

7 JUL 14 1964
Copy

Protest Against Price-Rise & Labour Policy

GENERAL STRIKE IN WEST BENGAL



Vol. XII No. 21 New Delhi, May 24, 1964 25 nP

Despite the threats held out by the Government of West Bengal, its draconian use of the DIR and the attempts at confusing the people by appealing in the name of a propped-up organisation—the Calcutta Citizens' Association—not to observe hartal and general strike, the massive protest action of the people of West Bengal has been a complete success. As we go to press, detailed reports from various areas have not come but the reports from Calcutta, Howrah, 24 Parganas, Hooghly indicate that the general strike and hartal on May 20, the call for which had been given by a convention of trade unions and supported by seven Left parties in West Bengal had come off very well.

A leading part in this protest action has been taken by the working class. Though the Chamber of Commerce had directed the workers not to go on strike, a very large number of workers in the engineering, jute mills, chemical, rubber, cotton textile and several other industries stayed away from work.

The transport strike has been complete, except for one or two trams and a couple of buses in Calcutta which plied in Chowringhee zone under heavy police escort. But these

and political leaders had been arrested.

Among them are Dhiren Mazumdar of the Tramway Workers' Union, Bhabani Roy Chowdhury, general secretary of the Bengal Chatkal Mazdoor Union, Harisadhan Mitra, Kall Ghosh, Phani Bagchi, Gour Goswami, Pingaksha Mazumder, Ajoy Dasgupta and others of the Communist Party.

Among the leaders of the RSP who have been arrested are Buddhadev Bhattacharyya, Sukhamoy Chatterjee, Ra-

rise in prices and the anti-labour policy of the West Bengal government due to which the strike of the workers of Jay Engineering Works Calcutta hangs fire since December 17, 1963. This is the longest struggle of the Jay workers and every effort of the union to effect a settlement has been met with negative result.

Instead of helping to bring about a settlement of the dispute, the Government of West Bengal declared the strike illegal on April 10, making it obligatory for the workers to return to duty immediately.

Not content with that, the government resorted to terrorism: raids were organised into the workers colonies,

bringing the workers "safely" into the factory.

But all this resulted in the turnover of about 150 persons only, most of them supervisory staff. The position since then has remained more or less unchanged but both the management and the government have not come forward for a settlement.

Despite the economic pressure, police terror and incentives held out by the management, the workers have remained firm: they would not go back to work unless it is guaranteed that there would be no victimisation. The workers of West Bengal have stood by their suffering brothers and expressed their solidarity through 'aid' as well as this gigantic protest action.

The other issue that has been the second plank of the call for the general strike and hartal is the continuous rise in prices of various commodities, particularly essential items of livelihood. Prices of rice, fish, edible oil and several other commodities

which informed people that it had "directed the police to take firm action" to prevent any dislocation of normal life in Calcutta and the state on May 20.

Orders to Shoot

Chief Minister P. C. Sen on May 18 said that police would visit markets and shops to see that no one who wanted to open his establishment was "prevented" from doing so. Instructions were also issued to police to open fire on people who would try to "obstruct" movement of trains and all help to be given to keep the trains, trams and buses running.

The seven Left Parties—the CPI, RSP, RCPI, Marxist Forward Bloc, Workers' Party, Socialist Unity Centre and Bolshevik Party in a statement had appealed to the people not to get enraged by government's attitude and

CALCUTTA

Police Resort To Mass Arrest

PARALYSED

also did not ply after about two hours when no passengers availed them.

Magnificent Response

Manoranjan Roy, general secretary of the West Bengal Committee of the All-India Trade Union Congress told NEW AGE over telephone that the general strike and hartal "succeeded beyond all expectations" and thanked the workers for their magnificent response to the call.

The West Bengal government had made all arrangements to smash the general strike and hartal. It had fully mobilised the police and National Volunteer Force. More than 100 trade union

dhallav Rope, Biplab Das, Moni Mukherjee and Motish Roy. SUC leaders Ashutosh Bannerjee, Fatik Ghosh, Sitesh Dasgupta, Provash Ghosh have been arrested. Two members of the Workers' Party, Hemendra Bihari Mukherjee and Sallen Paul, were also arrested.

The total number of arrests is about 1,000 which include workers and various other sections of people. This large number of arrests reflects to a certain extent the panic felt by the government over the protest action and the extent to which it had gone to foil the general strike call.

The call for the observance of general strike and hartal throughout the state on May 20 had been given to register people's protest against the

police lathi-charged and tear-gassed. As many as 55 leading workers of the union, including the general secretary, were arrested.

The government provided police help to the management to herd in the workers. On May 7, the number

have rocketed skyhigh. Even then they are not available most of the time in open market.

observe the hartal and general strike peacefully.

Thus the general strike and hartal came off very successfully. According to reports available, there have been no untoward incidents except that police resorted to large-scale arrests. But that could not in any way deter the massive protest action.

Arrest Condemned

The arrest of so many trade union and political leaders under the DIR has brought sharp condemnation against the West Bengal government from the Communist Party and the All-India Trade Union Congress.

In a statement issued on May 20, the secretariat of the CPI has stated:

"The central secretariat of the CPI indignantly protests against the largescale

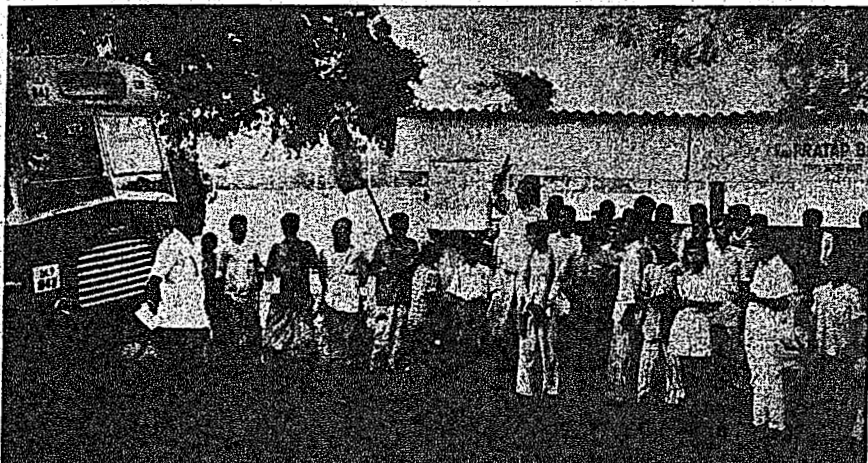
* ON PAGE 17

Read Second Instalment of S. A. Dange's Report to the Party on Forged Letters and Other Issues Pages 9-10-11-12-16

of policemen thus helping the management was more than 3000. In addition transport was provided for

Unscrupulous traders and businessmen have been minting money by trading in the misery of the people. Government refuses to use DIR against the profiteers and hoarders. Consequently malpractices are being carried on with impunity. Common people have been finding it more and more difficult to make both ends meet.

Hence, the general strike and the hartal, to foil which government had mobilised all it could. On May 17 government issued a press note



Picketing before bus stops in Delhi organised by the Communist Party to protest against rise in bus fares. —Photo: Virendra Kumar.

NATIONAL COUNCIL MEETING Delhi, June 7-17 The Central Secretariat of the C.P.I. has announced that the next meeting of the National Council will be held in Delhi from June 7 to 17. It will be preceded by the meeting of the CEC on June 5 and 6.

AICC TAMASHA

Editorial

INDEPENDENT OBSERVERS were fairly unanimous: the AICC session at Bombay was even more

of a *tamasha* than such sessions have been in recent years. The rubber-stamping of "official" resolutions, reports and proposals, which is becoming more and more the routine of the AICC was carried to the limits of absurdity in Bombay.

From all accounts of the AICC proceedings, the sound and fury at Bhubaneswar signified nothing: the milk-and-water Dhebar report was "generally" approved by the Bombay AICC and the Working Committee authorised to take further steps in the matter. The critical comments by V. K. Krishna Menon, K. D. Malaviya and other Left Congressmen were treated with a tolerant contempt by those who have evidently taken control of the Congress machine in the post-Bhubaneswar period.

Symbolic of the shift further to the Right was the amendment to the Congress Party constitution, which deprives ordinary members of rights they have had till now. The sop handed out to the democrats in the AICC, who opposed the amendment in its original form may have saved the conscience of the democrats, but it did not save the democracy they wished to preserve in the party.

The fact that the organisational proposals (amendment to the constitution) were moved by S. K. Patil, while the only political resolution (on the communal problem) was moved by Morarji Desai, also highlighted vividly the growing grip of the worst reactionaries on the party machine. The hope that the Kamaraj plan had eliminated both these arch-henchmen of the monopolists from political power has evidently been short-lived.

There was plenty of plain talk about the situation inside the Congress. N. V. Gadgil reflected the opinion of the bulk of the socialist-minded Congressmen when he bluntly stated that the reason why the Congress was unable to implement its resolutions on socialism, was that among the leaders were those who were opposed to socialism. And those who described the Congress organisation as increasingly a rich man's paradise were also reflecting a substantial and growing opinion in the Congress rank and file.

But when it came to practical action, those who talked sharply and in consonance with the interests of the masses were evidently content to compromise. There were hardly half a dozen who finally voted against Patil's anti-democratic amendment to the constitution; and all silently acquiesced in the Dhebar report without pressing a single concrete amendment to it. The Bhubaneswar story was repeated; the Left surrendered again but more miserably, more abjectly.

The spotlight of publicity remained as always on the Prime Minister's speeches and on the rest of the leaders. Not one line, not one word or phrase was allowed to be altered in the Working Committee projects. The steam-roller moved relentlessly through the license-corrupted AICC members who thronged the air-conditioned hall, and the tamasha went on according to plan.

It is time for the Left in the Congress to think afresh. Their compromises at Bhubaneswar did not result in the advance for which they hoped, in the cooperation with the so-called centre which had been promised. On the contrary, the Rightists' influence has grown inside the Congress leadership in the months that have followed Bhubaneswar. As for Congress economic policies, if the budget was any indication the monopolists continue to rule the roost.

The concrete proposals put forward at Bhubaneswar and now at Bombay by the known spokesmen of the Congress Left provide a concrete platform behind which the Congress rank-and-file must be rallied against the pro-monopoly policies of the Congress governments. Will the Congress Left lead such a campaign inside the Congress?

Again, will the Congress Left continue to maintain its attitude of aloofness from other progressive and democratic parties and sections of opinion? Or will it shed its fears, and extend its hand of cooperation to all others who stand against the Right reactionary, pro-monopolist policies?

The Congress Left will exercise less and less influence on Congress policies if it refuses to rally the Congress ranks against the Right, if it fails to join hands with all other progressive forces in the common struggle for a shift to the Left in Government policies, away from the stranglehold of the monopolists and reactionaries. (May 18)

PARTY UNITY STILL POSSIBLE

Bhupesh Gupta Tells Pressmen

From JNAN BIKASH MOITRA

CALCUTTA: "There was and there is no objective basis for the split in the CPI. Despite all that has happened since the last National Council meeting, there is still scope for restoration of unity in the Party", Bhupesh Gupta, declared at a crowded press conference in Calcutta on May 13.

DEALING, first, with the ideological controversy in the international Communist movement, Bhupesh Gupta referred to the common, collective line of the international Communist movement, as embodied in the Moscow Declaration (1957) and the Moscow Statement (1960), and emphasised that it was the imperative task of every single Communist Party to uphold it and to apply it in the concrete conditions of its own country.

All Communist Parties, he said, had a common goal; all of them were guided by a common ideology—Marxism-Leninism. There was, therefore, no objective basis for ideological differences among them. But very serious differences, the like of which was not known at any time previously, had actually arisen in the international Communist movement.

It would be wrong, he pointed out, to regard these differences as a conflict between two giants in the Communist movement—the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China. "The ideological controversy has arisen primarily

because the CPC has chosen to repudiate the common line formulated collectively by the international Communist movement", he emphasised. Having repudiated this common line, the CPC had worked out an alternative line and was now making ideological-political and organisational attempts to impose its unilateral line on different Communist Parties of the world.

"We of the National Council of the CPI", he said, "consider the CPC's line to be sectarian and adventurist. It is extremely harmful for the development of the democratic movement in our own country. Projection of this line in the specific condition of our country will be disastrous."

He further observed that the CPCs that did not toe the CPC line were violently criticised and denounced as revisionist, and the CPC openly called for splits in such parties. "In fact, splittism has become an inherent part of the ideological political drive of the CPC", he added.

Referring to the CPC's denunciation of the CPI and its

★ ON PAGE 18

The Executive Committee of the Bihar State Council of the Communist Party of India has denounced the activities of a group of splitters in the Bihar Party who met in a secret session in Arrah in the last week of April and organised a shadow committee of their own for forming a rival party in the state. The Committee has further taken disciplinary action against the main splitters and called upon the Party members to firmly reject every attempt at disrupting and disorganising Party unity.

THE Executive which met in Patna on May 9 unanimously adopted the following resolution on the splitting and disruptive activities inside the Party in Bihar.

Gupta (Muzaffarpur) and Com. Kusheshwar (Muzaffarpur) together with a few others attended this meeting.

2 That a shadow committee was organised with Com. Siabar Saran as convener for organising the rival party in Bihar.

3 That formal announcement of the rival party is to be made after the next meeting of the National Council.

The Executive Committee further notes that these comrades have started addressing unit meetings in order to plead for a rival party since they are uncertain about having any support for their ideology of split and adventurism. They have embarked upon a campaign of slander and vilification of the Party and its leaders.

Com. Ramanand Singh has been utilising the office of the Provincial Kisan Sabha for pursuing the organisation of the rival party.

From information obtained from various sources, corroborated by statements made by Com. Siabar Saran Srivastava and Com. Babhan Tewary, two active organisers of this anti-Party group in Bihar, the Executive Committee came to know the following facts:

1 That Com. Siabar Saran Srivastava (member, Executive Committee), Com. Satyanarain Singh, Com. Ganesh Shanker Vidyarthi, (members of the State Council), Com. Chandrasid (Patna DC), Com. Tahiri Rahim (Patna DC), Com. Sitaraj Jaiswal (Patna), Com. Hazaril (Patna), Com. M. Chatak (Ranchi), Com. Babhan Tewary (Shahabad), Com. Kesho Singh (Shahabad), Com. Paramhans Tewary (Shahabad), Com. Bindesh Pandey (Shahabad), Com. Ramanarsh Choudhary (Shahabad), Com. Akhiland Singh (Muzaffarpur), Com. Kishoril

Punjab Executive's Resolution

The Punjab State Executive of the Communist Party of India unanimously adopted the following resolution at its recent meeting:

THE Punjab Executive of the Communist Party of India notes with satisfaction that the overwhelming majority of Party members in the State are firmly standing by the National Council and the Party and defending the unity of the Party from the disruptive onslaught of the splitters and most of the founders of the Communist movement in the State and veteran revolutionaries are standing shoulder to shoulder with younger cadres.

In the three weeks since the National Council meeting and before this Executive meeting five district units have already met and all have endorsed the stand of the National Council. The Executive is confident that in the coming days other district units will do the same, barring one or two where also the majority of the rank and file will stand by the Party.

The Executive regrets that the splitters refuse to learn any lesson from this rebuff they have received from the overwhelming majority of Party cadres. Instead of retracing their steps and coming

back to the path of discipline and unity they are intensifying their disruptive activities.

Com. Surjeet and Lyallpuri, have already set up open parallel units in Rohtak, Ludhiana City, Jullundur and Gurdaspur districts and secret parallel units in several other districts based on their dwindling minorities. They are holding unauthorised factional meetings where the urge for unity of Party members and supporters is sought to be exploited through demagogic misrepresentation and falsification of facts.

Slander and character assassination have become their main weapon. Charges of being government agents, of having links with the C.I.D. and of having got or trying to get the "leftists" arrested are levied against anybody whom they for the moment want to make their target of attack. Their organ, the "Lok Lehar" sets the pace in this by specialising in slander and vilification devoting over three quarters of its space to this.

They talk of fighting against

ONE EXPELLED, SIX SUSPENDED

BIHAR TAKES STRONG STEPS

Council for splitting activities, as a part of the preparation for the setting up of a rival party.

They have hatched the clever plan to persuade loyal Party members to attend general body meetings to be addressed by Com. A.K. Gopalan on the seemingly innocent plea that it is necessary to hear both the sides to clarify the present confusions.

Not only the fact that Com. Gopalan has been suspended from membership for splitting activities, but also the fact that he is engaged at present in breaking the Party and preparing for a rival Party Congress, is being completely glossed over by these comrades. By putting the loyal Party members off their guard they want to take them to a position of open defiance of the National Council and State Council decisions.

concerned are pushing this dirty campaign despite their solemn assurance to the State Council that they would not organise such general body meetings.

The Executive Committee wants to go on record that the present attempt to set up a rival party is not an accidental act of indiscipline, but that a group of comrades have engaged themselves in various forms of activities during the last one year and a half towards this objective.

The following splitting activities were particularly taken note of by the Executive Committee.

1 Singhbhum has not only ceased all contact with the Party during the last one and a half years but has set up rival units in Hazaribagh and Dhanbad. He organised a factional meeting in Jamshepur at the time of the last TU Conference in January 1964 in order to conspire for the formation of a rival party.

2 Com. Siabar Saran Srivastava, Com. Sitaraj Jaiswal, Com. Kusheshwar, three participants in the recent Arrah meeting of splitters, had engaged in subversive and splitting activities in September 1963 thereby jeopardising the security of the Party.

3 Akhauri Dinaath who claims to be a Party member in Patna distributed a slanderous anti-Party leaflet on April 8, 1964. It is noteworthy that he came to the Party with a letter of introduction from Com. A. K. Gopalan.

Many of these comrades have repeatedly asserted solemnly before the Party that they would not engage in splitting activities, but by their actions have always betrayed the trust that the Party reposed in their words.

Splitting is Disastrous

They want to hide the fact that 'confusions' that Com. A. K. Gopalan wants to clarify on behalf of the 'other side' are nothing but persuading the loyal Party members to engage in the preparation for a rival Party Congress.

The Executive Committee wants every Party member to see the nefarious objectives of breaking the Party through this machinations of splitters in the name of general body meetings of Com. A. K. Gopalan and it warns the splitters to desist from every effort to organise such general body meetings.

The Executive Committee records its indignation at the fact that the State Council members

Realising that unity of our Party is the supreme need of the hour, the Punjab Executive is of the opinion that everything possible consistent with our principles should be done to restore unity and check the process towards the formation of the splinter rival party.

The Executive appeals to the rebel leaders to give up the path of defiance and split, to stop all parallel activities and papers, to come back to the Party fold and resolve their differences within the Party through Party ways. The Executive requests the National Council to reconsider the action taken against the 32 members and to do the utmost in the interests of Party unity to enable the maximum number of comrades who have been proceeded against to be in the Party and to participate in the preparations of the coming Party conferences and the Party Congress.

In the meanwhile the Executive appeals to all party comrades to exercise both vigilance, and forbearance, to actively noncooperate with all parallel activities and to run a patient fraternal explanatory campaign amongst those who may be misled temporarily. Despite differences we must all stand by the Party and do all to defend its unity. This is our noblest task to-day and we must discharge it with the confidence that the cause of unity will win in the end."

Manoeuvre of Splitters

Now when the reactionaries are intensifying their activities, when the sufferings of the masses due to the rising cost of living, increasing burden of taxation, corruption and maladministration require the united efforts and struggle of all progressive forces, disunity of the Communist ranks can spell disaster.

Taking all these into account the Executive Committee resolves that the following actions should be taken:

★ Com. P. Mazumdar of Singhbhum should be expelled from the Party.

★ Com. Siabar Saran Srivastava, Com. Ganesh Shanker Vidyarthi and Com. Satvanarain Singh, should be asked to explain within two weeks why they should not be expelled unless they agree to express regret for having organised and attended the Arrah meeting, to denounce the formation of the shadow committee at Arrah, to declare publicly that they would not engage in any activity in pursuance of the preparation of the rival party congress and a rival party as charted out by the 32 suspended members of the National Council.

Pending final decision of the Party after their explanations are received, all these three members are suspended from membership of the Party. During the period of suspension these comrades are not permitted to attend any meeting of any Party unit.

★ The Executive Committee approves the decision of the Muzaffarpur District Council to suspend Com. Akhiland Singh, Com. Kishoril Gupta and Com. Kusheshwar from membership.

★ The Executive Committee calls upon other District Councils to call for explanations from the other participants of the Arrah meeting, as to why they should not be expelled from the Party unless they agree to express regret for having attended the Arrah meeting, to denounce the formation of the shadow committee at Arrah, to denounce the plan of the 32 splitters to organise a rival Party Congress for forming a rival party, and to break off all connections with the splitters.

The District Councils should take appropriate disciplinary measures after obtaining their explanation within two weeks.

★ The Executive Committee endorses the decision of the Shahabad District Council to discuss the case of Com. Babhan Tewary, Paramhans Tewary, Bindesh Chandra Pandey, Ramesh Choudhary and Kesho Singh who had participated in this meeting taking into account the written assurance of Com. Babhan Tewary against splitting activities, though the executive committee of the Shahabad District Council had decided to suspend these five comrades from membership on account of their splitting activities.

The Executive Committee calls upon every Party member and unit in Bihar to rise to the occasion for defending the unity of the Party. Every attempt at splitting the Party, to organise a rival party, whether overtly or covertly, whatever be the plea with which it is sought to be justified should be firmly rejected. Every Party unit should rally round the banner of the Party and to defeat the dirty manoeuvres of the splitters to organise a rival party.

SPOTLIGHT

C.R. HAILS NATO

world see the sinful face of NATO and SEATO. But C.R. thinks it is meritorious. Who is superstitious?

If you put on blinkers you will not be able to see properly. The Wise Man of the Swatantra is unable to see the permanent threat to our independence which American neo-colonialism holds.

He has said that it is only a "fixation" in some minds to think of such a threat. He has gone to the length of declaring that to stick to our "anti-American notion" would be "unworthy ingratitude" (Swarajya, May 16, 1964)

But what does he want India to be grateful for? For the persistent refusal of the United States to help India build a strong independent economy? For the offer of transmitter with so many strings attached to it? For backing out of the promise for Bokaro? For the move to get India declared an aggressor over Goa? For the machinations over Kashmir? For what indeed should India be worthily grateful, as C.R. demands?

Swatantra blinkers are so designed that he who wears them will see only the narrow and vested interests of a few exploiters. It is these interests who pine for the NATO and SEATO armour against the masses in their own country. Let them give up the game of reproving others for imaginary superstitions, fixations and ingratitude.

As for the "rule of law" we witnessed a wonderful example of it in South Vietnam under the SEATO-propagated regime of Diem Bros. The latter rather over-reached themselves, so the "rule of law" in South Vietnam was reset under a different personnel. Diem was killed and brother Can has been executed for having practised naked tyranny!

What about NATO itself? The Salazar dictatorship is flourishing happily under its benign umbrella. Not only that, NATO arms are helping the imperialist executioners to murder patriots by the hundreds in colonies like Angola in order to maintain their tyrannical regimes.

So the people all over the

that the water reservoir and wells had been poisoned by some Muslims.

But the report omits to mention who the rumour-mongers might have been. The reporter very innocently declares: "Who were the rumour-mongers and originator of these false stories, it is difficult to ascertain."

Really! But is it any use now trying to hide the culprits? The name is very well known. It is RSS men with Muslim phobia in every fibre of their being and their daily habit of carrying on Goebbelsian propaganda against the minority community, who led the rumour mongering.

The significant silence in the report about the role of RSS men during the disturbance provides fresh evidence. They were not combating the rumours, nor were these trained volunteers trying to extinguish the flames.

Had they done so, the report would certainly have mentioned it. What else were they doing then? Not much of guess is needed to know the answer. In fact, it is already known.

The RSS is creator as well as sustainer — Brahma as well as Vishnu — to the Jan Sangh. But sometimes it can be Shiva too. I read the following the other day in the "Panchjanya":

Q. Why did not Jan Sangh Sangh MPs sign the demand for Nehru's resignation when the "Panchjanya" has been making such a demand in every issue?
A. Address your question to the Jan Sangh MPs. If you have the notion that Panchjanya is Jan Sangh's mouthpiece, better cure yourself of it. (April 20, '64)

A fine example of RSS purists' disaffection with Jan Sangh adulteration.

—GARUDA

SECURITY COUNCIL

Old Stuff, New Wrappings

Thanks to the firm stand of the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia, the imperialist conspiracy on Kashmir has failed in the Security Council once again. The attempt to foist "mediation" on India (albeit, not by an imperialist agent but by nonaligned Secretary-General U Thant) has not been successful.

THE opposition of the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia to any proposal which does not have the support of India, has prevented the imperialists from going ahead with their plans to interfere in Kashmir.

But the debate, and the line up of all the Security Council members (other than the Socialist countries) against India should open Indian eyes to certain stark and naked truths. The latest debate is not only one more proof of the fact that the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are India's true friends and that the imperialist powers have no other interests than their own domination and exploitation.

The debate should also help Indian public opinion to understand that, despite Education Minister Chagla's firm and strong speeches, the weak-kneed and vacillating policies in regard to Kashmir pursued by the Government of India in recent weeks have not helped our cause abroad, but weakened it.

It is not possible to blow hot and cold simultaneously, without the most serious results. While our UN delegation and all our spokesmen abroad repeated firmly that Kashmir's accession is final and unrevocable, the Government of India by its fettering of Sheikh Abdullah, who openly questions this accession, pro-

claimed to the world that it was ready to appease.

The consequences of this unfortunate stand can be seen in the fact that the imperialists were able to mobilise far greater support for their efforts to intervene in Kashmir than they could possibly have done—if India had taken a consistent, unequivocal stand all through.

The Security Council debate also clearly proves the utter futility of relying on the "fairness" of a UN body, which is dominated by the imperialist powers. The Government of India still entertained illusions in the possibilities of the current debate, because President Johnson had sent a very warm assurance of friendship to the Prime Minister through Indira Gandhi.

This message was taken to mean a shift in the US stand on Kashmir. That was why the news agencies first flashed totally false reports of a pro-India shift in the Security Council—only to have to correct these rather unashamedly later.

The Government of India must seriously review the whole question. The Communist Party has repeated its demand that India withdraws the Kashmir issue from the UN, and refuses to allow any further discussion on the subject.

Such a forthright stand would be consistent with our honour and prestige, and would command respect and support. But the Washington lobby keeps on putting new carrots before the central leaders, new hopes of imperialist "support"—and, under one excuse or the other, the Kashmir issue is kept dangling before the imperialists, ready for them to nibble at whenever they so decide.

Congress And Communalism

THE AICC resolution on the communal problem is the most feeble and meaningless document imaginable. It has all the foul odour of an officially-drafted statement, lacking the warmth of feeling, the depth of understanding and resolute will for action—which a resolution of a living, popular organisation should command. Too much care is taken to defend government, to give

certificates to official actions against communalism.

What was needed from the ruling party was a stirring call for unity against the communal gangsters. But the AICC is too afraid (or too influenced by the communalists themselves) even to name the Jan Sangh and the RSS, who have been openly preaching hatred and communalism, and against whom there is plenty of evidence for complicity in the riots.

What was needed from the ruling party was a full throated assurance to the minorities that their lives shall be safe in this country. But the AICC could not even denounce the diabolical campaigns by the Hindu communalists for exchange of population, which aim at starting a new round of riots and at building a wall of suspicion round the minorities.

the scenes; it was even worse.

But the Congress Party and its government appear to be helpless. They talk of national integration, but take no effective steps towards it. The rabid communalists are allowed a free run: a handful of symbolic arrests cannot halt the onward mad rush of communal violence.

The need of the hour is for all secular elements in the country to rally together.

notes OF THE week

By Romesh Chandra

"Exchange Of Population"

AT the very moment that the AICC met in Bombay, the Hindu Mahasabha's annual session openly called for exchange of population by August 15. Vile anti-Muslim speeches were made openly: behind

against communalism and against the imperialist conspiracy on Kashmir. It is hoped that the convention called in Delhi on June 1 on these very issues, by a large number of popular organisations, will pave the way for a common united movement of Indian democrats and progressives to defend Kashmir and fight the demon of communalism.

(May 18)

At Last The VOI!

Whispering Gallery

IN July last year we were standing humiliated before the world, our voice having been stifled by VOA. A Cabinet Minister, a Deputy Minister and a bunch of bureaucrats had sold our pass behind the back of the nation.

We have now discovered the voice of India (VOI), thanks again to the Soviet Union. It is a matter of luck that whenever we are on the point of being blackmailed by Washington, Moscow puts us back on our feet.

Bokaro is a living example. And now we have been promised a 1,000 kw transmitter and with no encumbrances.

Originally the Soviets had not come in when we called for tenders. Altogether seven countries tendered to instal a high-powered transmitter.

Afterwards Moscow was approached in an informal way and within a week they agreed to give us a transmitter and set it up: within 24 months or less. The infatuated VOA project was to take three years.

Terms are not yet settled but payment is on rupee-payment basis. It might cost us Rs. 70 lakhs.

The other day Deputy Minister Shannath called a Soviet representative to discuss matters. Shannath is hardly the person who could be expected to handle this project.

He was one of the VOA enthusiasts. Even after Nehru called it off he asked Nagpur pressmen: What's wrong with the VOA agreement?

Another character who should be kept away is the DG of AIR. He was one of those who conspired with the VOA keeping the government as a whole in the dark.

Nawab Singh, another person involved in it, was transferred to the Housing Ministry.

Such precautions are necessary because the shadow of VOA has not completely vanished. I have a suspicion, knowing the facts of the seven tenders, that the VOA transmitter may be smuggled in through the back door.

One of the tenders is Voltas who are the agents of an American company called Continental. The original VOA transmitter was manufactured by them. Could it be that the same is being pushed in through commercial channel to save the reputation of the State Department?

Voltas have asked for a crore (in foreign exchange and the time for setting up is 17 months).

Whoever in the External Affairs Ministry who thought of this character is not known. But he cannot be anyone but a fellow traveller.

Incidentally, as a scribe I envy this gentleman because instead of going to jail for openly challenging the constitution, anybody who questions our territorial integrity can be imprisoned in Europe.

Such misplaced generosity is not unusual with our government. It's part of its policy. One instance comes to my mind instantly. Ramakrishna Dalmia was to have spent two years in jail for cheating. Instead, he spent most of the time in the air-conditioned comfort of a Delhi hospital.

—INSIDER

Wonderful Selection

Recently the government has been sending some of our newspaper editors abroad in an official capacity to ex-

FIRST NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF PUBLIC SECTOR EMPLOYEES

On June 25-27 will be held the first National Conference of Public Sector Employees. This conference will endeavour to bring together for discussion and evolution of a common understanding and a common programme of action, representatives of all trade unions in public sector irrespective of their affiliation.

It will not be a trade conference since in the public sector are workers engaged in iron and steel, coalmining, gold mining, engineering, electricity, oil, chemicals, fertilisers, housing construction, etc., each of which has special trade problems. This conference will, however, seek to discuss not only trade problems through industrial commissions, but also problems which are common to all public sector employees as employees of this sector.

The workers' attitude to the public sector is determined by their class position. We are the working class of a newly independent country which is now engaged in the task of building its economy which has been kept backward through colonial relations and has been ravaged through years of imperialist plunder. As other sections of our people, we too would like our economy to be built up and built up rapidly. For this, it is our belief that the socialist way is the best way.

But today in India, it is not the working class which has political power. The state power is in the hands of the national bourgeoisie, which cannot by its class position, use it to build socialism. It will use this power to build up capitalism and all its Plans for the development of the country's economy are necessarily based on retaining, strengthening and developing capitalist relations of production.

This approach lays down its attitude towards feudalism which it seeks to curb inasmuch as feudal relations of production hinder capitalist relations from growing and hamper industrial advances. This approach also determines its attitude towards foreign aid and towards all other economic problems. It also determines its industrial relations policy.

This is not the place to go into the incipient public sector was attacked by the imperialists, the monopolists and their propagandists, the "learned" economists, "practical" businessmen and "patriotic" politicians — all combined to show how India would be better off without a public sector. At that stage, the working class set itself the task of defending the public sector against this combined assault and if today, the public sector has become an established fact, the working class also has played its role in bringing this about.

The establishment of the public sector is not merely a question of the growth of the number of public sector undertakings, nor of the capital in-

vested. The growth is in industries which constitute the key to further industrial advance and as such, their weightage in the total economy is much more than capital investment or production value indices would reveal. Today, the question is therefore not so much of defence of the public sector but of its extension.

Various Questions

The question of extension immediately raises the question of resources. Where are the resources to come from? More taxes? Inflation? Foreign aid and loans? Or allowing participation by Indian and foreign private capital? These are some ways of raising money. But there are other ways also. Nationalisation of banks, raising profitability of public sector by eradicating corruption and inefficiency, extension into quick profit-yielding lines such as sugar, light engineering, cement, etc.

All these problems will be raised and discussed at this conference.

Then there is the question of waste, corruption, nepotism and maladministration. Are these intrinsic to any governmental undertaking, or can these be rooted out? And if they have to be rooted out, how can the workers play a part in these, ridden as the public sector today is with bureaucratic managements. Now, more and more managers are being brought in from the top private sector managements. These problems require urgent attention of all trade unions.

The vital question of democratic control over the public sector still remains unsolved. Parliamentary control is exercised in too loose, haphazard and desultory a manner. And parliamentary control is only one aspect of democratic control. Workers' participation in management must be ensured in a proper way. And this brings us to the crucial question of recognition of trade unions.

One would have expected that in the public sector of a state whose leaders proclaim adherence to socialism, trade union and democratic rights of workers would be protected.

Rights Curtailed

Trade union and democratic rights are curtailed in a way which would shame the tycoons of the private sector. Genuine unions of workers which command the confidence of the overwhelming majority of workers are denied recognition, denied any status to negotiate on behalf of workers who are their members, and unions which exist more on paper than in reality, unions which represent nobody but the few "office-bearers" who have banded themselves together, are given the status of "representative unions". Then these "representative unions" enter into all sorts of agree-

ments and settlements, bartering away all rights of workers and the majority of workmen are just denied any voice in determining their own rights.

In such a state of affairs, where is the question of workers' participation in management? How can they be enthused to work for the better-

ment of the enterprise and even if they wanted to, where is the avenue? The puppet unions are hated, and no attempt to foist them on workers who refuse to accept them can ever succeed.

The solution put forward by the AITUC and subsequently, by the HMS and UTUC, is recognition of Union by ballot. The conference will discuss this crucial question and seek to evolve a unified understanding.

Lastly, the whole question of working and living conditions of the workers has to be discussed. Wages and grades, D.A. and its linking with the cost of living indices, correction of indices, implementation of Bonus Commission report—all these are there. These are common to public sector workers and to the other workers. Some problems are peculiar to the public sector.

All Unions Are Invited

Hence all unions, of whatever affiliation, have been invited to participate. Eminent leaders of the AITUC, INTUC, HMS and UTUC have been invited. The preparations are being carried on by seven man Coordination Committee set up by the consultative meeting of public sector trade unions held at Hyderabad on February 3.

A strong and representative Reception Committee has been formed at Bangalore and preparations are in full swing. The Draft Report is being printed for circulation. It is hoped that unions of all views will join to make this conference a real platform of all public sector workers and enable it to lay down a common understanding and a common line of action.

U. S. BIG STICK POLICY

SEVENTH FLEET IN INDIAN OCEAN (Pamphlet with illustrations showing the sinister influence of the Fleet)

by L. NATARAJAN

Price: 30 NP

Published by PERSPECTIVE PUBLICATIONS (Pvt.) Ltd., NEW DELHI

Place your orders with Manager MAINSTREAM Post Box 541, New Delhi-1.

Splitters Distort Real Picture

CALCUTTA: Splitters have added a new trick to their bag of slanders and falsehoods. This is to claim the support of those who do not agree with them, may even of those who oppose them outright.

It was seen in action in West Bengal recently. A report in the GANASAKTI weekly, which claims to be organ of the West Bengal state council of the CPI, on May 16 stated that the Belgachia branch (Calcutta) had supported the statement of the 32 who walked out of the National Council.

But the joke of it is that the position is exactly the opposite. The secretary of the Belgachia branch, Amiya Kumar Sinha has categorically denied the report and termed it as "false and baseless".

In a statement Sinha has said that the Belgachia branch had "unanimously rejected the statement of the 32 at a meeting on May 10. Not a single member of our branch has

recorded opposition to the National Council resolutions," says the statement.

Sinha has also said that as far back as March last the branch had unanimously adopted a resolution criticising the splitting activities of the present state council leadership. When this resolution was passed, two members of the Calcutta district council, Nirmal Chatterjee and Haripada Chatterjee, were also present.

Meanwhile, a meeting of Party members and sympathisers of Uttarpara and Bhadrakali in Hooghly district, held on May 11, has endorsed the decisions of the National Council and condemned the splitting activities of the 32 who walked out of the NC meeting.

It requested the National Council to take immediate steps to set up suitable machinery in West Bengal to carry out the political line of the National Council and implement its decisions.

Visit Of Parliamentary Delegation

A nine member delegation of members of Parliament, including myself, visited the Andaman and Nicobar Islands from April 10 to 17, 1964. Ours was the first Parliamentary delegation that went to the Andamans from the mainland and was welcomed everywhere with great warmth by the people of the islands.

The visit proved extremely useful and instructive to our delegation as it helped us to understand at first hand the conditions of life in the Andamans, the administrative and political problems which the people there have to face and against which they are agitating. We also noticed the immense possibilities of development that exist in the islands but which are neglected over the years.

Not much is known to the people on the mainland of the physical beauty and attraction of these islands set in the Bay of Bengal, covered with lush green forests and hills, a tourist's delight and a potentially important shipping and naval base. People speaking different languages and drawn from different parts of India have settled in these islands. Their number has rapidly increased with the settlement of large number of East Pakistan refugees there. It is they who are struggling to build the new Andamans.

But the Andamans of yesterday are still a reminder to us of the oppressive rule of British imperialism which kept these islands as a penal settlement to which were exiled the best patriots who fought for the independence of our country. Formerly known as Kalapani, the islands symbolised the stark terror of British rule. Anyone sent there was supposed to be lost for ever.

Those cellular jails of the Andamans are still there where many brave sons of India languished and yet refused to surrender to the alien authority. Many laid down their lives there hoping in their hearts that the day of freedom for their countrymen would come when their own loss of freedom and all their sacrifices would be redeemed. Even the bricks of these jail walls could recount stories of their courage and sacrifice for the freedom of India.

Great Responsibility

And so free India owes a great responsibility in the making of the new Andamans. These stone walls seemed to ask us what we were doing about it. What sort of Andamans are we going to build? An Andaman where the glow of freedom would illuminate the lives of all its people, where democracy would be practised in the true sense and where there is no oppression of man by man? Or an Andaman where some would have the cake and the others not even the bread, where there would be pomp and privileges for a handful of feudal landlords and bureaucrats and only sighs and tears for the people?

It is from this that I want to say a few things about what we learned in the course of our visit to the Andaman and Nicobar Islands. Our delegation came back convinced that there is great possibility of development for these islands.

But it is not enough to realise this possibility. A scientific and planned approach is necessary to bring about this development. Unfortunately it is not in evidence today in the administration of these islands. We talk of socialism and democracy here. However what is

South Andamans and the Sentinel-less of North Sentinel Island are very hostile. They have been left alone. Their number won't exceed a few hundred.

Vanishing Adivasis

With the coming of East Pakistan refugees, who number about 14,000 today, the population of the islands has made a rapid increase. Among the settlers in the Andamans are also people from various parts of the mainland speaking different tongues including Burmese, Hindi, Urdu, Telugu, Tamil, Malayalam etc. The Burmese, the Bhamitis and the Mophlas are a hardy lot. They are good cultivators and their lands generally do not suffer from soil erosion.

A plan for colonisation in Andamans was approved by the Union Cabinet in January 1952. This plan provided clearance of 20,000 acres of forest land and settlement of 4,000 agricultural families who

The people in the islands have no remedy against corrupt officials and their henchmen. We heard a great deal about corruption, bribes, nepotism and official high-handedness. There is no public opinion to check the bureaucracy, no press, no democracy and only one man's absolute rule prevails in the islands. Even government servant's conduct rules have been given a go by in this far off place. The boss can dictate not only to his subordinates, but to their families also. There are scandals involving people in high positions. For want of public opinion, things are much worse here than in the mainland.

Corrupt Officials

There seems to be a growing demand from the settlers that a public man instead of an official should be posted as head of the administration in this territory. Also there is need for an independent judiciary and a democratic form of government run by elected representa-

posed to learning Hindi. But the fanatics are not satisfied with that. They insist that there should be only Hindi and nothing else. Gram panchayats where there are Bengali speaking members are not allowed to conduct their proceedings in Bengali but only in Hindi. After primary stage, when the student goes to the 6th class, his medium of instruction is Hindi, no matter whether his mother tongue is Bengali or Tamil or Malayalam.

The result has been disastrous. In 15 years only three Bengali students have passed the higher secondary stage, none in the first division and only one in the first chance. Things have gone to ridiculous extent. Some people from Kerala complained to us that they were not given even ordinary jobs like laying roads on the plea that they cannot speak Hindi.

For want of communication, the price of paddy at Port Blair and in the Middle and North Andamans vary very much. The Chief Commissioner told us that he had ordered that price of paddy at the outer places should not be less than Rs. 14 a maund. This he had done to give a price support and the idea was that government would buy at that price. But when we actually enquired of some villagers in the North Andamans, they told us that they sold their paddy at Rs. 4 or 5 a maund. Many of the refugee settlers have already become paupers.

For full three months there is a great scarcity of drinking water. Almost all wells dry up during this time.

At present in the Andamans a little over 8,000 workers are employed by the PWD and about 3,870 by the Forest Department. There are more than 3,500 white collar employees in the various government departments. Nearly a thousand workers work in the Naval dockyard of the Andaman and Nicobar Administration.

Workers Exploited

Apart from the above, there are quite a large number of workers employed by the private plywood factory, P. C. Ray and other contractors. Altogether the number of workers in the islands would come to nearly 20,000. It is not a negligible number considering the population of these islands.

But it is a matter of great regret that these workers who by their blood and sweat are building a new Andaman are being denied their basic rights and privileges. It is impossible to give here a detailed account of all that they have to suffer and fight for.

First of all more than 90 per cent of the workers have not been provided with housing accommodation. The workers who are employed in road building work suffer the worst conditions in this respect. Of course, the Administration has built some nice wooden houses for municipal and other sections of workers, but those houses are only for five per cent of the total number of workers. The condition of forest workers is also the same. Especially in the rainy season the workers have to suffer a great deal.

The Minimum Wages Act is not in force in the Andamans, although it is administered by the Central Government. Also regarding leave, permanency of service and many other issues, there is big difference between the workers in the mainland and the Andamans. There are many instances of workers not

*ON FACING PAGE

MAY 24, 1964

NEW AGE

PAGE SIX

FOOD SITUATION IN ASSAM SERIOUS

From MADHUSUDAN BHATTACHARYA

SHILLONG: The food situation in Assam, it is now admitted on all hands, is alarming. Prices of almost all varieties of rice have been constantly rising higher and higher and, what is worse still, even at the prohibitive prices rice is not always available in many parts of the state.

ACCORDING to reports available here from different districts, rice sells now at prices varying from Rs. 28 to Rs. 40 a maund, depending to some extent on the quality, and in some cases on availability. In some places like Shillong, not infrequently there appears acute scarcity of rice when prices of some comparatively good quality rice go up to even Rs. 60 a maund.

There are fair price shops that are supposed to sell rice at a fixed price to low-income group consumers. But more often than not rice is not at all available in these shops. The shopkeepers argue that they do not receive regular supply from the government and their agents and hence they also cannot maintain any steady stock.

In Shillong, it has been the general experience that whenever there is report of nonavailability of rice at the fair price shops, which happens more than once every month, there appears a general panic which is exploited by some big wholesale dealers to earn some extra profit.

There are quite a few other

anomalies in the system of rice distribution which invariably go to benefit the wholesale dealers.

It is noted that only four months have passed since the last harvest. Normally acute scarcity appears in July and August. But this year while the government claims that there has been a "bumper crop" and a "better procurement" by the state trading agency, acute scarcity has already appeared.

If this be the position right now, people here wonder what is in store for them in the coming months when monsoon will set in with full fury and floods, the chronic and recurring annual malady of Assam, are apprehended to come dislocating communication and transport and causing other devastations.

It is also pointed out that this year monsoon appears to have set in a bit earlier than usual and flood has been already reported from one part of Cachar, while the Brahmaputra and some of its tributaries are also reported to be swelling.

If both production and procure-

ment have been better than last year's what possibly could be the reason for the present situation? Few seem to know any definite answer. The government has been maintaining almost a philosophic unconcern.

Some sources maintain that the present situation has been brought about by the half-hearted policy of the government implemented with an utterly inefficient machinery that is under the corrupting influence of rice mill and other big business interests.

It is pointed out that at the beginning of the current kharif year the government fixed a paddy price that was ruinous for the peasantry. Rice millers and others who were said to be connected with the rice trade took full advantage of this low price to corner paddy.

Then the price of paddy was retixed about 25 per cent higher than before. But while the price of paddy was fixed, the price of rice was not fixed, giving the

traders full scope to squeeze the people.

Even Congressmen bitterly criticised this policy. While the government did not or could not refute this criticism, it however, did not take any step to rectify this mistake in the food policy.

Then sometime back the government allowed an increase of 10 nP. per kilogram in rice price. It was argued in support of this that the Union government wanted to increase the price of rice.

Committee Appointed

Another thing that has of late come to light is that the government do not know what amount of paddy yields what amount of rice. To ascertain this a committee has recently been appointed.

It is stated that the rice millers claim a far lower yield of rice from paddy than is normally believed to be the case. The claim of the rice millers is not borne out by the experience of the people, including the peasants.

at about Rs. 8.00 a kilogram. Mutton and goat meat is selling at about Rs. 4.50 to 5.50 a kilogram, fowl is costlier still.

There is hardly any item of vegetables, except perhaps brinjals, that is available at any price below Rs. 1.50 a kilogram. Similarly, pulses, gram, mustard oil etc. are also now selling at higher prices than in the corresponding period last year.

Together with this mounting prices of food stuff, other essential commodities are also selling at much higher price than that of a year back. Textile goods, leather goods including shoes, items of toilets like tooth-paste, hair oil and the like, books including school and college text books, students' stationery, house rent and transport fares and freights, postal charges, in a word, all that one requires is now much costlier than even a few months back.

Apathetic Authorities

Smarter as they do under the impact of the rising cost of living, different sections of people in the state have expressed their grievances which seem to have fallen upon the deaf ear of the authorities. Public meetings, protest demonstrations, resolutions and deputations to ministers could only bring an admission from the government that prices are indeed high.

It is not rice alone that is now scarce and too dear for the average consumer. There is hardly an item of consumer goods that is selling within the purchasing capacity of the people.

Vegetables, fish and milk are now selling at prohibitive prices; so is the case with eggs and other articles of daily consumption. In most of the urban areas fish is not available at anything below Rs. 4 and often enough it sells

concrete steps to arrest this trend, the state government has so far given a very poor account of itself. It is therefore apprehended that unless the authorities would act here and now the coming months may find the state in the grip of an acute crisis.

A New Andamans Is Emerging

*FROM FACING PAGE

having been made permanent even after eight or ten years of service. Wages are not paid regularly. Sometimes, payment for January is made in April and so on. Promotion is not made on the basis of merit but generally by favouritism, caste considerations etc.

Minimum Wages Not Paid

Misuse of public money and property by high-ups in the Administration is quite common. A large number of workers are kept reserved for service at the houses of officers at the cost of the public exchequer.

The P. C. Ray company is one of the biggest exploiters of Andamans. It does not pay its workers regularly. Sometimes six months' wages remain due.

There is a Labour Commissioner, and strangely enough he is also the Deputy Commissioner, District Magistrate and Census Superintendent. He has to act in all these capacities, besides being a District Judge and officiating Chief Commissioner, too at times. Naturally, one can understand how the Labour Department and its Labour Officers work in such a set-up. In effect, there is no Labour Department at all.

The workers do not get any redress for their grievances. Moreover, workers in private industries have no right to represent their grievances before the government Labour Department. Due to this strange arrangement, labour laws are dishonoured and ignored by both departmental officers and private employers.

But the workers of the Andamans are no longer prepared to submit to these oppressive condi-

tions of existence. They have begun to organise and fight for their rights. The trade union movement in the islands began a few years ago under Congress leadership. The union was a good one and workers had tremendous faith in their union. But gradually they began to lose faith in the leadership and were forced to form another and more militant union called the Andaman Sarvajanin Nirmam Vibhava Sangham. They have decided to affiliate it to the AITUC.

Prestige Of CPI

As yet there is no Communist Party in the islands. But the energetic youth of the Andamans have decided to organise the Communist Party in the islands because they realise that the only militant fighting party which can take the people of the Andamans and the rest of India to the goal of socialism is the Communist Party.

The organised working class and the people of the Andamans are fully aware of the importance of Andamans in the vital defence of the country from external threats and aggression. In the near future it can be developed as a naval base and ship building and ship repairing yard and a most beautiful tourist spot. The people have also realised that under the corrupt and inefficient bureaucracy which rules there today the Andamans cannot reach the height of its development.

Grievances Ventilated

When the parliamentary delegation arrived at Port Blair, a large group of workers came with red flags to receive the delegation and place before it their grievances. Somehow or other they had come to know that a Communist member of Parliament was also in the delegation. And later on the same evening they organised a big meeting in Aberdeen Market to observe the martyrs' day under the red flag. I was

United Action In Kerala Plantation

THREE thousand workers of Mooply-Kundal- estates, Palappilly, Kerala, went on a strike on May 12, in protest against the increase in work-loads enforced by the British-owned management of Malayalam Plantations Ltd.

The strike was forced on the workers when the management turned down all proposals for a settlement, even after the intervention of the State Labour Commissioner.

Workers following the AITUC affiliated Rubber Estate Workers' Congress and the INTUC affiliated Labour Congress, are unitedly conducting the strike.

Other demands raised by the unions include the proper implementation of the Plantation Labour Act, as well as the gratuity scheme, setting up of Works Committee, employment to dependants of workers, reclassification of tapping blocks

and for cancelling the implementation of the cattle control scheme.

Against Retrenchment

The Kerala State Transport Employees' Union (AITUC) has protested against the proposed retrenchment of 109 workers in the body-building workshop of Kerala State Transport undertaking from June 1.

The union called upon the transport workers to wage a united struggle against the proposed retrenchment.

It has been pointed out that the question of permanency of these workmen among other issues, is currently before arbitration and hence the unilateral decision of the management to retrench the workmen was wholly illegal.

NEW AGE

PAGE SEVEN

Abdullah's Visit & "Kashmir Issue"

Sheikh Abdullah had held the limelight in New Delhi and the front pages of newspapers the whole first fortnight of May. Much of the prominence he got was the result of the boost given to him by Prime Minister Nehru by sending a Deputy Minister and officials of the External Affairs Ministry to receive him and hosting him during his stay in the capital.

After rounds of "negotiations" with government leaders and talks with likeminded people (both C. Rajagopalachari and Jaya Prakash Narayan, it seems, come in this category) the Sheikh went back with the promise of a return visit to New Delhi, probably on the eve of his proposed pilgrimage to Rawalpindi.

WHAT was the so-called mission of Sheikh Abdullah? What did he achieve while he was in New Delhi? The monopoly press itself was divided in its assessment of the Sheikh and his "mission", the more patriotic among them seeking to show up the hollowness of his stand and his slogans.

But to some of the newspapers, he was a prophet come to shower manna and save the subcontinent (does this expression 'subcontinent' sound like some American slang?) from some catastrophe which exists only in the minds of the highly imaginative US lobbyists here.

"Well begun" was the headline given by THE HINDUSTAN TIMES to its editorial on May 14. It said that what the Sheikh "has achieved is not to be dismissed as insignificant. He has compelled fresh thinking and a thawing of frozen postures on the problem of Kashmir."

Did it end with that? No. The editorial went on: "He has punctured the self-righteous complacency in the attitude towards the minorities. And above all, he has spread a new awareness of the dangers that face both India and Pakistan in not getting on together."

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES discovered that Sheikh Abdullah has "found agreement in his talks in New Delhi" over his "basic approach". There could be many solutions but "it is clearly inadvisable at this stage to get bogged into a discussion of details. The main task is to find out whether in Pakistan there is an equally ready acceptance of Sheikh Abdullah's basic approach."

Public Outcry

The paper found that the "public outcry in India" against the dubious ideas of the Sheikh was "much of it contrived." From this it went on to conclude that if Pakistan had concluded that the Sheikh was "ready to underwrite the Rawalpindi view of a Kashmir solution" they would be disappointed.

"He will be found by them to be as demanding as New Delhi has found him and his arguments far more difficult to resist because his status to represent the people of Kashmir cannot be easily challenged," said the editorial.

How it came to the conclusion that his status to represent the people of Kashmir cannot be easily challenged, is not known. Nor is it explained why it did not see any impropriety in Sheikh Abdullah arrogating to

the role of the mediator, he would have to take on the role of bargainer against India. It was certainly good to find that not all the papers were of the same opinion on this Sheikh business. For example, THE TIMES OF INDIA said on May 15:

"Those who have not cultivated the art of living in a world of make-believe will wonder why there has to be a second round of talks between Mr. Nehru and Sheikh Abdullah. By the logic of the positions they have taken it should have been obvious at the very start of the first round that there is no meeting ground between them."

It added: "There is no way of reconciling the Sheikh's claim with India's case that

himself the role of a mediator between India and Pakistan.

THE STATESMAN talked about the "perils of a 'mission'" on May 14. It said the Sheikh's visit had ended "as well as it could have, for him as well as for those whom he met. Each side discovered that the other improved on acquaintance; as a result there has been a definite easing of the tensions which the Sheikh's speeches in Kashmir had spread earlier."

Settlement in Whose Favour?

"But the next stage of what he calls his 'mission' will be more difficult, if that is possible," said the editorial. "Many pressures will work on him in Kashmir, each trying to push him off the delicate perch from where alone he can usefully survey the scene as a whole."

More pressingly than in Delhi where he played it close to the chest, he will be asked to show his hand: which prematurely done, could cost him the whole game."

So, that is what THE STATESMAN wants: the so-called plan for solving the "Kashmir problem" must be sprung on the people, perhaps after everything is settled in the Sheikh's (and through him the imperialists') favour.

The paper certainly made this clear, though indirectly: "What Sheikh Abdullah seeks to achieve is obvious, though whether he will succeed is not. He has to ease the 'obsession', as widespread in Kashmir as in the rest of India and in Pakistan, with the constitutional status of the valley."

So, that is it. Accession is just a "minor" matter as the Sheikh himself has said so many times. And since it is a minor matter, it can be dispensed with—this of course is not said openly, but is understood.

THE STATESMAN has given encouragement to the Sheikh in his "mission" too. After listing a series of things which he has to do to achieve his ideal, it said: "Should these appear to him to be too many tasks for one man to perform he should remember that only a slight twist can sometimes turn a fast moving object from a disastrous course, and that already he has caused much rethinking on 'a closed chapter'."

It also added that if his efforts did not bear fruit in Rawalpindi, "his mission" will not terminate even then; only it will change from being three-cornered to bilateral. Or in other words, instead of

Minister Nehru must drop it like a hot potato unless he is ready to drop nonalignment from India's declared policy."

Making a scathing attack against the proposals made by Rajaji, the paper said: "In his move to thrust India—and Kashmir along with it—into SEATO through the backdoor, Rajaji fails to note that a foundation member of US-sponsored SEATO, namely Pakistan, is now hand in glove with Communist China..."

As far as the Sheikh's "mission" was concerned, the PATRIKA said: "Whether or not Sheikh Abdullah left Delhi with a clearer mind than when he arrived, he did nothing to help remove confusion in the public mind."

"At Tuesday's press conference on the eve of his departure for Srinagar, the Sheikh left even his own nationality vague. 'I am Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah,' he declared, snubbing a questioner. If that satisfied the Sheikh's ego, he had no reason to be dissatisfied with his visit to the Indian capital, where everything was done, on official as well as nonofficial level, to please the Sheikh's vanity. "Otherwise it is hard to sum

up the outcome of his talks with both government and anti-government leaders. As far as Sheikh Abdullah's unbridled public utterances are concerned, those had been marked more with theatricalities than concerned with realities."

An altogether different view of the whole thing was taken by PATRIOT in its editorial on May 13. Under the commanding headline, "Arrest Abdullah," it said:

"The people have silently watched the spectacle of a man who is dedicated to the destruction of the solidarity of this country and an acknowledged advocate of Pakistan being courted and cosseted by the government."

"They have listened to the impertinent and treasonable nonsense he talks, not because anything he or other enemies of Indian unity say impresses them. They have held their patience because Sheikh Abdullah is a guest of the Prime Minister. "But when he returns from Delhi to Kashmir he ceases to be that. The state government has no reason to regard him as anything, but an ambitious agitator whose words cannot be trusted."

The paper added: "From what he said on certain occasions in Delhi his plan appears to be to rouse certain sections of the people of Kashmir. If it is so, no time should be lost in preventing him from doing so. If necessary, he should be arrested and sent to jail."

PATRIOT was not sure that the Sadiq government would be able to face the law and order situation in case of an agitation "partially at least facilitated by vacillation at the Centre," and so "it need not be put to test." The paper wanted the "government of the state to be taken over by Central authority" along with the arrest of the Sheikh.

And it warned that "if the present 'nonpossumus' continues, the people will certainly come to the conclusion that any political adventurer can flout New Delhi and get away with it."

The paper added: "If the formula hinted by Sheikh Abdullah followed the pattern of the C.R. formula, it is not worth looking at. Even Prime

LETTERS

Has Sheikh

Forgotten

Pak Aggression?

SHEIKH Abdullah has been going around the country preaching all sorts of dubious theories about the future of Kashmir. Of course, in New Delhi he has not been mousing the same seditious speeches as he had done earlier in Kashmir after his release.

Typical of his utterances is the one which he has been repeating often: that there could be no solution in Kashmir either India or Pakistan could treat as a defeat and where the people of Kashmir would not find an honoured place.

Where is any question of any feeling in India of victory or defeat? The question in Kashmir is just of Pakistan vacating her aggression. Could the Sheikh forget that it was primarily to withstand the Pakistani aggression that Kashmir decided on accession to India?

And what is this "honoured place" for the people of Kashmir? They have as honoured a place in India as any other section of people in this multi-lingual, multi-racial, multi-religious country. Is it the Sheikh's contention that the Kashmiri people should have a "honoured place" different from the others?

Union Home Minister Nanda is reported to have said that disloyalty to the nation would not be treated with tenderness or gentleness. In the case of the Sheikh, however, the treatment seems to be with red carpet!

New Delhi S. ANAND

Why Look to USA

for Arms Aid?

AT long last, the "massive arms aid" which the West had given India has been shown up for what it is really worth. The combined worth of the American and British arms "aid" is not even equal to what has been given by the Soviet Union since the Chinese aggression in October 1962.

That American newspapers should have come out with this "startling" disclosure is ironically befitting. Of course, they have claimed that the news was leaked out on the eve of Defence Minister Chavan's visit, the implication being: that it was an attempt to bargain with the West for the country's defence needs.

It is true that the authorities have been reticent to give the details of the Soviet arms aid to this country for reasons best known to themselves. The only regret in this regard, however, is that the Washington patriots in this country would not have dared to talk about the US aid and alliance with the West, which they have been doing, had the fact been known before.

But, what to say about those "great" people in our government who are still making pilgrimages to the West in search of "arms aid" even after this revelation is made? Are they really interested in the defence of the country or only in bartering away the country's freedom?

Bombay R. S. DESAI

-PARAKAL

NEW AGE

MAY 24, 1964

With the conclusion of the Kanpur Bolshevik Conspiracy case and our conviction, one phase of the movement to give a new turn to the anti-imperialist struggle was, in a way, over. What were we trying to do and what was the outcome?

IT is not possible to analyse and describe the various currents and elements which appeared in the pages of the Kanpur case files. But one thing was clear. We, as young revolutionaries, particularly the Bombay group had a definite place and a definite line in Indian's anti-imperialist struggle.

We were born out of the Congress movement and organisation. Being dissatisfied with the line pursued by the national leadership, which belonged in the main to the national bourgeoisie, we had charted out a different path. While remaining within the anti-imperialist national front as represented by the Congress movement and organisation, we were trying to mobilise the working class and the ideology that it represented to take its positive and clear cut position in the national front.

For this purpose, while remaining within the Congress and participating in its struggles, we had begun to build the class organisations of the working class, that is the trade unions, with a definite class approach and to build the political party of the working class, that is the Communist Party.

STRIVING FOR COMMON PROGRAMME

We were also trying to build up a common understanding with the national revolutionaries, who formed the Left in the Congress, as represented by C. R. Das and Subhash Chandra Bose, so that the Congress as a whole would take its stand on the basis of a concrete, well-defined programme of national liberation. The absence of a well-defined programme and the vague talk of an undefined Swaraj prevented the masses from taking to correct forms of direct action and correcting the leadership when it would take a wrong line. These attempts of the Left, however, failed at the Gaya Congress. And the attempt to lay down the foundations of a Communist Party, for the time being, was defeated by the attacks of the British imperialists on our very first attempts.

LETTERS ISSUE IN THREE STAGES

It is now alleged against me that letters have been found in the government files, written by me which show that I first apologised to the British government in a petition signed jointly with Nalini Das Gupta, who was one of the four of us and asked for release, promising not to commit the offence again. Then it is said that the apology was rejected as the appeal was pending.

Not satisfied with this, I am supposed to have written to government, offering to become an agent of the government if I was released. But the government refused that petition also.

That was how the accusation appeared in its first stage: that I was a person, who, when convicted to four years' imprisonment apologised and also offered to become an agent in exchange for release. But the government did not agree.

Very soon, at the second stage, my opponents took the argument further in order to strengthen their plans of destroying my political status and disrupting the Party.

At the second stage, the accusation said that the rejection of the petition was a wrong theory. My petition was in reality accepted and as such I have been working in the Communist and working class movement as a government agent for all these forty years. I am compared to some of those clever spies, who succeeded in ascending to very high places in the revolutionary party and do their nefarious work until the revolution finds them out.

At the third stage, the accusers found that this was not enough. So now it is said, as by Muzaffer Ahmad in his

our friends, particularly the Kanpur and Bombay friends.

FOUNDING OF THE PARTY

When we were arrested we were trying to build a Party but in different names, like Labour Kisan Party or Hindustan Socialist Party, etc. We decided that we should now hold an open conference to found the Communist Party of India and see if it would be legally allowed to function. That is how the idea of holding a Communist Conference in Kanpur was mooted. And the conference did meet later in 1925 along with the Kanpur session of the National Congress.

I do not wish to pursue the political history further in this place and will revert to the question of my jail-term and the "letters".

After conviction we were kept in Kanpur till July 7, 1924 and then sent to various jails. I was confined to Sitapur jail. I passed there the whole of my sentence period. A few days before the date of release, I was transferred to Bombay, where I was released on May 12, 1927, after serving my full term. The remission which I got is usually available to all prisoners under the jail rules.

LETTERS ISSUE IN THREE STAGES

It is now alleged against me that letters have been found in the government files, written by me which show that I first apologised to the British government in a petition signed jointly with Nalini Das Gupta, who was one of the four of us and asked for release, promising not to commit the offence again.

Then it is said that the apology was rejected as the appeal was pending.

Not satisfied with this, I am supposed to have written to government, offering to become an agent of the government if I was released. But the government refused that petition also.

That was how the accusation appeared in its first stage: that I was a person, who, when convicted to four years' imprisonment apologised and also offered to become an agent in exchange for release. But the government did not agree.

Very soon, at the second stage, my opponents took the argument further in order to strengthen their plans of destroying my political status and disrupting the Party.

At the second stage, the accusation said that the rejection of the petition was a wrong theory. My petition was in reality accepted and as such I have been working in the Communist and working class movement as a government agent for all these forty years. I am compared to some of those clever spies, who succeeded in ascending to very high places in the revolutionary party and do their nefarious work until the revolution finds them out.

At the third stage, the accusers found that this was not enough. So now it is said, as by Muzaffer Ahmad in his

Second Instalment Of

story very seriously. The whole thing was also getting killed and those who had planted this time-bomb got perturbed. So, after the Secretariat statement, Basavapunniah and his group decided to come in the open rather than leave it to the CURRENT and the nationalist press. They issued a statement that they were convinced that the "letters" were not a forgery but were genuine and that Dange must leave the chairmanship of the Party, that he be tried by the Party, expelled and so on.

ACCUSERS NOT VERY PLEASED

Some of the newspapers took a stand which did not please my accusers. Some papers belittled the thing by saying that Dange was so young in those days and he may have weakened for a moment and written those letters. But his subsequent sacrifice in the service of the country and the Party had wiped out the temporary

CERTAIN QUESTIONS ABOUT LETTERS

Let us take, up certain questions about these letters. (For the present for the sake of style, I am dropping the inverted commas and the word 'alleged' in this article.)

SPLITTERS' ARSENAL OF FALSEHOOD

well-known. The paper itself does not hide it. The letters appeared in its issue of March 7, 1964.

CURRENT STORY INITIALLY IGNORED

Not being a reader of that paper, I did not know about it until somebody drew my attention to it. I, of course, laughed at it and did not take it seriously. The CURRENT has a reputation for inventing such things, especially against Communists. And moreover, the whole thing was so absurd and false on its very face that I just neglected it.

After three or four days, I received a letter from the Secretariat that some people were raising questions about the CURRENT news and we should say something about it.

As I was already booked to leave for the WFTU Executive meeting on March 14, I came to Delhi and met in the Secretariat. We issued a statement denouncing the CURRENT story and the letters as a forgery made by British Intelligence to serve its own purpose.

NATIONALIST PRESS PLAYS DOWN

The nationalist press also did not take up the CURRENT

weakness and that ought to be given the main consideration. So those Communists who were trying to raise doubts were not doing service to anybody.

Some other papers said that Dange was, on the eve of arrest, being called to Moscow. When he failed and got arrested and convicted, he must have been trying, under the advice of the Communist International, to hoodwink the government to get out and go to Moscow to pursue his aims. Many revolutionaries, in fact, have followed such tactics. So, those who were raising dust and doubting him are wrong. His whole career belied the inferences of the accusers.

These well-meaning and well-intentioned defences for me were being put forward by extremely well-known and very popular papers, whose editors were known to take progressive stand on questions of peace, nonalignment, etc.

Once again the game of my accusers was getting a setback. So they mounted the second stage of their offensive, saying that my whole subsequent career was not what it is said to be, that the stories of work, suffering and sacrifices are all "rubbish", that I have been in the service of the ruling class all my life since

I state it categorically that I never wrote such letters. That what is being shown around as my letters are a forgery made by British Intelligence for their sinister purpose of disrupting the Communist movement.

The first questions that can be asked are—where were these letters found? Who found them? When were they found?

Some say that these letters were found in the National Archives of the Government of India. Some research scholars found them while doing research work in the history of the national and working class movements. Who are these scholars? Nobody has yet come forward to claim the discovery. Why not?

When were they found? Who took them out in copies? and when?

CURRENT'S TWO CONDITIONS MET

The CURRENT says it got them from some Communists. Basavapunniah admits that he had the copies long before the CURRENT published them on March 7, 1964. Did Basavapunniah give them to the CURRENT?

* OVERLEAF

S.A. Dange's Report to the Party

PAGE EIGHT

NEW AGE

PAGE NINE

BACKGROUND TO THE SINISTER SCHEME

*FROM OVERLEAF

He denies it. But that is an obvious lie.

These copies were being hawked around by Basavapunniah's agents to several papers. But they refused to take them. But the CURRENT, it is said, put down two conditions before handing the affair. First, that there must be a certificate from the National Archives authorities that these are copies of documents that exist in the Archives. Such a certificate was obtained.

Basavapunniah says he got those copies "verified" but he says he did it after the CURRENT published them. He says "We had hurriedly to get at the records of the National Archives on March 16th, etc. Why this 'hurry', if he had the letters months before the CURRENT? Why such a hurry to disown connection with the CURRENT, which was doing so much service to Basavapunniah's 'revolution'?" The second condition that CURRENT is reported to have put is that it must be insured against losses, if a libel suit goes against it and also against case-expenses if any. It is said such a guarantee was given. Then CURRENT undertook the publication.

ROLE OF ARCHIVES DIRECTORATE

What part the Archives Directorate, which is under the Government of India, played in this, we do not know. But it would be worth knowing from the government itself, their part in this.

There is no doubt that some people in the Archives Directorate and perhaps elsewhere in the government did play some part in this.

And knowing this well, Basavapunniah and Sundarayya tried to enlist more government help to further their designs in another way. When we denounced the letters as forgeries, all these leaders like Basavapunniah, Sundarayya, Muzaffar Ahmad etc. who would not trust as genuine the maps of the Government of India Archives on the India-China border question or the historical papers in the Archives as read by the official negotiating team, suddenly developed tremendous faith in the immaculate virtues of the Archives.

PURE MARXISTS' PURE FAITH

How can National Archives contain forgeries? If it were so, who would trust them? And is it not the duty of the government to defend the honour of the National Archives? (And here they utter the word "national" with double emphasis and a screech). Why should not government get them verified by a handwriting expert to prove that its National Archives contain no forgeries? That is the depth to which these so-called "pure Marxists" have sunk.

The Government of India was put a question on these lines in Parliament. In reply

the Deputy Home Minister stated:

"The second point that he (Masani) referred to was Mr. Dange's letter. As everybody knows, the Home Ministry deals with a number of subjects. But our learned friend, Mr. Masani roamed about the whole country to find a stick to beat the Home Ministry with and he could find only two items; one Mr. Dange's letter and the other the book. He did not think of Kashmir affairs and he did not think of the communal disturbances; he did not think about eradication of corruption; he did not think of the administrative reform. The whole of his speech was on these two things."

GOVT CANNOT TAKE RESPONSIBILITY

"I would just submit to Mr. Masani that when there is a difference of opinion as to whether the letter is a genuine one or whether the letter is a forged one, why should government take upon itself the responsibility of getting it examined and finding out whether it is genuine or not?"

"The other thing which Mr. Masani said is that even the INTUC friends say that Mr. Nanda is too friendly to Mr. Dange. Is it, therefore, that he means to say that we do not like to get the letters examined. On the contrary, we have gone out of our way and allowed all Members of Parliament, irrespective of whether he is a research scholar or not, to look into these letters so that they can themselves see and if they want they can get the letters examined. You know, Sir, that even amongst handwriting experts, there will be difference of opinion. Two handwriting experts never agree. One expert's opinion will be different from the other."

"Mr. Masani's point was that since Mr. Nanda is Mr. Dange's friend, we are not examining those letters. But we have given all facilities; we have gone out of our way; we have taken the file from the National Archives and any Member of Parliament or anybody who wants to see the letters and decide can go to Home Secretary's room and verify those letters. But I do not propose to get it examined..." (April 15, 1964)

The Government of India is keeping what the British left behind. But do the Archives contain only what the British left behind? Can they not be added to by those in charge? Or cannot things also disappear from there? I maintain that all that is possible.

WHY FABRICATION IS POSSIBLE

Why is it not possible that these particular files were not brought into the Archives at some stage from outside but were not there when the Congress government took over? That might ex-

plain why the Congress leadership did not use them when they wanted to attack the Communists in 1948-50. These are questions for consideration as a hypothesis. The politics that is being served by the "discovery of these letters" should not rule out such an hypothesis. Recently it was found during question hour in Parliament that a high official of these National Archives visited the Chinese Embassy under the excuse of attending a reception though such attendance was banned by the government. The concerned official was reprimanded by the government. Was this visit in October last year so innocent, one may ask. Did he receive anything at the reception as to help him in his research at the Archives? And may one enquire about the politics and antecedents of this official?

QUESTION OF HANDWRITING

My accusers and many other people say that when they saw the letters and the writing, they were convinced that they were genuine because the handwriting is exactly like mine.

I need not quarrel on that statement. It is the essence of forgery that it must look like the genuine article. When a forged bank cheque gets cashed, it is because the signature is absolutely like the genuine one. If it were not so, bank forgeries which cheat even those whose profession it is to verify signatures on cheques and pass them, would have been impossible. A letter to pass as mine must be forged to look like my genuine handwriting.

Forgers not only produce complete likenesses of handwritings but even of papers of different ages, with seals and all complete. Even a short study of the subject, the history of the Inam Commission in India as also some judgments in such cases would have told my accusers that their vociferous repetition through any number of people that the writing they see is mine will not make the letters genuine.

CRUCIAL DISCREPANCIES

If one goes into an examination of the records, as they are put before the public by the Archives authorities and the government, quite a number of discrepancies challenging the genuineness of the letters can be found. I need not go into that question here as the commission which has been appointed by the National Council will examine them in due course. But one or two points may be stated here in brief.

The first thing to note is that I am supposed to be signing my own name with two spellings. My name Shripad is once signed with 'D' in the letters from the Kanpur jail and it is signed with 'T' in the letters written from the Sitapur jail.

A spelling mistake in your name is not easily made, if you are signing your own name. It is especially difficult, almost impossible, if the change in the spelling leads to a complete change of the name itself. The change from 'd' to 't' changes my name completely, in pronunciation and in meaning.

OTHER FLAWS IN THE RECORDS

There are other discrepancies too. There is a reference to a petition of mine in September, I think, which is not in the files. The date on another one is missing and is put in by someone. The date in one is mixed up and confused in the cross references.

The files themselves and the papers therein are not in any consecutive order as they should be in the original. They have been made and remade, stitched and restitched to take out or insert papers from time to time. Were the research scholars doing all that for the benefit of someone? The printed file that discusses the letters does not print the text of the letters and petitions.

The files put before the public and by Basavapunniah do not contain Muzaffar Ahmad's request for release, but he is released. The files suddenly came to an end with Dange's case only. Why this special selection and make-up? The so-called research scholars or the Archives directorate or the Indian Intelligence, which is now handling them, seem to have a SPECIAL ORIENTATION.

SIGNIFICANCE OF SPELLING

In Marathi, these additions or changes of letters have a meaning. So, when one signs a signature of one's own name, he signs that spelling only to which he is used in social and family usage and does not keep on changing it from letter to letter and place to place, especially when it carries different meanings. If the forger had been a Marathi man he would not have made the slip in the signature.

Much is said about the Brahmin and non-Brahmin content of the name. It is not strictly so because the name Shripad with 'd' is found in the Kayastha community also. But they are considered of a high social caste status along with that of Brahmin and hence in Maharashtra they will spell it with 'd' and a long 'aa'.

When this point is argued this way, then Basavapunniah and others want to ascribe to me Brahmin caste-consciousness. Here it is not a question of caste-consciousness but how names are made and what

they mean in a certain social hierarchy and how a man gets his name and signature out of that from childhood. Hence a mistake therein carries serious meaning. However it is too much to waste so much time on this, as it would be obvious to any language scholar what it all means. On that single 'd' and 't' discrepancy the forger can be held to be proved.

OTHER FLAWS IN THE RECORDS

There are other discrepancies too. There is a reference to a petition of mine in September, I think, which is not in the files. The date on another one is missing and is put in by someone. The date in one is mixed up and confused in the cross references.

The files themselves and the papers therein are not in any consecutive order as they should be in the original. They have been made and remade, stitched and restitched to take out or insert papers from time to time. Were the research scholars doing all that for the benefit of someone? The printed file that discusses the letters does not print the text of the letters and petitions.

SIGNIFICANCE OF SPELLING

In Marathi, these additions or changes of letters have a meaning. So, when one signs a signature of one's own name, he signs that spelling only to which he is used in social and family usage and does not keep on changing it from letter to letter and place to place, especially when it carries different meanings. If the forger had been a Marathi man he would not have made the slip in the signature.

Much is said about the Brahmin and non-Brahmin content of the name. It is not strictly so because the name Shripad with 'd' is found in the Kayastha community also. But they are considered of a high social caste status along with that of Brahmin and hence in Maharashtra they will spell it with 'd' and a long 'aa'.

When this point is argued this way, then Basavapunniah and others want to ascribe to me Brahmin caste-consciousness. Here it is not a question of caste-consciousness but how names are made and what

that he did not trust them as they can be bribed. So, he could not trust even that investment on his own venture! Whether bribe works or not is another matter. But it is a fact that handwriting experts' knowledge is not always trusted or proved even by law courts.

But on second thoughts, in subsequent statement of the thirtytwo, Basavapunniah changed his position, as his colleagues advised him not to take his case by such a statement about handwriting experts.

A serious argument is made that even if you assume that the letters are forgeries so far as my handwriting is concerned, how is one to explain all the cross references to the subject matter of the letters in government correspondence, the seal of the jails and signatures of Superintendents. The letters do not hang by themselves but are interwoven with cross references and notes of government official discussions, whether the petition should be granted or not. Is all that a forgery also?

The weaving of cross references is not a difficult affair. The British Intelligence agent, who wishes to put this forgery in circulation, does not just manufacture a letter and put it in the file. The minimum that is required is to hand over a letter to the originating authority. Once put in circulation, say at Kanpur or Sitapur, it would follow its own procedural method and logic of seals, opinions, discussions and conclusions. Thus the case is completed and held foolproof to go on in its mischievous mission.

If all the gentry mentioned in the files, like Kaye, Petrie, Sloan, etc. argue about the petition, it is not as if they are shadow-boxing. Only one of them may be knowing the truth while the others are taking the letters or petition as genuine and arguing. A few cross references woven this way should not confuse the issue. They are put in to mislead anyone who sees the file and no wonder if they do mislead, even the most unprejudiced people who do not know the working of British Intelligence.

OTHER QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Hence, one must not rely only on handwriting and the references. Other questions also must be put and answered.

The first petition of apology is signed jointly by Dange and Nalini Bhushan Das Gupta. In this petition, the handwriting is said to be mine as also my signature. But then the signature of Nalini is also like in my handwriting. And Muzaffar Ahmad

who knew Nalini well thinks that it is his signature and that he fumbled in signing. So, have I forged Nalini's signature or Nalini drew his in my handwriting? But then Nalini files another petition of the same character from another jail. Who wrote it? Where is the proof of Nalini's handwriting in the whole affair? Nowhere. His first signature may be forged by me or may be his own. And his second signature and petition are said to be written by some jail official.

NALINI PAINTED AS ILLITERATE

So, it looks at least from the article of Muzaffar Ahmad who takes great pains over it that Nalini, though he worked in a London factory for several years and was in Moscow and Berlin on several missions, did not know how to read or write English. Why should Muzaffar have to make Nalini so illiterate as not to be able to sign his name or write even four or five lines? Any special reason?

The petitioners are asked to wait until the appeal is over. But just then, Dange writes another petition in which he is alleged to have offered his services as an agent.

The officials who were handling this seem to be "amused" and think it "interesting" also. The prosecuting attorney says he heard that Dange had apologised. In that case, he should not have filed an appeal, if he wanted to be released by appeal. So the whole thing does not fit into the logic of the officials and what they know of the conspirator. Some say he is a man of longstanding conviction doing things deliberately. Some say he is not.

Hence the apology, the petition, lead to different and complicating reactions among all those concerned. To cover this up, Basavapunniah has produced a note by British Intelligence officer C. Kaye in which he thinks Dange is a "worm" and not the "stuff revolutionaries are made of". A strong warning is enough to silence him. Basavapunniah parades this "certificate" with great relish in his pamphlet.

But in the same files, there are other reports from other officials saying quite the contrary. When faced with them, Basavapunniah and Co. become blind and illiterate like Nalini. Hence these are not copied in their pamphlet.

The question is—what is the upshot of all these petitions, apologies, opinions arguments? Is Dange pardoned and released?

The Intelligence Officers

WHERE DANGE MET ASHLEIGH? Prabhu Recounts His Personal Story

Last week in his article S. A. Dange narrated how he met Charles Ashleigh in the office of the BOMBAY CHRONICLE, contrary to the assertion made by Muzaffar Ahmad that Dange met him in the Taj Mahal Hotel with the help of the Police.

R. K. Prabhu, referred to by Dange in his article, was interviewed by M. G. Desai, journalist, who was an accused in the Meerut case and at present is a worker in the peace movement in Bombay. Desai has sent us the following account of his interview.

EDITOR

R. K. Prabhu (now aged nearly 80) when interviewed at his residence at Matunga (Bombay) on May 13 said that he clearly remembers the following:

ON 1922/23 he was an assistant editor of the BOMBAY CHRONICLE which had at that time its offices in Meadows Street in the building at present occupied by Messrs Creaves Cotton. Marmaduke Pickthall was then the editor and S. A. Brelvi the joint-editor.

One morning a foreign gentleman by the name, Ashleigh, called on Prabhu. He

had brought a note from Mr. Brelvi. In it Brelvi had written that this man was an American citizen who had landed that morning but he was ordered by the police to leave India the next day. He had met Brelvi at the Taj where Brelvi was then staying.

As Ashleigh was anxious to meet S. A. Dange, Brelvi asked Prabhu to

argue that if Dange was to be released prematurely, it would have an adverse effect on the public. The last reply that they give is—wait until half the sentence is over and let him apply then. If his conduct is good and circumstances permit, he may be released.

AMUSING ARGUMENT

What happens after half the sentence is over? There is no more petition from Dange asking for release and he is not released.

If I was accepted as an agent, I should have been let out. But Basavapunniah says that government keeps its agents in jail to avoid their being suspected by the revolutionaries with whom they live. The agents are even tortured by the government.

But his argument does not fit in here. In Sitapur jail I was not kept with anyone. Secondly, my arrests were not just planting of an agent. I was conducting working class struggles inflicting damage on the British and Indian owners. I was building and strengthening Communist ideology and the Party. And in all they put me in jail for over sixteen years, sometimes in the worst conditions and alone.

And I lived with Basavapunniah and others in the underground in most insufferable conditions. No accident ever be fell them on my account. However, when my opponents are losing balance, it is useless to argue with them. Let me resume the story.

As said above, after half the sentence was over, there was no petition from me and no release. But someone else was released. It was Muzaffar Ahmad, who was released in September 1925. That did not arouse suspicion. If I, too, had been released, along with him, it would not have aroused any suspicion to avoid which, as Basavapunniah and Muzaffar Ahmad and their group say, I was kept in jail though I had become a government agent.

RELEASE OF MUZAFFAR AHMAD

Muzaffar Ahmad fell ill in Almora jail. We do not know if he asked for release. How could he, as a "recalcitrant revolutionary", according to C. Kaye and Basavapunniah? Muzaffar himself in his diary says that "the civil surgeon-superintendent of the jail said it was not serious at all." But he was getting weaker and hence was released on the orders of the government.

In the files that are put at the disposal of Basavapunniah and the public so far, Muzaffar's petition for release is not there. Perhaps he did not apply but government in its kindness let him out even before half the sentence was over, according to Petrie's formula, which was supposed to apply in my case.

bring about a meeting, if possible. Prabhu sent a cycle-peon to Dange's residence at Thakurdwar calling him to come to the Chronicle office, which he did. The meeting between Ashleigh and Dange took place in Prabhu's room in the CHRONICLE office. They had a brief interview within Prabhu's sight but out of his hearing. After a fortnight the Police Commissioner of Bombay had written to Pickthall that according to his information a dangerous foreign revolutionary had met Dange in the CHRONICLE office. Pickthall who did not know anything sent a circular to the members of the staff. When it came to Prabhu, he merely wrote "seen", without committing himself anyway.

(I came to know Ashleigh in London in 1925. He proudly described to me his brief visit to India and his meeting with Dange. He was once member of the I.W.W. in the USA and a follower of the US Labour leader Eugene Debs. He had evidently visited Bombay as representative of the Communist M.G.D.)

TOPSY-TURVEY VIEWPOINTS

Another thing to note is that Nalini Gupta also fell ill and Muzaffar Ahmad gives a long account how the European surgeons at last certified his release also. Muzaffar Ahmad does not rule out the possibility that Nalini also had become a confessed agent. He has great contempt for him.

But then, as against me, he would like to paint Nalini as illiterate so that he cannot write a petition and so ill that all surgeons agreed to release him. Only two of us had the misfortune not to be released but run full term—Usmani and myself. And we both are "suspect" in the eyes of this "recalcitrant" revolutionary. What a topsy-turvy eye sight!

The whole thing is so disgustingly mean that one does not like to go on arguing it seriously. But when you have to deal with a venomous group of splitters and disruptors, you have to do the unpleasant task. Hence some more questions have to be taken up.

A question is asked as to why British Intelligence should have done all this only against me and not others. And even if they did it, why did they not put all

OF FORGED "LETTERS"

RECORD OF "PURE" MARXISTS

*FROM OVERLEAF

British Intelligence even allowed persons to go out of India in such a way that they could be suspected as being agents and murdered by the revolutionary organisations.

In this connection the case of Abani Mukherjee is worth studying. Abani was co-laborator of Roy in the book "India in Transition", had come to India. He was followed by British Intelligence, but they did not arrest him. Muzaffar Ahmad considers Abani also as a spy because he says he had received a letter from the Communist International informing him that Abani had been expelled by the Comintern. This obviously was the work of Roy, who had quarrelled with Abani.

MAIN CENTRE OF WORK

I was the main centre of work in India. I was in the Congress, in the trade unions, among the workers, in public activities, a writer, editor and so on. I was in charge of work of the Communist International in India, according to the assignment letters sent to me. And my revolutionary ideology was also clear. Unfortunately that was not the position of any of the three others.

On release, I was expected to resume my work and go abroad also to the C. I. Congress. Hence it was necessary for British Intelligence to forge papers in order to show them around where necessary and create suspicion about me and get me "liquidated" at the hands of my own comrades. That was the foul conspiracy behind this criminal forgery.

Does British Intelligence do such work? The notorious Zinoviev letter forged by British Intelligence is well-known in history. My accusers dare not deny that forgery. But they are all united in giving the same British Intelligence a certificate of honesty and genuineness in my case. The study of British Intelligence methods in this respect by Overstreet and Windmiller has to say the following:

On the question as to how British Intelligence got their information they quote Kaye's book "Communism in India", as follows:

"His (Roy's) 'contacts' with this country during the past few years have been tolerably well known, and his correspondence has been extensively read. It has been an unflinching source of information of proved accuracy as to the movements of men, money and literature, and the knowledge derived from it has been used more than once to the discomfort of our enemies." (p. 62)

"IMAGINATIVE" POLICE WORK.

Further on they say—"Several times, the British authorities intercepted money in such a way as to create suspicion of financial dishonesty between the sender and the receiver. Certainly the record of the C.I.D. during this period is an excellent example of how effectively a conspiratorial organisation can be controlled by imaginative police work." (p. 61) (emphasis added).

But were they kept with an astrologer's insight to be used only forty years after? It is a legitimate question. But what ground is there to say that they were not used to sow suspicion, to circulate a whisper even before this? May be, that they were so used but did not carry effect until Basavapunniah and his Chinese leadership lent its weighty hand?

I have my suspicion that M. N. Roy was sometime al-

lowed to get a glimpse of these letters. There are notations on these letters themselves that copies of them were being made out and sent to places. Some others also may have had the same experience. But the thing on the very face of it looked so ridiculous and untrue and none took it up seriously.

In the period of 1948-50, when a similar kind of sectarianism was in power in the Party, a whisper was sent round that I was an agent. But it did not catch and the sponsors beat a retreat.

DANGER OF LIQUIDATION

I came to know from a source that when the CC was comprising a delegation to go abroad in 1950 to discuss our differences and I was included in it, a hint was dropped to me that I ran the danger of being "liquidated" and that I would not return, that I was a suspect. But all those hopes of certain people proved false. I may now ask if any of those letters were at the root of the whispers and those predictions? Someone should say, if he has the honesty and the courage. Spy-mania or suspicion-sowing is a favourite and easy method to liquidate political opponents. It is especially a favourite method with Left sectarians. We have had its experience in the sectarian adventurist period of 1948-50.

How many good honest comrades were liquidated in that period on mere suspicion and whispers? Even a trusted fighter like Ravi Narain Reddy had to leave his den and run to Bombay as there was danger to his life because some leaders "suspected" him. And Basavapunniah was one of those leaders.

In Tamilnad also the same thing happened which left a trail of suffering on many comrades, who had to undergo long years of imprisonment.

The suspicions and orders to deal with the "suspect" went about in the Party, in the underground dens, just on the mere pleasure of the General Secretary or his favourite assistants. A trusted and senior comrade like S. G. Patkar of Bombay was denounced as a spy and thousands of leaflets were distributed against him in the streets of Bombay in 1950. Those who supported this heinous crime later on admitted their mistake. Fortunately Patkar remained alive because he left his den. I was threatened with expulsion if I did not support this slander against Patkar. But I refused.

TODAY'S VITAL DIFFERENCES

Soon after, that Polit Bureau fell from power. But the damage was done. Such is the past of sectarianism and dogmatist adventurism inside our Party. That same evil force is raising its head today and trying to capture the Party, with the same methods, accusations and threats of liquidations.

But there is a difference this time, and a very vital one. Sectarianism has been entrenched in our Party for a long time and was never fought out ideologically or organisationally in a proper way. But in the old days, when anyone was to be pilloried, the matter was first taken up inside the Party. Everyone accepted that much discipline.

This time the sectarians led by Basavapunniah have given up all norms of Party behaviour. They ganged up with the CURRENT and other shady elements to spread the slander and utilised the British Intelligence forgeries to disrupt the Party. When the CURRENT was being disowned and laughed at by the public, Basavapunniah rushed to its aid by swearing that what CURRENT published was genuine, because he and his friends had got the alleged letters long before CURRENT published them.

Why did he not bring them before the Secretariat or the CEC in the usual Party way? His explanation is that he was waiting to get them "verified". Well, he could have asked the Secretariat or the CEC to take up that job with his assistance, instead of defending the CURRENT.

The reason for this open disruption and ganging up with reaction, while mouthing revolutionary phrases is that the disruption this time is planned on a world scale in the Communist movement and is being carried out by such a powerful party as the Chinese Communist Party, holding power in one of the biggest countries of the world.

The Chinese Communist Party was the first to declare that the Indian Party was a "Dange clique". It was the first to give the slogan that we are a revisionist clique and must be overthrown. It gave out first the slanderous accusation that we had given a list of names to the government for arrest after the Chinese aggression. The Chinese and the Indonesian Party in their September 1963 meeting called all of us "Nehru spies" and the prisons, which held the "true Marxists-Leninists" like Basavapunniah, Ranadive and others were named as "Dange-Nehru prisons."

And all this was duly echoed by the sectarians here. And very soon, the files were discovered in the Archives to complete and render help. It is because of this that the slander of the letters was not brought inside the Party Committees but was pushed into the open first. The letters were thus an instrument not only "to expose" one Dange, but to split and destroy the Communist Party. It is no longer the question of expelling someone from the Party as an agent. It is a question of breaking the whole Party.

One may ask: How is it that even those, who differ with the sectarians politically, like EMS, Jyoti Basu and others, joined in this campaign? It is true that these comrades and the hard core of the sectarians

do not agree with the Chinese line completely on questions of ideological differences in the international Communist movement. Now, in fact, in the last two or three weeks, EMS has given the certificate and the sectarians like Sundarayya etc. have okayed it that all of them hold China to be "wrong" on the India-China question. It is certainly a welcome change that all these comrades, who vehemently opposed the November 1962 resolution on India-China now hold China to be wrong.

THEY AGREE ON MAIN POINTS

I was publicly censured by the National Council at its Meerut meeting for publicly calling the Chinese Communist Party "wrong" in their border dispute with India. But I did not raise an open revolt or go to the press against the action of the National Council, though I maintained that I was politically right. Even in Parliament when the censure was thrown at me by Congressmen and others, I did not repudiate the National Council's action. But I will come to that subject some other time.

Despite these difference of theirs with the Chinese leadership they all including EMS, Jyoti Basu etc. agreed to walk out, set up rival committees and denounce me and the National Council. Why so? Because despite some differences, they all agree with the Chinese leadership on three main questions.

On India-China, EMS may call China an aggressor and support defence of the country. Recently he is reported to have said that he is more anti-Chinese than I am! Yet, he says, he fundamentally disagrees with the National Council resolution as being one of alien class ideology. Well, that is just what the Chinese leadership says. That the CPI leadership has gone over to an alien class, the imperialists and their allies in the Nehru government and the sectarians say the same thing. So, these comrades may disagree on the ideological and India-China border question to some extent with the Chinese leadership but they all agree with them in denouncing us as class collaborators. But the story does not stop there.

Secondly, they all agree more or less with the Chinese leadership regarding the reading of the internal situation in India and the line to be followed to deal with it.

Thirdly, they all agree with the Chinese leadership with-out the slightest hesitation that the Party has become a revisionist clique and as such has ceased to be a real Communist Party. The "true" Marxists, therefore must separate from it and destroy it in order to build another one.

Now let us make it clear that it is quite permissible to hold views which may be in common agreement with those of the Chinese leadership as part of the

* ON PAGE 16

MAY 24, 1964

(We are publishing below a letter sent by Master Hari Singh, member, National Council of the Party from Punjab, to E. M. S. Nambudiripad on May 6 regarding the split in the Party.—Editor)

Hari Singh's Letter To E.M.S.

Dear Comrade E.M.S., It is great pity that you should have been persuaded to lead the walk-out from the National Council meeting in the month of April last. There was not the least justification for such a walk-out on a mere point of procedure. We have known of walk-outs from bourgeois parliaments and party meetings. Walk-outs from Communist Party meetings have never been heard of. It is a bourgeois practice. I suppose you acted in the heat of moment and on reflection might have realised the mistake by now.

Equally wrong in my opinion was it on the part of National Council to have suspended from Party membership all the 32 members. Though I do consider that a strong action was called for against six or seven members who had been engaged in split-

ting activities for the last one year and a half. They had set up a parallel Party Centre from where circulars and documents were issued to a section of Party members. They had brought out a number of newspapers in a number of states. It means that they have got separate funds at their disposal.

In fact, they were already functioning as a party within the Party. The manner in which they used the "Dange Letters" has been most inimical to the interest of the Party and the mass movement. You know very well that this has resulted in smash-up of the rising working class movement against high prices. It can well be imagined what impact the split will have on the Kerala elections early in the year of 1965.

It is distressing that Comrade P. Sundarayya should have put up

GUJARAT COUNCIL'S RESOLUTION

The Secretariat of the Gujarat State Council of the Communist Party of India met on May 8-9 and heard the report of Dinkar Mehta on the last National Council meeting held in New Delhi. The Secretariat then unanimously adopted a resolution with a view to make efforts to avoid a split in the Party and maintain Party unity.

SOME distorted versions and "interpretations" of this resolution had appeared in the Times of India (Bombay edition) of May 11. On this, a letter was written on May 14 by the state Party secretary, Dinkar Mehta to the Editor of the Times of India clarifying the resolution of the Secretariat and correcting the wrong impressions conveyed by the press report.

Following is the resolution passed by the Secretariat: "The Secretariat views with a feeling of deep concern that the inner-Party differences have reached a serious state wherein the danger of a split in the Party has arisen.

Letter To Times Of India

In his letter to the Editor of the TIMES of India, Bombay, Dinkar Mehta said: My attention was drawn to a report in your esteemed daily of 11-5-64, City edition, headed Gujarat Red Leadership pleads for Amity, regarding the resolution of the recent meeting of the Gujarat State Secretariat of our Party.

While the report contains in the first part a good summary of the resolution, the subsequent part contains certain things which have nothing to do with our resolution or the deliberations of our meeting. Please allow me to correct some of the impressions contained in the report.

It is stated in the report that the resolution "does not say a word against the attitude" of the 32 suspended members of the National Council, "but which mildly and indirectly criticises the National Council for action against them...indicated the ideological affinity of the Gujarat party leadership with that of the Chinese."

I wish to state that the inference is unwarranted. The purpose of the resolution is to bring about unity as soon as possible. There is ample room for criticism, for instance, of the acts of formation of rival committees etc. But the immediate remedy lies in the leaders sitting together and judging the method for holding a united Party Congress. Everything which would come

a candidate for Rajya Sabha election against the official candidate of the Party. Can you approve of Comrade Suri in the Punjab withholding huge amounts of funds from the Party? Who could approve of a group of comrades early in the month of April holding a meeting at New Delhi in Ashoka Road and discussing and adopting a document? The press was briefed in regard to the proceedings of the meeting through-out the meeting or session.

I never expected that you could bring yourself to countenancing such blatantly disruptive activities on the part of a section of leading comrades. You should have used your fullest influence to dissuade these comrades from such a wrong course of action. But you unfortunately got too much identified with them. It is god now that you are trying to pull yourself out of the wrong position. It is expected that you will rise to the occasion at this time of serious crisis in the Party and save the situation to the extent you are capable of in the present circumstances.

I hope the National Council will lift the suspension against those who walked-out, but it is necessary to take strong action against die-hard splitters. A lenient view may however be taken in case they express regret for their past activities, disband the separate Centre, close down the parallel newspapers and handover the funds at their disposal to respective Party units.

The National Council is meeting from 7th to 17th June, 64. Documents for the Party Congress would be discussed and adopted then. We should all make our contribution by participating in the discussions. If any comrade or a set of comrades desire to present alternative drafts they may be sent down to the Party ranks for discussion. Till the next Congress the Vijayawada Resolution is our guide. This Resolution was unanimously adopted. I think it is a correct Resolution.

In the Congress we should review how far the Resolution has been correctly implemented and what mistakes, if any, of the left or right variety have been made in implementing it. We adopted Resolution on Party Organisation at Hyderabad Session of National Council. Let us all return to the norms laid in that Resolution. I think you were the main sponsor of that

resolution and therefore you should lead the struggle for adherence to that resolution.

The majority may have made political and organisational mistakes that has to be reviewed at the Party Congress but these mistakes do not provide justification for the minority to trample down all the norms of Party organisation. You should use your entire influence for restoration of Party norms. The majority should accommodate the minority but impossible demands of minority cannot be accepted.

As regards "Dange Letters" a Commission of Enquiry has been set up. I have full faith in the integrity of the Commission. The findings of this Commission will be placed before the National Council in the month of June 64. The entire matter can be settled in the Party way but a group of comrades have used the letters to defame and smash up the Party. History will not forgive their crime.

May I expect that you will come out publicly against the formation of rival party? There is not the least political justification for such a course of action. Such an attempt will harm the Party and more so those who have launched upon such a wrong course of action. Such an attempt is foredoomed to utter failure. There have been differences inside the Party. This is nothing uncommon. The Party grows if these differences are solved in the Party way.

The interplay and clash of contradictory views leads to the evolution of correct line, provided the principle of democratic centralism is strongly adhered to.

In the state of Punjab—Baba Sohan Singh Bhakna, Baba Gurmukh Singh and Comrade Sohan Singh Josh have come out vigorously against the split in the Party. I hope their appeal for unity will strike a responsive chord in the hearts of all Kerala comrades.

With greetings,
Fraternally yours,
Master Hari Singh, MLC

Splitters Condemned In 24 Parganas

The 24 Parganas District Organising Committee of the Communist Party of India which met on May 11 has strongly condemned the statement of the 32 splitters repudiating the National Council and their attempts to set up a rival party in West Bengal.

THE Committee emphasised the need to uphold Party unity and discipline and requested the National Council to take necessary political and organisational steps for carrying out the Party line in West Bengal.

The resolution adopted by the Committee says: "This meeting of the 24 Parganas District Organising Committee, C.P.I., held on 11.5.64, strongly disapproves of the statement of 32 comrades (subsequently suspended) which amounts to setting up a Party Congress, where every participant can express his own particular views on various issues before the Party.

There is absolutely no question of the Gujarat Party Secretariat being "in agreement with the Programme" circulated by Basavapunniah or sympathising with China."

I am sure you will appreciate that such impressions as contained in the said report would prejudice the Gujarat Party in the eyes of your readers and would be harmful to us.

I request you therefore to publish in your daily this clarification.

But it is extremely regrettable that Com. Jyoti Basu has now become the foremost spokesman of the left sectarians.

This meeting is shocked at the news that a suspended member convened the meeting of the Party Council in the state and also convened a public meeting at the Calcutta Maidan on 9.5.64 on behalf of the West Bengal State Council where three suspended members, namely, P. Ram-murti, Jyoti Basu and, Promode Das Gupta spoke on their rival Party policy.

This meeting also approves of the statement of Com. M. N. Goindan Nair in declaring their actions illegal.

We appeal to the 32 comrades to retract their steps and to withdraw their statement and to come back to the Party fold and we are sure that the National Council will reconsider the disciplinary action thereupon.

This meeting further requests the National Council to take necessary political, organisational steps for the execution of Party line in West Bengal.

BLOTS OF SHAME ON CIVILISATION

British Protectorates in Southern Africa

By BERTA BRAGANZA

BECHUANALAND, Basutoland and Swaziland are three so-called British "protectorates" in Southern Africa. Bechuanaland, is a big territory in the east of South West Africa but Basutoland and Swaziland are two small enclaves in the east of the Republic of South Africa.

These three countries fell into the grip of colonialism in the 19th century at the time of the British-Boer wars. Defeated, the Boers unwilling to subordinate themselves to Britain moved northwards.

They were on their request allowed to temporarily remain in the countries through which they passed. But once there, they not only refused to leave but made themselves a nuisance to their hosts and entered into open conflicts with them. It was at this stage that the British appeared on the scene in the guise of protectors of the Africans.

Before long, however, they made themselves the rulers, refusing to move out of the lands on which they had installed themselves claiming them as their property. And throughout the period they have been there they have proved to be protectors not of the Africans but of the Boers.

Since then, the frontiers of the three "protectorates" have been shifted and changed and the size of the once extensive territories shrunk beyond recognition. And the three very distinct peoples with very distinct past histories of their own have today a common colonial history of British perfidy and inhuman exploitation.

Demand For Restitution

In consequence, the period of the British presence in the three countries has been one long and continuous demand by the peoples of Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland for the restoration of the original boundaries of their countries and restitution of their pillered territories.

On the other hand, the evolution of the British-Boer conspiracy and the metamorphosis of the British colony of South Africa into the Union of South Africa in 1909 and now into the sovereign Republic of South Africa has had its repercussions on the state of affairs in the three "protectorates".

The incorporation of these territories, situated in what they hold as their own area but at the same time out of the pale of their apartheid net, has been a constant pre-occupation of the white supremacists of South Africa.

Repeated has been their demand on that score. And it is evident that the British are none too averse to it. In

fact, much of the area of what were the original white rulers of Bechuanaland, and Swaziland is already part of the apartheid Republic.

And even if Britain has kept the three "protectorates" out of the Union of South Africa, it has also made the reservation that they might be incorporated at a later date.

Today, it is precisely this reservation that the would-be white rulers of Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland use as the legal basis for their demand of the integration of those "protectorates" with the Republic of South Africa.

That what keeps Britain from acceding to that demand is only fear of public opinion and its hypocrisy may be gauged from what was declared by the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, Col. Seely, when the Bill for the formation of the Union of South Africa came before the British Parliament in 1909.

Col. Seely said: "... You will have the transition so gradual that I hope and believe that the natives will never know from anything that occurs to them that their transition has been effected."

Surreptitious Annexation

From this it is obvious that what Britain considered important was that the annexation should come about surreptitiously without giving the "native" occasion to get agitated and attracting the attention of the world.

And in pursuance of this treacherous policy, though no formal and de jure integration has been effected by Britain, it has for all practical purposes allowed the racialists from South Africa to be the de facto rulers in the three British "protectorates".

The civil services, including the courts of law, are filled with and dominated by personnel brought from South Africa. And this personnel includes a considerable number of retired people.

Racial discrimination and the savage and intolerable practices offensive to human justice and dignity that go with it are part of the British "protection". The Administration works in close collaboration with the security police of South Africa to suppress the revindications of freedom and human rights by the people.

The British High Commissioner who is now the British Ambassador in South Africa also and resides there and who is supposed to be the supreme ruler in the "protectorates" is in practice more of a protector of the interests of the racialists of South Africa.

The economic development

of the three territories is deliberately sabotaged and retarded in order to keep up the false contention that they have not enough resources and cannot be self-supporting and therefore their welfare depends on their integration with the surrounding territory of South Africa.

But the peoples of Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland are fully awakened to political consciousness and are determined to achieve their rights and place in Free Africa, the only Africa of the future. The struggle is, no doubt, a hard one. But they know that history and justice is with them.

BECHUANALAND

THIS is the name given by the British to African Batwana. Bechuanaland is the biggest of three "protectorates". It has an area of 712,000 sq. kms. But across half of this extensive area stretches the Kalahari Desert. Only the southern part, bordering on Cape Colony, has arable land. It has a population 334,000. It has the Rhodesias in the North and North-east, South Africa in the South and South-East and South West Africa in the West.

Bechuanaland was proclaimed a "protectorate" in 1885. In 1895, the best part of its territory in the South was declared a "Crown colony" and annexed to Cape Colony. When the Union of South Africa was formed in 1909 that substantial part of Bechuanaland became part of the Union. All these were done without any intervention of the Africans of Bechuanaland who comprise the overwhelming majority of the population.

As evidence of this blatant usurpation, Mafeking, the seat of the Bechuanaland administration, is now situated outside its present borders and within the boundaries of the Republic of South Africa. Bechuanaland like Basutoland and Swaziland, the other two British "protectorates" is an area of acute South African influence. The policies of racial discrimination operate there the same as in S. Rhodesia.

In 1961 when the U.N. Commission wanted to go to probe into the state of affairs created by South Africa in South West Africa, the British imperialists were prompt in disallowing the commission from passing through Bechuanaland.

For all that, however, the Bechuanaland Africans have by no means resigned themselves to the miserable "protection" imposed on them by Britain. The "wind of change" that Prime Minister Macmillan was forced to recognise to be blowing over Africa is blowing, and strongly, over Bechuanaland

Division Into Black & White

The country is divided into black and white sections. The Africans must live segregated in ten reservations while the whites occupy the major and best part of the country.

Farming and stock-breeding is the main source of the African's economy but only one-third of the land is at their disposal. The other two-thirds are owned by the administrators, the European settlers and foreign concerns like the British South African Company and mining companies like the Tatil and others.

Duncan Sandys, British Commonwealth Secretary, announced in the House of Commons last week that agreement has been reached on a new constitution for Basutoland, a British "protectorate" in southern Africa. According to this Basutoland will get independence in a year "if the desire for it is confirmed by the people of Basutoland through their parliament or through a referendum".

Berta Braganza discusses here in a series of three articles the problems of the people of the three British protectorates in southern Africa, namely Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland.

Faced with land shortage, scarcity of water, cattle diseases and lack of veterinary services the Africans are forced to emigrate in thousands in search of a living, slaving in South Africa and South Rhodesia to provide super-profits for white farmers and monopolists.

The under-developed state of Bechuanaland is closely linked with the British soft corner for the racialist tyrants of South Africa and the conspiracy that throughout the British rule in the territory is being hatched by the two intruders for handing it over to the racialists.

Sacrifice Not in Vain

But his sacrifice was not in vain. It inspired the people and all the years of his exile the demand for his release was the slogan of the patriotic struggle, of which he became a symbol.

The movement grew and just before his return in 1960 was formed the People's Party under the leadership of Kgaleman Motsete, which enjoys the support of the entire people. The party is growing in strength and is carrying on the movement of self-determination and against racial discrimination.

As a result of the movement, Britain was forced to make concessions. In 1961 it granted a constitution. It was, of course a familiar tactic to throw dust in the eyes of public opinion, while at the same time serving



may be seen in the manner in which it makes room for the infiltration of the apartheid policies into the "protectorate".

In 1961 when the U.N. Commission wanted to go to probe into the state of affairs created by South Africa in South West Africa, the British imperialists were prompt in disallowing the commission from passing through Bechuanaland.

For all that, however, the Bechuanaland Africans have by no means resigned themselves to the miserable "protection" imposed on them by Britain. The "wind of change" that Prime Minister Macmillan was forced to recognise to be blowing over Africa is blowing, and strongly, over Bechuanaland

(Next week: Basutoland)

The United States has never looked at Cuba except as a colony or even as one of the southern states of the United States of America and history bears testimony to this fact.

As early as 1823, Secretary of State John Quincy Adams (later President of USA) writing to Hugo Nelson, U.S. Minister to Spain, stipulated the policy of his country towards this Caribbean Island as:

"These Islands (Puerto Rico and Cuba), for their local position, are natural appendages of the North-American continent; and one of them, Cuba, almost in sight of our shores, for a multitude of considerations has become an object of transcendent importance to the political and commercial interest of our union. Its commanding position with reference to the Gulf of Mexico and the West Indies areas, the character of its population, its safe and capacious harbour of Havana, the nature of its productions and of its wants, furnishing the supplies and needing the return of a commerce immensely profitable and mutually (sic) profitable give it importance in the ruin of our national interest."

many filibustering expeditions were organised, fully financed and equipped by the Southern planters in the USA and supported by the US Administration.

The most important of these filibustering actions were the ones conducted by General Norcisco Lopez under the guidance of US government. He conducted three attacks on Cuba, (1850-1851) found no cooperation from the common people, was arrested by the Spanish authorities in 1854 and garrotted to death. The next phase of US policy towards Cuba is known as "purchase policy."

When filibustering campaigns failed to achieve the objective and the "annexation movement" died down, the US policy came to have two features:

Two Features

Describing the ultimate fate of the Cuban Island, Adams continued to say:

"But there are laws of political as well as of physical gravitation; and if an apple severed by tempest from its native tree cannot choose but fall to the ground, Cuba forcibly disjoined from its own unnatural connections with Spain can gravitate only towards the North American Union, which by the same law of nature cannot cast her off from her bosom."

This was known as the "Ape fruit" policy of Quincy Adams depicting Cuba as the apple falling into the lap of the United States.

The operative clause of this policy was the annexation of Cuba by fostering an "annexation movement" among the slave-owning planters in Cuba, and the piratical attacks on the island from outside. The annexationist movement inside Cuba was inspired by the fears of the slave owners about the abolition of slavery by Spain under the pressure of abolitionist England.

In the USA, it was inspired by the tussle between the Northern and the Southern States, the latter wanting Cuba to be another slave state in the American Union. Also, the Southern slave planters were afraid of the impact the abolition of slavery would have on the United States.

Keeping in view these facts, and bearing on the annexation (to USA) sentiment in Cuba,

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO US GREED OVER CUBAN ISLAND

By LAJPAT RAI

This attempt at the purchase of Cuba also could not succeed for a host of reasons including a strong sentiment against it in Spain and the inter-European rivalries and the rivalry between England and USA.

The next phase of US Cuban relations begins with the Cuban-American-Spanish war of 1898, the defeat of Spain, the signing of US-Spanish treaty without Cuban representation, declaration of US protectorate over Cuba and finally the Platt Amendment to the declaration of Cuban freedom.

This is known as the phase of "US Imperialism" and "the Manifest Destiny" of the North American Nation, described by Reverend Josiah Strong, an American man of God in the following words:

"It seems to me that God with infinite wisdom and skill, is training the Anglo-Saxon race for an hour sure to come in the world's future... If I read not amiss, this powerful race will move down upon Mexico, down upon Central and South America, out upon the islands of the sea, over Africa and beyond. And can any one doubt that the result of this competition of races will be the survival of the fittest."

Manifest Destiny

Here was the line of 'Manifest Destiny' of the Anglo-Saxon race in the Americas and it was under this line that the future policy of US towards Latin America and Cuba was to shape itself.

In 1895, under the leadership of Jose Marti, Antonio Maceo, Manimo Gomez and other leaders, the final war of Cuban independence was declared. For three years hundreds of thousands of Cubans perished in this ferocious war against a tottering imperial power. In 1907, Jose Marti declared this to be war-undecared for the freedom of Cuba and declared that "we shall continue to fight even if we have to raise a tomb in every Cuban home."

At the time when Spain was on her last legs, on February 15, 1898, close on the heels of the sinking of the US Maine in the harbour of Havana, US government declared war against Spain. As a result of the peace treaty, USA obtained from Spain Philippines Islands, Guam, Puerto Rico and the right to occupy Cuba for an indefinite period.

Though the US Congress declared in the joint resolution of the two Houses that "the United States hereby disclaims disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction or control over the said island" by the Platt amendment to the same resolution it set the following conditions to be observed by Cuba before the US troops were withdrawn:

★ Cuba will never enter into any treaty or other contact with any foreign power;

★ That the said government will not assume or contract any public debt unless it can pay back and has the means to do so;

★ That the Government of the United States may exercise the right to intervene for the preservation of Cuban independence, the maintenance of a government adequate for the protection of life, property and individual liberty—etc.

Thus on the eve of the beginning of the 20th century Cuba once again found itself to be a colony—now of a mighty imperial power.

US Capital Inflow

From this time onwards, the US capital began to pour into the island in a steady stream and within two decades occupied all the commanding positions in the country's economy. According to a US Department of Commerce Document entitled "Investment in Cuba: Basic Information For US Businessmen" (1960):

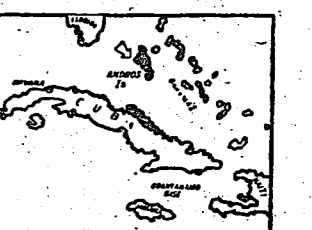
"The only foreign investments of importance (in Cuba) are those of the United States. American participation exceeds 90 per cent in the telephone and electric services, over 50 per cent in public service railways, 40 per cent in banking. Cuba ranked third in Latin America in the value of United States direct investments in 1953, outranked only by Venezuela and Brazil."

This economic domination gave the United States, a unique position in the political life of the country, a position which determined the entire course of Government of Cuba's policies in every field. Giving testimony before US Senate Sub-Committee, in August 1960 Earl E. T. Smith, the US Ambassador in Cuba till the Cuban-US diplomatic breakdown, made the following statement:

"Senator, let me explain to you that the United States, until the advent of Castro, was so overwhelmingly influential in international law.

Cuba that the American Ambassador was the second most important man in Cuba; sometimes even more important than the President. That is because of the reason of the position that the United States played in Cuba. Now today his importance is not very great."

It is not difficult, thus, from the above historical background to infer the real motivations and desperate actions of the United States government towards Cuba. Here is a former colony, for long a hunting ground of US Capital, which danced to the tune set by the US Ambassador, now challenging the masters.

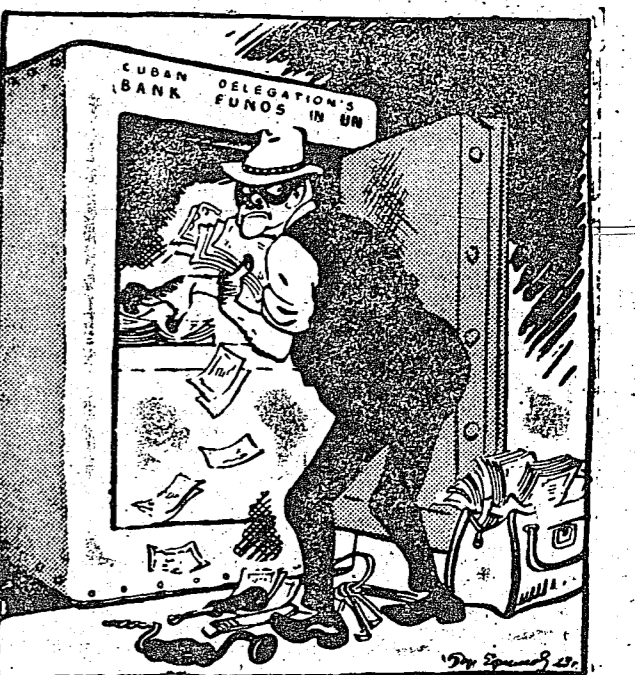


States government towards Cuba. Here is a former colony, for long a hunting ground of US Capital, which danced to the tune set by the US Ambassador, now challenging the masters.

Bitter Pill

Never has the US been able to reconcile with the fact that Cuba is a sovereign nation, that it is no more an appendage of the United States. Cuba looks at the economic and social ills that too on socialist lines. The United States looks at little Cuba as a challenge to its mighty influence and power in the western hemisphere.

The US government also has to take into account that Cuba is not alone. It is fully supported by the strength of the socialist world. It has also the moral support of peoples all over the globe. It has justice and fairplay on its side, as well as the tenets of international law.



LET TRUE ACCOUNT OF HISTORY BE RENDERED

*FROM PAGE 12

international Communist movement. In fact, the Chinese Party and all the 81 Parties had a common agreed ideological political platform in the 1960 Moscow Statement arising out of the world Conference.

It is quite permissible to charge the whole Party leadership or some members as being class collaborators and revisionists. If EMS, Jyoti Basu agree with Basavapunniah and they all agree with the Chinese leadership on this, the question can be argued in the Party ranks, in the Party Congress. It has been done before and it is being done now and will be done in future too.

OPEN ACTIVITY FOR SPLITTING

What is new is not the political criticism of revisionism. What is new is the open denunciation, open splitting activities. What is new is to call the whole Party a clique of spies and to put it in the press, in the radio and everywhere. What is new is to use British Intelligence Services of the Congress Government to denounce the Party leaders through American CIA agents and their press.

FRENCH PARTY'S FIRM STAND AGAINST SPLITTERS

The time has come for taking a collective and public stand by all Marxist-Leninist parties against the splitting activities of the Chinese leaders. This was stated by Waldeck Rochet in the Political Report of the Central Committee presented to the recently concluded Seventeenth Congress of the Communist Party of France.

WALDECK Rochet said that the CPF advocates as before the convocation of a consultative conference of brother parties at which the cardinal problems of our times are discussed and existing difficulties in the international movement overcome.

Participating in the Congress were 787 delegates. Fraternal delegates from 40 brother parties attended the Congress. The CPSU delegation was led by M. A. Suslov.

The Central Committee's Report titled "For Ensuring the Establishment of a True Democracy and Putting an End to Personal Power" formulated the paramount task of the Party and the working class as consolidation and promotion of unity in the struggle against the pernicious policies of the one-man rule.

Notwithstanding filthy slanders put in circulation by the Chinese leadership, the French Communist Party has been advancing from strength to strength. It has about 18,000 branches now. Over 50,000 new

What is new is the hatred, the bitterness, the filthy abuse and slander that is being put into service. What is new is that people like EMS and Jyoti Basu who talked of being centrists and "nonaligned" with the hardened sectarians go with them in such organisational methods and slanders. That is new.

All this new thing is a contribution of the Chinese Party. And because it comes from such a "revolutionary source", such a big Party and country, it has gripped many once sober and saner men also. Because it is now clothed in the new halo, Splitism and slander are made into a revolutionary theory, into an obligatory part of Leninism, and "pure" proletarian internationalism as newly defined by the Chinese leadership sanctifies splitism and enjoins it.

Hence the serious walk-outs, statements, slanders and splits in a new way, which was never there before on such a scale. Hence this question of letters is not personal but political. It is not local but international. All the well-known leaders of world Communist Parties are denounced as "agents of imperialism" in both personal and political meaning of the term.

I have taken too much time and space on this subject.

The sectarian splitters have threatened to write my biography to show that all that I have done to serve the working class, the country and the Party is fiction.

They have already said that I am such a bad man that once I had to be expelled from the Party. Well, we will not go into it here, until they write more about it. Then I will have to ask them, how those who "expelled" me themselves quarrelled and split the Party. The present-day splitters had their training from their "expert" leader of 1930 splits long ago.

I WILL NARRATE ALL THE FACTS

Then I will have to tell how, because of that, the whole Party was "suspended from

affiliation" by the Communist International until the split was healed as Muzaffar Ahmad himself has noted in his diary. If Basavapunniah and others want all that to be told, I am also ready. Their machiavellian methods of throwing about slanders mixed with half-truths and innuendos will not help.

I am prepared to have all my life, my actions, my services and my disservices discussed and judged by the Party. If they want it in the open before the public, as they have begun, it will be done that way. I will not hide my mistakes nor will I allow my accusers to hide their crimes. It is time that history is rendered its true account—if the splitters insist on doing it here and now.

I for myself am prepared to wait, in the interests of Party unity and the working class movement, which is so badly affected by our split. The reactionaries are taking delight in our quarrels. But if the splitters insist, what can the Party do? I am quite prepared to wait.

(May 18)

Chinese Leaders' Fascist Patrons

From KUNHANANDAN NAIR

BERLIN: The Bonn Government's "Office for the Protection of the Constitution", which in plain and simple language means the Federal Secret Police, decided at a recent conference of the officers of its Fourth Department (responsible for fighting and disrupting the West German Communist Party) to support the distribution of the Chinese material and publications. This has been revealed in a resolution adopted recently by the Central Committee of the illegal German Party.

IN the opinion of the conference of West German Political Police chiefs the Chinese publications of today are "particularly well-suited" to stir up confusion and trouble in the working class movement in West Germany.

The Central Committee revealed in its resolution that the secret police had given detailed instructions to all anti-Communist organisations in West Germany and West Berlin financed and maintained by the government to study in a classified way all the Chinese materials and use them in their day-to-day propaganda work.

These instructions clearly say that efforts should be made to approach Communist sympathisers, argue with them and show that communism is declining or that the Peking line is the correct one and get recruits for the Secret Service.

Political specialists of the Secret Service are classifying

held coming autumn to secure the consolidation of the unity and the cohesion of the world communist movement on the basis of the decisions of the Moscow Conferences of 1957 and 1960.

Amidst thunderous cheers Suslov noted that between the CPF and the CPSU there existed complete unanimity of views on all the main problems of the day, on questions facing the international Communist movement.

pared to half open polemics provided the other side is prepared to do so and abide by the verdict of the National Council.

And now, what did I do after my release in May 1927? The conference of 1925 had established formally the Communist Party. There was also the Workers and Peasants Party. In Bombay the Marathi weekly paper KRANTI had been started. The working class and trade union movement and the strike were going up. The Communist International had established new contacts with us.

I took my rightful place in all these developments and furthered the cause in company with my other comrades in the correct way. The big Kharagar railway strike, the great textile strikes of Bombay, the Simon Commission boycott, the rising tempo of the national struggle and our part in it belong to this new period. That story, till my arrest again in the Meerut Conspiracy Case in 1929, can be told when the time comes.

(May 18)

the CPSU. KPD backs the proposal to call a new conference of Communist and Workers Parties this autumn. Working people of GDR and progressive men in West Germany have furiously reacted to a report in Peking People's Daily on May 14 which gave wide publicity without any comment to the West German assertion that Federal German government has not promised to USA any military support in South Vietnam.

It is well known to German people that MacNamara has received secret assurance from the West German Government during his recent trip to Bonn before hopping to Saigon that USA can count on West German troops whenever needed in South Vietnam.

The Chinese never mention the fact of West German aid to South Vietnam. According to their "intermediate zone" theory, the Chinese are playing down systematically all criminal conspiracies of British, French, West German, Italian and South African imperialists with the intention of wooing them for "friendship".

West Germany which has forbidden publication of all Communist and progressive literature is now lavishly financing the spread of Chinese Party material. PEKING REVIEW, HSINHUA bulletin and special booklets attacking brother Parties coming from the Foreign Languages Publishing House in Peking are neatly displayed in West Berlin and West German book shops and newspaper kiosks. They are nominally priced a few pennings only, being largely subsidised by the Secret Service.

The KPD Central Committee has declared full approval to Suslov report and decisions of the February plenum of

*FROM BACK PAGE

the plant and another 3,000 in construction work, it is also one of the most vital factories for our industrial and economic advance. The success of this factory is the wish and aim of all sections of our people.

Yet in such a vital plant, untold repression has been launched on the workers. The plant, started production in 1960. Soon afterwards, the workers organised in a trade union—the Heavy Electricals Servants Trade Union (HES-TU) which represents and enjoys the support of nearly 90 per cent of the workers and has in its ranks workers of all shades of opinion.

One would have thought that the management would welcome the organisation of such a trade union, which is completely led by the employees themselves, and seek its cooperation for the success of the plant. However, the management, from the very beginning, under peculiar bureaucratic notions, started an offensive against the union.

Part of the offensive was the effort to foist on the workers a union which met with their approval but which the workers did not want. Unfortunately, the government helped all along in this game for its own political and factional ends.

Rights Denied

During the last one year, peculiar things have been

happening and efforts have been intensified to smash the HESTU and deny workers their most elementary and legitimate rights. In February 1963, the rival union was recognised and the management refused to negotiate on important demands like D.A., bonus, etc., with the really representative union of the workers. The workers' leaders were arrested and later released.

A deputation of the workers, along with S. M. Banerjee, M.P., and Homi Daji, M.P., met C. Subramaniam, the Minister in charge, at Delhi. But the Minister denied having met such a deputation and this denial was sought to cause confusion and demoralisation among the members and followers of the HESTU.

Lockout Imposed

When these tactics could not break the workers' unity, a lockout was declared, 29 leaders and workers were arrested under the DIR, 150 under the provisions of the criminal law. Over 100 have been suspended from their jobs. The witch-hunt went to the extent of arresting three workers in Delhi where they had come to meet the minister concerned.

In Bhopal, the factory and its environs are virtually an armed camp of the police. Section 144 has been imposed. No one can even express sympathy and soli-

Seven-Point Demand Of H.E.L. Workers

arity with the workers. In fact, a real reign of terror exists.

Dange demanded that normalcy must be restored in the HEL plant and the arrested workers released, cases withdrawn and reinstatement granted. Immediate steps should be taken to bring about a settlement on the following demands submitted on behalf of the workers:

1 Free Bhopal and Piplani township of the HEL from the Defence of India Rules and restore civil liberties to the citizens and workers there.

2 Stop all harassment of the workers inside the factory and the Piplani township, end the atmosphere of terror and restore normalcy.

3 Parliamentary probe into the working of the Heavy Electricals Ltd. and the gross mismanagement which has led to shortfalls in production targets and proposals for remedial measures, with workers' participation.

4 Revision of the D.A. of the employees of HEL, Bhopal, with provision for linking it with the consumer price index for Bhopal.

5 Revision of the proposed incentive scheme and its re-formulation in consultation with workers' representatives.

6 Recognition of the really representative union in Heavy Electricals Ltd., Bhopal, the majority following of the union to be determined by ballot among the workers; as an interim measure, pending settlement of the dispute over recognition of union, provision of suitable machinery for the redressal of grievances, to which all unions and workers should have direct access.

7 Immediate release of all detained and arrested workers and cancellation of warrants pending against others.

The working class in Delhi is already on the move to express their sympathy and solidarity for the workers of the HEL. Wall posters have appeared all over the city announcing Shakti All Khan's fast, and thousands of leaflets have been distributed. Several factory meetings have been planned for the next few days by the Delhi TUC. These meetings will be addressed by Shakti All Khan.

CUBAN EXHIBITION

*FROM PAGE 18

important aspect of the history of the Cuban Revolution happens to be missing from this first exhibition of its kind in India. Obviously the organisers themselves could not have left it out! Who made them do it and why? This is a vital question bearing on the whole anti-imperialist and non-aligned character of our foreign policy, and somebody must answer it.

The same gaps strike the eye when we come to the US-organised attack at Playa Giron of April 1961, which has some remarkable action photographs of Fidel Castro leading the defence at the Bay of Pigs. Still, the story of Playa Giron invasion is somehow left incomplete.

Whatever exposes the US imperialists' aggressive activities in relation to Cuba is somehow not there, and it is not explained how this vitally

There are excellent photographs of Cuban women, Cuban carnival and night life in the exhibition. Fidel Castro's visit to United Nations incidentally shows him paying homage at the monument to Lincoln. This perhaps is another reminder if one were necessary that Cuba has always wanted only peace and normal relations with the USA, which the latter insists on denying.

WEST BENGAL REBUFFS GOVERNMENT THREATS

*FROM FRONT PAGE

arrests of Communists, Socialists and other trade unionists in and around Calcutta.

"The government cannot itself hold the price line and hauls up the working people's leaders engaged in the righteous cause of organising a

peaceful hartal and strike to protest against the unbearable situation.

"We demand that the West Bengal government immediately order their unconditional release and sit down with them and other people's leaders in a round table conference and evolve a practical and just solution."

The AITUC statement condemning the arrests, says: "Instead of taking stock of its failings in holding the price line in the Jay Engineering Works, the West Bengal government has resorted to misuse of the DIR in an attempt to

silence the people's voice... "The AITUC demands the immediate release of all those arrested, effective steps to check prices and the settlement of the Jay workers strike. It assures the trade unions which have called for

the joint action, of its whole-hearted support, and appeals to all people to condemn the repression let loose by the West Bengal government. The AITUC call upon the government of India to immediately intervene in the situation."

KUUSINEN'S SPEECH

*FROM BACK PAGE

which have anything to do with socialist democracy.

The dictatorship of the personality of Mao Tse-tung presses upon the whole life of the working people of China. A halo of non-falsifiability is created round him and his cult is being boosted up. There is special ritual for the rare public appearances of Mao Tse-tung and his each utterance becomes a "great contribution to the treasure house of Marxism". Even his petty poems are made into historic events in the cultural life of China.

The Chinese leaders do not see, or don't want to see, that they have gone so far in their idolatry that they have not only left principles of Marxism-Leninism but also of elementary decency, he said.

In view of their persistence in polemics, their mean slander and the subversive activities of

the Chinese splitters, the CPSU will have to explain openly what an anti-Marxist petit bourgeois national position the Chinese leaders have taken, Kuusinen said in his last speech.

Tarsun Zade, chairman of the Soviet solidarity committee, said at this meeting: "We can say that there is not a single people fighting for freedom which did not receive our support when it asked for it."

He mentioned in detail the Soviet help given to newly independent and developing states. Credits to these countries had passed the three billion rouble mark, he said.

Tarsun Zade also ridiculed the Chinese claims that the Soviet Union was not an Asian power. The Algiers session of the Solidarity Council was a moral and political defeat for the Chinese splitters, he said. The Soviet Union resolutely opposed the policy of sowing discord within the solidarity movement and imposing ideological disputes on it.

It was a big mobilisation of the Soviet solidarity movement and it expressed the firm determination of the Soviet people

MAY 24, 1964

NEW AGE

PAGE SEVENTEEN

OTTO KUUSINEN PASSES AWAY

From MASOOD ALI KHAN

MOSCOW: May 19 was a sad day in Moscow. On that day the leaders of the Communist party and Soviet government and the people of Moscow bade farewell to Otto Kuusinen, an unflinching fighter of the old Leninist guard, a pupil and comrade-in-arms of Lenin, a profound scholar and Marxist theoretician and an old experienced leader of the international Communist movement.

OTTO Kuusinen's ashes were deposited in the Kremlin Wall on the Red Square on May 19 as the whole of the Soviet Union mourned the passing away of this staunch Communist and a trusted comrade. Kuusinen was 82 and to his last day remained true to the cause of the international proletariat to which he devoted more than 60 years of his conscious life and work.

He was a founder of the Communist Party of Finland. He took part in the first, third and all the subsequent congresses of the Comintern, and as a member of the presidium and the executive committee of the Communist International consistently pursued the Leninist line for the unity of the Communists of all lands. Otto Kuusinen was elected to the central committee of the CPSU in 1941 and remained its member till his death. In 1957 he was elected to the presidium of the central committee and appointed its secretary.

"In the course of the past decade", PRAVDA said in an article, "Otto Kuusinen should shoulder with other leaders of the Party staunchly fought for the restoration and promotion of the Leninist norms in the life of the state and the Party, for the Leninist line in the policy of the CPSU."

PRAVDA also published a speech by the late Otto Kuusinen which he had delivered at the plenum of the central committee

of the CPSU last February in spite of his being seriously ill. This became the last public pronouncement of the veteran revolutionary. In this speech Kuusinen gave a detailed analysis of the nature of the present day dictatorship in China and defended Marxist-Leninist positions.

Chinese Confusion

The Chinese leaders themselves, Kuusinen said, gave a deliberately confused characterisation of their dictatorship. They called it a dictatorship of the people and by the "people." By "people" they meant the working class, peasantry, petit-bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie. The term dictatorship of the people has nothing to do with Marxism-Leninism and reminded one of petit bourgeois revolutionary phraseology, he said.

The question as to who exercises this dictatorship was answered by Mao Tse-tung thus: "The working class and the people led by it, all people who have civil rights and are rallied by the working class, the peasantry in the first place, exercise the dictatorship in relations to the reactionary classes."

Kuusinen said that the overwhelming majority of the national bourgeoisie has not been disfranchised in China and has civil rights. Therefore it seems that it, along with the workers and peasants, exercises dictatorship in the country. This opportunist idea means that after capturing power the working class cannot exercise

dictatorship by itself and must share it with the national bourgeoisie.

Why are the Chinese ultra-revolutionaries so considerate about the rights of the national bourgeoisie, Kuusinen asked. Perhaps they want to play with the bourgeois nationalists in other lands and particularly with the Chinese nationalists in different parts of Asia and Africa. In the system of dictatorship invented by us, you shall get a worthy place, they say.

In reality, the Chinese working class does not occupy that place in the system of state power which is given to it according to Marxism-Leninism, Kuusinen said. The policy of the Chinese leaders towards the city proletariat is that of distrust and hostility. They demand blind obedience from the working class and consider the peasantry to be their main support and political hope.

Although much nonsense is talked about the role of the working class in the Chinese dictatorship, what it is concretely, is not explained. Facts show that the Chinese working class now has fallen into a disastrous condition where it has no rights.

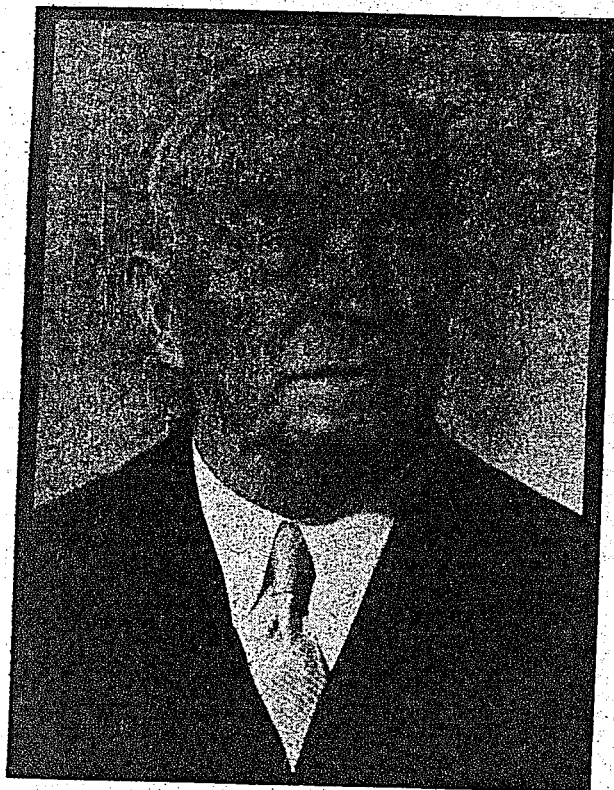
No Rights For Workers

And the policies followed by the Chinese leaders in other fields also show that they cannot be considered as expressing the will of the working class.

In fact there is no dictatorship of the people in China now, no dictatorship of the proletariat, no leading position of the proletariat, no vanguard role of the Communist Party. The entire pseudomarkist phraseology of the Chinese leaders is nothing but a camouflage to mask the dictatorship which actually exists there. This is a dictatorship of the leaders, or, to be more precise, a dictatorship of a personality", Kuusinen said.

He pointed out that the Chinese leaders attack those measures of the CPSU with special ferocity

* ON PAGE 17



CPI's Condolences

The Central Secretariat of the Communist Party of India, in a message to the Central Committee of the CPSU, says:

WITH deep sorrow, the National Council of the Communist Party of India heard about the sad demise of Comrade Otto Kuusinen, member of the Presidium and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, veteran Bolshevik of the Leninist guard and outstanding leader of the international Communist movement.

On behalf of our entire Party, we send our heartfelt condolences to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on the irreparable loss sustained by them and by the entire in-

ternational Communist and working class movement.

Communists in India gratefully remember him for his numerous writings on the question of policy, of strategy and tactics of the international Communist movement and especially for his work on the revolutionary movement in the colonies and semi-colonies.

His long and devoted life of struggle for the cause of socialist revolution in the Soviet Union and in Finland and in the construction of socialism and Communism in the Soviet Union, his steadfast fight for the unity and ideological clarity in the world Communist movement will ever remain a shining example for all of us.

Please convey our deeply felt condolences to his bereaved family and friends.

Protest Against H. E. L. Mismanagement

Shakir Ali To Begin Hunger-Strike Before Parliament On May 25

By OUR STAFF CORRESPONDENT

NEW DELHI: Shakir Ali Khan, MLA and president of the Madhya Pradesh unit of the All India Trade Union Congress will begin an indefinite fast before Parliament House on May 25 to demand an end to the repression let loose against the workers of the Heavy Electricals Limited Bhopal.

ORIGINALLY, Shakir Ali Khan was to commence his fast at Bhopal itself but changed the venue on the advice of S. A. Dange, general secretary of the AITUC, as the Lok Sabha is the ultimate authority over the public sector enterprises and is also the seat of democratic rule.

In an appeal to the workers of Delhi to extend their

support to the workers of the HEL and express solidarity with their cause, Dange has traced the history of the HEL dispute. The appeal said:

The Heavy Electricals India Ltd., Bhopal, is not only one of the biggest public sector enterprises, employing nearly 15,000 workers in

* ON PAGE 17

Dr. A. V. Baliga

NEW AGE mourns the sad demise of Dr. A. V. Baliga, a stalwart, well-known for his many-sided activity in the service of the people.

He has been one of the leading figures in the Indo-Soviet Cultural Society, in the All-India Peace Council and many other organisations. He was closely connected with many progressive and democratic activities. A top-ranking surgeon, Dr. Baliga was held in high esteem for his professional acumen. As a public man, he had endeared himself to all who came in contact with him.

The Central Secretariat of the CPI in a letter to the bereaved family has

conveyed its heartfelt condolences. The secretariat of the AITUC has issued a statement mourning his death. Many other organisations and well-known personalities have also expressed their deep grief for Dr. Baliga's death.

