

The Ashes have still not all found their final res ting place. But the jackals have begun to howl already. The mourning masks are off, their crocodile tears are dried, and the arch-priests of Right Re-action are back on their tubs thumping for all they are worth for a reversal of the basic policies with which the name of Jawaharlal Nehru was so closely associated.

WATANTRA'S oracle C. Rajagopalachari minces no words in his latest outpour-ings in his own SWARAJYA. Pronouncing himself on the million-dollars question "After Nehru, What?", Rajaji says:

"The greatest danger now would be the failure of the new government to realise the need for a change of policy, in spite of admira-tion and worship paid to the memory of the late Prime Minister."

Rajaji said that plans and policies adopted under Nehru's lead must be greatly altered, "if we wish to save the country from much misfortune".

There is no need to underline the direction in which Rajaji and the Swatantra reactionaries wish to change national policies. They seek a complete reversal of all the an overall positive policies, a shift to the Right.

If Rajaji's was just an iso-lated aberration, one might dismiss it as cantankerous dismiss it as cantankerous wailing arising from senility. But make no mistake: what Rajaji says openly, the rest of the gang is echoing on the quiet.

As the days go by, the hangers-on of imperialism and the monopolists will not stop at merely calling for a reversal of policies. They will begin to take a hand in the sabotage them selves. And what will be even more reprehensible, they will not hesitate to attack and vilify the helms man who has now crossed the ocean of life.

### GLIMPSES OF SABOTAGE

Glimpses of the kind of sa-botage in which the enemies of botage in which the enemies of our nation may indulge have, already been had. The story of the pro-imperialist bias in the news film made on behalf of the Government of India of the last journey of the late Prime Minister. is now wellknown.

So despicable was this bias nat Afro-Asian diplomats that had to voice their protest at the fact that the participation of their representatives in the funeral was practically black-ed out, while several feet were devoted to the US and British representatives.

One need hardly add that the high-level Soviet delega-

tion which attended the fune. ral was also treated in the same cavalier fashion.

It is good to know that It is good to know that the film is being revised to remove the bias which the first version undoubtedly had. But the question people are asking is this: How did it happen that such dange-rous pre-indices were allowed to have their way? It is in-deed ironical that a film meant to honour Nehru really violated the policy eally violated the policy for which he stood.

The story underlines the fact that pro-imperialist, Right reaction has spread its fact tentacles far and wide, and seeks to use all positions of vantage which it holds, to sabotage our basic policies.

### DENIGRATING NEHRU

Add to this the strong rumour that someone in authority in the All-India Radio instructed the staff concerned not to emphasise too strongly in their program-mes of tributes to Nehru re-ferences to two "dangerous" words: nonalignment and socialism.

The line of denigrating Nehru has been pursued ra-ther subily in the US and British press, and is bound to be followed soon in our own country by the pro-imperia-list conceptors list gangsters.

The TIME magazine, which is an organ of American im-perialist propaganda, has taken first place in this filthy game. In its June 5 issue, TIME dares at this moment of grief to remember Nehru in his younger days as one who "dabbled in a gentlemanly way with revolutionary ideas": who "saw himself as Byron in Greece or Garibaldi unifying Italy".

Not satisfied with that TIME poured scorn at what it called "Nehru's moralizing neutrality"; it criticised ing neutrality"; it criticised him sharply for the action to liberate Goa. (This is the recurring theme in the en-tire imperialist press, and it would be amusing, if it were not so vicious, to see the perpetrators of the the perpetrators of the worst violence of colonialism and neocolonialism speak in hushed voices of the sanctity of 'nonviolence' destroyed by the Indian march into Goa!). army's

The famous jurist and MP. N. C. Chatterjee has done well to draw public attention · N to TIME's outrageous writings. But the truth is that TIME is only the worst of a very bad lot. More, these outpourings are intended to give the "line" to the pro-imperialist forces inside the country to launch an offensive against Nehru's policies by distorting the sage of Nehru as much as they can.

### Editorial Article

The Right inside the Congress has also began to yelp. The flasco of Morarji Desai's bid for power, first to be the Prime Minister and then to be Number Two in the Cabinet has created a furore among the most reactionary figures in Parliament.

first comments on the new cabinet by these spokesmen of Right reaction moan that the new government would have been better if it had been more broadbased" (Raghunath Singh) and that "the Congress Party in Par-liament is capable of furnishing better ability and talent' (K. Hanumanthayya).

All these frostrated gentlemen had hoped to push into the cabinet more Rightists and are not satisfied with the entry of only one S. K. Patil. In the coming days these Right Cong-ress bosses will act more strongly than ever before in a bid for a greater share of ministerial posts and for weakening the edge of the positive policies pursued till

Rajaji, TIME, Morarji, the

little men who make bad and false documentaries, the white-capped but Swatantra-hearted MPs-they and all like them can vomit all the poison that fills them. They can never succeed in their conspiracies, if the Indian people remain on guard aga-inst Right reaction.

Even when Jawaharlal Nehru was alive, the vigilance of the people was a vital necessity to hold back the forces of Right reaction. With Nehru no longer at the helm, there is need for a hundred times greater vigilance.

Let each son and daughter of our soil stand always on guard over the cherished basic policies of this country, against the attacks being made on these policies today by the enemies of the nation.

They Shall Not Die

Their statements during their trial will go down in history as unparalleled hymns to the cause of liberty.

The battle to save the lives of

the South African heroes must be waged by all sections of Indian democratic opinion. Already the

democratic opinion. A neady inte Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity and the All-India Peace Council have sent cables demand-ing the cancellation of the death. sentences and the release of Mandela, Sisulu and all the other

In the Security Council debate on South Africa, India's represen-tative, Minister of State Lakshmi Menon has spoken up strongly against the brutality of the Ver-

Rivonia trial prisoners.

woerd regime.

RELEASE

THEM

The hearts of millions of anti-imperialists in all lands stand still today, as news pours in that the hated racialist regime in South Africa has decided to sentence to death the finest fighters for freedom, standing trial in the Pretoria court.

C OMPLETE details are not to the love and respect of millions hand as we go to press. not only in Africa but in all con-tinents by their heroic struggle, nounced by the 'judge' on Friday. But already from all corners of • hand as we go to press. The formal sentence is to be pro-nounced by the judge on Friday. But already from all corners of the globe the cry goes up: people.

THEY SHALL NOT DIE!

Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and their comrades have earned



WALTER SISULU

knees, to bring to and end the hated apartheid system, Lak-shmi Menon has drawn pointed attention to the fact that the US and British gooernments continue to trade with South Africa and provide the racialists with arms and resources for their war on the fighting people of that country. of that country.

The campaign for the cancella-ion of the death sentences and the release of our South African comrades must go hand in hand with resolute action to put pres-sure on the uperialist powers to stop their criminal aid rendered to the Verwoord gang.

Mandela, Sisulu and their fellow fighters must not be allowed to be murdered by the cannibalistic rulers of South Africa.

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NELSON MANDELA





being kith and kin to other brands of monopolists, was a rush of sympathetic chorus from the mother nopoly joint stock family when disaster threatened to them last week

form of Union Finance ister T. T. Krishnam-Minister achari's announcement in the Tok Sabha that he found no way out but to enforce rigo-rous state trading in foodgrains and rigorous control over the retail trade to check the rising prices.

All the mouthpieces of monopoly interests ran editorials on the resolve of the government, Some were openly against the proposal to introduce state trading; some others felt that state trading alone would not be enough; yet others suggest-ed what kind of state trading should be introduced. But none of them anneared to accept state trading in the form as it is generally understood.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES was not prepared to accept the Finance Minister's proment that there was no alternative to state trading. Said the paper on June 6: There can be no quarrel that effective steps should be taken to meet rising prices, "but in thinking that there is no alternative to state trading and detailed control over retail distribution he has allowed his desperation over the situation to get the better of his judgment.

The paper was full of regrets: had the government just given "an honest trial" to "the many alternatives that have bee continuously discussed and fitfully imp ent\_ ed in the last 18 months"!

### Whu Not **Other Steps?**

It mentioned among these alternatives the decision to start fair price shops and encourage consumer coopera-tives. "It is worthwhile enquiring whether these policies have been pursued with any degree of enthusiasm by the states and, if they have not been; the reason why,"

The HINDUSTAN TIMES was not sure it could persuade TTK to see reason as shown by it; all hopes were therefore pinned on the chief ministers: "It is cer-tainly a good idea to ascertain the views of the chief ministers and it is devoutly to be hoped that the chief ministers will give uninhibited expression to their ideas (meaning, oppose) on the proposed state trading."

It was also full of apprehensions of what state trading would mean. "The cost of the trading vast bureaucratic machinery that will have to be erected

PAGE TWO

THE disaster was in the will necessarily have to be procuren passed on to the consumer." All talk about middleman's profit is "unverified". influence prices?

And it concluded: "Apart from cost, the immense possibilities of bureaucratic corruption and bungling and the extensive black market operations that controls will inevitably give rise to will daunt even the most intrepid?

THE TIMES OF INDIA (June 8) had another line to plug in. It admitted that "in fact if the present trend is al-lowed to continue for some time more, then government will have no choice but to refood rationi which it has fought shy so long".

### "Foolhardy Experiment"

Though it was prepared to accept some sort of state trading, it was not for the government to go in for the "kind of foolhardy experi-ment" tried in Uttar Pra-desh (where it sought to impose a compulsory levy), but would rather have the Puniab example where the government entered the market just like any other wholesaler.

"The effectiveness of state trading as a stabilising factor on food prices will depend to a large extent on the government's ability to place itself in a strategic position from where it can control the market without dislocating the normal channels of trade

The paper added that "it is a truism that in the end a steady increase in the output of food alone can keep prices in check". But till that is achieved, some controls to en-sure equitable distribution of such food supplies as are available should be introduced.

"As the inflationary pressures on the economy are bound to continue for a long time to come, the price situa-tion cannot be brought under control by half-measures", it declared and demanded that the Dhebar committee recommendations be implemented.

Finally it gave a warning that it would be a mistake if the government thought that "bureaucratic controls by themselves provide an answer to the challenge they face". They can be effective only if they have the backing of an alert public opinion. And for this, the paper wanted the government to seek the cooperation of all parties THE HINDU under the cap-

entions with sales and pur operations with sales and pur-chases being made to correct aberrations of the market-

It was also vary of compulsory reduction in prices: "Any at-tempt, however, to force prices arbitrarily down will only drive supplies into the black market, hurting, rather than helping the Still in Office?

The preoccupation with the ideological connotations of state

the same day, also

No Tradina

**But Farming** 

The Finance Minister's an-

The high prices are the "direct consequence" of the

ng process.

thought" to the paper.



How far has it added to the bottlenecks in the free flow of foodgrains and thereby contributed to local shortages and sharp increa prices in those areas?

"What has been the net result so far of the nation-

wide control over the whole.

sale trade in foodgrains in-

troduced earlier this year?

"How effective have state governments been in their rocurement operations? If hey have not been able to reach their targets, is the failure due to inefficiency of administrative maching or to the opposition of the producers to sell stocks to the government at the price fixed?"

Not satisfied with insisting that all these be answered before taking on state trading in foodgrains, the paper said that rise in foodgrains prices was related to prices of many other commodities, production in other sectors and the sluggish growth in the national income

And so, "in dealing with the problem of soaring pri-ces, the new cabinet will ces, the new cabinet, will have to consider the entire state of the economy and devise corrective measures over a much wider field than the trade in foodgrains."

### «Vague Prescription "

To THE STATESMAN the Finance Minister's announcement provided "welcome acknowledg-ment of New Delhi's awareness of the crisis, but not more than that."

than that." The paper's leader on June 6 said: "Rigorous' state trading is a vague prescription, made more so by the fact that only a few days ago Sardar Swaran Singh rejected the idea of detailed controls over foodgrains as im-practicable."

"Selective controls" was the prescription which the paper had to offer, because it was "both feasible and necessary" And the "selective control" which it had in mind "may take the form of buffer stock





but use it as best as possible to Sinha. tion "Lid on Prices" had a fulfil the duty it owes to the full for deem it fit to disclose which were the two items which needed further enquiries. It is and the trade", not any take also regrettable that he declined to tell what the government pro-situation that has arisen in the country? Or can we com-bine a programme of limited procurement with strategic use of PL 480 foodgrains to influence a prices? "Given this approach, state

Prime Minister for having dis-closed the matter in the Rajya Sabha! If Shastri had any sense of propriety he should have advised the Deputy Minister to resign immediately. Congratulations to NEW ACE.

ideological connotations of state trading was seen in THE INDIAN EXPRESS editorial on for having exposed the suspi-cious dealings of the Deputy Minister and her relatives in its issue dated February 16. Before also, NEW AGE had drawn attention to the glamour the Union Council of Mi girl of New Delhi M. S. SUBESH

### The Finance Minister's an-nouncement would not be view-ed with enthusiasm by those who attach greater importance to economic progress than to the ruling party's ideological pur-suits', was its comment. Flouting The Will

AWAHARLAL Nehru's will whathathath, Nemru's win was broadcast by the All India Radio, and given extensive publicity by the newspapers. It showed Nehru The Man, to his hilt—his intensive devoton to India and her people, his yearn-ing to raise them from the shackles of organised religion ing to raise them from the shackles of organised religion,

attect consequence of the government's mismanagement of the farm policy. "In the midst of so much talk of social-ism, the Congress Party has never given serious thought to state farming on a large scale" it declared. state farming on a large state farming on a large it declared. It was intriguing to note that the paper should champion the cause of the state taking to ing to oppose the state taking to to trading in farm products. May d be, it wanted the traders to profit out of what the state pro-ta duced! the paper was pre-ta duced in this will were not carried out by the friends and relatives he left behind. He had expressed in this will were not carried out by the friends and relatives he left behind. He had expressel forbidden that no religious rites should he per-formed for him after his death. But the moment he died, the saferon-robed vultures tooks over the body, and the socalled "orphans" whom he left behind Anyhow, the paper was pre-pared to admit that increase in "orphans" whom he farm production, which is "the became accessories to solution" to the problem, is a defilement.

solution" to the problem, is a long-term measure and therefore "it is natural for the government to think in terms of immediate remedies". From this point of view, it was prepared to con-done state trading, provided it was assured that "this was a short-term measure." Nehru had said that his ashes should be scattered over the fields of India after throwing some into the river Ganges, not because of its religious associa-tion, but because it represented India: The successors, have had to carry the ashes to all the states and immerse in all the rivers, the rivers chomselves cho All the same, the difficulties: forget to point the difficulties: Even if no importance is atta-ched to the problem of un-employment among index rivers, the rivers themselves cho-sen for their socalled religious associations.

Second and these, one is tempted to ask: If they are not pre-pared even to carry out the express wishes "contined in his will, will the "inheritors" carry oloyment among traders, recruiting several thousand peo-ple and "finding accommo-dation for them is a time-conout any of Nehru's policies and ideals?

Also, that the cost of procure-ment and distribution will be so heavy that the Union government would have to subsidise it hea-vily was "hardly a cheering though?" to the new Particular care has been taken to publish only extracts from the will. Will they be kind enough to publish the whole of Nehru's

-PARAKAL Madras G. NARASIMHAN JUNE 14, 1964



Jay Engineering Workers' Union on the historic 165-day strike of Jay workers. In mary respects, the strike ha been of immense importance to the working class move-ment in our country. Indrajit Gupta, who has been very closely associated with this struggle, has analysed the lessons of this strike in this article, the concluding part of which will be published nexxt week-Editor.

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The 165-day old strike of 7,000 workers of the Jay Engineering Works, Calcutta, which began on Decem-ber 17 last year and ended on May 30 this year contains many interesting features and lessons from which the union movement of today can profit, and raises trade many questions of tactics and organisation in a new form. However, all of these cannot be treated in this article

little background is neces- lary industries grew up in the A sary in order to assimi-hate the experiences of this to the main works. The remarkable struggle, which union's prestige and influence was the only strike so far to been declared twice have "illegal"-once under the Industrial Disputes Act and again under the Defence of India Rules.

The men involved in the strike were the workers of two factories one manufacturing sewing machines, the other electric fans, both of the famous Usha brand—and of the sales offices and branches (i.e. shops) in the Calcutta region.

The company is a leading unit of the Shri Ram indus-tries' organisation. It is the single largest manufacturer of sewing machines and fans in Asia. By any criterion of assets or returns on capital, it. would figure among the top 50 giants among Indian concerns. Its record of profits, producti-vity per man hour, and export earnings during rec years is second to none. The great majority of shares are held by a narrow group of directors and their relatives.

The company has earned a reputation in West Bengal for aying relatively high emoluments to its workers. He wever little scrutiny of the facts would reveal that the non-variable components of the workers' emoluments, viz: basic wages and DA, are no higher than anywhere else. The relatively high earn have been due in the past to two variable items in the pay-packet: a productin bonus, in lieu of which the worker has continually raised his own norms of output to a level now comparable, on the management's own admission to norms in sewing machine units in Switzerland, Italy, Hungary and other countries; and a profit sharing bonus, whose quantum is naturally a reflection of the company's own profits.

### Peace For Ten Years

The Jay Engineering Work-ers' Union, affiliated to ATTUC; was formed in 1942 and recognised by the management in 1953. Between 1953 and 1963 no major stoppage of work took place.

All attempts to form a rival union failed. Bipartite rela-tions between the management and union were ished. A long-term collective agreement was conclu-ded in 1956. The concern went on expanding in output and lay-out, in the number of workers employed and new equipment installed, A huge equipm network of smallscale ancil-

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uninterrupted expansio on and boom conditions began to sag. Not that any depression or olute decline has even remotely set in. But competition has been sharpening. In the domestic market, there is the slow but steady growth of relatively smallscale units in the Punjab, and the new antinational concession given under TTK's dispensation to a South Indian firm to enter into collaboration with the U.S. giant Singer's for manufacture of sewing machine components—the thin end of

the wedge.

union's prestige and influence remained unchallenged. In 1963, the entire staff of the

Gradually, however, certain

inevitable pressures of capi-talist economy began to make

themselves felt. The period of

sales department joined it.

Management

**Changes** Policy

In the export market of South East Asia, Africa and the Middle East, the competitive challenge of Japa-nese and European industry has grown and the market for Usha sewing machines is in danger. The bosses of Jay have been desparately trying their hand at new ventures—export of capital to Ceylon for setting up a factory there: export of factory there; export of technical know-how to Thailand for a price; and the establishment of a new unit (Factory No. 3) at Hyderabad for the exclusive manufacture of export

Coinciding with these developments came the death in 1962 of Lala Shri Ram, the founder and head of his group of concerns. He had been a relatively benevolent type of autocrat with paternalistic. ideas about labour. but left the local management a more or less free hand in its day to day dealings with the union. was succeeded, as chairman of Jay Engineering, his son, Lala Charat Ra by This young man is no less an autocrat than his father, but lacks the latter's maturity, hesides suffering from arr gant ambitions and so called "modern" concepts of manarement which make him unduly introlerant of his father's practices and wordly common sense. Moreover, his political ideology smacks of Swatantraism, and the existence of a

strong "Communist" union in his concern is like a red rag to a bull. By degrees, during the course of 1963, it became clear



towards labour was undergo-ing a shift. This was, of course, a natural outcome of ncreasing capitalist difficulties of the market and the consequential attempt to solve them, first and foremost, a the workers' expense. It came the undeclared tough" policy to reject all unfulfilled demands of labour, gradually to erode many ex isting facilities and benefits, and to prepare the ground for terminating the 1956 collective agreement

The demand for introduction of a retiring gratuity scheme has been pending for years. It was turned down again. The sales staff, numbering seven to eight hundred. get no DA at all and are left completely at the mercy of the ascending price spiral. Their claim to a system of DA was not only stubbornly refused; the state labour department would not even refer it, to adjudication and sat mum for nine months. Clauses in 1956 agreement guaranteeing the average total earnings of a worker under a metonces except a few began to be unilaterally terpreted by the management in individual cases.

### Workers' Interests Under Fire

Sensing instinctively the allround stiffening attitude of the company, the workers too, began to organise protest and resistance in various forms. Tension grew. number of departmenta "incidents" took place. The management threatened cancel recognition of the union and actually did can. cel it but later withdrew this decisio

The Puja holidays were approaching and it was payment time for the annual profitsharing bonus. By debiting from the 1962-63 gross profits the entire sum of rupees leven lakhs which the company had been ordered by the Supreme Court to pay on ac count of arrears of its provi-dent fund contribution for the nast three years, the company so prepared its accounts that workers' normally anticipated share, by way of bonus, was drastically reduced. All attempts to make the management see reason and all suggestions by the union for an ad hoc adjustment which would leave the normal quantum of bonus unaffected pending post-puja settlement or arbitration

A 24-hour stay-in-strik was carried out as protest. The workers unanimously boycotted the reduced bonus offered to them and refused to accept payment. Their indignation knew no bounds. They and their families had to observe the Puja festival without their customary bonus in their pockets.

Relations continued to deteriorate: A special convention of the union decided to serve

NEW AGE

Collection of a strike fund and enrolment of volunteers com menced. The management, apnarently complacent, thought the union was bluffing and would not resort to the final step. It sat tight. So did the

Only at the eleventh hour. when it became evident to them that the workers meant husiness a pretence

strike notice on the basis of a proverbal for the inactivision 22-point charter of demands. or connivance.

**By INDRAJIT GUPTA** 

When one recalls how the workers of Batanagar fell prey to communal frenzy, the class solidarity and discipine exhibited by the Jay workers stands out in shining contrast. Hundreds of union volunteers sentinels, of peace herome maintained ceaseless vigil aga inst provocateurs, sheltered and protected the Muslim and their famiworkers

### TRADE UNIONS JOIN HANDS "DEDICATION PROCESSION" ON JUNE 27

At a meeting held on June 2, representatives of the Delhi state units of the AITUC, INTUC, HMS and UTUC, decided to organise a joint mass procession of workers and employees on June 27, in order to pledge and dedicate the working people's faith in socialism, secularism, national integration, peace, democracy and non-alignment in memory of their beloved leader. Jawaharlal Nehru.

A MONG those who at-tended the meeting were B. D. Joshi, A. C. Nanda, Y. D. Sharma, N N. Manna (ATTUC), S. C Mullick (HMS), Ajit Das Gupta (UTUC) and Mit Jushtag Ahmad (INTUC)

Mir Mushtaq Ahmad was appointed as the convenor and it was convenor and decided to seek the cooperation of all other trade unions, including

since of the notice. Government came to the rescue of the company by arbitrarily referring only six out of the twenty two demands to a tribunal, and declaring any strike thereafter as illega under the Industrial Disputes Act.

But it was by then too late The workers were in no mood for indefinite postponement of settlement of their demands. The strike commenced from December 17 and was immediately hundred per cent

What were some of the outstanding features of this strike which continued for five mon-ths and twelve days?

Within three weeks of its commencement, it had to face and survive the horrors mmunal disturbances and riots of January and their aftermath. This was a severe test for the unity and morale of the strikers. Among their ranks were quite a few mem-Among their bers of the minority community, while a very big chunk is constituted by Hindus of East Bengal origin. Provocation from local hooligans was intense, the police had be

those of the Central Government employees to make the Dedication Procession on June 27 grand success.

The meeting welcomed the move for forming a national committee to erect a suitable memoria to Jawaharlal Nehru, and appealed to the working people of the capital to respond enthusiastically to its call.

of conciliation by the labour lies and fell victims commissioner was hurrielly police vindictiveness under made though more than cover of the general round-fourteen days had elapsed up of so-called "antf-social" elements The common intersts of the struggle itself acted as the greatest unifier of the class against communal disruntion

### Workers'

### Tenacity

Very few expected that the Jay Workers would be able to stand the economic strain of such a prolonged strike. The management and the government, in particular, gambled from the first day to the last on their pet theory that under the conditions of high cost of living the workers could not oly last out and wor crack under the strain of starvation. Were not most of them from from the educated, middle class section, accus-tomed to relatively high earnings and a "bhadralok" standard of living? Were not the majority of them perhaps participating in their first strike with naive illusions of a short, swift struggle?

But the grim tenacity and militancy of the workers

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# LAOS: TEST OF NEUTBALITY

In his first statements after being elected leader of has been no occasion for the Congress Party in Parliament, Lal Bahadur Shas-tri rightly stressed the significance of the develop-ment to meet Mr. Desai or ments in Laos, and the necessity for India to act with speed and care to prevent a deterioration in the situa-

T is known that the Prime Minister has been devoting considerable attention to problem, and the news that India has decided to give its support to the Polish proposal for a six-nation meeting, preliminary to a full-fledged second Geneva Conference, is an indication that we are, by and large, nursuing the correct policies in conformity with our adher-ence to peaceful coexistence and nonalignment.

But it must at the same time be stated quite frankly that certain other steps taken in regard to Laos by the Government of India are dangerous to peace in area and also violations of our nonaligned policy. First of all, it is totally in-

explicable why it was neces-sary for the Ministry of External Affairs to agree so quickly to the request made by Prince Souvanna Phouma for a medi-cal team to tend his soldiers. To questions asked in Parlia ment, government spokesmen pleaded that after all the medical team was sent purely for humanitarian purposes and would not bear arms.

All this is true insofar as doctors do tend the wounded and do not in such circums-tances fight. Nevertheless the fact remains that India is the Chairman of the Supervisory Commission in Laos and is required more than ever for this reason, to be strictly neutral in Laos. At a time when fighting is on among the different sections in Laos, it is abso-lutely impermissible for India to send any sort of assistance, albeit humanitarian, to one side in its fight against the other.

As if this were not enough, the Government of India decided that its Ambassador should participate in the purely imperialist-sponsored six-nation talks in Vientiane, together with the USA Britain, Canada, South Vietnam and Thailand.

How in heaven's name does it improve India's image to be found in this "exclusive" company? How is it consistent with non-alignment? And above all, how does such narticipation in an obviously imperialist-cooked plot help. India to play a more effective role peace in Laos?

for peace in Laos? It is freely rumoured that India agreed to participate in this imperialist "family" gathering on the insistence of Dean Rusk and Mountbatten, who lobbled the powers-thatbe, when they were in New Delhi for Nehru's funeral. Whatever may be the truth of this rumour, it is quite obvious that it is necessary exercise greater caution against the activities of the imperialist lobby in the capital. The

sooner the Indian medical mission in Laos is withdrawn, the better for India. One can almost see again the disastrous shades of the ill-fated medical missio sent long ago to Korea to

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work with the UN (US2) ago in the early years of independence, and we had not developed a firm nonalign-ment policy at that time.

Government must also stop participating in the Anglo-American "talks" in Vientiane, and throw its weight fully behind the proposals being put forward by Poland, the Soviet Union and other countries for the early convening of another Geneva Confer-ence, which can take steps to halt the imperialist interference in Laos, and ensure that Geneva agreements are not violated again. as they have been, under US dictates, in recent months,

The first weeks of the new Prime Minister's directio the foreign policy of the country must see new initiatives on Laos, and an end to the mistakes we seem to have made in the recent past.

### Congress Left And Morarji

D. MALAVIYA has done well to issue a statement clarifying his position in regard to the rumours of a deal between the Congress Left and Morarji Desai. Malaviya has categorically denied that he had made any kind

talk to him on any subject connected with Congress politics or our policies"

This ought to scotch the campaign being run against the Left on this count. It cannot however be denied that there was considerable confusion among the Left Congressmen, following of Jawaharlal Nehru. There was a total inability the part of some of them to rise to the occasion and take steps to unite all the anti-Right forces within the Cong-

molies **Meek** By Romesh Chandra

This was perhaps due to the

fact that they were over-whelmed by the disaster, which had overtaken the nation. It was this confusion, this failure to act decisively and, it again must be admitt-ed, their own disunity, which allowed the Right to the Left so successfully during

this period. If the Left Congress can learn the lesson of these fateful days, unite their ranks more closely and also take steps to bring together all the anti-Right forces in the Congress, while striving for the unity of all democrats that he had made any kind of agreement with the doyen of the Right. He is even more specific: "There

WE REGRET E sincerely regret the publication of our article under the caption "Explosive Situation in Kanpur" in our weekly NEW AGE dated November 16, 1958 and

tender our apologies to Dr. Sampurnanand and the U.P.

which the nation looks forward. P. C. Joshi June 10

### KAMBAJED ?

W ITH the formation of the Shastri cabi-net the Kamaraj plan has been Kamarajed. Now it will be the turn of the states to follow suit wher-ever the plan has been in the furry of the week's activ-tities in the capital: the inner core of the leadership around Kamaraj and his outfit. This outfit consists, be-core of the leadership around Kamaraj does not want Morarji to be the Prime Minister at any time. This is a new power nucleus in the Congress. It is that if anything goes wrong

.

operation.

However, the basic purpose of the plan has succeeded. In the main it was conceived to solve the succession issue in a particular manner, and it has been solved in the predeter-mined manner

been solved in the present-mined manner. Rejuvenating the Congress and all that was just tall talk. And it has been proved to be

so. They wanted to take back all the Kamarajed ministers in the new cabinet, namely Patil, Morarji, and Jagjivan Ram. Chorte of course had have Morarji and Jagjivan Ram. Shastri, of course, had been de-Kamarajed soon after Bhubaneswar.

NEW AGE

they were before.

regretted

but does not seem to be a fritten explains their branches. fullifiedged member. This is a new power the congress. It is that if anything goes wrong did the selection of the vost-had accepted its terms he would have been in it as the congress in it is as the inner core is deeply No. 3. Since he declined and fusisted on being No. 2, no offer was given to Jagivan refusal to accommodate Morari-is that if anything goes wrong then. Kamaraj himself might had accepted its terms he would have been in it as offer was given to Jagivan grumbling among Congression and especially in the Congress. The inner core is deeply Chavan who holds the other and especially in the Congress a source of major trouble. The immediate inclusion of Naik, that decisively tilled the induct refusal to accommodate Morari-tis that if anything goes wrong the inner core is deeply Sanjiva Reddy has been per-mitted to take the pluin: Steel and specially in the Congress a source of major trouble. The immediate inclusion of Indira Gandhi, contrary to manuel as the desimed at the second in the inner core is deeply the is not in the inner core is a defection, brought about mainly by Chief Minister The immediate inclusion of Naik that decisively tilled the leadershin contrary. In the lance against Morari in the induct refusal to accommodate Morari the inner core is deeply Subramaniam has been push-the is not in the inner circle. He can appeal only through Indira exclusive empire. He will cer-tainly keep the wagons moving when each is remuted for the a source of major trouble. The immediate inclusion of Naik, that decisively tilted the arpectations, was designed to leadership contest. One thing is very clear from has been revorded; he was designed to leadership contest. One thing is very clear from has been revorded; he was designed to leadership contest. One thing is very clear from has been revorded; he was designed to leadership contest.

At long last the Government of India has come to accept that there is no escape from recourse to a "rigorous system of state trading and rigorous control over retail distribution" of foodgrains. There is no alternative to state trading, Union Finance Minister T. T. Krishnamachari announced in the Lok Sabha on June 4.

as 100 stood at 147.7 for the

week ending May 9, the latest for which the data is available.

The upward curve of the

price line has been steady in

the last one year and more

as seen from the index figures:

In April 1963, the wholesale price index of food articles

stood at 1277: in May 1315:

in June 134.8; July 137.9; Aug-ust 138.6; September 139.1; October 139.2; November 138.6;

December 136.1; 1964 January 137.8; February 140.5; March 142.1; April 143.0.

It is as if you can see the

prices moving up: it goes up day by day, week by week. For the week ending April 4

this year, the wholesale price index of food articles stood at

141.2; for the weeking ending April 11 at 141.6; for the

week ending April 18 at 142.5;

for the week ending April 25

Ascending Line

Of Prices

S TATE takeover of whole-Sale trading in foodgrains is a demand which was made by the toiling millions in this ntry months back to meet the rising prices. But the government has hitherto been evading such an obvious step, in favour of "normal channels of trade".

When the people's move-ment against the rising cost of living reached its crest last year, the government announced a price committee consisting of represen-tatives of the Finance and Food and Agriculture Minis tries and the Planning Commission.

Though this committee was supposed to keep watch on the price line and recomm s to check the rise in prices, nothing tangible out of its efforts. Prices conrise and the cost of living of the working peopl continued to go higher and higher.

Even now, when the Finance Minister has said that his "mind is very clear" that there is no alternative to state trading in wholesale foodgrains, the government is dillydallying with the prob-lem instead of taking definite action: a meeting of state chief ministers is to be called "at a very early date" to consider the question.

And all the while prices continue to go up. The Except for a slight fail in the month by month figures wholesale price index of the months November-Decem. The month by month figures food articles with 1952-53 ber 1963, when the movement for Delhi (general index)

at 144.9; for the week ending May 2 at 146.0; for the week ending May 9 at 147.7. This means that from April 11 to May 9, in less than a month, the index went up by 9.5 points. In one year from April 1963 to April 1964, the rise has been

of 15.3 points. Except for a slight fail in

FALL IN REAL WAGES OF WORKERS Conclusion Of Reserve Bank Study

The Reserve Bank of India Bulletin in its April 1964 issue has published a study on "Trends in Money and Real Wages in India" during the period 1951 to 1961. Following conclusions were noted in the Bulletin:

**"B**Y way of summing up, it may be pointed out that though the average annual money wages per worker showed a rise even 1961, the real wage level showed a fall, the index prior to the beginning of First Plan, real wages of the factory workers reached the pre-war level only in 1953 when the increase in thôn money wages more than compensated for the rise in cost of living.

The price situation. during the First Plan period, as compared to the Second Plan period, was favourabe from the point of view of labour whose average annual money earnings, in the meantime, had shown a rise of 15 per cent and 43 per cent in the case of factory and mine workers, respectively.

Following the twin advantages of favourable price situation and rising money wages, real wages per factory and mine wor-ker also increased.

During the Second Plan neriod, though the money

while money wages per

The fall in real wages emphasises the urgent need for stabilisation of prices of consumer goods at im-portant industrial centres and measures.

wage level of

workers continued to rise, the index reaching 138 in

opening fair price shops d undertaking other

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standing below 115 (the level in 1956) in 1957-It was only in 1961 that the 1956 level of real wages. per factory worker was restored Need For

**Price Control** 

The share of wages in the national income (both at current prices) increased from 2.9

allowed to get rid of Raghu-ramiah from Defence Pro-duction. It may be remem-bered that Raghuramiah was closely associated with closely asso Krishna Menon. Home remains with Nanda. For how long, it is difficult to predict. He is not in the inner

THE SHASTRICABINET

history begins—a period in which Nehru's guiding § hands will no longer be on the steering wheel.

Among the vast masses of the country, the first

reactions are those of relief that despite the pressures

which did exist, there is no marked shift to the Right

in the cabinet. The inclusion of S. K. Patil is strongly

resented by all democrats, but his entry without

Morarji Desai does not give the Right the necessary

strength to tilt the balance in its favour immediately

Nevertheless, Patil's entry is the writing on the wall

the warning to the people that unless they act and

make known their revulsion for such known enemies

of the basic policies, Patil may well become the thin

end of the wedge facilitating the entry of more of his tribe of imperialism's and reaction's henchmen.

The very fact that Morarji Desai was offered a high

position in the cabinet, which he did not accept, is a

pointer to the perils which exist. The Indian people

have not forgotten that Morarii and Patil were the

symbols of reactionary policies when they were in

government. A set-up in which Patil finds a place and

Morarji is offered a place needs to be carefully watched.

Again the exclusion from the cabinet of the Congress

Left, some of whom were closest to Nehru as far as his

positive policies were concerned, is to be deeply

Public opinion has welcomed the entry into the

cabinet of Indira Gandhi. At this moment, what is

dominant in the Indian people's minds is the necessity

to preserve the positive policies of Jawaharlal Nehru,

and it seems to them that his daughter can be relied

While the negative reaction of relief at the formal

exclusion of Morarji is universal, there is little positive

reaction. The continuation of all the old ministers can-

not give particular confidence that the most immediate problems of the people can be solved any better than

The Indian people are prepared and willing to give

the post-Nehru government time to tackle the urgent issues of today. The new Prime Minister's declarations

of support to the policies of nonalignment and peace,

secularism and socialism, have been received with

acclaim. But it is the implementation of declarations

which is important. And it is that implementation to

upon to carry forward his behests.

Fditorial

THE NEW PRIME

Minister and his cabinet

have been sworn in. A

new period in free India's

JUNE 14, 1964

## RISING CURVE OF COST OF LIVING **Only State Trading** Can Check Prices

against the high cost of liv-ing was raging in the country, the prices have been showing a steady rise all through the last year and more.

These are the figures for the wohlesale prices of food arti-cles released by the office of the Economic Adviser in the Ministry of Industry. If the rise in wholesale prices has been of this magnitude, the retail prices should have gone up at a still steeper rate

The consumer price indices released by the Labour Bureau of the Ministry of Labour and Employment are actually a fraud on the workers. They do not reflect the actual cost of living even according to official admissions. The jug-glery done in converting the earlier series into those based on 1960 as 100 is over and above the fraud in collecting the prices.

But even this consume price index of the Labou Bureau has shown a notice able increase in the last few months. From the base 100 in 1960, it had already moved up to 110 for food articles and 113 for clothing in 1963 in Delhi.

worker increased by 38 per cent, per capita na-tional income at current prices increased by 22 ner cent.

The share of labour in the income originating in factory establishments declined from 46 per cent in 1951 to 42 per cent in 1961.

From the above, three points stand out prominently.

In the first place, though the average annual money wages per industrial workers have shown more or les a continuous rise since 1951, real wages per factory wor-ker have fluctuated from vear to vear.

Secondly, there was a decline in real wages per worker during the Second Plan period. In 1958-59 (the latest year for which relevant data are available, wages were not linked to the consumer price index in the case of nearly threefifths of the factory workers.

Thirdly, as many as 43 per cent of the factory workers were earning Rs. 3 cent in 1951 to 4.4 per or less per day in 1958-59. cent in 1961. This result These point up the need is due to the fact that for an integrated approach wages policy."

110: July 111: August 112 September 113; October 113; November 115; December 117; 1964 January 117; February 121; March 121. This shows that even the

temporary fall in the wholesale pri indicated in the Economic Adviser's figures in the last quarter of 1963 did not have it seffect on the consumer prices, From 117 in January, the index figure tool a jump of four points to 121 in February-March.

The prices have continued to rise after March too, but the figures for the period after March are not yet availperiod

The price data collected by the National Sample Sur-vey for commuting the mid-dle class cost of living index scheme also reflected general increase in prices of fond articles. Figures for Delhi for the months of February and March this year will illustrate the ris-ing trend.

### **Rice Price**

Goes Up

The price of rice went up from Rs. 1.13 to Rs. 1.14 a kilogram; of wheat from Rs. 0.72 to Es. 0.74; of arhar from 1.07 to Rs. 1.11; of masor from Rs. 0.94 to Rs. 0.95; of urd from Rs. 1.02 to Rs. 1.03: of gram from Rs. 0.70 to Rs.

The rise in the price of vanaspati was from Rs. 3.63 to Rs. 3.74 a kilogram; of mus-tard oil from Rs. 2.59 to Rs. 2.73.

2.73. The potato price went up from Rs. 0.40 to Rs. 0.51 a

### By PAULY V. PARAKAL

for the last one year kilogram; brinjals from Rs. as follows: 1963 March 0.78 to Rs. 0.81; tomatoes 108; April 110, May 110; June from Rs. 0.94 to Rs. 1.35.

Meat price went up from Rs. 2.83 a kilogram to Rs. 3.00 in March.

It is to face this ever-rising trend in prices that Krishna-machari is now talking about convening a chief ministers meeting. By the time they meet, the prices would have made another upward spurt. When the concrete action is to come is still not known.

### Correct

### Answer

That state trading in foodgrains in the correct answer to the rising prices has been more than amply proved. The day after the Finance Minister talked about state trading, prices of wheat fell by three more a quintal in the Delhi market.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES (June 6) reported that the. fall had been "influenced" by Krishnamachari's statement in the Lok Sabha.

But, will the government actually introduce state trading? There is sufficient reason to ask this question with that inveterate opponent of state trading in foodgrains, S.K. Patil's return to the cabinet.

It is indeed ironic that within days of Krishnam-achari's announcement that state trading in foodgrains has to be enforced that Patil, who went out of the cabinet because of his opposition to such a policy, should return to it though with a portfolio other than Food and Agricul-

### **Unfair Labour Practice By NCDC Management** Attempt To Retrench Workers

.The management of the National Coal Development Corporation (NCDC) in their Giridih mines have resorted to worst forms of unfair labour practices in order to effect mass reatrenchment of miners.

T HE Coal Workers' Union (AITUC) has pointed out that in order to thwart the anti-cipated gratuity scheme which may be recommended by the Coal Wage Board, the NCDC management have shown great hurry in effecting compulsory retirements of aged workmen on the gratuity scheme which may be recommended by the case of temporary unfitness, etc. At the time. 80 workmen who were illegally stopped from work-ing were allowed to resume duty. the grounds of so-called

In 1963, about 500 workmen of the age group 54-58 were forced to undergo the so-called medical examinations and were compulsorily retired. This pro-cess is continuing.

This committee has not yet submitted its report but the NCDC

After protests by the Coal unitedly resist the retrenchment Workers' Union, a memorandum offensive of the NCDC manage-of settlement was arrived at on ment.

# Are The Splitters **Chinese Agents?**

Q. Why should the split. ters be called Chinese agents? In the same way the majority cannot called Soviet agents? (S. B. Paranjpye, Worli, Bombay)

A. The CPI has never calld the splitters Chinese agents, nor does it think that they are.

The capitalist press may be calling the splitters Chinese agents and the CPI Soviet agents as their purpose is to turn the great debate in the international Communist movement into a Pekinginternatio ow power conflic

It is no use trying, as some of the splitters have done on several occasions, to evoke pity and a sense of martyr-dom by claiming that the CPI wants to hound the splitters by dubbing them as Peking patriots. The CPI has never done this. It is a crude tactic of some of the splitters to gain sympathy by confusing the rank and file and the fol-lowers of the CPI.

The splitters, in any case, are at sixes and sevens about their attitude to the controversy in the interna tional tional Communist move-ment. At least one of those whom they claim to be with them states that he is com-pletely opposed to the Chi-nese standpoint and that he is even more anti-Chithan S. A. Dange!

Another states that on many questions the Chinese are taking a dogmatic and Sectarian position, while the Soviet Party is revisionist and reformist on certain other problems. He feels it would be wrong to call the Chinese "left" adventurists in toto, as much as it would be to sail the Soviets revisionists as a

Others in the leadership of the splitters are trying des-perately to conceal their views now, but thousands of arty members and sympa-nisers have heard them de-Party nounce the Soviet IInion as having betrayed the cause of revolution through the domination of Khrushchov's "revisionism"

### "More

Leninist"

They have consistently campaigned that the Chinese are "more Leninist" than the Soviet Union. The press under their control spares no money or effort in publishing all the Chinese outpourings against the Soviet Union.

When guestioned time and again to state where they differed from the Chinese with regard to the controversy in the international Communist movement, they are either silent or in anger call this a leading question.

Nor can it be forgotten that during the Caribbean crisis of October-November 1962, today's splitters were furiously propagating that

PAGE SIX

the Soviet Union had capi-tulated to the U.S. imperialists.

In a vain attempt to get over the difficulty of being politically divided and facionally united, as S. A. Dange put, the splitters are trying to put forward the slogan of "neurality" in the contest between the "two giants".

Developing a strange humi-lity, they claim that the Com-munists in India are not ade-quately equipped with Marx-ism-Leninism to decide about problems on which these two great parties are at logger-

What they attempt to con-ceal thereby are not merely the cracks in their midst but also the fart that their socalled line of neutrality is a revision and repudiation of the stand of the CPI ever since 1958

The CPI had hailed the twentieth congress of the CPSU, fully endorsed the new line of the Moscow Declara tion of 1957 and the State-ment of 1960 and hailed the CPSU programme as the new Communist Manifesto. All the Communist Mannesto, A., resolutions of the National Council or Party Congress embodying this standpoint embodying this standpoint had been adopted with near unanimity.

The Chinese now state that the twentieth congress of the CPSU was the starting point of Khrushchov's revisionism, that many of the essential new formulations of the Mos cow documents have to be re-pudiated, that the CPSU programme is out and out revisionist and intended to help restore capitalism in the So-viet Union.

### **Diametrically Opposed**

The line of the CPC is thus diametrically opposed to that of the Communist Party of India, which tool its stand when the suddenly humble and neutralist splitters were in leading n tions within it.

Not able to immediately swing their entire group to line up with the CPC, the vanguard of the splitters want right away to commit the vacillators in their midst to a repudiation of their nrevious position. Later, they feel, the logic of commitment will push the hesitant also to full support of the CPC's ideological line

Besides, the splitters are busy trying to draft a "party programme", no doubt of the urest Marxist-Leninist" va riety. How can they hope to achieve this task by remain-ing neutral on questions of the new epoch, peaceful co-existence, peaceful transition, national democracy, non-capitalist path the assesscapitalist path, the assess ment of the national' bour geoisie of newly independent states, etc.

The splitters' draft "pro-" has already come

out openly against national democracy and the non-capitalist path. It has mentioned the new epoch only at the tail end of its section on the international situation. But it has not so much as mentioned the prime task of preserving world peace. It has not mentioned the dynamic role of peace-ful coexistence and peaceful competition. It has not men. tioned the non-inevitability of world war. It has only mentioned the desirability of peaceful transition to socialism but not its enhanced possibilities in the new enoch

This is not the place for a detailed examination of the splitters' draft "programme" but it is quite evident that on all the crucial issues of controversy it has taken the same position as that of the in-famous June 14 new general line letter of the leadership of the CPC. So much for the socalled neutrality.

The real affinity of the positions of the CPC is ex-posed by the fact of the split itself. Sharp political differ-ences are not a new pheno-menon for the CPI from as far back as 1950, to speak nar back as 1550, to speak only of the post-independence period. But matters never reached the point of a split, even when the differences

YOUR QUESTIONS ANSWERED

were more radical than now splits. Their very silence is and the heat of the controeloquent enough.

The CPI has absolutely no Even the present splitters hesitation in declaring that it is in broad agreement with the CPSU on all the fundadid not think concretely in terms of a split till the CPC began to call the leadership mental issues of controversy of the CPI the "Dange clique in the international Comm and the actual split took place only after the Aidit call for it. nist movement. This is only natural since both stand followed up by the PEOPLE'S DAILY directive in February firmly by the Moscow docu

> If the monopoly press wants to call this as "dancing to Moscow's baton" or to term the CPI as "Soviet agents", they are welcome to do so

If the splitters wish to repudiate the charge that they are in full agreement with the ideological line o the CPC on the basic issues of controversy, let them in-form the Indian public of these differences, let them condemn Peking's open interference in the internal affairs of the CPL

Till then, they can blame nobody for accusing them of supporting the ideological positions of the CPC against the CPSU, CPI and the overwhelming majority of the Communist Parties in the world

-MOHIT SEN

## **CPI's Greetings To** Australian Party Congress

and chauvinistic policies pur-sued by the leadership of the Communist Party of China

open intervention in the inter-nal affairs of fraternal com-

munist parties, with a view to split them and establish factional groups, based on defiance of the common line of the intermetical

of the international commu-

nist movement, as laid down by the 1957 and 1960 meet-ings of Communist and Work-ers' Parties.

The Communist Party of India is confident that these

dangerous policies and activi-

versy even fiercer.

Moreover, it was part of an

international pattern. Ceylon had no border dispute with China, nor had the CP of Ceylon "betrayed" Marx-

ism-Leninism by calling China

an aggressor The splitters in Ceylon had also not "disco-

vered" any Wickremasinghe

or Keuneman "letters" to British Viceroys. But the CP

of Ceylon was split, as also those of Australia, Brazil,

those of Australia, Brazil, Belgium, Peru, Ecuador, etc

All these splitters openly cknowledge their allegiance

If the splitters in . India

have no affinity with their splitting colleagues else-where, if they are not in agreement with the Peking

"theory" on the desirability

and necessity of splits, let them at least condemn the

splitters elsewhere and re-pudiate the "theory" of

to the CPC and are also open-

on Peking's instructions.

ly acknowledged by it.

1964

THE Communist Party of India sends its warm fraternal greetings to all the delegates assembled at the Twen-struggles of the Indonesian the world. assembled at the Twentieth Congress of the Party of class stand together against are confident imperialist intervention an at Congress of intrigues in Indo-China. Communist<sup>-</sup> Australia. We are confident that this great Congress of your Party will be a historic milestone in the struggle of the Australian people for peace, democracy and social-ism.

Our Party has always had the highest regard for our comrades of the Communist Party of Australia. We have watched with admiration your

watched with admiration your study by the leadership of brave and heroic struggles in the Communist Party of China solidarity with all peoples have created a grave threat fighting for national indepen-tence and against the partici-pation of Australian troops in policies are accompanied by imperialist campaigns in South open intervention in the interpation of Australian troops in imperialist campaigns in South East Asia. The defence of the aborigine nonviction aborigine population by Aus-tralian Communists has also won for your Party the sympathy and respect of progres-sive forces all over the world.

. The Australian and Indian working people have old tra-ditions of common struggle in solidarity with peoples bat-tles for national independence, South Eas

NEW AGE

and materials to assist in the suppression of the liberation struggles of the Indonesian people. And again today, the Australian and Indian working Our Party has learnt with

deep indignation of the at-tempts made to create a split in the Communist Party of and unist Party of Australia. We are sure that your Congress will give a decisive and final blow to In wishing your Congress success, our Party is confident that it will make a contri-bution of significance to our common efforts for the unity the splitters and take steps to strengthen and unite the Communist Party of Australia. of the international commu-nist movement. The dogmatist and adventurist, nationalistic

On behalf of all Indian Communists we send you our affectionate salutations and best wishes for your success.

Long Live the Communist Party of Australia!

Long Live the Unity of the International Communist movement!

Long Live the solidarity between the Australian and Indian working people!

S. A. DANGE Chairman, National Council of the Cor nunist Party India

TUNE 8 1984

JUNE 14, 1964

JULLUNDUR, June 4: The three-day session of the Punjab state council of the Communist Party of India which concluded here yesterday unanimously adopted a resolution on the present organisational situation in the Party and further decided on steps to strengthen Party unity against the disruptive activities of the splitters, who already find themselves in a minority in the state

over 75 per cent of the nearly ten thousand Party members in Punjab sup-

ported the National Council

and opposed the splitters, while 20 per cent supported

the splitters and the rest

have yet to make up their minds. In many districts like

Ferozepore, Bhatinda, Kan-gra, Patiala, Ambala, Ludhi-ana, Hissar, Gurgaon the splitters could get hardly

any support.

Disruption in

**Rural** Areas

sar and Gurdaspur.

Disruption had mainly affe-

cted the rural base of the Party in districts of Sangrur,

Hoshiarpur, Jullundur, Amrit-

Nearly half of the support-

ers of "the 32" are at present in Sangrur and Hoshiarpur where the leftist majority in

the district councils had oppo-sed the National and state

councils and misled the mem-

cation and defiance of Party leadership and higher com-

ported by some sections of Party members in India that

'as the majority of the CPI

leadership has gone revi-sionist and has betrayed the

working class and Marxism-

Leninism, so a revolt against it and splitting the Party by

volutionary task', and de-

nounce them. "The state council regrets

"It is further regrettable

true Marxists is a correc

pers by wrong reporting, vili-

THE council at the outset paid homage to the late Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru. In a condolence reso-tion adopted, the council said

"Having played a most lead-ing part in the freedom strug-" gle Panditii steered the course of the country for the last nearly two decades since independence and was the main architect of its policies of peace, non-alignment, in-dustrial development, secularism and parliamentary de. rism and parliamentary de-mocracy that have built up free India and raised its sta-tus in the eyes of the world." The resolution declared that the best memorial to Jawaharlal Nehru would be to defend, carry out and further

develop these positive policies which he initiated. The council then took up discussion on Party organisational matters and the activities of the splitters. Avtar Singh Malhotra, secretary moved the resolution on the subject and gave a detailed account of the situation in the state. This was supplemented by reports by district secrearies. After a thorough discussion, the resolution was unanimously adopted

mittees, victimised those who remained loyal to the Party and conducted a slan-The reports in the council adopted

ASSAM'S FULL SUPPORT TO NATIONAL COUNCIL

GAUHATI: The Assam state council of the Communist Party of India has endorsed the resolution of the National Council on the splitting activities and declared its full support to the position taken by it with regard to inner-Party developments.

THE council concluded its three-day meeting a Krishnai in Goalpara district on May 31. Two state council members, who had been suspended by the state executive in its April 27-28 meeting were also invited to attend the meeting, and they attended it.

On May 29, the meeting was adjourned to pay ho-mage to the late Prime Minister Jawaharial Nehru. the fact that in the name of political and ideological dif-ferences and under the pre-Resolutions were passed mourning Nehru, Otto Kuu-

by a presidium consisting of Arabinda Ghosh, Tarunsen Deka and Barin Choudhury. It heard an exhaustive report on the National Council meet-ing and the splitting activities engaged in by a section of Party members from the se-cretary of the state unit,

state council who attended

National Council resolution on the splitters by an overwhel-ming majority. The resolution

Communist Party leaderships and sup-

"The state council calls upon those who have re-sorted to a line of splitting ments and cooperatives.

pend them temporarily. The

state council fully endorse

text of procedure the 32 mem-bers of the National Council sinen, A. V. Baliga and Ke-darnath Goswami. should have resorted to the method of bourgeois parlia-ment and walk out. The meeting was conducted that these 32 members should have issued such an open call of revolt against the Party

and its authority and sought to split the Party from top to bottom. "The council expresses its firm opinion that their actions are disruptive, anti-Party and Phani Bora. Almost every member of the help only the enemies of the Party. Therefore, the Nation-al Council could not but sus-

the meeting took part in the discussion which followed. The meeting then passed the resolution endorsing the

Call To "The state council firmly rejects the formulation made by the Chinese and Preserve Unity



der campaign, against, the Party organ, Nawan Zamana while trying to circulate the behalf of the state executive. rival party organ. Lok Lehar. For these anti-Party disruptive activities, persist-ent defiance of Party disclpline and Constitution, the council decided to dissolve the district councils of Sangrur and Hoshiarpur.

The council decided to expel from the Party Harnam Singh Chamak, Satvant Singh, Vidya Janak Singh Bhatal and Jagir Singh Jagtar and anpointed a district organis-ing committee of 16 in Sangrur with Baha Dulla Singh as convenor. The committee was given powers to coopt five more members with the approval of the secretariat. Teja Singh Swatantra was appointed organiser for the district on behalf of the state executive.

In Hoshiarpur, the state Mechael Kalal council decided to expel Chanan Singh Dhoot from the Party and to suspend Bhag Singh Sajian from elective posts. It appointed an orga-nising committee of 25 with powers to coopt six more with the approval of th secretariat. Thakar of the Gopa Singh was appointed convenor



the Party to retrace their steps and come back to the fold of the Party, stop parallel functioning and also appeals to the National Council to review the situation afresh including the disciplinary measures with a view to strengthen maximum unity in the Party.

"The Assam state council hopes that all sections of the Party will participate in the preparations for the seventh Party congress and the s council believes that seventh congress will be a congress of unity, against disruption and split, a congress of leading the country towards a new India."

The council decided to hold the seventh state conference of the CPI in August next.

The steep rise in prices of food and other essential comdities in the state came for discussion at the council meeting. In a resolution the council demanded that the government should take immediate steps to alleviate the suffering of the people.

It condemned the recent decision of the government to allow millers and traders to enter the market for procurement of paddy in competition with the cooperatives-a decision contrary to its own declared policy, which would only help the hoarders and profiteers.

The council demanded immediate withdrawal of this order and drastic step bring to book hoarders s to and steps profiteers and their collaboradepart-

NEW AGE

The council also decided to expel from the Party Dharam Singh Kasani of Dadri for similar indiscipline and splitting activities and approved a number of dsciplinary actions taken by the district units.

The council decided to organise inner-party discussions on the widest scale on ideo-logical-political issues before the Party after the next Na-tional Council meeting as a tional Council meeting as a part of the preparations for Party conferences. The state conference is to take place in August, for which the quota of delegates will be fixed on the basis of one delegate for every twenty members. The venue of the state conference will be decided by the state

## Election

The state council discuss ed the causes of the defeat of the Communist candidate in the Mahal Kalan election and approved e analysis made earlier by the executive. It repudiated the slander sations of Chamak against the leadership.

It held that the main cause was the tremendous official pressure and misuse of government machinery and resources for Congress victory while among the contributory causes were the timing of the election during the busy harvesting season, largescale use of transport and other malpractices by the Congress, the weakness of the democratic movement among harijans and the secret instructions sent by Master Tara Singh to his supporters to vote Congress.

The council also noted that the splitting activities and vilification campaign of the left-splitters had also affected the election results inasmuch as it undermined the prestige ple better.

of the Party in the eyes of the voters, supplied ammunition to the opponents' propaganda nd diverted the energies of the Party from cencentration on election compaign

Chamak and those he relied upon had followed the lead of the solitters and not of the Party and adopted a wrong political line and disruptive bureaucratic organisational methods which weakened the campaign and contributed to his defeat.

The state council briefly reviewed the results of the municipal elections and noted that the same of Jan Sangh and other rightist elements to forge a united front, exploit the people's discontent and capture the local committee had genecongress also had suffered setbacks because of the po-pular discontent against the misdeeds of the Kairon re gime and should draw a lesson from this.

Independent candidates had won on a large scale. A notable feature was the reelection generally of those sitting nembers, irrespective of party affiliations, who had discharged their duties to the electorate actively and with honesty.

The council thanked all those voters who had voted for candidates sponsored or supported by the Party and it noted that although Party's influence was still weak in the municipalities, yet it had ad-municipalities, yet it had ad-vanced in a number of towns and its position was now stronger than before. A notable victory was in Chhehartta where the combined moves of all the opponents were again defeated and 'the candidates sponsored by the Mazdoor Mahaz were elected with big

margins. The council decided to call a convention of Communist municipal commissioners at an early date in order to exchange experiences and ideas so that they could improve their work and serve the peo-

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PAGE SEVEN

# SECTARIANISM REITERATED ! NATIONAL COUNCIL MOURNS

The 32 suspended members of the National Council have published a draft programme which is nothing but a rehash of the political line adopted by the Second Congress of the Party in 1948 and rejected in 1950.

dution adopted olitical by the Sixth Congress of the year 1961. It is a rejection of the common inderstanding Party at Vijayawada in the the common understanding arrived at by 81 Parties in 1960 on the imm ediate tasks of the nist Parties in liberated countries of Africa. Asia and Latin America

political analysis, in marshalling of facts and in the presentation of strategy and tacme is unreal, one-sided elf-contradictor tics, this left-sectarian and self-contradictory.

Defining the present "stage of our revolution", the draft programme states: "In the ent era, the proletariat will have to head the demo revolution as a necessary step in its forward march to the achievement of socialism. Hence it is not the old type of bourgeois-led democratic rev lution, but a new type of Peoples' Democratic Revolution organised and led under the of the working uss." (Page 47).

But the Moscow Conference of 1980 did not people's democracy as the in-evitable alternative to hourgeois democracy: for the wly liberated countries had accepted the concept national democracy as the revolutionary alternative to a regime based on bourgeois

The draft programme has repudlated that alternative as inmolicable to India on the fol-

"During the last two decades there has been an enormous growth of Indian monopoly and strengthening of capitalism in India, Such being the case, to talk of a non-capitalist path of development and the establishdev ment of a National Democratic achieve this aim in India is unreal."

### UNREAL AND ONE-SIDED

The very starting point of the draft programme is such an unreal and one-sided ap-praisal of the Indian situation as to put India into the cate a developed canitalist with an growth of monopoly capitalism. If that were so, the Indian national bourgeoisie might be considered to have successfully completed the bourgeois demo ratic revolution and thereby exhausted its historical role

But such a conclusion is contradicted by the statement that "experience of the three plans demonstrates beyond a shadow of doubt that in the period of the general crisis of capitalism, particularly when it has entered a new acute stage, it is futile for underdeveloped countries to seek to develop along the capitalist path. The possibilities of such devel ely limited." (Draf are extre Programme, P. 25.)

Thus an enormous capitalist evelopment as well as the impossibility of such a develop-

T is a step back from the ment, both are affirmed in the same breath. Reality is that India is an

underdeveloped country, des-pite the fact that among the under-develope 1 countries, India is the most capitalistically developed with a monopoly private sector within

In order to repudiate the slogan of national democracy, the authors of the draft program ring based me have element of the Indian situation, and that all its major national oblems are problems of de-lopment and this determine the behaviour of the various classes and political parties.

Even the people's struggle against the mononolies is related mainly to the problem of deloping India's underdeveloped concmy. The authors of the draft themselves admit that "new big opportunities have arisen for several economically backward and underdeveloped countries, on achieving inde-pendence, for the establish-ment of a State of National Deracy." (Ibid. P. 92)

But they have ruled out the "big opportunity" for India because India is "capitalistically developed".

### PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY

Therefore, they conclude, India's immediate objecttive is "the establishment of People's Democracy based on the coalition of all genuine anti-feudal and anti-imperialist forces headed by the working class."

But every student of history knows that "people's democracy" as a distinct political regime had emerged in the countrie of Eastern Europe and certai South East Asian countries at the end of the Second World War with the collapse of fascism in Germany, Italy and Janan.

Both in capitalistically advanced East Germany as well as in backward and uneloped Vietnam, Peo derder ple's Democracy became the order of the day. If People's Democracy is logically relat-ed to a capitalistically deveple's Der loped country, there is reason why North Korea and North Vietnam should have been considered as people's democracies.

If underdevelopment is the objective basis of a people's democracy, there is no reason why new Cuba is not consider-ed as such. If the criterion is underdevelopment with capialism sufficiently develop historically possible, far as there is no reason why Czechoslovakia and East Germany which had never been consi-dered as underdeveloped countries should have accomplished the People's Democratic Revolution.

As a matter of fact, the concept of people's democracy has never been associated with the degree of capitalist development in any country: such an

association drawn by the framers of the draft programme is entirely arbitrary.

Such a conclusion is obvious when one remembers that the most important specific of a people's democratic coa tion is the participation of the national bourgeoisie, or at least a section of it under the lead-ership of the Communist Party. Can it be anybody's contentio that the mational accepts Communist lea lershin for the sake of socialism?

### DEMOCRATIC COALITION

Let us now examine under what peculiar circumstances the national bourgeoisie or certain sections of this class join a people's democratic coalition "under the hegemony of the working class" in Eastern Europe and elsewhere.

During the Second World War, when the Hitlerite army or its fascist allies occupied these countries, the big, ruling section of the national hourgeoisie betrayed the country and became its collaborators. With national independence lost and with the national bourgeois leadership gone over to foreign rulers, the Communist Party remained the only principal fighting force for national liberation.

Naturally, people rallied chind this party. Dissident national bourgeois elements, who did not sell themselves to foreign fascists, first tried to organise their separate liberation movement but the logic of the events forced them to join together with the Communist-led liberation movement as it turned out to be a non-sec nuine united front of all patriatic forces. This is how a nist-led People's De mocratic Fronts came to

In many of these countries, for some time two parallel powers existed side by side, the emigre governments of the na-tional bourgeoisie and the home government of the Communist-led patriotic forces, i'ut ulri-mately, the former became so isolated from the people, that they had no other choice but to the people's democratic coalition.

But as soon as the problems of social development were put on the agenda, people's demo-cracies became forms of dictatorship of the proletariat, as the national bourgeoisie left the coalition. Thus, in people's democracies, participation of cer-tain elements of the national ation of cerbourgeoisie in a coalition un Communist leadership was historically determined, as a short lived phenomenon, by the treachery of the big bourgeoisie had the leading position in the state,

sector of perpetuating the plunder by the foreign impe-rialists is not only unreal but an absurd formulation. Therefore, in order to make people's democracy the central slogan for the Indian democratic movement, the authors must prove, not whether India is capitalistically developed or how far monopoly has grown but that the nationa the formulation made by Com-rade Ajoy Ghosh in his speech to the Vijayawada Congress, which was unanimously acceptbig bourgeoisie is at the head of the state, that it has completely gone over to fo-reign imperialism, that the ugale for national liberaed.

tion is on the agenda and the Communist Party has become or is objectively destined to be at the present stage of the movement, the sole leader of the entire people.

Let us now see what attempts have been made to prove the existence of these factors in the Objective situavailing in contemporary

The most important point to be considered in this respect is the political complexion of the national state and the policy pursued by it in relation n. That Indian state is a class state of the national bourgeoisie, that it is a bourgeois democracy and all that it does is to serve the interests of the national bourgeoisie do not require any pro-found analysis to be understood

The main question is whether it is an independent national state which compromises with imperialism on many issues, or a state subservient to the foreign imperialists.

INDIAN

## SITUATION

ber of formulations which

suggest that the Indian state

is already subservient to fo-reign imperialism, that the big bourgeoisie leads the

therefore India is not going

ence but her dependence on

foreion imperialism is being

It states that foreign capital

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tion; but to accuse the public

It is a flat contradiction of

through its continu

VIJAYWADA

FORMULATIONS

14)

state as coll

strengthened.

borationists; and

economic independ

"our national independence rests today on a firmer economic foundation than he. fore. A number of industries of great strategic importance have been built. The public sector has become an important factor in the development of such industries There are many n features that should negatis cause concern to all patriots but they do not obliterate the strengthening of the economic base of our national freedom." (New Situation and Our Tasks, p. 14).

This was staed by Comrade Ajoy Ghosh in 1961 and at that time the dissidents accepted the formulation as correct.

In course of the next three years all the lic sector projects pub-built or planned are almost irely with the aid of socialist countries and very little with imperialist aid. The latest examples are the MIG and the Bokaro projects. They have certainly further strengthened mic base of our na

Now the opposition leaders propose to revise the Vijaya-wada understanding in favour On this question, the draft of the Programme of 1951, rogramme has made a num- about which Comrade Ajoy Ghosh remarked, in his speech

A CRITIQUE OF

at the Viajyawada Congress

that "instead of the oversimpli-

fied and onesided formulation

of the programme, which al-most made out that Govern-

ment of India was a satellite

government which carried out the dictates of imperialism and

under which practically no ad-

gave us a new and rich understanding." (Ibid, p. 14.)

vance could be made. Palghat

Therein he stated that list content", but they assert hat "beginning from about the ear 1958, however, the foreign of the Government of ndia has been passing through new phase" meaning thereby at instead of carrying forward the policy of non fjust the contrary has happen-

> In plain language, it means hat since 1958. nor as been "emasculated", as if India is on the point of joini the imperialist power-bloc. The date suits very well to justify chinese border claims which ed in 1959 and which sequently culminated in ag-

In order to prove their conention, they cite certain facts evealing India's compromise with foreign imperialist powers. Such compromises often made even before 1958.

But the authors of the draft programme completely ignors such important facts as the eration of Goa in the teeth of opposition by Anglo-Ameri-can imperialism, India's un-equivocal support to the Soviet inion during the Cuban crisis. ection of joint defence with akistan, USA and Britain to Chinese ist aggres holehearted support to Soviet roposals for universal mament and the endors universal disf the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty.

While the VOA deal. epi-

sode is mentioned, its annul-ment is not related to gov-ernment's policy; while the

joint air-exercises is refer-red to, silence is observed about the rejection of air

umbrella; while they cite the

example of "wooing them for

suppress the information that

Union is also being nego-tiated. They had to admit

indirectly that nonalignment

though damaged after Chi

aggression survive

Yet, the conclusion is that it

crisis of November 1962!

so "emasculated" that

"objectively facilitates US de

other words. India's foreign

With these faulty estimates bout the public sector and onalignment, he auhors of

stored the main theses of 1948

igns of neocolo

ilitary aid from the Soviet

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In

PARTIAL.

TRUTH

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

The National Council of the Communist Party of India expresses its deep sense of sorrow at the death of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the most beloved leader of the Indian people. His death has left a void in the life of the nation that no other person can fill for a long time.

15 death has also been tions, he made outstanding mourned internation- contributions to world de-, by all governments velopments in the last two ally, by all governments decades es, for Nehru was and peoples, for Nehra was one of the greatest citizens He was one of the main

architects of the policy of of the modern world. With his faith in the nonalignment which has unity of the Afro-Asian played a great positive role, neoples, in peace and antinot only in strengthening our country's freedom but ing of a new modern India. Inninite friendshin with socialist countries and in- also in the preservation of ternational cooperation world peace and reduction based on equality of na- of international tensions.

### **OFFO KUUSINEN**

The National Council of the Communist Party of India deeply mourns the loss of Comrade Otto Kuusinen, outstanding leader of the international Communist movement, member of the presidium and secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

veteran Bolshevik of colonies. the Leninist guard, Comrade Kuusinen devoted By his By his death the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the entire internahis long life to the cause socialist revolution tional Communist movein Soviet Union and in Finment and the world workland. We Communists in India gratefully, remember numerow suffered an irreparable loss. writings on the question of The National Council policy of strategy and tac-tics of international Comsends its heartfelt condolences to the Central Communist movement, espe-cially for his work on the mittee of the CPSU and to his bereaved family and friends

revolutionary movements in the colonies and semi-

rialist powers and therefore the big bourgeoisie, who once led the national movement and now leads the state, having gone over to imperialism historic responsibility of ing the struggle for real indeneed to have pendence was supposed to hav fallen solely on the shoulde of the Communist Party.

After all the above formulations are made, the authors of the draft porgramme seem to be in some difficulty. They cannot deny that there is a rialis contradiction between impe rialism and the whole of Indian people including the national bourgeoisie. If so, what is the conclusion to be drawn?

So they concede (p. 30) that

"the government's foreign policy continues to be within the broad framework of opposition to world war and nonalisnment's but then "its increasing reliance on Western monopoly aid... objectively facilitate US designs of neocolonialism."

Acceptance of Soviet aid to build heavy industries has no progressive significance because "it actually uses it as an extremely useful bargaining counter to strike ore favourable deals with the imperialist mo The authors must tell us how

the acceptance of Soviet aid for Bokaro, for heavy engi-

THE "LEFT" PROGRAMME

Having assessed the role of our public sector in a wrong

ilar wrong assessment India's foreign policy.

India's foreign policy of non-alignment had an "anti-impe-



way for the growth of Indian big business and together with big business and together with it to perpetuation of the plunied exploita tion of India's cheap labour and other natural resources." (page This is an astounding formu-lation. If it is maintained that

policy is, in the main, pro-im-perialist or collaborationist. way, the authors of the draft programme have made a sithe draft programme have re and 1951.

In both these theses, the Indian State was characterised as a satellite of foreign impe-They admit that upto 1958,

neering projects at Ranchi or. for oil has secured for the Indian bourgeoisie any "ex-tremely useful bargaining counter." How can they How can they counter deny that these projects are dation of India's economic independence?

All these confusions arose out of the fact that a section of the Indian monopolies does indeed rely upon foreign impers for the promo-r anti-national secrialist powers for t tion of their anti-na tional interests and the authors of the draft programme think

Internally, Pandit Nehru tried to solve the country's problems on the basis of independent economic deve-lopment within the frame-work of democracy and secularism. His progressive and democratic outlook has left a deep impress on every aspect of our national life.

The National Council of the CPI mourns the death of this great and noble son of India. It hopes that our people will cherish and carry forward the memor positive contributions able that he made to the build-

The National Council sends its heartfelt condolences to Shrimathi Indira



Gandhi and other bers of the Nehru family on their irreparable

### Dr. A. V. BALIGA

The National Council of the Communist Party of India mourns the sudden death of Dr. A. V: Baliga, outstanding surgeon, patriot and democrat,

respected and honoured in the widest circles ment and all progressive causes.

Thousands of men and women recall with grati-tude the help Dr. Baliga gave each of them in one form or the other. One of the most accessible of men despite his innumerable activities. Dr. Baliga gave freely of his skill and his resources to all who came to him.

R. Baliga's name was President of the Indo-Soviet Cultural Society since its very birth, Dr. both for his medical work Baliga was the ife and soul as well as for his contribu-tions to the national move-friendship and cooperation between our country and the Soviet Tinion

Dr. Baliga was associated closely with the peace ent, with many polimover tical and social organisa-tions and with the antimonopoly press. His death is a grave loss to the entire nation.

The National Council sends its deepest condolen-ces to Shrimathi Baliga and the bereaved family.

how is it that Nehru survived in is incidental. The Nov. 1962 as the Prime Minister concentrates fire not o when the daily organs of the big bourgeoisie wanted to throw gress under the prete him out? How is it that the state, and for the three aspects of the state policy ruling party is led h public sector, non-alignment bourgeoisie, as if Rig - public sector, non-alignment and its limited land reform—are systematically attacked by the political representatives of the ling hoursenside the Birth m big bourgeoisie, the Right reactionaries

Finally-which class stands behand the opposition of Right re-action against the government? The authors of the draft



that the present Indian state is the organ of the class rule of the bourgeoisle and landlords, led by the big-bourgeoisei.

With this a priori generalisation, they have developed a whole scheme about "the en-trenchment of foreign capital in the nublic sector", "er tion of foreign policy", the public sector perpetua nial plunder, etc.

If the big bourgeoisie leads the state, how is it that the state extends the public sector against extends the public sector against the wishes of the big bourgeoisie,

have stated: "Re tonary and counter ary trends in the revolu tionary trends in the country have found concrete manifes-tation in the programme of the Swatantra Party which is trying to unite all reactionary forces under its banner. (p.53)

If the State is led by the big bourgeoisie, which class repre-sents the reactionary and coun-ter-revolutionary trends against the big bourgeoisie? No answer is given.

As a matter of fact, their reference to the Swatantra Party

is incidental. The programme concentrates fire not on Right re-action but on the entire Con-gress under the pretext that the state, and for the nonce, the ruling party is led by the big bourgeoisie, as if Right reaction is a non-class political trend.

The few lines spoken in the The few lines spoken in the draft programme about the Swa-tantra Party are taken almost ver-batim from Comrade Ajoy Chosh's speech to the Vijaya-wada Congress (New Situation and our Tasks, page 49). But the authors have cleverly omitted the para on the class-characteristic of the Swatantra Party. Therein Comrade Ajoy Ghosh had stated:

"Apart from the support it njoys from feudal sections, "Apart from the support is enjoys from feudal sections, American lobby-men and other similar elements, the Swatantra Party also has the backing of Party also has the backing uses some of the biggest and most reactionary monopolists in the country." (New Situation and country." (New S Our Tasks, p. 49)

The authors of the draft programme have carefully avoided this class characterisa-tion of the Swatantra Party because it does not fit in with their characterisation of the Indian state as "led by the big bourgeoisie." But this hadan state us ide by the big bourgeoisle." But this characterisation is basically wrong, the emergence of Right Reaction in opposition to the

**ON PAGE TWELVE** 



# PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE AND NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT

The leadership of the Chinese Communist Party is currently engaged in deriding the Communist Party overwhelming majority of the of Soviet Union and almost all other Communist and world Communist and Work-Workers Parties the world over on the question of ers' Parties disagree with this Workers Parties the world over on the question of peaceful coexistence and national liberation movement.

THE Chinese leadership mation of society, that de-

relentlessly spreads the slander that these Communist and Workers' Parties "side with the imperialists and colonialists and repudiate and oppose the national liberation movements in every possible way". (Apologists of Neo-Cosm, RED FLAG, October 22, 1963)

The Chinese leaders allege that these parties defend colonialism and the powers of neo-colonialists and therefore refrain from according any positive help to the revolutionary struggles carried on by the oppressed peoples. A canard is consistently

spread that these parties particularly the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, underestimate the historical role of the national liberation movement and thwart it on the plea of peaceful coexistence. It is further attributed that the manner in which the Soviet government practises peaceful co-existence actually arrests the tide of the movement in the resurgent countries. This deliberately done so as to appease the imperialist and colonialist governments. The peace that follows from such practice, it is alleged, is the peace of the graveyard where national aspirations and human rights to be free national are given an inconspicuous burial. It is implied that the CPSU and the Soviet government seek to tone down and mislead the revolutionary upsurge.

### Chinese Allegations

The Chinese leaders allege that in order to hide this fact "the leaders of the CPSU have .... created the theory that the national liberation move-ment has entered upon a 'new stage' having economic tasks as its core'. (RED FLAG. October 22 1983)

position:

The Chinese leaders aver that (CPC CC Letter of June 14, 1963) "various types of contradictions in the contemporary world are concentrated in the vast areas of Asia, Africa and Latin America" and these are "the storm centres of world revolution". They add that "the national liberation revolution in Asia, Africa and Latin America is now be-coming the most important force that is dealing a direct blow at imperialism:" (Editorial, JENMIN JIHPAO, October 22, 1963. Emphasis add-

Is this understanding of the Chinese leadership cor-rect? No, it is diametrically opposite to the understand ing of the World Commun and Workers Parties. The Moscow Statement "Today it is the world so-cialist system and the forces fighting against imperial-ism, for a socialist transfor-

PAGE TEN

ultra-revolutionary prescription of the Chines bringing about national termine the main content, main trend and main fea-tures of the historical develiberations. been made the main target of attack for the crime of hav-ing differed with the Chinese iopment of society." The Chinese leaders have given a go-bye to this unified leadership in this respect.

### understanding and portrayed the national liberation strug-Soviet Position

gle as the main force fighting against imperialism. seek to establish that The main contradiction of the present epoch is imperialism versus national liberation ovement. The role of socialist forces has been deliberately undermined. They contend that "in a sense, therefore, the whole

cause of the international proletarian revolution hin-ges on the outcome of the revolutionary struggles of the people of these areas, who constitute majority of the world's population (Letter, June 14, 1963).

### Unmarxist

### Formulations

The Chinese formulations. first of all. not only revise Marxist teachings but are guided solely by the motive of establishing the supremacy of the Chinese ideology so that the vast masses of peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America turn to Peking for inspiration and guidance of their movements and embark upon a path of world revolution. The Chinese line of propa-

ganda does find a little amoint of response in these countries because of the level of political movement in these political movement in these countries. Mikhail Suslov has pointed out in his report to the CC of the CPSU on February 14, 1964 that ~ "in our day when hundreds of millions of peo-Let leaders of the CFSO have number of the coverwhelm-he national liberation move-tage' having economic tasks s its core'. (RED FLAG. Let us examine the actual cellular in the section is the actual cellular in the section is the coverwhelm-tage in politics and lack ex-perience, are joining in an ist and Workers Parties the active political struggle, the principle of peaceful coexist-interval in the chinese ed to national liberation Let us examine the actual cellular in the chinese is not a principle of peaceful coexist-tage in which the chinese is not a principle of peaceful coexist-interval in the chinese is not a principle of peaceful coexist-struggle. It is possible to add the principle of peaceful coexist-struggle. It is possible to add the principle of peaceful coexist-struggle. It is possible to add the principle of peaceful coexist-and the principle of peaceful coexist-to add the principle of peaceful coexist-struggle. It is possible to add the principle of peaceful coexist-and the principle of peaceful coexist-to add the principle of peaceful coexist-to add the principle of peaceful coexist-struggle. It is possible to add the principle of peaceful coexist-and the principle of peaceful coexist-to add the peace rous concepts are likely to bring a certain amount of

response." The Chinese line seeks to serve two objectives: (1) to bring about a decline in the influence of the Soviet Union and its prestige in the newly-liberated and struggling countries; and (2) if confiagra-tions break out in various parts of the world at this moment, it may provide the Chinese leadership with a me-dium wherein will be submerdium wherein will be submer-ged their failures and failacies

It is important to note that the Chinese leadership asserts that armed struggle is the only form of national liberation movement. It is characterised as: "...the road of armed struggle is the road to the complete liberation of the oppressed nations." (Speech of Liu Ning-yi at Stockholm Ses-sion of World Peace Coun-cil.)

The CPSII has

The Soviet position has been very clearly stated by Nikita Khrushchov, He em-phasised some time back in his interview with the editors of BOTATAUNG, PEU-PLE, GHANIAN TIMES and ALGER REPUBLICAN that "each people determine the content and forms of struggle according to conditions obtaining. The conditions in various coun-tries of Asia, Africa and Latin America are not identical."

with the line enunciated in the Moscow Statement of 1960 The Chinese leaders con-demn this basic approach and want to impose their own ideas about the form of liberation movement on other people. As a matter of fact, Soviet Union does not oppose armed struggle as such as a course of liberation movement; it supports such step in those countries where physical conditions for such struggles do exist. The CPSU not only supports such struggles but also actively aids them: Both armed revolution and peaceful path of struggle are correct forms of liberation and fully in consonance with Marxism-Leninism. The CPSU and other Communist Parties do not preclude liberation by means of forcible overthrow of power, though they empha-sise that it is not the only

way. According to the overwhelmstruggle. It is possible to aid all liberation struggles and that is exactly what is being done by the CPSU and other Communist Parties, except the Chinese Party and its followers.

The Chinese leaders imply that state independence secured by means other than armed insurrection is, fact, no liberation at all. This completely negates the possibility of peaceful achievement of power under a national democracy and contradicts the approach and assessment of the Mos-cow Statement.

The independence of our country, as of many other countries, certainly constitu-tes the first phase of liberation, despite the fact that the state power remains in the hands of national bourgeoisie which is anti-imperialist. The transfer of state power is be-ing consolidated through measures of economic independence which will pave the

NEW AGE

The CPSU, CPI and the way towards the final stage of complete liberation of the people. If the Chinese formu-lations are accepted, it would mean that the independence we have achieved is no indebendence at all and it will take us back to the stage of slogan-shouting: "Ye Azadi Jhuti Hai". With due respect Indian Communists are un-able to accept such a fantastic position having all experi-enced the results of such adventurism. The USSR has given all

possible help to the freedom fighters of Algeria, Cuba, Syria, Yemen, Oman, Indone-sia and of many other coun-tries. This help comprised of arms aid and other material assistance. Even today, the USSR is helping the fighting peoples in Aden, Cyprus and other places. It is giving moral and material aid to the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Panama, Southern Rhodesia, South Africa, etc. Thus the Chinese argument against the CPSU about not aiding This is fully in conformity . the liberation movement does not hold any water.

### No Colonial Revivalism

Along with that it is helping the establishment of an independent economic base in the already-free countries. The credit other allocations in Asia, Africa and Latin America made by the USSR totals more than 300 million rubles. It is helping to set up over 500 industrial and other installations; other socialist countries like GDR, Czechoslovakia etc., are set-ting up another 400 pro-jects. Bhilai, Bokaro, Aswan, the steel mill in Algeria and so on, set up with the socia-list aid certainly do not bring back colonialism!

As against this material As against tins material and moral helps, what is the help rendered by the Chinese leaders? The first help rendered is revolutionary phrasemongering and the second is the split brought about in the democratic movements in many countries. While the Chinese leader-

ship urges upon the oppress-ed nations to unleash imme-diate battle against imperialists and colonialists to remove the last vestiges of colonial domination, it does not force the same issue concerning Macao, Hong Kong, Formosa, Taiwan; it enters into agree-ment with Pakistan and justifles Pakistan's membershir in SEATO. This means that the Chinese leaders want that other peoples should engage imperialism in a bloody while China will remain unaffected.

Why is China increasing its willy is south Africa, the worst racialist government against which there is a general trade boycott? What about China's trade with imperialist Britain. How do these facts square with the preachings? These are only utterly oppor-tunistic stands.

Since the Second World War more than fiftytwo

countries have achieved in dependence. These newly. developing countries today constitute a mighty force which is against colonialism and imperialism, and is de-finitely with the peace camp. The emergence of these countries has weak-ened the imperialist bloc and strengthened socialist forces.

Most of these countries have achieved independence thro-ugh peaceful means by transfer of state power and these transfers took place not due to the magnanimity of the colonial powers but due to consistent and difficult strugles for independence waged by the peoples of these countries. Once free from the bondage of slavery, these coun-tries are striving for economic independence too, in which the USSR and other socialist countries aid with outspread hands and defeat imperialist "aid with strings." It should also be remem-

bered here that it was due to the initiative of the Soviet Union that the historic declaration for complete abo-lition of colonialism was adopted at the 15th session of U. N. Whom has this declaration helped? Certainly not the imperialists and the colonialists. This has, in fact, cleared the way for the emergence of many new states in Africa, the last stronghold of colonialism. Today, approximately 50 million people are under the bondage of slavery and the USSR along with other socia-list countries is giving them list countries is giving them both moral and material assistance in their struggle aga-inst subjugation. But will all

### -by SADHAN MUKHERJEE

these people or should all these people resort to path of armed struggle for achieving independence? This is a ques-tion that must be left to the peoples themselves and not decided by either the USSR or China.

There is no contradiction between the policy of peace-ful coexistence and national liberation movement and both fully accord with the objective s of Marxism-Leninism. As N. S. Khrushchov has explained: "The principle of peaceful coexistence of coun-tries with different social systems, if it is understood in the Leninist way, does not mean a reconciliation with imperialism, damping down the revolutionary struggle and curtailing the national liberation movement." Peaceful coexistence does

not call for a cessation of struggle between the oppressed and the oppressors, the exploiter and the exploited. the

"...there is not the slightest contradiction tween Lenin's policy of the peaceful coexistence of countries with different so-clal systems and the national liberation struggle. To

**\* ON PAGE 2** 

JUNE 14, 1964

During its one hundred years of eventful history, since the founding of the First International in 1864 by Marx and Engels, the international working class movement has had to confront many ideological-politisplits in a number of Communist and Workers' parties **OF HISTORY** in various countries. THE splits in individual par-ties in the past occurred movement). It is necessary for us either due to serious internal in India to see the links which political differences in the leader-ship or due to factionalism.

The reference splits. Array of Lever and Array of Lever and Jossith from the party and the splits of the splits. The results of a strong for the splits of the splits. The results of the splits of the splits of the splits of the splits of the splits. The results of the splits of the splits of the splits. The results of the splits of the splits. The results of the splits of the splits. The results of the splits. The results of the splits of the splits. The results of the results of the splits. The results of the results of the splits. The results of the results of the splits. The results of the result is the splits. The results of the result is the result is the splits. The results of the result is the r

and as an the left adventurists headed by line by a Trotsky complicated the inner Party, the party situation, engineering a of China, virtual split. The party was power and divided into Bolshevik (Majocommunist Party of China, which has state power which has state power and immense resources for a world-wide propaganda drive as well as means to keep regular con-tacts in almost every country. In the past no party ever openly encouraged or fomented a split in a party in another country; wherever splits occurred these were the internal affairs of the party concerned. In dia-metrical opposition to inter-national traditions of a working class party in power, the power and for a world-

national traditions of Marxism-Leninism and the traditions of a working class party in power, the leadership of the Communist Party of China today advocates splittism as its historical mis-sion. Instead of using its im-mense resources to unify the Communist movement, to streng-then Communist parties in other countries and help form new parties in countries where they do not exist, the CPC is striving for an all out split in every for an all out split in every Communist Party.

### Phenomenon Of Split

This is the basic difference this is the basic difference between the small splits of the past and the big splits of today.

no country by manual groups and insignificant persons; in some other countries a bigger group of persons with UNE 14. 10°<sup>4</sup>

By P. KUNHANANDAN

"The party will be strong and united only if it is organis-ed on the principle of central-ism. The principle of central-ism implies the building and functioning of the party on the basis of one set of rules, its middnes by one location being

shevis by 'Irotsky and Martov.
 Plekhanov, a great headen to basis of one string of the party on concrete in the left opportant to the left opportant to the left opportant to survey optical factors, and in the basis of one set of rules, its party concretes, and in the basis of one set of rules, its party concretes, and in the basis of the set of the communities, it in plans on the there are communities to the party concretes, the basis of the set of the communities of the set of the communities, it in plans on the basis of the set of the communities, it in plans on the there are commuted to the set of the communities of the communities, it in plans on the basis of the set of the communities the set of the communities of the teacher of the communities of the coringers, the man

We can also learn another poli-tical lesson from the split in the Communist Party of Cermany (KPD) that occurred in 1919 at the sector of the split in the sector of the many (KAPD).

### Not Historical Accident

Socialists). Despite the oppo stium of the opportunists the unity took place in 1920 and this united Communist Party gave the German working class added strength and a great mass have

mass base. Later the left-sectarians who broke away and founded the KAPD, denounced the Commu-nist International as "Moscow dictators" as the Chinese leaders parties.
"Once a decision has been adopted, all the members of action...by boycotting the decisions of the Central Committee, the Mensheviks were in practice undermining the discipline of the party", Lenin said:
★ Real party unity is not only ideological unity, it is also unity of organisation which is correct line of the KPD. The left sectarians of the KAPD later de-generated into a counter-revo-lutionary, anti-Soviet, anarcho-sydicalist group and some of them even found their way into

### Neumann's Cpposition

Later in 1930 a left sectarian Later in 1930 a left sectarian group in the KPD, under the leadership of Neumann opposed the Leninist policy of united front and KPD's Programme on German National question. The Neumann group though it did not formally form a parallel party, "rebelled" against the majority Them takened in the the party, "rebelled" again majority. They indulged wing phrase-mongering against the KPD's tactical line of achieving a united front with the Social Democrats to prevent a fascist takeover. Neumann's opposition was to the People's Front tactics of the party to broaden its base and achieve national democratic tasks against

The "leftists" then opposed be learnt from the struggle unity moves between the KPD waged against the dogmatist and the Indenendent Socialist and left sectarian splitters in the party of Germany in which past. If they can help us to were many revolutionaries. work more diligently than ever (Comrade Thaelmann came to KPD from this group of well learnt.

### 

# **With the Congress as a whole the front. The Political thesis but with the progressive, demo-**of the 2nd Party Congress in it, still 1948 came to this conclusion with the national with the assumption that the however determined by a section of the national with the assumption that the however determined by a section of the national with the assumption that the however determined by a section of the national with the assumption that the however determined by a section of the national with the assumption that the however determined by a section of the national box as the Barty of the nati

refutes it. Subsequent events in 1962 and 1963 have brilliantly con-e-mod comrade Ajoy Ghosh's and 1963 have milliantly con-firmed comrade Ajoy Chosh's characterisation of Right re-action as mentioned above, so the authors of the draft had to remain silent about it. Their silence about the class character of Right reaction exposes

hollowness of their analysis. It is abundantly clear that the draft program adopted by the dogmatists is based upon an erroneous analysis of the Indian on, the real essence of was summed up by Com-Ajoy Ghosh in the followrade Ajoy

basic policies of the "the basic policies of the Nehru government, remain as before, national bourgeois poli-cies—both in the external and internal sphere. At the same time, the rightists have tighten-ed their grip over the Congress organisation and are striving to ed their grip over the Congress organisation and are striving to move the government to the right. Many of their attempts have been resisted. Sharp con-flicts over policies have arisen inside the Congress, but also on many issues they have succeed-ed in bringing about some shift to the right." (*ibid.*—p. 6-7) This was said by Comrade Ajoy Ghosh in 1961. Since then the differentiation within the Congress which is the party of the national bourgeoisie as a

the differentiation within the Congress which is the party of the national bourgeoisie as a whole has grown sharper. The state of the national bourgeoisie is led by a leader ship though compromise be-tween the Rightists and Pro-gressives within the national bourgeoise. As crisis deepens, a section of the big bour-geoise is raising the banner of toold against the compro-mising. leadership for a shift to the right while the task of form for a radical shift to the Left. It is in this historical context that the programme of "peo-ples' democracy" has to be assessed. Obviously, it is altoge-the a fifterent historical con-text from that of the Post-war situation in East European and certain Asian countries where peoples' democracies emerged. A peoples' democratic front under the leadership of the work-ing class cannot be mechani-cally applied to the contempo-rary Indian situation; because, unlike those countries, the lea-dership of the national bour-

\* From Page 10

ers Parties.

PAGE TWEIVE

cribe any other meaning

to the principle of peaceful coexistence is to distort this Leninist principle, to dis-tort our position." This is

the position of the CPSU which is supported by the overwhelming majority of the Communist and Work-

The Soviet Union has open-

ly declared: "Every people fighting against the colo-nialists has been firmly supported by the Soviet Union

and other socialist countries. Today we declare once again,

for all to hear, that the peo-

ples fighting for their libera-tion can continue to count firmly on our support."

MOVEMENT

Ruling Party and its policy geoisie has not gone over to refutes it. Imperialism and therefore not Subsemment events in 1962 exhausted its leadership of the masses.

It pursues a path of a compromise, but still opposes im-perialism and feudalism. Our task in India is therefore akoperialism and feudalism. Our task in India is therefore alto-gether a different political task from national liberation by over-throwing the power of the colla-boratist big bourgeoiste as in the peoples' democratic coun-tries. Our New Task was pre-cisely formulated by the Vijava-wada Congress as one of build-ing the National Democratic Front, and not the Peoples' Democratic Front. Roth in the particul demo-

Both in the national demo-cratic front as well as in peo-ples' democratic front, the national bourgeoisie has a posi-tive place. The difference is that in the peoples' democratic front, the leadership of the working class is decisive with the Communist Party playing the leading role in the State. But national democratic front is mainly the unity of two political forces-masses led by the progressive elements of the masses led by the working class exercised through the Communist Party. Both in the national demo-

class exercisea mount-Communist Party. The latter's leading role is to be played in fulfilling the task of forging this unity of the pro-

ship; in its bid for ideological supremacy, attempts to dis-tort this truth and impose its

ultra-revolutionary concepts

on the struggling peoples of

Asia, Africa and Latin Ame-

rica. The national liberation struggles are closely and in-

dissolubly linked up with so-

the Chinese leadership might

try, these forces cannot be placed in juxtaposition; it is

only in their complete har-mony the shackles of colonial

domination will be thrown asunder toward a complete

liberation of all subject peo-

cialist forces and

NATIONAL LIBERATION And this is no false declaration or an outburst of mere words. The Chinese leader-

France, venezueia, chana, kenya, Rumania and India—which was represented by Parvathi Krishnan, vice-president of the All-India Trade Union Congress. The first report presented to the conference was by Louis Saillant, general secretary of the WFTU. His report gave a detailed assessment of the world trade union movement and particularly the participation of working women in the struggle of the trade unions for the implemen-tation of the Programme of Ac-tion adopted at the Fifth World Trade Union Congress. The report of Louis Saillant reiterated the need for mobi-

The report of Louis Saillant reiterated the need for mobi-lisation of all forces of workers and trade unions in the struggle for victory of the principles of peaceful coexitence between states with different social sys-tems, and of elimination of upon as a means of settling in-

That is not what the Left-

That is not what the Left-to inside the Congress. At the same time, the bulk of those who are our political allies are also inside the Congress." In these words Comrade Ajoy Chosh unfolded the concrete r question of the national demo-cratic front. Therefore, as he had stated, "we must look upon democratic fields and potential allies in the struggle for consolidation of political independence, de-fence of parliamentary demoperson who are prepared to fight for the consolidation of independence, for the defence of democracy and foreign poli-cy against Right reaction but not prepared to accept the leadership of the Communist Partu.

Congress as the Party of the na-tional bourgeoisie has gone over to imperialism.

That is not what the Left. Sectarian draft programme pro-oses. Its immediate aim is to set up a peoples' democratic front under the leadership of the Communist Party. Obviously such a front leaves out of account the democratic-patriotic forces inside the Con-gress, who are prepared to fight for the consolidation of independence, for the defence of democracy and foreign poli-cy against Right reaction but

in the struggle for consolidation of political independence, de-fence of parliamentary demo-cracy, of foreign policy, public sector, agrarian reforms etc. The assumption is that only ours must be a fraternal atti-tude.", (New Situation and our Tasks, p. 63) It is not a line of united front

## WORKING WOMEN'S CONFERENCE

The Second International Conference of Working Women held at Bucharest from May 11 to 16, was attended by nearly 380 delegates from 54 countries.

THE conference was held after years of preparation following the decision of the Fifth World Trade Union Con-gress held at Moscow in 1960. The first international conference of working women was held at Budapest in 1956. During these eight years the movement of the ternational disputes, as outlined in the Programme of Action. He further explained that "the struggle for peaceful coexis-tence creates for the working class most facourable conditions Budapest in 1956. During these eight years the movement of the working women had grown stronger; new trade unions had also emerged in the newly libe-rated countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America presenting new problems as well as new dimenliberation movement". He also drew a picture of the conditions of working women in general, giving details about spe-cific problems facing them, such as equal pay for equal work, need for vocational training, so-cial security etc. The two other reports were presuted by Gali Memendez of Cuba, and Setiati Surastro of Indonesia, a secretary of the ions of movement.

sions of movement. Women workers played signi-ficant roles in these national liberation struggles and are to-day working together with the men to strengthen their neuky-won independence. Representa-tices of working women from five continents speaking differ-ent cultures, and from countries of carying economic and social systems met together in this conference to discuss their spe-cific problems as working women and as working mothers, in addition to the demands of the working class as a whole. At the outset the conference-elected to the presidium were mem-bers of the presentatives from USSR, Cuba, Italy, Yugoslavia, Trade Union Congress. The first report presented to the conference was by Louis Women workers played signi-ficant roles in these national

tems, and of elimination war as a means of settling

ment. Taking his cue from the leaders of a certain country, Louis Saillant, general secretary of the WFTU, has gone out of his way to canoass such a line."

Most delegates were strongly critical of this accusation and in in the Programme of Action. He further explained that "the struggle for peaceful coexis-tence creates for the working class most forourable conditions for developing unity among the workers and new possi-bilities for a great upsurge in the class struggle in the capi-tallst countries and in antional liberation movement". He also drew a picture of the sonditions of working women in the programme of Action. May 15, the Chinese delegate batting that her delegation had been "attacked" demanded the right of reply. Again the Chinese the floor. Her speech was a bitter attack on the Government of the traying the freedom struggles of the Cuban, Congolese and Alge-rian peoples. rian peoples.

Chinese delegate's The speech aroused great indig-nation among the participants, and particularly those of Cuba and particularly those of Cuba and France. Delegation after delegation demanded that the Chineve delegate leave the ros-trum. When she persised, they should that the microphone system be switched off so that

### **ROZA DESHPANDE**

she would remain unheard. The she would remain unheard. The Chinese delegate's attack was calmly replied to by the leader of the Soviet delegation, T. Nikolayeva, and the attempt of the Chinese to sidetrack the discussion was effectively foiled. The conference later adopted a Charter of Economic and So-cial Rights of Working Women memorandum for submis and a memorandum for submis-sion before the forthcoming ses-sion of ILO by an overwhelming majority. The Indonesian dele-gates voted against, the Japanese delegation remained neutral, and the Chinese, Albanians and Koreans did not participate in the

ment and conclusions of the con-reports. The atmosphere of the con-reports. The atmosphere of the con-voting. The conference also accepted the proposal of the WFTU secre-tariat to set un a permanent inter-national consultaive committee on the economic and social problems of of vomen workers. The adoption of the charter by this conference under the leader-ship of the WFTU is an event of grant and the construction of the charter by this conference under the leader-ship of the WFTU is an event of grant and consultative committee on the economic and social problems of vomen workers. The adoption of the charter by this conference in the history of the world trade union movement, and particularly for the women lant personally. The Chinese ship of the WFTU is an event of delegate said "however there is great simificance in the history of great simificance in the history of the world trade union movement, (in the trade union movement and particularly for the women and particularly for the women movement, workers of every country. It has opposing imperialism and carbon workers of every country. It has been rightly acclaimed by the representatives of various countine adoocates unprincipled tries as a step forward in the 'representatives of working women for effect orposes class struggle and national liberation move-

LUCKNOW: The secretariat of the Uttar Pradesh state council of the Communist Party of India, meet-ing in Lucknow on June 3 and 4, made a detailed review of the inner-party situation in the state. review of the inner-party situation in the state.

FTER discussing the sion by seizing the party machinery. The secretariat was, however, confident that both these units will come tre in the state, the secretariat passed a long resolution describing their activities in eight places hanely, and position in the Party and how to combat the disruptors. Unnao, Barabanki, Kanpur, The secretariat noted that Allahabad and Gorakhpur, describing their activities The secretariat notes that the splitters have got sumministies with them. But the names of these 71 have they are active only in three they are active only not been made public. This council has a secretariat of three 'and Shiv Kuma Misra, who is one of the 32 suspended members of the National Council, is its secretary. secretary.

The council has been named "The U.P. Organising Com-mittee of the CPI". A fairly big office has been set up in Lucknow which is called the "Red Flag Office".

From the beginning they have been calling upon Party members to revolt against the official leadership of the Party. Their main weapon is slander and calumny against the Party leaders. Giving free vent to their re-

cently acquired habits, the splitters have organised the burning of JANYUG, the Party's weekly, copies of M. A. Susloy's report to the central committee of the Communist Party of Soviet Union and such other documents

Despite all these, the sec-retariat noted, the vast majority of the Party members and all but two small engaged in the splitting acti-vities have not paid heed to the sentiments and appeals of district councils have firmly stood by the state council the CPL the detailed, districtwise the state of the sentiments and appeals of the state bers for unity, or of the state

analysis which the secre-tariat made showed that in secretariat felt much gratified to learn that the central sec-retariat and the chairman of the whole of the state, only in two small units, the Sul-tanpur and Lakhimpur dis-trict councils, the splitters the Party, S. A. Dange, took have a majority. In two other units, Hardol

immediate steps to appeal to these comrades to consider the grave situation created by and Nainital, the splitters have been able for the time the death of Jawaharlal Nehru The state secretariat was of being to create some confu- and to make it possible for the opinion that a large num-

## SOVIET TRIBUTE

Addressing the meeting the Indian Ambassador T. N. Kaul said that Jawaharlal Nehru was said that Jawaharlal Nehru was not only an Indian, he was also a true citizen of the world. His heart went out to all those who suffered or were oppressed-whether by colonialism, imperial-ism, hunger, poverty, disease or man's exploitation by man. Above all he we's a man of neared who all, he was a man of peace, who believed that war was avoidable and peace inevitable.

"For the people of the over Union he had a special

• FROM BACK PAGE
 sympathy and support of the soviet people. Soviet-Indian friendship not only has a rich past, but also a reliable present and a glorious future."
 • Addressing
 • Other country or people. Nabru the peoples of India and respect disarmament and help- occupation, devoted much time and energy to the peace movement.

T, N. Kaul disclosed that in his last talk with him on March 9, 1964 Jawaharlal Nehru said: "You may tell the Sopiet leaders and people, if they ask you, that no matter. who is in power in India, our policy of nonalignment and peaceful coexistence, planned and orderly development to-wards socialism, will remain because it reflects the will of the vast majority of our people." the vast majority of our people.

POLICIES

too discredited to be able to do anything. Indeed, it has been found that the core of the splitters' support lies among people who have been expelled from the. Party or who had gone in-

active, some of them renegades.

The maximum total sup-

The secretariat noted with

regret that comrades who are

council. In this connection, the state

SPLITTERS

high.

IN MINORITY

back into the Party fold very

soon. In eight places namely,

the National Council to rescind the action taken against the 32 if they agreed to work inside the Party according to the norms of Party function-

ing. It was a matter of deep sorrow to the secretariat that these comrades have spurned all these appeals, the resolution said

Instead of returning to instead of returning to sanity, these comrades were increasingly sliding into the morass of political and moral degradation. They were intensifying their baseless and slanderous cam. paign of character assassi-nation at every level and were thus dirtying the political and social life of the

The maximum total sup-port which the splitters can olaim in the state cannot extend beyond eight to ten per cent of the total Party membership, concluded the secretariat. Barring one or two nices the colliter In view of all this the secretariat felt all the more convinced about the correctness of the action taken by the state council against the split-

ters. It made clear that all those secretariat. Barring one or ters. two places, the splitters' It made clear that all those support was in areas where owing allegiance to the new the political consciousness party functioning under the of the people was not very name of the "U.P. Organising Committee of the CPP' and work under its guidance and discipline had no place in the

Communist Party of India. But at the same time, it was stated that all those who dissociated from it and agreed to function under the Party discipline would be welcome back to the CPI. Every Party member and unit would have right to place its opinion on ideolo-gical and political questions inside the Party and strive for their acceptance by the Party. The state secretariat was of

and energy to the peace move-ment. "Dreaming of India's economic and social progress, Nehru linked it with peace," Mirza Tursun-Zade, the Chairman of the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, stressed in his speech. He noted the importance of Nehru's initiative in the creation of a united front of newly inde-pendent countries in the struggle against the intrigues of imperial-ism and neocolonialism, in the development and consolidation of ties between Afro-Asian countries. The Afghan Ambassador to the

"For the people of the Soviet Union he had a special place in his heart and mind as they had for him," Kad stressed. "He had high esteen for your great leader, Nikul Sergeyevich Khrushchov, whom he regarded as a personal friend. He admired your soun-try and many of your achieve-ments." The Indian Ambassador point ed out that Nehru valued high-ly 'India's friendship with the Soviet Union.—"not merely be-cause you offered us economic and technical, assistance." He valued your friendship even more because i was not aimed against any. The Afghan Ambassador to the Soviet Union Abdul Hakim Shah-alami, who is the doyen of the

### From RAMESH SINHA

ber of Party members was not aware of the reality that the CPI is being disrupted at the behests of the Chinese leader-ship which has taken up wrong positions on almost all issues facing the Communist movement. Hence the secretariat has called for an ideological-poli-tical education campaign to

SITUATION

Party Members Stand Against Splittism

Hence the secretariat has called for an ideological-poli-tical education campaign to be launched immediately in the whole Party. It was decided to publish regularly matter for such education in the Denty washing to the secretariat is confident that the Party in Uttar Pra-dech will be able to rise to the Party weekly JANYUG. The splitting activities have

desh will be able to rise to the The splitting activities have derailed the work of the Party during the last three or four months. The condition of the ges to work without sparing itself in any way."

### **BIHAR KISANS** PLAN MORCHA Demands Formulated At The Conference

### From K. GOPALAN

PATNA: The third conference of the Bihar State of Bihar on their pressing demands.

THE conference called upon agricultural workers. The confer-the agricultural workers to ence after a through discussion THE conference called upon the agricultural workers to prepare for launching a statewide strike and satyagraha against high prices and for securing minimum wages and four kathas of land for house construction.

While the agitation will cover While the agitation will cover the entire state, three districts— Bhagalpur, Mongbyr and Caya have been selected for intensive struggle. These are the districts where agricultural workers are more organised than other places. In these districts they have fought a series of struggle and accord a series of struggles and se partial success. According to the report placed before the conference over 30 per cent of the total population in these districts are agricultural workers.

### MEETINGS AND DEMONSTRATIONS

The first stage of the struggle could begin in this month when agricultural workers all over the state would hold meetings and demonstrations at block levels to press their demands. Then massive demonstration Then massive demonstrations would be held at district head quarters on June 29. This de-monstration would be jointly sponsored by the State Khet Mazdoor Sabha and Bihar State Kisan Sabha.

The entire deliberations of the conference were guided by the report of the Agricultural Work-ers' Enquiry Commission, which was appointed by the Bihar State was appointed by the Bihar State Khet Mazdoor Sabha. The 5-man Commission headed by Karyanand Sharma, conducted a study of the conditions of agricultural workers in 60 villages of Monghyr and Gaya district.

The recommendations of the Commission provided a basis for formulating the demands of the

Khet Mazdoor Sabha held at Mirhati, Bhagalpur, from May 25 to 27 outlined a plan for a statewide struggle of the most oppressed and exploited agricultural workers

ence after a through discussion adopted the following minimum demands.

- 1. (a) Uniform minimum wages be fixed for all parts of the state and panchayats be entrusted with the task of implement-
- (b) In view of the abnormal rise in prices of all essential commodities the existing rates of minimum wages be raised by 25 per cent.
- (a) Progressive land ceiling be imposed and surplus land be distributed among agri-cultural workers and landless peasants.
- Agricultural workers be given a minimum of ten kathas to one bigha rent-free land for cultivation. (b)
- (c) Each agricultural worker family be given 4 kathas of land for house construction.
   (d) All evicted home-steads be rectired to the steads be
- restored to the workers and further evictions be stopped
- a) Kamiya system be abolished and all loans under this system be remitted.
  (b) A commission be appointed to enquire into the indebted-ness of the agricultural workers.
- (c) All repayment of loans be stopped and a debt concilia-tion board be appointed to examine the real position. Repayment of loans be arranged through credit co-operative societies.

The conference decided to launch an agitation to press these

A 31-man state council of the Khet Mazdoor Sabha was elected with Khargdhari Misra (Tumba-Khet with. ria baba) as the president and Karyanand Sharma as the general secretary.

# Genesis Of Jay Workers' Struggle

### \* From Page 3

have opened the eyes of all. It shows that the class, if united and well organised. is capable of marvels of en durance and self-sacrifice which can confound foes and friends alike. Of course the Jay workers, by virtue of their high degree of technical skills and relatively high earnings, had certain advantages too. Many could secure nart-time employment elsewhere. Many, more far sighted than others were careful to husband their resources to build their own private little "strike funds" as it were.

But this does not detract from the heroic tenacity displayed by the mass: nor from fact that at least a third of the strikers found themselves in really acute distress as the weeks rolled by and became dependent on meagre relief provided by the Union. while many more only with the help more survived and sales of nersonal belong-

### Solidarity Upsurge ....

No strike in recent times, at least in West Bengal, has been able to mobilise such tremendous solidarity and support behind it. This has heen nerhans the most hearening feature of all. Several hundred trade unions, big a small affiliated to AITUC or o other centres and indepen-

dent federations, donated nearly One Lakh of Bujees to the Jay workers' relief fund. On May 20 at the call of the BPTUC and UTUC and of six left parties, a statewide general strike and hartal

Many of them made contributions more than once, and repeatedly organised collec-tions from their members. To mention only a few outstanding examples: Bata workers gave Rs. 9,000; workers of the National Rubber Works Rs. 5 000; middle class employees of Dalhousie Square office over Rs. 12,000. But for thi 0 unprecedented assistance the strike could not have lasted as long as it did. Due credit must go to the Jay workers themselves, whose exceller organisation and initiative en excellent abled them to carry out this fund collection drive on an extensive scale.

But solidarity was not confined to cash alone. Fraternal support of the working class and the democratic public was expressed thro-ugh dozens of meetings, rallies, demonstrations, and conventions. A broad based trade union co-ordination committee and a citizens' committee were set up to mobilise support. And the high water mark of this movement were two successful direct actions:

On April 16 at the call of the West Bengal Engi-neering Workers Federation, the overwhelming majority the state's one and a half lakh engineering workers went on a one-day token strike, incidently the first of its kind.



From OUR CORRESPONDENT Rajasthan

## **SPLITTERS' LEADER GETS POOR RESPONSE**

JAIPUR: After announcing a rival state council of their own and the spurious claim of Poonamiya being the secretary of this state council, the splitters worked out a plan of a whirlwind tour of their leader Basava-. punnaiah in Rajasthan.

HE tour was scheduled to convened in a Dharmashala. commence from Alwar on Party members from all over the June 1. The programme included district were invited. Poonainiya holding general body meetings went from one member to other-and public meetings. In this the requesting them to come and plitters tried to play on the senti nents of the comrades, appealing ments of the comrades, appealing to them to at least come and "listen to what we have to say." They thought that in this way possibly many comrades would come and listen, and then they will be able to palm it off as their support. their support.

However the district committees were oigilent. The: Alwar Committee of the Party immediately took steps. The organisers of this rival splitters programme namely Hariram, Gopikishan Kathin and others were immediately suspended from all responsible positions in the Party and warned against such oven splitting activities. the district.

would not cut ice. A general body meeting of all the comrades was

PAGE FOURTEEN

Despite all this, out of the

450 comrades in the district only 18 attended this meeting. Next day, they called another meeting to set up a rival com-mittee. In that meeting the attendance declined and only eight Party members were pre-sent. These eight have been taken to form an organising committee.

The effect of this rebuff was visible when Basavapunniaiah spoke in the public meeting on June 1. He only scolded the soucre immediately suspended from all responsible positions in the Party and warned against such oren splitting activities. The resolution of the district executive was printed and cir-culated to all Party members of the district s of this country.

The result was that when Having received such a dis-basavapunnaiah did arrive at appointing "reception" on the first lwar he realised that disruption hop of his programme, Basava-pould not cut ice. A general body punniah changed his programme acting of all the comrades was and returned to DelhL

were successfully observed on the twin issues of the Jay strike and the crisis of high prices.

Resides this must be noted that the workers of the Jay factory at Hyderabad also carried out a solidarity token strike at the end of February.

What does all this show? The working class and toiling

T is a measure of

greatness that even the

down in homage to him.

The reaction of their

leaders and press was

truly interesting to

watch. Guru Golwalkar

watch. Guru GOlWalkar expressed grief at the untimely passing of "our revered and beloved Prime Minister." He praised him as a leaader who "led the country through thick and thin."

The ORGANISER said that

The ORGANISER said that "the personality of Jawaharlal stood out as a jewel, and that nobody ever thought of re-placing him." (Had not 'Guruji' asked him only two years ago to step aside?). It further said "he helped put. Bharat high on the international map."

life was dedicated to the na-tion" and "due to his loyal heart beat for humanity he had come to be regarded as an apostle of peace in the world" it said. And so on.

I will not deny that my feelings at this fulsome praise from this most curious species in our land was not unmixed with a measure of amusement. They stood against everything that Nehru stood for. They

were ceaselessly engaged in carrying on a most unbecoming campaign of vilification against Nehru.

In fact, some strange things happened in their offices when the news of Nehru's passing away came. All weeklies are in an ad-

anced stage of preparation on Wednesday, and so were the ORGANISER and the PANCHJANYA on the fate-

PANCHJANIA on the fate-ful day. Bulk of copy was already in the press and the matter composed. It con-tained many scurrilous pieces against Nehru, as usual. There was hurried re-exami-pation of copy and matter

nation of copy and matter and some formes were re-

Finally the ORGANISER

and PANCHJANYA appeared

with appropriate window-dressing, carrving large por-traits and tributes to the de-

made.

the inter

lunatic fringe" knelt

Jawaharlal Nehru's

people correctly and sponta-neously took the Jay strike as a symbol of their own capa-struggle in West Bengal. This a symbol of their own capa-city to fight in defence of their interests and against the entrenched power of mo-nopoly capital under the ex-ceptionally difficult conditions of a proclaimed "national emergency" under cover of which the D. I. Rules are used to suppress the peoples' rights

and to defend the profiteers. They instinctively felt that its sweep and consciousness.

if this strike was broken by starvation or repression, it

over its territories." Natural ly, such secret deals are no revealed to others. Another

-"Hindus inside and out

"LUNATIC FRINGE" PAYS

HOMAGE TO NEHRU

side

Christianity."

(p. 6)

thought otherwise.

it was not possible to re-make the whole issue. The re-understanding of the

\* \* \*

power". (p. 8) These self-contradictory ut-

tion.

consciousness roused the masses out of their traditional apathy towards individual strikes and made them see this particular trial of strengand made them see th in a new and different light, as a common issue affecting all of them. Only this can explain the new spirit of solidarity which we have seen and the breadth of

(To be continued)

U1 people and great humanism on the inside pages we come on the inside pages we come across the following: "The brothers Nehru and Abdullah regarded Kashmir. as their private preserve. They have struck a bargain over its territories." Natural-

Nehry tried to destroy India have Damocles' India of Bam and Kriel PANCHJANYA, May 18, 1964. sword hanging over their heads. This state of things Nehru was personally so ambitious that he wanted neads. Ins state of things will continue so long as. Nehru's government conti-nues or as Candhiji said, till every Hindu in the land is converted task. to stick to the Prime Minister-ship at all costs and would vacate the gaddi only for his daughter whom he was carefulrted into Islam or ly grooming for the post.

Nehru had lowered India's The ORGANISER, which frontpaged Nehru's epitaph as the man who with all his mind and heart loved India and the prestige in the world India's name was mind in the international sphere due to his foreign policy.

Indian people, carried insinua-tions on inside pages that Nehru, plotted with Maulana Their own words, uttered in tribute to him today, contra-dict all the above contentions, The PANCHJANYA spoke Azad against Hindi ("Sardar tribute to f "well nigh half a century Vallabhbai Patel foiled the dict all the f service, sacrifice and deeds" attempts of Pt. Nehru and of the man. His "sacrificing Maulana Azad to prevent the ife was dedicated to the na-incorporated in the constitu-tion " and "due to his loyal incorporated in the constitu-tion for the man incorporated in the constitu-It shows that their propaganda is untruthful, evil and anti-

patriotic. As for the downright abuses which they hurled against Nehru (and for that matter against every decent and pro-gressive Indian) these will con-stitute a standing disgrace. In the last week's spotlight I quoted a typical piece from the PANCHIANYA Here is On the same page it des-cribed Nehru as a man suf-fering from "utter blind-ness." Again it alleged that during Gandhiji's lifetime Nehru was impatient to sairs curveme river in the quoted a typical piece from the PANCHJANYA. Here is seize supreme power in the land ("Pandit Nehru had to another from the same scribe: serve a period of impatient apprentice to Mahatma Gandhi to seize the supreme

Q: You have written that Sheikh Abdullah is You have written that Sheikh Abdullah is Nehru's brother. Kindly clarify if they are hlood-brothers or brothers just because they both belong to India?

These self-contradictory ut-terances reveal the Jekyll-and-Hyde face of the RSS and Jan Sangh leaders. It also shows them up as men of no charac-ter. If they had any strength and honesty they could have stuck to their guns saying as they propagate, that Nehru Whether there is kinship A of blood is known only to God. I only know this much that once in reply much that once in reply to a question by Dr. Mookherjee, the short tem-pered Nehru had so de-clared angrily that "the Sheikh cannot do any Sheikh cannot do any such thing I know him very well. He is my younger brother." (May 4, 1964) his foreign policy. Instead they started parroting the millions of true Indians who

On May 25 again — two days before Nehru's death— The forces of obscurantism he wrote:

The forces of obscurantism saw a real enemy in Nehru. So they campaigned against him with lies and innuento and quite often with downright abuse. The following were the main planks of their campaign. Q: Is it true that Sheikh Alidullah is Nehru's real hrother?

A: That is what we hear. Only God knows what the truth is. I do not know. Only Guru Golwalkar's 'Chelas' can perform such

can perform--GARUDA

JUNE 14 1984

The Government of the People's Republic of China has come out on May 30 with another statement oppos-ing the Soviet Union's participation in Second Asian-African Conference that is to be held in March next.

THIS statement marks a propaganda which always big advance on the part tried to scare away the Asian of the Chinese government, African nationalists from any for it is for the first time in association with the Socialist this statement that they con-Soviet Union. cede that a substantial nart of he Soviet Union does lie in the "political centre" of a Asia; earlier they stubborn- certain state being in Europe ly refused to yield on that. "Nobody denies the fact that the Soviet territory spreads over Europe and Asia and sists of two parts lying respectively in Europe and Asia", its capital is Moscow or Alma says the latest Chinese state-ment. Union is recognised as a

Foreign Minister Chen Yi was was China's chief delegate at the preparatory meeting held at Djakarta from April 10 tc 15 stated in his farewell statement made at Djakarta "that the Indian delegation at the meeting proposed to invite the Soviet IInion to the Second Asian-African Conference. This proposal was impro-per, he said, because the So-viet Union was not an Asian or African country." (PEKING REVIEW, April 14, p. 6)

Thus, from flying in the face of the elementary facts of geography to a willing-ness at least to concede them—this is a substantial advance on the part of the Chinese Gover we have to be thankful to Shameless

them for it. What then is the Chinese objection to Soviet participa-Attempt tion in the Asian-African

Conference, once they have conceded the fact that "Soviet territory spreads over Europe and Asia"? The objection that is claimed to be based on "principle" and therefore, firm and irreversible, is expounded as follows:

"But in international relations each state is a single entity and can have only one olitical centre, and it cannot e said that the Soviet Union, has two political centres sim-ply because its territory ex-tends over Europe and Asia. All the more is it impossible say that the political centre the Soviet Union is rather in Asia because the Asian part of the Soviet Union is bigger

than the European part. "True, two-thirds of the Soviet territory lie in Asia, but equally important is the fact that nearly three-fourths of the Soviet population live in Europe. What is even more decisive, the political centre o the Soviet Union as a single entity has always been. in Europe and, therefore, it has traditionally been acknowledged as a European country No matter how vast Soviet territory in Asia may be, this cannot turn the Soviet Union into an Asian country." (Em-phasis added).

### OId Mutton

Pretty firm and clear and "principled", isn't it? And we are back again from where we started! Unfortunately, all this expounding of principle is nothing but a throwback to what British imperialism propagated assiduously through-out our pre-independence era and the "tradition" referred to is nothing but the imperialist-sponsored tradition, which Asia and Africa have rejected and are striving to its earlier experince of autho-completely demolish and up-ritative Chinese documents root. The "principle" and the quoting their own garbled are essentially tradition based in traditional anti-

quoting their own garbled versions of what our late Prime Minister supposedly said somewhere. The memory ommunism of the imperialist

Editor: Romesh Chandra.

make the whole issue. The re-sult is a curious admixture. Indian ethos. ("Pandit Nehru While on the front page of PANCH1/ANYA Nehru issue we fit only for mock heroic treat-read of his dedication to the ment") — ORGANISER. And

NEW AGE

What does all the talk of of a amount to in the present con

text? After all, how does it matter in terms of qualifying for participation in the Asian African Conference, whether Ata, so long as the Soviet Union is recognised as a multi-national socialist state and not branded an imperia list state comprising a ruling race and several enslaved

colonial territories?

1962, and how it "quoted" Nehru from his DISCOVERY

OF INDIA to prove that India

had imperialist and expan-

sionist ambitions, is still fresh

in our minds as a raw

wound. The Chinese authori-

ties have forfeited the right to

Moreover, if the Chinese

government is so willing to agree with our late Prime

Minister why don't they also

agree with what he advocated

through his representative at

the April 1964 Diakarta meet-

ing? And if they are really in

a mood to agree with Jawa-harlal Nehru after he is no

more, there is a whole lot of questions including the Co-lombo proposals and their

accentance in toto by China

in order to resolve ouo stand-

As for Jawaharlal Nehru's

European, and

views regarding whether the Soviet Union is Asian also or

whether on that basis it has

the right to be regarded as a member of the Asian-African

family or not, we have his considered views to go by.

Here is what one of his bio

graphers, one who cannot be

accused of being pro-Soviet by any stretch of imagination

quotes as Nehru's reactions during his first visit to the Soviet Union which took place

"Here was a city (Mos

cow) both Eastern and

Western. Its streets were crowded with many Asian

races, and Nehru felt the

fascination of 'this strang

Eurasian country' of the hammer and sickle. 'In

Moscow', he worte, 'Asia

peeps out from every corner,

not tropical Asia but the

Asia of the wide steppes and

north and east and centre.

It has heavy boots on and

every variety of long coat and hat." (Jawaharlal Nehru by Frank Moraes, variety of long coat hat." (Jawaharlal

cold region

ʻIn

the

as long ago as 1927:

ing dispute.

"decisively"

quote Nehru ever since

The Government of the People's Republic of China bringing up the question of the "political centre" of the Soviet Union being in Europe and making it a ques-tion of absolute principle can only mean that it is echoing the traditional slander of imperialism against the Soviet Union and unashamedly appealing to that infamous "tradition" in order to impose its will on the Asian-African Con-

More shameless, however, is the Chinese government's at-tempt to drag in the name of our dear, departed Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru to buttress its argument. A more cynical lot than the Chinese rulers is difficult to conceive of, and a cheaper gibe at the Indian people in their hour of grief is difficult to imagine! the participant at the Second Conference came at the Djakarta Preparatory Meeting from India, as acknowledged in the above quoted piece of Chen Yi from the PEKING REVIEW. Now, the Chinese government in its statement issu-ed three days after Prime Minister Nehru passed away stoop to the low level of quoting something they claim he said in the preparatory stages of the First Asian-African Confernce to refute his stand about the

e proposal to invite viet Union as a full-fie

Asian\_African

Second.

of May 30, 1964;

Bandung Conference.

This is what the PRC Government says in its statement

### Stand

the

·pp. 117-118).

Indian

"At a press conference held in Djakarta on Decemyer 30, 1954, the late Prime Minister

It would do the Chinese Nehru of India, one of the sponsoring nations of the government no good to drag in Nehru's name to fight Nehru's wishes about the said that 'Soviet Asia was' not in-Second Asian-African Confervited because politically it was part of a European unit, ence. What Nehru wanted this Conference to be and the role namely, the Soviet Union.' He he wanted the USSR to play was quite right." Although it is highly flatin it was very clearly cogently placed before th tering and somewhat refresh-ing to hear from the Chinese April Freparatory Meeting at Diakarta by his representative government that Jawaharlal there, namely Sardar Swaran Singh. This is what Swaran Nehru was "quite right" about something at some time, still Singh told that meeting:

one cannot help feeling sho-"... the Indian delegation cked and disgusted at the disis of the view that the Soviet Union should be invited as a honesty and the hypocrisy and the cynicism that underfull participant to the second lie this whole attempt. For one thing, the world Afro-Asian Conference This view is motivated by various has not yet quite overcome important considerations.

"Principally, we must ensure that the views of a

### of "More on Nehru's Philoso-phy", the infamous PEOPLE'S Chairman, is that geographi-DAILY article of October 27, cally the Soviet Union is also part of Asia. This fact has been recognised over the years, in the Soviet Union's participation in many Afro-Asian conferences at the people's levels....

China Falls Back On

**Imperialism's** Arsenal

Insists on Keeping USSR Out of Second Bandung

"It is significant that the participation of the Soviet Union in Asian and Afro-Asian affairs has not merely been a formal one. It is wellknown that the Soviet Union has throughout fully demonstrated its keen interest and concern in the problems and tribulations of Afra-Asian countries. It has played a notable role in assisting the freedom movements in Asia and Africa. "One has only to remem-

ber the determined stand mediately, was British taken by the USSR against the tripartite aggression against the UAR in 1956 and during the Suez crisis and its resolute suppor for Algarian indpendence, to appreciate the magnitude of the debt of gratitude which we owe to this great country. It is, therefore, fitting and important that the Soviet Union should take its place among ne and continue as one of us, to assist in the preservation and and promotion of the vital interstes of the Afro-Asian world."

Replying the argument that the Soviet Union could not be invited to the second Asian-African conference because it had not been invited to the first, Swaran Singh told the preparatory meeting that it had been an "unfortunate omission", adding, "and, / in-deed, there were other unfortunate omissions too", including Mongolia and North Korea.

Despite the omission, the Indian delegate told the preparatory meeting, "t the concept of Barr concept of Bandung which our leaders had formulated was being ridiculed in parts of the world, the Soviet Union was in the forefront of those who welned the initiative of the five sponsoring countries in convening an Afro-Asian Conference at that time. It gave full endorsement to the decisions reached at the Conference and the princi-ples enunciated by it. In the United Nations and else-where the Soviet Union has unhesitatingly identified itself with the causes which we of Africa and Asia have esponsed. "My delegation is convinced

that the Union of Soviet So. cialist Republics has a rightful place among the gatherings of Afro-Asian countries We are convinced that the next conference will profit greatly by the participation of the USSR and that such participation will strengthen our growing movement.

Such then has been the stand of Nehru and India and from the gathering of the of all those who want the entire peoples of the two con-Soviet Union to be invited as tinents. Let them answer be-a full-fledged participant in fore the bar of world opinion. sure that the views of a solver of on the bolt of the invited as large and important part of a full-fieldged participant in Asia do not go unrepresent the second Asian-African ted in our deliberations. Conference. The Chinese Gov-

ernment have no coheren case to oppose the proposal. That is why they started with denying the facts of geography and went on insisting till they made themselves thoroughly ridiculous. Only at that stage some of their new Only at allies and patrons helped them to come forth with the argument of the "political centre" of the Soviet Union being in Europe. In fact, this argument was first put forward by the Pakistani delegation several years ago to oppose an invitation to the Soviet Union for an Afro-Asian Economic Conference. They had then argued that countries whose capital was in Asia could alone be considered Asian. Their inspira-tion, "traditionally" and im-

The Chines government has simply taken over those arguments without nausing to think for a moment how they square up with their own claims of being Communists and Marrist-Leninists Fo denying as they do the reality, and actually the very possi-bility, of a multi-national intercontinental socialist state where all nations enjoy freedom and equality, they forfeit their claim of h ed Communists and Marxist-Leninists.

They follow their familia tactics in their government statement of May 30 of accusing the Soviet Union of hering said things which it never said and thus inciting the Afro-Asan countries against it. For instance, the Chinese orginet statement says: "Does the fact that all the large Asian states could fit into the Asian part of the USSR give it more say than all the Asian and African countries put toge ther?"

Nowhere has the Soviet Union claimed, even while informing the Chinese of certain facts of geograph certain facts of geography, "more say than all the Asian and African countries put together". All it claimed was an equal say at the Asian-African conference like any other country situated in the two contin ated in the two continents, as much say as, say Pakis-tan or Turkey, Philippines or Japan. South Vietnam South Korea.

It is the Chinese government and its leadership which seeks to have greater say in regard to the Asian-African Conference than all the other Asian-African countries put together by insisting on a veto to keep the Soviet Union out, while the Soviet Union out a great majority of the Afro-Asian countries want it there and it has every right to be there. Finally, one might ask the

Chinese leadership what sort of upholders of people's rights ley are that they would keep the voice of such a big section of Asian humanity as resides in the Soviet Union sh

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-ZIAUL HAO

## SOVIET TRIBUTE TO NEHRU MEMORIAL MEETING IN MOSCOW

Rich tributes were paid to the late Prime Minister of India Jawaharlal Nehru at a memorial meeting held in Moscow on May 8 and carried on the television

LEXEI. KOSYGIN, First Vice-Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers character-ised Jawaharlal Nehru as an "outstanding statesman of our time, as a passionate fighter for world peace, as a man of great intellect and kindness, and a sincere friend of the Soviet Union."

Nina Popova who presided at the meeting described Nehru as the architect of the policy of India's non-participation in militor tary blocs, the policy that is tary blocs, the policy that is highly appreciated by the peace-loving forces of all the world. She said the late Premier was a She said the late Premier was a sincere advocate of peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems. "We are parti-cularly grieved by this loss", Popova said, "because Nehru was a sincere friend of the Soviet Union and did much to park our two countries not only make our two countries not only good neighbours, but good friends also". Our growing friendship will be an excellent monument to Nehru, Popova said.

in the Alexei <sup>V</sup> Grow Presidium besides Alexei Kosygin, were Andrei Gromyko, Foreign Minister of the USSR, officials and leaders of Soviet public organizations, as well as the Indian Ambassador in Moscow, T. N. Kaul.

a Moscow, T. N. Kaul. "For the Soviet people, as for the rest of progressive mankind", Kosygin said, "Nehru was a tireless and passionate advocate of peace on the earth. We knew him as an experienced and far-sighted statesman, who made an in-valuable contribution to the cause of strengthening mutual understanding and international confidence, as a consistent advocate and active propagan-dist of the policy of peaceful coexistence and nonalignment."

### CONTRIBUTION TO LIBERATION

Alexei Kosygin spoke of Nehru's great contribution to India's liberation from the colonial yoke. The Soviet people had always followed with great had always ronowed sympathy the Indian people's struggle for national liberation, he said. As early as 1908, added Kosygin, Lenin had predicted the inevitable collapse of the colonial regime in India, thereby expressing deep faith in the creative forces of the Indian

Noting the great effect that the October Revolution in Russia had on intensifying the Indian people's struggle for indepen-dence, Kosygin quoted a pas-sage from Nehru's Discovery of sage from Nehru's Discovery of India. "The Soviet Revolution", wrote Nehru in that book, "has greatly advanced human society and lit a bright flame which it is impossible to extinguish." Nehru did art d

Nehru did not share our views Nehru did not share our views in the ideological sphere, Kosy-gin said. His philosophical views were far from Marxism; nevertheless, his stand did re-flect the general interests of vast millions of people on many millions of people on many cardinal questions of the epoch,

dognatic approach to living and deceloping realities. His acquaintance with the Marxist-Leninist outlook played a great role in his understanding of the ways and laws of social development.

Under the impact of the suc-cesses of socialism in the USSR and other socialist countries, Kosygin said, Nehru arrived at the conclusion that capitalism had exhausted its progressive potentialities and should be re-placed with socialism. Of course, Nehru's understanding of socialplaced with socialism. Of course, Nehru's understanding of social-ism differs from our understand-ing. But the fact that Nehru saw the future of India in socialism shows that he recog<sup>2</sup> socialist system over the capi-talist.

### PEACE POLICY

Kosygin spoke extremely high-ly of the policy of peace pursued by Nehru, his. contribution to the struggle for peace and the peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems.

Having chosen the road of nonalignment with military blocs as the main line of its foreign as the as the main line of its foreign policy, the Government of India headed by Nehru made a big contribution to the cause of struggle for the normalisation of international relations.

Nehru had repeatedly stress ed, Kosygin went on, that the policy of nonalignment is not a policy of passive temporisation, policy policy of passive temporisation, self-isolation, retreat from the acute problems of our times, from participation in the solution of world problems. This posi-tion, the position of nonalign-ment, called for firm resolution, a will and a certain degree of courage, he added. Kosygin stressed the fact that Nehru re-garded as one of the greatest ideas of our time the idea, of peaceful coexistence, which lies at the basis of the Soviet ideas of our time the idea of peaceful coexistence, which lies at the basis of the Soviet Union's foreign policy. In deter-mining the foreign political course of India, Nehru strove to find concrete forms for the profind concrete torms for the pro-motion of this policy of peaceful co-existence. Kosygin recalled that India was one of the spon-sors of the five principles of Peachcheal Panchsheel.

Alexet Kosygin pointed to the tremendous successes of the policy of peaceful co-existence, though eight years ago when Khrushchov urged the whole world to implement it, many people in the West avoided even to pronounce the words, "peaceful coexistence" "This is a great rithm. of the words, "peaceful coexistence" "This is a great ofctory of the forces of peace, the forces of progress and a big role in this

belongs to Jawaharlal Nehru" Kosygin said.

He stressed the fact that the Soviet Union highly appreciates the role of the big group of non-aligned countries in the dissemi-nation of the lofty ideas of peaceful coexistence.

### SIMILARITY **OF VIEWS**

The Soviet Union and India have similar positions on a num-ber of cardinal questions of our time. Kosygin stressed. Recalling India's efforts aimed at general and complete disarmament under strict international control, he scrict international control, he mentioned that India was one of the first countries to sign the Moscow treaty on the partial prohibition of nuclear weapon fests.

People vividly remember, said Kosygin, Nehru's statements on the need of settling international problems by peaceful means, his appeals to liquidate military ppeals on the territories of othcountries, to create de-nuclearised zones in the world.

The people who think that after Nehru's death they will be able to bury the policy of nonalignment are deeply mis-taken, Kosygin stressed. This policy has emerged as a result of specific changes in cast areas of Asia, Africa and Latin America. America.

Alexei Kosygin described in detail Nehru's great services in the struggle for the abolition of

colonialism, in strengthening the unity of Asian and African coun-tries, his outstanding role in the successful holding of the Ban-dung Conference. The Soviet Government, he added, is ready to support the convocation of a Second Afro-Asian Conference if its aim is to further rally all the its aim is to further rally all the forces fighting against insperial-ism colonialism, and neocolo-nialism. To make this conference nialism. To make this conference a success, Kosygin pointed out, it is extremely important to ensure the participation in it of all Asian and African states fighting for peace and freedom.

Soviet Government The regards the position o Indian Government at of the Indian Government at the Preparatory Conference on the convocation of the Afro-Aslan conference as proof of its solicitude for the consolidation and cohesion of all the forces of peace and freedom. At that conference India andro is Government of peace and freedom. At that conference India spoke in favour of inviting the Soviet Union, admitting thus the role played by the latter in the historic struggle for the con-solidation of peace and for the total liberation of the peoples of Asia and Africa.

Alexei Kosygin also spoke of the successes, scored by India under the leadership of Nehru, in consolidating her national eco-nomy. The Soviet leader re-minded the audience of the successful economic cooperation be-tween the two countries and that the Soviet Union is now tween the that the helping India in the construction helping India in the construction of more than 30 big industrial and other projects. The Soviet people wholeheartedly wish the Indian people new successes along the road of economic progress.

### FOR FRIENDLY RELATIONS

Soviet people treasure the name of Nehru, said Alexei Kosygin, for his invaluable con-tribution to the consolidation of friendly relations between India and the Soviet Union.

Recalling Nehru's three oisits to the Societ Union, where he was received with tremendous warmth, his exceptionally fruit-ful nersonal contacts with ful personal Nikita Khru with ful personal contacts with Nikita Khrushchoo, Kosygin said, "considering the great importance of personal meet-ings and contacts between the ings and contacts between the Governments, political, and public leaders of the Societ Union and India, we are ready to develop further this useful tradition, the beginning of which was laid during Nehru's lifetime."

We have heard with satis-faction the statement by Lal Bahadur Shastri, who will soon be India's new Prime Minister, that India will follow Nehru's road, Kosygin noted. He added that similar statements were made in Delhi to the members of the Soviet delegation by President Radhakrishnan, Vice-President Zakir Hussain, the President of the Indian National Congress Kamaraj, by Indira Gandhi, by the Speaker of the Lok Sabha, Hukam Singh, and others.

It is an open secret, Kosygin said, that in India there are also reactionary forces, supported by imperialist circles. This is an inised force which strives to live India into the orbit of of involve involve indua into the drint of imperialist policy, to force on her a road contradicting the interests of the Indian people, the require-ments of the country, the tasks of its economic development.

People with outdated views political lunatics and fana--political lunates and fana-tics-are also among the oppo-nents of India's progress. The imperialists give all sorts of help to these forces and are trying to use them in their interests.

The Soviet Union's policy in respect of India is a policy of friendship, Kosygin stressed. We will continue to strengthen and develop this friendship. We tell our Indian brothers: "Just as before, you can count on the

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### TYCOONS' REGARD FOR NEHRU Sir Biren, Birla and others Keep Factories Running DCM and Kulti Workers Go on Strike

Nehru alive or Nehru dead, national mourning or not, capitalists are concerned only with their fat purses. Never before was this more manifest than when some of the big business houses defiled the sacred memory of Jawaharlal Nehru and sought to defy the national mourning in their unholy hurry to reap profits.

HE Government of India had declared a national holiday in mourning on June 8, the day when Nehru's ashes were to be immersed at the Sangam. It was a paid holi-day for industrial workers.

The Delhi Cloth Mills of Lala Bharat Ram did not appreciate this. They were not inclined to allow so much money go waste by permitting the workers to take a holiday to mourn even for Nehru. So, the management hit upon an ingenuous idea.

The idea was to cheat the workers out of their weekly paid holiday for the week ending June 7, in lieu of the raid holiday on June 8. The DCM works on all seven

days of the week, and workers days of the week, and workers are given their weekly holiday by staggering it over Thurs-day, Friday, Saturday and Sunday every week. The management did not give them any holiday on the days perior just to June 8, so that they could technically an-neurose a holiday on June 8. nounce a holiday on June 8. This had two obnoxious as-pects to it: one was the disrespect being shown to the memory of Nehru and the memory of Nehrul and the other was that the manage-ment was violating the Fac-tories Act which provided for a paid holiday every week for the workers. The manage-ment's scheme deprived the workers of any holiday for the week ending June 7 week ending June 7. The workers did not take

this decision of the management lying down. On Sunday June 7 the entire complement of the workers went on strike to assert their right to the normal weekly holiday for the week ending that day.

How incensed the workers were against the mean attitude of the management was clear by the complete-ness of the strike. Only four out of 8,600 workers turned up at the factory on that day besides 82 officers, and clerks.

It was regrettable that the It was regretiable that the Delhi Administration did not take any action against the management for violation of the Factories Act and for compelling the workers to work in lieu of a paid holiday

declared by the government, though it was brought to its notice sufficiently early by the Kapra Mazdoor Ekta Union.

A similar development took place at the Kulti works of the Indian Iron works of the Indian Iron and Steel Co. of Biren Mukherjee. Here, the ma-nagement tried to compel the workers to work on May 31 in lieu of the holiday on May 28, the sad day on which Nehru's body was cremated.

cremated. The 8,000 workers of Kulti resented this disrespect sought to be shown to the nation's leader. They abstained from work on May 31 en bloc and gave a befitting reply to the haughty action of the ma-nagement.

nagement. At a mass meeting in the evening of May 31, the work-ers of Kulti passed a resolu-tion protesting against the mean action of the manage-ment and hailing the unity shown by the workers in re-buffing it. What happened in Birla's Findustan Motors was even

Hindustan Motors was even more repugnant. The manageto ment here even refused stop work in the factory ofter news was received of Nehru's death on May 27. The indignation of the workers forced the management to close the factory next day.