wants to teach a lesson to the work-ers and the Union. And the

West Bengal g lends its hirelings' government hand to the owner.

🛧 In Bombay, the government refused to pay the due rate to the matadi labour and thousands of tons of food and fertilisers blocked the port and held up ships. Why? port Because the government and the contractors wanted to beat down the matadi labourer. They ultimately failed.

Turn anywhere around. The same failure to yield to the rightful claims of toiling democracy, the same desire to

rule by the whip of bureau cracy, the same natural affi-nity with the profit hunters not until the profit numbers of monopoly capital is visible. Not until the workers orga-nise, unite and hit back, do the monopolists outside and their agents inside the government move from their positions, not until they take their toll of sacrifices from the toiling masses.

Hence, an all-India united action for bonus, for dearness allowance, for wages and for nationalisation has to be built. Let us do it in earnest.



THUGS AND MIGS

and also of some Mugs -to scrap the Mig project have been finally abandoned.

The "sad" tidings were con-The 'sad' tidings were con-veyed to the representatives of the Lockheeds in Delhi a fort-night ago. The overseas Thugs of the U-2 fame have been in and out of the Indian capi-tal ever since T. T. Krishna-machari was re-installed in the Cabinet Cabinet.

It may be recalled that as the Co-ordination Minis-ter he appointed J. R. D. Tata at the head of a com-mittee to recime aircret

Tata at the head of a com-mittee to review aircraft production. And Tata promptly passed sentence of death on the Migs. TTK then tried his damned best to get the Tata report approved by Nehrn but failed miserably. But he never gave up his game of southe.

approved by Nenra Dat Iance miserably. But he never gave up his game of scuttle. When. General Taylor visited late last year the American pressmen stationed in Delhi were briefed to write that the Mig business was off. The Vohras and Bhattacharjeas b a s e d at Washington dutifully relay-ed these inspired rumours back to India. Meanwhile, TTK climbed up to occupy the Finance Ministry and intensified his efforts to torpedo, the Migs. His henchman Boothalingam was working overtime on

was working overtime "Project Betrayal."

"Project Betrayal." But all their efforts have come to naught. And they are privately blaming Chavan for their fiasco. Chavan, they told the Lockheed men, is sold on Migs and entirely for selfish reasons. After all, Chavan has got a factory set up in *apna* Maharashtral

But the Thugs have not gone to sleep. They are tole-rating the Migs because, they say, that Nehru and Chavan are in love with them. But at the same time they are hatching a new plot, namely, to invite the Lock-heede to set up a parellel

namely, to invite the Lock-heeds to set up a parallel manufacturing unit in India with the blessings of the State Department. For this purpose they have commissioned J. R. D. Tata for

LL attempts on the part of the Thugs— I also of some Mugs

the secretariat. It will be interesting to watch the progress or otherwise that TTK-Tata-Boothi combine and their touts make in this new endeavour.

It is extremely doubtful that the gang can pull it off. For one thing, TTK himself is not in a good shape. Chota Mun-dhras have already started disturbing his sleep. He has been heroically trying to jettison some of his most travhlesome among

rying to jettison some of his most troublesome append-ages. As for instance, he has prevailed upon his chum, newspaper magnate Ramnath Goenka, to step down from the chairmanship of the Punjab National Bank. A section of shareholders in Ramnathji's National Jute (readers should not mistake this as a newspaper; it is a genuine jute firm) had repre-sented to the Company Law Administration, which was recently brought under TIK's zamindari, against gross irregu-larities allegedly committed by the boss. the boss. The latest report is that

Ramnathji has sold or is selling away this concern to extricate himself and his existence himself and his patron from embarrassment. Nevertheless, plenty of head-aches are still awaiting cure. And in these cases a pill or two of any sedative will not help. The most acute is the pres-

The most acute is the pres-sure cooker business. Defence people have been murnuring about it for quite some time. The story is that a firm connected with TTK's tradi-tional business enterprise had supplied over three lakins of pressure cookers to the army at the height of the Chinese inoasion. The best pressure cooker in the market is available for Rs. 80 a piece. But the army was

the market is available for Rs. 80 a piece. But the army was charged Rs. 120 a piece. The margin of extra profit works out to a crore of rupees! Yes, the pressure is building up in the cooker and time is. not far off when his goose will be cooked inside.

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-INSIDER

JAY DISPUTE CONTINUES, WEST BENGAL PLANS FOR Regarding the price situation in the state, the convention said ONE-DAY STRIKE

But the state government, instead of compelling the management to come to an honourable settlement with the

honourable settlement with the union, has taken recourse to the unprecedented step of applying the Defence of India Rules to prohibit the strike, It has also extended massive police sup-port for breaking the strike.

forward the renewal demand for an immediate and honourable settlement of the Jay strike.

The indignation of the vorking class in West Bengal against the attitude of the government and the employer had been partly expressed by the industrywide one-day general strike of the engi-neering workers on April 16, the convention felt.

CALCUTTA: A trade union convention in Calcutta has called for a one-day general strike in West Bengal on May 20 to demand an honourable settlement of the Jay Engincering strike and to protest against the unchecked rise in prices of essential commodities.

HE convention on May 11 employer should at least now was attended by representa-tives of the Bengal Provincial Trade Union Congress, the Fede-vation of Metal and Engineering Workers and other unions and federations of employees. A resolution adopted by the

A resolution adopted by the convention sent warm greetings to the striking Jay Engineering workers "who have displayed, workers who have displayed, in the face of severe provoca-tions, unrivalled solidarity and loyalty to the union by foiling the conspiracy of the govern-ment and the employer to break the defined. The convention demanded im-mediate withdrawal of the DIR imposed against the strike and all the strike.

the strike." "Despite the deployment of quite a large police force, despite threats and intimidations, the Jay workers have remained united, disciplined and peaceful. "This convention extends soli-darity with the striking Jay workers and calls upon all unions to make a renewed drive for fund

to make a renewed drive for fund collection, which is of, great im-portance and necessity at the pre-sent moment," the resolution said. The convention hoped that the state Labour Minister and the

that a near famine condition has developed in respect of rice which has become scarce and is selling at prices beyond the reach of common people. a result of the allround

shooting up of prices, the cost of living has enormously increased.

The government and the employers have failed to act upto the decisions of the tri-partite conferences and the proposal of opening fair price shops in factories has remained on paper, and the government has failed to take deterrent steps to check the rise in prices. The convention noted that for the last few months the working class all over India was agitating for an immediate 25 per cent in-crease in wages and for linking the dearness allowance with the port of linking the of living index.

The general level of wages is particularly low in West Bengal. Hence, the demand for increase in wages and dearness allowance has acquired particular urgency has acquired particular urgency in the state, the resolution passed by the convention said.

It hoped that all trade union organisations would extend all support to the general strike as a mark of protest against govern-ment's failure to hold the price line and effect a settlement of the Jay dispute.