THE INCAPACITY OF THE CONGRESS RULING PARTY TO SAVE THE PEOPLE FROM THE ATTACKS OF THE MONOPOLISTS, FROM THE MACHINATIONS OF THE BANKERS AND HOARDERS IS NOW LAID BARE FOR ALL TO SEE THEIR MOST CAREFULLY PLANNED ECONOMY IS REVEALED IN ITS TRUE COLOUR OF THE ANARCHY OF CAPITALIST ECONOMY. IT IS NOW BURSTING FORTH AS PLANNED ROBBERY OF THE TOILING PEOPLE, HENCE THE MIGHTY MILLIONS OF INDIA HAVE BEEN STIRRED INTO THINKING AND ACTION, AS HAD NEVER HAPPENED IN THE LAST SEVENTEEN YEARS OF IN-DEPENDENCE DEPENDENCE.

THE total working force of the country comprising 188 million of our people, who have been working in factories, fields, offices and all places of work by hand or brain are asking one question: What has hap-pened to all that mountainous labour that we put in and all that wealth which that labour produced? Why are we compelled to remain short of everything; food, clothing, housing, while a few millionaires hoard food, raise prices, speculate in the markets and our hunger and drown the country in a severe crisis?

Receiving no answer and no Receiving no answer and no solution, the tolling masses had no alternative but to launch their protest actions to shake the bourgeoisle and its government from their cynical coolness towards peo-ple's misery. The people had to move. They moved which had some effect on the raling circles, but not enough yet. The central government, the governments of the states held out many threats of strong action against the

of strong action against the 'anti-social', hoarders, and speculators. In the very

capital city of Delhi, they indeed sent police "to raid" the godowns and discovered thousands of tons of foodgrains

Then the police were sud-

all handed back, with an apo-logy, that it was all a mis-understanding, that it was logy, that it was all a mis-understanding, that it was not a "rad", but a courtesy visit just to "check up" and inquire after the health of the hoarders! Everyone in the ruling circles was "sorry for what had happened"!

PEOPLE®N THE M

But when hungry masses "raided" the Hapur mar-ket and the den of the hoar-ders the other day, eleven women were arrested and put into prison.

When one thousand sat-yagrahis went to the

brought about the capitalist

anarchy and heaped starva-tion on the people. The Communist Party of India will launch its big all-India satyagraha on August India satyagraha on August 24. One may get its idea from what is being planned by the Delhi Council of the Party: on the first day, satyagrahis drawn from the Party, the trade unions and the working people of the capital will stop the big grain and cloth mar-kets from doing speculation and wholesale trade.

The second day, August 25, they will stop the banks and the stock exchanges.

The third day, August 26, they will carry out a "satya-grana raid" on the Food Ministry, that governmental seat of power over the na-tion's food.

#### THREE-PRONGED ACTION

It will be a three-day action on the three major and vital sectors of the present crisis—that is the holders of food, finance and state power, the unholy trinity that is responsible for people's misery. Delhi's three-day action will sym-bolise before the nation the pattern of action to solve the crisis.

But the democratic peaceful action of satyagraha, in many places prefaced by statewide strikes, cannot stop

there. It must be followed by a still mightler action. That is the NATIONWIDE GENEis the NATIONWIDE GENE-RAL STRIKE AND HARTAL, that mighty weapon, which our people used in the days of Freedom Movement.

But such an action can be carried out only if all democarried out only if all demo-cratic political parties and trade union organisations join hands and give a united common call. Today every detachment of the workers and trade unions is acting on its own and only at citywise or statewise level.

Even, if we cannot unite and speak from a single platform, can we not "march separately and strike, together" in defence of the toiling people and save the nation?

The Communist Party of The Communist Party of India and the All-India Trade Union Congress have appeal-ed to all democratic parties and all trade unions to think of common united action. They have tentatively sug-gested September 7, the open-ing day of Parliament, as the date for the total National General Strike and Hartal If general Strike and Hartal 16

General Strike and Hartal If a united call can be given. Unless such an all-national action takes place, the gov-ernment will not change its present policies, which have brought about the crisis nor will the reactionary vested interests be prevented from utilising the crisis for their anti-people and anti-national ends.



S. A. Dange, Chairman, Communist Party of In-dia issued the following statement on August 6:

Units of the American 7th Fleet attacked the port installations of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The American warmongers say that they did this be-cause the North Vietnm navy's torpedo boats attacked them first in the Tonkin Bay.

HE North Vietnam government says in its news bulletin that it did so be-cause the American warships entered their territorial cause the American warships entered their territorial waters. The Americans deny and say they were attacked on the high seas, where they have every right "to petrol". War is in the air and the Security Council of the UNO has met

has met.

has met. Whatever may be the cause of the immediate in-cident, the American impe-rialists are the aggressors in South East Asia and particularly in Vietnam. Both North and South Vietnam are really one coun-try partitioned into two, when the French imperialists were defeated by the people in North Vietnam. The North became an independent sobecame an independent so-cialist republic and the South Vietnam, where the impe-rialists were entrenched be-came a landlord-capitalist republic.

Soon after, the French were shoved out and the Americans took over South Vietnam.

The Americans have put in an army of 30,000 backed by guns and planes to keep the militarist-fascist puppet regime in power against

the will of the South Viet-

the will of the South Viet-namese people. In spite of this the people of South Vietnam are carry-ing on a guerilla war of libe-ration led by the Vietcong. Completely isolated and deprived of popular support, the South Vietnamese fascist government is losing the battle, despite American mili-tary help. The patriotic gue-rillas in the jungles of South Vietnam have become un-bearable.

rillas in the jungles of South Vietnam have become un-bearable. The American imperialists and the South Vietnam fas-cists, when faced with de-feat, want to explain it away by saying that it is due to the armed support that the North Vietnam People's Re-public gives to the South Vieanam guerillas. Hence, when Barry Gold-water, the fascist leader of the American imperialists, stood for election, he de-manded that the jungles of Vietnam be burnt out and all foliage and agriculture be destroyed by the use of atomic weapons and that the North Vietnam bases also should be wiped off. Scared by the support that the fascist Goldwater's

that the fascist Goldwater's

\* On Back Page



SEPTEMBER 7: PROPOSED **GENERAL STRIKE** AND HARTAL





denly withdrawn. It was now the traders who "raided" the authorities. The godowns were

Bombay Legislative Assembly to protest against / the price rise and to support the noconfidence motion, they were arrested, herded into vans and locked up till midnight and then released. The workers of Kerala

The workers of Kerala went on a united general strike on July 31. The wor-kers of Gujarat struck on August 5. Maharashtra is going to strike on August 12. The bank workers have shaken the whole banking world by their splendid united action.

Every political party is put-ting satyagrahis in the field in order to compel the gov-ernment to act against the monopolists of finance, trade and production, who have

# Which Is The True **Revolutionary Party?**

A How is one to judge whether the CPI or the splitters' is the real proletarian revolutionary party, even though the former may be the majority or the official Party? (Y. MARATHE, Aurangabad).

A. mere majority or the sheer fact of being the official Communist Party in the country does not automati-cally mean that the CPI is the real revolutionary prole-tarian party. Nor, for that matter, does the CPI base its claim to be so on these facts alone

It is equally true that the splitters cannot claim that being in the minority or being dissidents automatically makes them the real revolutionaries. Here they are in two minds. Sometimes, espe-cially of late, they claim that cially of late, they claim that they are the official CPI and that they are in an "overwhelming majority".

At other times, however they state that they are like Lenin who was leading a minority section in the offi-cial Social Democratic International when he split away to form the Third Communist International. True to their sectarianism, they state that because they are so "revolu-tionary" it is only natural that to begin with they will be in a minority, even a small minority. Size and the official cha-

Size and the official cha-racter or otherwise does not fundamentally determine the genuineness of the class or revolutionary character of any party.

Nor, let it be said, does the use of "revolutionary" phra-ses. This is the easiest thing in the world to use. Indeed, long ago, Lenin warned us the revolution itself the revolution itself the said of the said volutionary" phrase.

This has been the experi-ence of all CPs. Lenin himself was called a "traitor" troversy and and a "reformist" by the "left" Communists when he insisted on the signing of Necessary the Brest-Litovsk Treaty and on the New Economic Policy. Li Li-san and Wang Ming condemned Mao Tsetung in the 1930's as a "Right deviationist" when he called for a united front with the national bourgeoisie and opposed the adventurist line of immediate insurrections in the cities of China.

#### **Old Concept** And Its Fiasco

The CPI in 1948 had also adopted a Political Thesis calling the Government of India a government of "bour-geois traitors" and filled with fullblooded "revolution-ary" calls for a People's Democratic Revolution which was said to be immediately on the agenda.

The flasco that this line led to is well-known. The call for an insurrectin on March 9. 1949 together with a general strike on the railways, the insistence on riots within jails to trigger off the mass revolution outside, the "class war in class rooms"—all these ment of India become one great "revolutionary" phrases that facilitates the neo-colo-led to the disaster of the nialist and war aims of US

It is quite true that a smashing of the class orga-mere majority or the nisations of the mass front and decimation of the membership of the CPI.

> Thus, both a study of the experience of the internatio-nal Communist movement as well as of our own practice has naturally and correctly made the majority of the CPI extremely wary of revolutionary phrasemongers. Unfortunately, all this experi-ence seems to have had no impact on a section of the leadership of the CPI. who are also capitalising on the inexperience, backwardness and confusion of a section of the membership and mass following.

There is no other way to indge the true revolutionary worth of any party except to scrutinise its pronoun-cements and policies, analyse its actions, have a look at the link between the two and then compare it with the objective reality of the present situation and the trend of its development. This is a painstaking pro-cess and requires the calm of a scientist and deep contem-

plation. Prejudice and perso-nal attachment to this pernal attachment to this per-sonality or that is completely out of place. The process should include discussion and debate. This is the only serious approach to the prob-

Sunnis quarrelling" and so on. The fate of India depends to a considerable extent on the outcome of the present con-troversy and split in the

#### Test

The first test of whether a given party or policy is re-volutionary or not is whether its judgment of objective reality is correct and all-sided or not. One cannot be a revoutionary and be completely at variance with the objective situation.

Concretely, in our case, it means an understanding, above all, of the Indian situation, though the importance of the international situation

should not be minimised. For instance, is India more dependent or more independent economically now than she was in 1947? The splitters say that the economy is precariously deeconomy is precariously de-pendent on US imperialism and has been getting more and more dependent every day. The CPI says the ny has been strengthened but the imperialist economic menace to our inde-pendent development conti-nues and develops.

Another example. Is the foreign policy of the Govern-ment of India become one that facilitates the neo-colo-

on the hungerstrikes and satyagraha in early 1964 as satyagrana in early 1964 as reformist struggles for refor-mist ends. What alternative did they propose? "Hot" speeches and "preparation" of the revolutionary forces for the "decisive day". In the meantime backstairs intrigues and negotiations with Congress Ministers and big-wigs. No other more "revoluimperialism as the solitiers claim? Or, is it a foreign policy of nonalignment, world tionary" forms of struggle or of slogans were proposed which the "reformists" re-jected. peace and anti-colonialism. with serious vacillations : es-necially on anti-colonial ispecially on anti-colonial sues, as the CPI states?

Thus, ultra-"revolutionary"

and company poohpoohed the Great Petition and March of September 1963, poured scorn on the hungerstrikes

Yet another example. Which analysis and "pure revolu-tionary" programme leads to is the ruling class in India? YOUR QUESTIONS

Is it bourgeois-landlord com-bine, under big bourgeois leadership which collaborates political campaigns and with imperialism, as the splitters state? Or, is it the movements. At hest economovements. At best econo-mic struggles of a local cha-racter, "revolutionary" spee-ches are expected to do the trick of bringing the people-to storm the barricades and achieve the people's demo-cratic revolution! national bourgeoisie as a whole, with the big bourgeoisie exerting considerable influence on government poli-cies and with the landlords

ANSWERED

sharing governmental power, especially at the level of especially states, as the CPI analyses it? Fundamental

#### Strategy :

Let people who wish to judge whether the CPI or the splitters are the real revoluionaries first decide whose analysis of the objective situation is correct.

Secondy, they must examine the fundamental strategy for the stage of the revolution that the two claimants work on the basis of this study of the objective situation. The CPT has worked out a pro me of national de tic revolution to take India on to the path of non-capitalist development, in which the national bourgeoisie (excluding its top monopoly sections) will share power and leadership with the working class and the worker-peasant alliance.

The hard core of the splitters insist on a People's Demo-cratic Revolution with the working class in exclusive leadership and with the national bourgeoisie playing a very minor role, and where there will be a swift transition to socialism with no possibility of non-capitalist development.

Which of these two programmes conforms to the objective situation in India and to the basic law of all revolutions that all those classes objectively in fav-our of the revolution must be united, that the main enemy must be isolated and the main blow struck against the main enemy?

Thirdly, judgment will have to be made of the slogans and forms of struggle pro-posed by the two claimants and decision made as to which unites the broades masses, raises their consciousness and possible political strengthens their mass organisations. For example, Sundarayya

NEW AGE

judging the worth of revo-lutionaries is whether they can pick out proper transf tional slogans and forms of action to bring the broad masses to the threshold of revolution. Are the splitter able to do this?

Lastly Lenin stated that the sign of a revolutionary Party is its fearless attitude towards its own experience, especially its own mistakes.

An examination must be made of the respective posi-tions of the CPI and the splitters on this point. Do the splitters admit as the CPI loes, that the Communists in India adopted a wrong ap-proach to the national movement, underrating its im-portance and the role of its tallest leaders?

Do the splitters admit, as the CPI does, that the Communists in India made a grossly wrong evaluation of the nature of the transfer of munists in India power, of the class character of the government and of the nature of development under it? Do the splitters admit, as the CPI does, that it took the Communists in India too long to realise the new possi-bilities in the new reality of India and the world today?

This is not a call for a competition in breast-beat-ing but an insistence that a truly revolutionary attitude is an unflinchingly scientific one, ruthless with its past mistakes in order to approxi-mate still closer to the curve of reality, to understand the world in order to change it.

-MOHIT SEN

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As a matter of fact, one

of the points that Lenin made in connection with

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AUGUST 9, 1964

CALCUTTA, August 3: The monsoon session of the West Bengal legislature opened on August 27 and From AJOY DASGUPTA. the season itself. An acrimonious and uproarious food debate has sarted; for the first time in the history of the West Bengal Assembly a member has been ordered out of the House; the Chief Minister was forced to abandon his speech. A non-official resolution on na-tionalisation of banks has been passed, though much emasculated by the amendment of a Congress member. The no-confidence motion tabled by all opposition groups has been admitted and the debate will start today.

ration shons. But he had to

admit that situation in re-gard to fish and mustard oil

was out of control He indi-

cated that from the begining of next year there will be state trading in foodgrains.

Speaking on the subject Somnath Lahiri asserted that monopoly control over the trade in foodgrains and

ing are the cause of the

He disagreed with the argu-

ment put forward by certain

members of the ruling party

that the high prices are con-comitant and inevitable effect

of defence and developmen-

He pointed out that only

10 per cent of traders con-trolled 75 per cent of the

marketable surplus of rice and paddy who were en-couraged by lavish bank

advances to the tune of

Rs. 113 crores to food grain traders and in February alone it accounted for Rs.

He thought that unless the

stocks of these hoarders were siezed and these people im-mobilised by withdrawal of the bank facilities, the food crisis could not be satisfac-

torily solved. He also demand-

of banks as a move in this-

Demand for nationalisation

of banks and general insur-ance was raised in a seperate non-official resolution by

nediate nationalisation

the

tal work going on in

country.

13 crores.

direction

crisis and high prices.

ltant large-scale hoard-

Assailed

B UT what will put the Assembly and West Ben-He pointed out supply of rice and atta from modified gal in shame was the condolence motion on the late Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru Meeting for the first time after the death of na-tion's beloved leader the first item on the agenda was naturally a condolence resolution. It began in appropriate. the Food Policy lemn atmosphere with the speeches of the Speaker and leaders from both government and opposition benches

But the atmosphere was marred when instead of the Speaker moving an agreed resolution, the Chief Minister moved a resolution which was objected to by the opposition members as not being a tribute but a political resolution containing controversial points.

There was unseemly uproar in the house and it was adjourned for a few minutes to find out if an agreed resolution was possible. But suddenly in an indecent manner the resolution moved by the Chief Minister was put to voice vote and declared to be passed.

The next day Somnath Lahiri, leader of the Communist group, moved for expunction of the whole expunction of the whole debate to erase the sad affair, remarking that by their behaviour the Congress members had caused a second death of Pandit Nehru. But his proposa was not accepted.

In contrast to this, the Legislative Council unanimously passed a motion moved b the Chairman of the Council which was in line with the resolution passed by Parlia-ment on the subject.

The food debate started with a statement of the Chief Minister on the iect. He admitted the critical situation in the food situa-tion, but boasted that his government had taken necessary steps to combat the si-

Dulal Mondal of the Commu nist Party. Referring to the enormous

# **Orissa Prepares For Mass** Satyagraha

#### From NANDAKISHORE PATNAIK

CUTTACK, August 2: Along with the rest. of India, the Utkal state council of the Communist Party of India is preparing for a mass satyagraha from August 24 to 28 to protest against the deteriorating food and price situa-

A call for enrolment of satya-grahis from all over the state has been given. It is receiving wide and enthusiastic response from Party, members, and sympa-thisers and the general public.

The extended state council of the CPI, which met at Bhubathe CPI, which met at Bhuba-neswar from July 26 to 28, de-cided to offer satyagraha be-fore district and subdivisional

AUGUST 9, 1964

overnment's callous attitude to-wards the acute food and price situation and its growing surren-der before food thieves and hoarders and blackmarketeers. It demanded state trading in

offices, banks and government offices to demonstrate the peo-ple's discontent and anger ag-ainst the rising prices.

The council condemned the

## **Politics In Nehru Condolence Resolution** \* Assembly **Debates Food Crisis** sums from government secu-

menon were due mainly to rise in monopoly in the trade and bank advance to the traders.

He showed that the rise in prices of foodgrains has a direct relation to the rise in the bank advances against food grains.

He quoted facts from Re-serve Bank publications to show that advances against food grains increased from Rs. 49.78 crores in 1954 to Rs. 87.75 crores in 1956 and during the year 1955 and 1956 the All India Consumer Price Index rose from ceding two years.

He further showed that during the last one year the number rose by 15 , as the bank advances index against foodgrains had risen by the end of 1962 to the un-precedented sum of Rs. 157 crores.

#### Banking Monopoly

Mondal showed the concentration of the banking and general insurance industry in few hands and how these people utilise the money for their own private purposes and do not lend a single rupee points, while it had declin-to the advancement of agri-ed five points in the pre- culture, how during last few vears they diverted

rities to shares and debentures of private mostly their own

West Bengal

Dr. Pratan Chunder of the Congress could not frontally attack the resolu-tion but emasculated it by deleting general insurance and substituting "at an ap-propriate time" in place of "immediately". He raised the bogey of fascism being fed on concentrated power of nationalised banking industry in Italy and Ger many.

Monoranjan Roy, Commuist, refuted the arguments to Dr. Chunder and pointed out the drain of precious foreign due to manipula exchange due to manipula-tions of the big Indian and foreign banks But the resolution was passed as amended by the Congress members.

# AUG. 18 : UP BUNDH! **United Call By Opposition Parties**

#### From RAMESH SINHA

LUCKNOW, August 3: Four Opposition parties in Uttar Pradesh have given a joint call for UTTAR PRA-DESH BUNDH on August 18. The parties are the Samyukta Socialist Party, the Communist Party, the Re-publican Party and the Swatantra Party.

THE appeal for general decided to serve immediate strike and hartal all over notices on the managements the state on August 18 has at every place about the been signed by Triloki Singh, general strike. Ram Sunder and Keshai Pande of the SSP. Kalishankar Shukla of the CPI, Chhe-dilal Sathi and Rahat Maulai of the Republican Party and Bhanu Pratap Singh of the Swatantra Party and several members of the independent group in the state Assembly.

The representatives of the rise in prices of all commo-dities of daily use and dis-appearance of many of those, he said that these pheno-and the UTUC have met and



foodgrains, effective measures to hold the price line, nationali-sation of banks.

The council noted that the The council noted that the rise in the consumer price indi-ces for working class was the highest in the whole country at Cuttack. It stood at 161 in May 1964, with the base 1949=100. Berhampur was also not lagging behind, 148.

The council called upon Party members and people to prepare for mass action on the satyagraha dates, to be preceded by meet-ings, demonstrations, hunger-strikes and padayatras.

The state secretariat of the CPI, meeting later, drew up a hectic programme of action for the different districts. Members of the secretariat and the state executive committee have been ask-ed to undertake extensive tours and prepare for the satyagraha. notices on the managements at every place about the general strike.

#### **Trade Unions** In Field

This is the first time when all these parties have come together to make such an eal. Nobody has appeal. Nobody has any doubt that on August 18 there will be a complete industrial strike and hartal all over the state.

It is hoped that this unity, specially the unity that has been forged for action on August 18 between the SSP, the CPI and the Republican Party will grow and become an invincible weapon in the weapon in the hands of the people.

In fact, in many places the workers of the CPI, the SSP and the Republican Party are already working hand-in-hand in the food movement. In Agra they have formed, along with others a Citizen's Committee which is to launch satvagraha from August 17.

The government stands completely isolated. Repre-sentatives of all opposition parties have walked out of the phoney Food Advisory Committee that has been formed. Its character as that of the friends and pro-tectors of hoarders and blackmarketeers has bebecome fully exposed.

Even Union Food Minister C. Subramaniam who was here last weakend had many embarrassing moments trving to side-step questions of pressmen about the UP Min-istry's record in this respect.

Foolishly enough, some of the ministers, instead of rea-lising the wretched plight in which they have landed themselves, are on the war path and are threatening to suppress the movement with forcet

But the people have not been taken in by these threats. The movement against high prices and food scarcity is becoming increas-ingly more powerful in its sweep and intensity. It is throwing up numerous forms of struggle

What is significant is that the movement this time has not been confined merely to demonstrations, rallies, hun-gerstrikes and satyagraha.

#### Positive Action

Many instances have been reported where the inter-vention of the CPI has led to dehoarding of large stocks of grain, checkup of shops, better arrangements for the distribution of rations, rushing of stocks to affected areas and even removal and dismissal of corrupt officials.

For example, so concrete and irresistible was the campaign of exposure against the corrupt district supply officer of Azamgarh that the authoritles were compelled to ter-minate his services on the spot.

In Philibit, due to the persistent campaign of the CPI workers through a joint citizens action committee, seve-ral wagons of foodgrain which were being sent elsewhere had to be brought to the diverted and fo immediate, distribution.

# **Police Terror to Curb** Water-rate Agitation **Peaceful Villagers Subjected to Atrocities** From NANDAKISHORE PATNAIK

CUTTACK: The Orissa government has let loose police repression against the people to forcibly rea-lise water rates in the districts of Sambaipur and Bolangir.

ORE than a hundred peasants have been arrested and hundreds have been subjected to police and military atrocities.

Police terrorisation is going on in numerous villages of Kunjapali in Attabira PS, of Jada in Batli PS, of Bara-guda in Bargarh PS and many other places of Bolangir and Sambalpur districts.

Military and police forces led by district authoritie are parading the villages, raiding houses of peasants arresting and locking them up in police stations and houses of other villagers till the water rates are fully naid.

Peasants kept in police lockups are not given food properly. Whatever food is being given is charged at high rates. They are being tortured in the police lockups.

Panic has spread far and wide among the people who, out of fear and desperation. are selling away their uten-sils and household articles in a bid to secure the release of their kith and kin kept in the police lockups.

All these have naturally Iderable ' angei evoked cons and resentment among the people. And an agitation for the rational laws rational levy of water rates has been growing in

the state, despite the police brutalities.

small

programme the capital.

According to this program

is located, on August 26.

Meanwhile, on August 5 a de-putation on behalf of the Com-munist Party, consisting of M.

Farooqi, Premsagar Gupta and B. D. Joshi, met the Chief Com-missioner and submitted a memo-

The memorandum expressed disappointment over the flasco which was enacted in the capital in the name of raiding of food-

It said that the statement of the

authorities that no hoarding was discovered during the raids has

given the impression that the wholesale dealers have brought to

other chance to do whatever they

The memorandum noted that the raids were utilised by the foodgrain dealers to push up the

prices of foodgrains by another Rs. 2 to Rs. 3 per maund in the name of non-arrivals of grains in the market.

The ruling price of grains has no bearing on the actual cost of

rice of dealers, it said. Rather

the prices were governed by spe-culative deals resulting from forward trading. The Communist

NEW AGE

production as well as the nu

bear some kind of pressure on authorities and have secured

on food front.

grain godowns.

liked.

er and submitted a memo-h listing the Party's demands

(katas)

After the summer days

The Communist Party has for long been demand-ing reduction of water rates. A hig demonstration was ed by the Party on organi March 8 last in Cuttack to demand reduction in water rates. The Chief Minister had then promised to look when rains come into the matter.

But instead of concrete action to redress the grie-vances of the people, the district authorities have gone in for highhandedness hrie forcible recovery of the water rates, bringing untold misery on the peasants.

The Hirakud canal water used for irrigation purposes is charged at Rs. 8 per acre as basic water rate. For dalva crop it is charged at Rs. 30 and for sugarcane Rs. 21.

For kharif crop only 9 to 12 inches of water is needed for a year. According to the rules, only Rs. 2 need be charged for this water. But authorities are providing 28 inches of water and charging the peasants Rs. 8 per acre<sup>\*</sup>for that.

The lands where no canal water is provided are also charged water rates. It is realised from fallow lands, as also from lands where waterlogging

to be submitted within ten

days, failing which the secre-tariat has been authorised to

take disciplinary action

Grave contern was express-ed by the council, through another resolution, at the cor-

ruption charges against minis-ters and officials of the state

The council demanded an

enquiry into the whole affair, charges and counter-

charges from the time of the first Congress Ministry

The council also passed a

resolution against the in-

crease in revenue charges

and another demanding an engineering college at Ber-

against them

government.

in 1947 todate.

hampur.

## **ORISSA PARTY CONFERENCE** FIXED FOR OCTOBER

CUTTACK: The Utkal state council of the Communist Party of India has decided to hold the state Party conference in the last week of October. Disconferences will be completed by the first week of that month.

HE council, which met from July 26 to 28, con-sidered the two national of the forthcoming Party conference. The state council demandcouncil documents Draft ed explanations from the gramme of the CPI and the Unity of the Party comrades who were engaged in disruptive activities in the state. The explanations were

nist Movement. These were placed before the council by C. Rajeswar Rao, member of the central secretariat. There followed a stion and answer sea and further elaboration of the documents by Rajeswar

and International Commu-

While appreciating the efforts of the central secretariat for Party unity, the council adopted a resolu-tion for maintaining the unity and solidarity of the Party in the state

The resolution called upon those comrades who have formed a rival party to desist from splitting activities. It said that there were ample scope and opportunity for solving differences inside the Party itself especially in view

rates from lands affected by waterlogging, fallow lands, lands irrigated by tanks and bunds (katas), but this was not kept. The supply of unwanted and surplus water has affected the crops seriously. Since 1961 pests have become a chronic problem. Worst of 1961 pests have become a serious menace to the peaall, water rates are being charged even from lands where irrigation is done through wells, tanks and sants in Orissa, because ex-cessive water has made the ponds and bunds

lands muddy and damp. The demands of the peasants are the following: Then again, sugarcane is \* Categorise the lands near planted in March and April

charged Rs. 21 per acre for

the same during rainy season

The government had pro-

mised not to collect water

Rs 8

and that is the time when the the Hirakud canals for charging water rates. cultivators need water badly. But canal water is stopped in April, thereby creating diffi-culties for the cultivators, who have to dig wells etc.

water, supply only 12 in-ches of water. Water rates should be fixed at Rs. 2 and no

# **Delhi Prepares for**

the and

NEW DELHI: Brisk preparations are going on in Delhi for the nationwide satyagraha from September 24 to 28 called for by the central secretariat of the Communist Party of India.

HE Delhi provincial council of the CPI, meeting on August 2, has chalked out the programme of the satyagraha for demanded among Party things:

The maximum price of food-grains in Delhi must be fixed immediately. Forward trading in foodgrains must be banned.

According to this programme, satyagraha will be offered be-fore the grain mandis on August 24; before the stock exchange and the headquarters of prominent banks on August 55 and hearse Wright Bharan The price of atta should also be fixed because the price of atta has been fixed arbitrarily by the flour mills and atta has found its way into the blackmarket at a of Rs. 7 a bag.

f prominent banks on August 5 and before Krishi Bhavan, here the Union Food Ministry The wheat quota given to the flour mills and bread manu-facturers should be suitably facturers regulated. The Delhi council has issued a call to all Party members to enrol themselves as volunteers for the satyagraha. The response has been

Strict vigilance against smug-gling of foodgrains from Delhi into the neighbouring states

TAKES NEW TURN

THE office-bearers of All-India Bank Employees Association met at Delhi on August 5 to review the situation arising out of the discussions the General Secretary had with the Chairman of the Indian Banks Association over the present dispute of the letter of Covernment of India convening the Tripar-tite Conference on August 13-14, for resolving the issues rais-ed in the AIBEA memoranda

which include the demand for which include the demand for an all-round 20 per cent in-crease in the wages, payment of provident fund and gratuity on cent per cent pay, abolition of Area IV and improvement in the incremental rates in the may scales of the universitient in the incremental rates in the pay scales of the subordinate staff.

In this meeting, the AIBEA decided that in order to create

cultivators do not need any water supply, the authorities start releasing water for the cane fields. And they are \* No water rates should be charged for fallow lands, lands irrigater by wells, tanks and katas, waterlogged lands and lands where no canal sugarcane cultivation. In other fields, the rates remain water is supplied.

5

Survey of production in water rate areas and reconsideration of the rates on the basis of production

The immediate demand of the people is putting an end to police atrocities and realisation of water rates in view of the current hardship of the people due to high prices

The state council of the Communist Party has at its recent meeting passed a resolution urging the government to accede to the demands of the peasants and to release all the ar-rested people and to stop police repression. leader

The opposition leader in the state Assembly, R. N. Singhdeo, in an appeal to the Chief Minister, has also demanded immediate release of the arrested peasants and suspension of realisation of the water rates and use of coercise methods in collecting the rates.

# Satyagraha

#### BY OUR STAFF CORRESPONDENT

should be undertaken and smug-gling should be declared an offence under the DIR. The number of fair price shops should be increased substantially to meet the needs of the people.

The Communist Party also drew ittention to the fact that retail listribution of sugar was open to considerable abuse. Retail dealers are being selected on the basis of many considerations, including

many consideration political patronage. that all retail dealers should be

news as sugar to bulk consumers should be made directly by the Delhi administration without bringing in any middlemen. The amount of such allotments should also be revised to eliminate exce quantities being supplied to bulk

The memor

dum dem

given enough sugar quotas and consumers attached to each such quota holder.

It was also demanded that allot

**BANKMEN'S MOVEMENT** 

an atmosphere for achieving this objective the AIBEA will take steps to improve the pre-sent unsatisfactory relations and sent unsaustactory relations and assist in restoring banking ser-vice to the clientele. This can be possible if the bankers also contribute towards lessening of the tension by accepting cheques and bills on all their branches and restoring clearing facilities and thus removing the onvenience caused to public

Inconvenience caused to public. The AIBEA welcomed the steps taken by the Government of India for resolving the dis-pute and also welcomed the change in the attitude of the bankers in agreeing to discuss the demands in the tripartite conference with a view to set-tling matters without imposing tling matters without imposing any condition and without any condition and with sticking to any technicality.

In the present dispute the AIBEA has been attempting a negotiated settlement for the

\* ON BACK PAGE

AUGUST 9 1964

FOOD AND PRICE SESSION OF INDIAN LABOUR

The twentysecond Indian Labour Conference met at Bangalore on July 29 and 30 under the deepening shadow of the food crisis and high prices in the country. This conference will be remembered for its discussion of this issue though it was not only not placed on the agenda of the conference, but there seemed to be, till the conference actually began, a sort of a re-sistance to consider it an item for discussion and decision.

IT seems while the Labour Ministry officials were aware of the graveness of the situation, specially as it affected the working class, they wanted to move too cautiously lest a formal discussion In this subject lead to the situation getting out of control for the new Union Labour Minister who was presiding over the Indian Labour Conference for the first time.

The first excuse not to put it on the agenda was that it was a general subject and did not affect only working class. Subsequently when the HMS and the ATTUC threatened to boycott and walk out if it was not discussed, the Minis-try came round to the position that it might be raised but not put on the agenda. This despite the decision

of the Standing Committee

conclusions :

and. Recognising the imperative need for ensuring the supply of these commodities to the indus-trial workers at reasonable prices; The Indian Labour Conference agrees, in principle, that a part of their wages may be made pay-able in kind, if necessary by levislation. The payment in kind

able in kind, if necessary by legislation. The payment in kind should consist of the supply of rice, wheat or wheat substitutes, sugar, pulses, one or two popular varieties of cloth and cooking medium.

varieties of cloth and cooking medium. Government should sup-ply to the employers rice, wheat or wheat substitutes and sugar at controlled prices for distribution to the industrial workers through

should distribute the other three commodities, namely, textiles, pulses and cooking medium at prices equivalent to the whole-sale prices, the cost of distribu-tion being borne by the emplo-vers. The Standing Committee on the Industrial Truce Resolution should work out the details of the Scheme".

Fair Price Shops. The emp should distribute the other

at its meeting on March 16, had decided that "the price line should be held and towards this end suggested that a tripartite meeting, to which Ministers for Home Affairs, Finance and Food and Agriculture should be invited, be called urgently to devise the best means to check the rise in prices." After reaching Bangalore on July 28 the AITUC delega-

tion made it clear that if the important issues of the work-ing class regarding food and prices and Bonus Commis-sion were not allowed to be properly discussed it would walk out of the conference

On the same day a demon-stration was held by workers of unions in Bangalore affiliated to the AITUC, led by Suryanarayana Rao, Vice-President of the Karnatak

I.L.C. DECISIONS General: (i) The conference discussed in detail

the current price situation and came to the following C ONSIDERING the hardship caused by the high prices of essential commodities;

dustrial Truce Resolution that dearness allowance should be suitably linked with the cost of living index.

(iv) The conference recom-mended that government should take a quick decision on the Report of the Bonus Commission. Item 1-Action taken on the con-

clusions of the 21st Session of the Indian Labour Conference held at New Delhi on the 13th July 1963.

Representatives of the workers Representatives of the workers referred to voluntary arbitration and pointed out that hesitation on the part of employers still re-mained. The employers' repre-sentatives pointed out that they had been doing their best to persuade their affiliates to accept voluntary arbitration as a me for settlement of industrial die outes. It was explained ome difficulties, if any, stand standing in this in the way of employers in this regard would be gone into in detail at the next meeting of the Central Implementation and Evaluation Committee.

Item 2—The Punjab Industrial Establishments (National and Festival Holidays and casual and sick leave), Bill.

The general consensus of opi-nion was that this legislation was a matter to be left for the State Government.

Item 3—Introduction of the Pay Roll Saoings Scheme. Employers and trade unions sbould give wider publicity to the scheme and extend their fullest cooperation to ensure satisfactory working of the Scheme.

Item 4—Classification of miscon-duct like 'go-slow', 'malinger-ing' and 'sleeping' on duty' as as'.

AUGUST 9, 1964

meeting is

(ii) The conference reviewed the position concerning the setting up of fair price shops and consumer stores. It was con-sidered that the progress in this regard had not been quite satis-factory. Establishments which had out with each the method the factory not yet set up such stores or fair price shops should do so without further delay. The Chairman con-cluded that legislation as already, agreed to in 1963 Standing

the Sche

agreed to Labour Com now inevitable. (iii) The conference reiterated decision reached at the Standing Committee on Inya was put up. The workers submitted a memorandum demanding discussion these subjects. The issues of food scar-

city and high prices domina ted the proceedings of the conference, as is evident from the fact that out of ten and a half hours of actual dis-cussion, food, prices and Bonus Commission took eight and a half hours Union Foor and Agriculture Minister C. Subramaniam and Planning Commission Member Dr V. K. R. V. Rao took part in the discussion.

As for the urgency of these issues and their speedy solution were concerned, all the representa-tives of working class were fully united. There were differences on the causes of the present situation but on steps to remedy it, specially on immediate steps, there unanimity.

All laid stress on supply of coodgrains, cloth, edible oil etc., on reasonable rates by the government and the em ployers and linking of dearness allowance with the cost of living index. Action against of the Standing Committee STUC, at the Residency hoarders was another common on Industrial Truce which, Labour Minister D. Sanjivay-point. Both AITUC and IN-



minor m Tribunals.

Item 5—Suggestions for stagger-ing of weekly holiday and for a 54-hour week in the textile

industry. The above two items were de-

leted from the agenda. Item 6-Recognition of category-wise or departmentuise unions in an establishment/industry under the Code of Discipline and the rights of unions.

unions. The consensus of opinion was that recognition of categorywise/ departmentwise unions should not be encouraged. (Unions not re-cognised under the Code of Dis-cipline should, however, have the indu to represent individual right to represent individual grievances relating to dismissal and discharge and other disciplinary action against their mem-bers. The question of other rights of unrecognised unions was deferred for future considera-

ion. tem 7—Review of the progress of the scheme for setting up Cooperative Societies/Fair Price Shops in industrial establish-

ments. This item was considered in the general discussion on the question of prices. The conclu-sions on this subject have been set out under the item 'general'. Miscellaneous: Organisations of workers' and employers' should send to the Ministry of Labour & send to the Ministry of Labour & Employment and Planning Com-mission their proposals concern-ing labour policies and program-mes for consideration for inclu-sion in the 4th-Five Year Plan.

"Some of the employers' repre-ntatives contested this decision the Drafting Committee. in the Drafting Committee. All workers and government re-presentatives considered this re-cording as correct. The final decision about its wording was TUC demanded ban on forward trading in grain were against advances and by banks against foodgrains;

There was also agreement that consumer stores to whom foodgrains are supplied by the government should be opened in all sizeable indusrial establi hments and as employers have failed to open these despite a year's time had been given to them, time is ripe for legislating on it without delay. The majority recommen-

dations of the Bonus Commission should be implement-ed without delay. AITUC re-

Naval Tata said that Bonus Commission had not taken into consideration super profit tax and in granting minimum bonus of four per cent to workers irrespective of loss or profit of the concern, it had gone beyond its terms of reference

Dr. V K R V Rao of Planning Commission correctly pointed out that insufficient agricultural production is due to failure to undertake the programme of land reforms in all the states. Unless the tiller of the land has heneficial stakes in production

#### m By m K. G. SRIWASTAVA

#### Secretary, AITUC

CONFERENCE

presentatives insisted. that any attempt at diluting it against workers' interest would not be tolerated

AITUC representatives also demanded correction raudulent pric dices in all centres and demanded nationalisation banks and export and import trade to curb monopoly and obtain resources for the defence and development w in the country.

Some representatives state governments specially Assam, Maharashtra and Assam, Maharashtra and Gujarat supported workers demands of supplying food-grains etc., at subsidised rates by the employers.

West Bengal Labour Minis-ter Nahar fully supported AITUC Vice President Dr. Ranen Sen that in Bengal with the approach of Dussera Puia bonus is a burning iss and therefore, decision on the Bonus Commission report should be expedited, otherwise there would be industrial unrest.

#### Identical Views

On the causes of present rise in prices surprisingly identical views were ex pressed by the representative of employers. Naval Tata and the General Sec. retary of HMS, Manohan Kotwal.

They said this was because second and third Five Year Plans had been heavy indus ry-oriented, agricult ure, spe cially food (as against cash crops), had been neglected; huge deficit financing caused inflation.

Naval Tata also criticised the government for advancing to agriculturists thus raising their power of hoarding. He expressed the opinion that fair price shops were not being availed of by the workers and that linking dearness allowance with the cost of  $liv_{\pi}$ , ing index would only raise the inflationary trend further. He gave expression to the view that in future and in pending wage boards, employ-ers would ask for raising prices of their goods if they have to agree to rise in wage orkers' earnings.

could not be expected to give his best. He assured that capital intensive pro-jects have not come in the way of investment in agri

#### Credit Facilities

Regarding credit facilities to agriculturists, he said that in the coming period this will be given more and more and in fact this was one of the reasons why nationalisation of banks is being demanded. Private sector banks are shy in this respect.

C. Subramaniam, the Union Food and Agriculture Minister, sought to assure the conference of the determination of the government to tackle the problem both on long range and short range basis.

He detailed the government proposals regarding the fixation of procurement and sale prices, the setting up of a state-owned corporation for trading in foodgrains and for arranging mor of wheat and rice from other countries.

He emphasised the point that growth of basic and heavy industry alone would lay the basis for scientific and modern methods of agriculture and that there was no contradiction in this programme and the efforts to raise agricultural duction.

As regards loans to agri-culturists, which was suppos-ed to have raised their "hoarding power" according to the employer delegates, the Food Minister asked them: if government loans are stopped, where will the private sector industry be?

Subramaniam opposed the grant of more DA which, he said, will raise inflationary trends further. He criticised all trade unions—and when INTUC wanted to absolve itself, he specifically named Sindri fertilizer strike for stoppage of work in this situation

Dr. Ranen Sen, Vice President of the ATTUC in his speech refuted the argument

**\* ON PAGE EIGHT** 



From S. SHARMA

# **ATTACK ON COMMUNIST PRESS** Govt. Seeks Revenge For Exposure : **Journalists Protest Against Repression**

TRIVANDRUM, August 1: The Kerala Govern-ment has launched an open attack on the freedom of the press in an attempt to coerce the press in the state and cover up its own record of rottenness and misrule. The full attack this week were the two leading victims of this attack this week were the two leading Communist dailies of Kerala, JANAYUGOM published

victims of this attack this week were the two leading Communist dailies of Kerala, JANAYUGOM published from Quilon and NAVAJEEVAN from Trichur.
 MAMBISSERI Karunakaran, printer and publisher of JANA-YUGOM and T.K.C. Nair and publisher respective- da drawn the attention of the government to his serious number of these dailes (a suppress truth and free) yof NAVAJEEVAN as well as the sublication in these target of these on these dailes in an outright were arrested and locked up in police custody here following the present LC of Police, V. P. Nair of conduct.
 M. Fisharoi and K.V.S. Elayath were arrested and locked up in police custody here following the present con these dailes in an outright were arrested and locked up in police custody here following the present con these dailes in an outright were arrested and locked up in police custody here following the present con these dailes in an outright were arrested and locked up in police custody here following the present con these dailes in an outright were arrested and locked up in police custody here following the present LC of Police, V. P. Nair of conduct. The provident correct area following the present custod areas the present con the provident for an alleged violation of Officia to the Kerala Covernment had free arrests act by the the Inspector General of Police force in the state by responsible members on the floor of the darges related to his conduct at the time of the eleventh All-Indi Police Cames in Hyderabad.
 While publishing the photostat of the letter, both JANAYUCOM
 While publishing the photostat of the letter, both JANAYUCOM
 ARRESTS

While publishing the photostat of the letter, both JANAYUGOM and NAVAJEEVAN had charged the government with attempt to destroy evidence which could prove the allegations against the I.G. of Police. It will be recalled that during the last Assembly session, two Communist legisunat during the last Assembly session, two Communist legis-lators, Sreenivasan and N. E. Balaram had brought up serious charges of political partisanship and activities, corruption, drun-kenness etc. against the I.G. of Police and demanded an enquiry. They had followed it up by writ-ing to the Chief Minister reiterat-ing the demand.

#### ENOUIRY REFUSED

But R. Shankar, the Chief Minister who also holds the Home portfolio, refused to take notice of these charges

When Shankar's scheme came to be known, the nair and chris-tian vested interests who bave sponsored the case of the discre-dited I.G. worked up a regular campaign in the press against the Chief Minister. Communal feel-ings were sought to be roused on this issue by rival Congress factions and their supporters among these vested interests. And all the time, there were these serious charges and reports against the I.G. of Police in go-vernment's own files. But Shan-kar would not take the straight-forward course; be should always scheme and plot. Now, therefore when the Com-

scheme and plot. Now, therefore when the Com-munist dailies exposed what had

PAGE SIX

seeking their immediate interven-tion in the situation here.

#### ARRESTS AND SEARCHES

Acting mad, the police while Acting mad, the police while arresting the editors, printers and publishers and corres-pondents of the two papers also carried out searches of the printing presses and the houses of two correspondents in Trivandrum. The Tri-vandrum District Magistrate has refused bail to the arrest-d correspondent ed comrades. They are remand-ed in police lock-ups, and are segregated and kept apart from each other. The two correseach other. The two corres-pondents, it is learnt; were threatened by police officers with bodily harm if they did not "talk". The arrested per-sons are charged both under the Official Secrets Act and DIR

Home porticio, repused to the Optimit dentity in the state of these charges and order an enquiry. Further, even the other day he had stated that the MLAs who raised the the MLAs who raised the charges against the I.G. had not produced any evidence! At the same time, for this own factional ends, Shankar had sought to get rid of the I.G. of Police, V. P. Nair by surrepticiously managing to get thim transferred to another state. When Shankar's scheme came to be known, the nair and christian vested interests who bave sponsored the case of the discredited I.G. worked up a regular cammagin in the press against the discretion worked up a regular to gets to the correspondents wet in the state, the KPCC president and some of his minister's residence of the discretion wested interests who bave sponsored the case of the discretion wested interest who have state. Communal feel. DIR.

fused to see them. They therefore later met Sadiq Ali and the KPCC President and conveyed to them their indigna-tion and protest at the arrests. They pointed out that this was the first time that for such publi-cation of an official secret, the correspondents, editors and others were being arrested and prose-cuted under the Defence of India Rules.

and the release of the arrested comrades. The secretariat of the Kerala

State Council of the Commu-nist Party of India in a state-ment recalled the failure of the Chief Minister to enquire into ment recalled the failure of the Chief Minister to enquire into the charges against the I.G. of Police raised on the foor of the legislature and his present attempt to muzzle the press for hacing exposed the truth. It pointed out that the press note issued by the government on the arrests has admitted the existence of such a letter, but then tries to divert attention from the real issues by talking of the violation of Official Secrets Act by the two papers and launching prosecution.

"The fact of the matter is that both the I.G. of Police and the Chief Minister who are on a diversionary attack against the press are themselves in the dock before the bar of public opinion. The secretariat calls for an en-quiry into the conduct of the Chief Minister and the affair connected with the I.G. of Police. "It is repersively a that those "It is reprehensible that those placed in high offices, instead of seeking to maintain the purity

and integrity of the service; are proceeding against the Commu-nist press and their correspon-dents who have done their duty by public interests by boldly ex-posing corruption and attempts to save the corrupt. Those who talk loud about sadachar and anti-corruption should be made to look into this" the secretariat statement said.

look into this" the secretariat statement said. C. Achutha Menon, secretary of the State Council has in a telegram to the Union. Home Minister protested against the ar-rests, the treatment meted out to the arrested persons by remand-ing them to police custody and against the way the Defence of India Rules were being brought in to buttress the otherwise weak case.

in to buttress the otherwise weak case. Leading dailies in Kérala bave joined the protest and demanded the immediate release of the arrested persons. They have pointed their finger at the Chief Minister himself, from whose safe custody alone, they say, the leak-age might have taken place. It is the Chief Minister and officer con-cerned who should stand trial for corruption and complicity in suppression of evidence about corruption.

took advantage of the direct action started by Kapra Maz-door Ekta Union in order to

press demands regarding

wage increase etc. The management thought that the workmen would be indiffer-

ent towards the election and

the nominees of rival union might win in such circums-

However, the workers rebuffed this attempt by electing the nominees of the

KMEU by overwhelming majority. Whereas the two

nominees of this union pol-

led 6233 and 6190 votes, the

other two nominees of Jan Sangh rival union polled

Similar elections have also

taken place in Swatantra Bharat Mills and D.C.M. Che-

mical Works. The nominees of AITUC affiliated union polled

72 per cent and 77 per cent votes respectively in these

LETTERS

702 and 820 votes.

taneos

elections.

The textile workers of Delhi are on the march. The bank employees are agitating for their demands. Industrial workers are planning campaign against rising prices etc. The other ranks of workers are also

U NDER the leadership of the Delhi Frantiya Dukan Karmachari Federation, the workers engaged in shops and Karmachari Federation, the workers engaged in shops and other establishments dealing with cotton textiles, both wholesale and retail, groceries, foodgrains, paper and stationery, books and general stores, are agitating for the last one month on various demands including a 25 per cent increase in wages, state-trading in foodgrains, nationalisation of banks etc.

These workers have already held about twenty demonstrations in different centres of Delhi, viz., Chandni Chowk, Khari Baoli, Naya Bazar, Sadar Bazar etc. On July 29 about 5.000 workers demonstrated before the Delhi Hin-dustani Mercantile Associa-

the meeting that while the demands included the economic demands of the workers, it were also directed against vested interests and hoarders. On July 31, about 1,000

workers demonstrated before the foodgrains mandi at Naya Bazar demanding dehoarding and stoppage of artificial scarcity conditions. annual conferences The

#### AUGUST 12 TEXTILE WORKERS' STRIKE

Workers in all textile mills in Delhi will be on strike on August 12, if the managements continue to refuse to settle the disputes either by arbitration or direct negotiation. (See NEW AGE, August 2)

by the Kapra Mazdoor from July 24. Earlier, in the Ekta Union (AITUC) which first phase of the agitation, has the support of the over- batches of workers conducted whelming majority of the Delhi textile workers include a rise in DA by 25 per cent, settlement of all bonus disputes in accordance with the re-commendations of the Bonus Commission and an inquiry

The union leaders, Radhakrishnan, Charan Singh, Sha-diram, Rupram and Raghu-residence of the Union Lanath had been on a hunger-

T HE main demands made strike before the various mills round-the-clock dharna (sou atting) at the gates of the four major textile mills including Delhi Cloth Mills Birla Mills and Swatantra Bharat Mills. More workers since joined

by the management. by the management by the management. by the management by the man unced that on August 7 about bour Minister for two hours.

**AITUC WINS PF BOARD SEATS** 

On July 28 about 90 per cent of workers of the Delhi Cloth Mills voted for the nominees of the Kapra Mazdoor Ekta Union (KMEU) in the elections held for two seats on the Provident Fund Trust Board of the

HE Delhi Cloth and Gene-ral Mills ompany has its own Provident Fund Trust Board. All the factories terror and victimisation agaterror and victimisation aga-inst the workmen in general and active workers of this union in particular in order to wean them away from the KMEU and undermine its gement are members of the Board in equal number. The worker-members are elected influence. Since the declaration of emergency, management has left no stone unturned to after every two years from each factory. The Delhi Cloth Mills have got two worker-members on this Board. smash the trade union move-ment led by this union. Ever

This year two rival unions bombs were exploded at the led by Jan Sangh and Inidan National Trade factory gates for terrorising the workmen and getting the Union Congress formed a united front against nomi-nees of Kapra Mazdoor Ekta Union. union activists into trouble. In such a situation, the election to Provident Fund Trust Board had become very

During the last two inter-

## PLAN TASK FORCE NEEDED

THE people were promised prosperity and Ram Rajya after independence by the Con-gress. It was declared that any-thing which would come in the way of the good of the masses would be removed so as to raise the economic, cultural and spiri-tual level of the masses.

tual level of the masses. Nearly two decades have pass-ed since independence was achie-ved but the condition of the people has not changed at all. The miserable life of the days of British rule is still persisting. The hard words used for the detestable foreign yoke seem to be appropriate even for the present government. be appropriate even present government. The main trouble seems to be

dents waited for two bouns at the gates to the residence of the Chief Minister, but the latter re-fused to see them. The main trouble seems to oc-that the government has not been able to implement its promises. The five-year plans which were The five-year plans which were to bring in an era of plenty have not been implemented faithfully and fruitfully. The remedy is to set up an implementation wing in the government which would constantly keep a check on the implementation of the plans and pull up lagging sectors and units inits

New Delhi K. K. KHULLAR Karimnagar

NEW AGE

SURPLUS ANDHRA A NDHRA Pradesh is recognised A to be the granary of the south. It is one of the most im-portant rice-producing areas in the whole country. Last year it was said that there was a bumper crop and the government assured us

PARADOX OF

significant. The management

and the government assured us repeatedly that it had devised the means to check the upward trend in prices of foodgrains. gress.

But the upward curb has re-But the upward curb has re-mained steady even in the surplus Andhra Pradesh. The government's warning to middlemen not to re-sort to unfair trade practices has had no effect on the price spiral. This is because the warning was set followed by an enterpretion not followed by any strong action.

not followed by any strong action. The only way out is for the government to have more stocks than they have today and to keep a steady flow of foodgrains to the fair price shops. More fair price shops have certainly to be opened to fulfil the needs of the people. Unless this is done, there will be no useful purpose se warnings to traders with fire." served by mere s "not to play

AUGUST 9, 1964

POLITICAL **OPPORTUNISM** THESE days we are hearing too much of political mergers. Some time back the Jharkhand Party merged in the Congress. Recently the Praja Socialist Party and the Socialist Party has merged together. Some of the PSP mem-bers have also joined the Conbers have also joined the Con

**AUGUST 9. 1964** 

How justifiable are these floor How justifiable are these foor crossings of members of Assem-blies and Parliament? At the time of the elections these people had fought on the basis of certain things to the people. Non-Congress parties had fought the elections on anti-Congress slogans.

This sort of political re-marriages are certainly not justi-fiable. The correct way would have been for these people to resign from membership of the assemblies and Parliament and seek re-election on the ticket of the parties in which they have

DR. K. N. BAO Muzaffarpur NARENDRA SINHA

#### A section of workers' gathering near the Delhi Cloth Mills.



S. A. Dange and Prem Sagar Gupta visiting the hunger strikers. (Photos: H. Dasgupta)

grains-dealers steps to bring down of prices

of foodgrains. These actions have started having their effect. The Grocery Merchants' Association in its executive meeting has decided to increase the wages of the workers employed by its members in the following manner. The workers who are now drawing upto Rs. 75 will be given 15 per between Rs. cent, increase!



NEW AGE

Meanwhile, the Delhi Hindustani Mercantile Asso-ciation has planned to kill two birds at a time. It has appointed a high-level committee of its members and requested the Federa-tion to negotiate terms of wage settlement with this committee. And at the same time, it has requested the Federation to call upon its members to launch an agi-tation against the government demanding withdrawal of the price-control recently imposed by government on 40 per cent production of cotton textiles.

The workers under the leadership of their unions affi-liated to the Federation are actively participating in sym-pathetic actions for the bank employees, textile workers etc. A central procession has been planned for August 3 at nandi; a similar procession consisting of workers of various trades and profession will join in the procession which will be taken out from

HUNGERSTRIKE PLANNED IN JUTE MILL

THE Katihar Jute Mills Workers' Union (Bihar) has served a notice on the manage-ments of Katihar Jute Mills and Hardut Roy Jute Mills that if the demands of the union are not met by August 16, the General Secretary, Badal Choudha ry, would resort to a hungerstrike from August 17 The charter of demands placed by the union con-tains eight items and in-

cludes issues like imple-mentation of the recom-mendations of the Wage Board opening of fair price shops, accommodation faci-lities, proper accounting and receipt of provident fund deposits etc.



S. A. Dange addressing the textile workers on August 1. PAGE SEVEN

# SUBRAMANIAM'S ANNOUNCEMENT ON FOOD SUGGESTION FOR MORE CONCRETE MEASURES

The announcement made by the Union Minister for Food and Agriculture, C. Subramaniam, last week of the various measures which the government proposed to take to meet the scarcity and high prices of foodgrains was the subject of comment in almost all the newspapers. with the Minister on the

HERE was a broad unaapproach to these measures: by themselves these measures welcome but the essence of the issue lay in imple ing the proposals, and past experience has shown that it was in implementation that the government's food policy has failed.

THE STATESMAN, SURVEYing the "food prospects" on July 29, found that though some of the measures announced by Subramaniam are not of immediate importance, "they indicate a break with the complacency and consequent unpreparedness which has marked the government's policy in recent months".

However it added: "The favourable statistical nosi tion (figures of foodgr production and imports given by the Minister) unlikely to generate a psy-chology of confidence unless it is supported by regular supplies in fair price shops of the minimum needs of consumers, whe-ther rationing is formal or informal"

THE TIMES OF INDIA writing on "food prices" on the same day, recalled that the promise of fixing maxim prices of foodgrains had been pending for the last five months. "Even now it remains to be seen whether the government will be able whather to complete the process of fixing maximum prices at the hre ale retail for all the states in the next few days as promised by Mr. Subramaniam."

The paper warned that "there can be neither plan-ned development nor political stability in the bsence of to stabilize the prices of at least such goods as account for the larger part of the budgets of poor and e class fau

#### PROCUREMENT AND RATIONING

As far as the future wa concerned, it said that whatever the Food Minister might say; "the new system involves semi-procureme as well as semi-rationing. The time has come when he must ask himself whe ther it will not be more rational in the long run to perfect a system of pro-curement and rationing over the next two years so that the government can face the problem of equitable distribution in times of acute scarcity with greater confidence."

"Mr. C. Subramaniam has been quick to respond to the suggestion that the policy on foodgrain prices should not only concern itself with long-term problems but also deto combat some immediate distortions in the eco-THE HINDUS-TAN TIMES on July 29. The paper had differences

PAGE EIGHT

figures he provided—"there are others who think that the extent of hoarding is exagge-rated"—but it felt that the steps outlined by him "may help the holding of the price line provided government is able to assure adequate stocks in the fair price shops." It was not hopeful that the

official committee annointed to fix prices would be able to finish its work by the next harvest and so wanted "some rough and ready ad hoc fixa-tion for the next harvest" so that "bare justice" is extended to the producer.

#### AVAILABILITY OF GRAINS

According to the PATRIOT (July 29) "Mr. Subramaniam's problem is to get into the market and see to it that the grain is made available at reasonable prices", and he has adopted "a commonsense approach" to it

"Most of the measures that the Food Minister pro-poses to take are intended to ease the situation by the time the next harvest comes into the market, but the problem of rising foodgrain mediate" it said. rices is im Such a situation demands prompt and stern action against hoarders and measures to lessen ostentatious consumption by the richer sections of society."

The paper agreed with Su-bramaniam that "scare induces scarcity", and so offer-ed the advice that "scare can be obviated only if the government acts with decision and courses and does not wait till the people driven to desperation make it a law and order issue"

THE INDIAN EXPRESS found the measures "calculately less than drastic" and concluded that the govern-ment had "avoided steps would have been regarded and liable to invite suffering through rigid controls bureaucracy".

In an editorial entitled 'Far From Solved'', the paper ", the paper said on July 29 that larger imports were welcome vided indigenous initiativ DIOvided indigenous initiative in production is not dulled and they keep the prices at a

"It is questionable whether a ceiling on prices, even with the aid of administrative measures against hoarding, will solve the problem" because "the administration of law against hoarders has rarely proved effective in the past."

The paper thought all the measures announced by the Food Minister to be "partial measures" and said: "Today's crisis can be overcome through half measures. What about the more permanent problem of inadequate food to meet

said that the "bulk of the has been the Achilles' heel of hoarded stocks are concen- most state governments." trated in some pockets", it wanted the state govern-ments to call for declarations of stocks "in specific areas instead of from persons over the entire state". And it told "holders of large stocks the that they would do well to respond promptly to the gov-ernment's call for declara-

In contrast to these sym pathetic comments of the capial's dailies (with the capial's dalles (with the exception of The Hindu) came bitter criticism from two papers published from Bombay and Calcutta which are very badly affected by the food situation. THE FREE PRESS JOUR-

NAL said on July 29: "Implicit in the familiar measures announced by the Union and that the position Minister for Food and Agri-

prices in foodgrains is the tacit confession that his ear-

lier optimism of success in

this sphere has been sorely

It noted that "it is easy to

fix maximum prices at the wholesale and retail levels

lating to the notification of

mentation is altogether a

And this

misplaced".

different matter."



which

with regard to wheat was culture to curb the bouncing 'particularly mystifying".

the needs of a rising popu-

THE HINDU, calling for a

"Rein on Prices" on July 30, said that the figures which

the Food Minister gave about

the availability of foodgrains "clearly suggest that some-where in the chain of move-

ment of stocks from the pro-

ducer to the consumer there

has reduced the marketed supplies available to consu-

has been a bottleneck

Istion?

mers

It said that if the Food Minister's "new strategy" was to succeed, "all the interests premature and profoundly invoved must genuinely co-operate with the authorities" and see that the measures are effectively implemented. Even more than price control and to issue notifications remuch will depend on how the proposed measures to get at hoarded stocks are going to stocks order under the De-fence of India Rules. But imimplemented."

Since Subramaniam has

GAINS OF WORKING CLASS

it back. In fact, they brought for-

ives wanted fixation of natio-

implementation.

proceed with it.

years.

all

nal minimum wages and their

It was ultimately agreed

that the proposed bill was not against any provision of

the earlier tripartite decisions

ment should be allowed to

of their members so that as

provided for in the Code of Discipline, they may be in a position to challenge the

recognised union after two

Consensus seemed to agree

d as a decision. Our view that recognition

We succeeded in focusing the attention of the confer-

ence and through it of the

food scarcity and rise in pri-

ces and wrest some

vernment and the employ-to the burning issue of

with this view, though

and hence' the state govern-

#### \* FROM PAGE 5

that as the problem of rising prices affects the whole popu-lation it should not be discussed in the ILC by referring to the subjects of housing and hospitalization which also affect the whole population but in the past had been dis-cussed in the ILC. He demanded that govern-

ment should accept the rendation of the Bonus Commission without watering it down. Quoting G. L. Nanda for-

mer Labour Minister, that rise in the wages of the workers did not cause spiral in the economy, he defend-ed direct action by the workers when their standard of living went down.

Speaking next day, I referred to the demands the DA and Nationalisation Conference of ATTUC had passed in December 1963, specially re-garding nationalisation of banks, export-import trade. etc., and stopping of forward trading in grains and grant of advances from banks against foodgrains

employers' representatives objected to this being record-I pointed out that the working class would not be satisfied with mere decisions and ed as a decis ances but would watch of categorywise/department-wise unions should not be en-couraged found favour with their quick implementation and results.

Pleading for setting up tripartite committees in all centres to correct the consumer price indices. I stated that the government never moved in time unless strike or threat of agitation was made as happened in Bombay, Ahme-dabad and Rajasthan on this issue.

Among the items on the agenda of the conference was the Punjab Industrial Estab-

lishment (National & Festi- would be introduced to make val Holidays, Casual and Sick Leave) Bill. The employers, in the it compulsory. This applies to both public and private sectors. name of uniformity all over

🖌 Government will provide the country, wanted to hold rice, wheat or wheat substitutes and sugar to these stores. Pulses, cloth and cookward a suggestion to fix na-tional minimum working days but the ATTUC representaing media are to be arranged by the employers and sold at lesale prices.

most state governments. The paper hit the nail on

its head when it said "soft

ness towards antisocial traders and speculative hoarders is sometimes at-

tributed to the ruling party's

dependence on them for political donations" and quoted a senior Minister as

saying that "the DIR and

party donations did not go

AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA

on the same day titled its editorial "Belated Wisdom".

and said that it was after a

month since the Chief Minis-

ters conference, "when the deteriorating food situation

all over the country threaten:

to become a law and order problem", that Subramaniam

has thought of implementing

Even so, many days are to pass before the maximum

prices of foodgrains for all

the states are fixed. "But hoarders and profiteers will

not meanwhile remain idle

In the light of their past

performance it is quite pos-sible to say that they wil

utilise the interval to out-

wit the government by sending their stocks under-

measures announced by the

Food Minister, the paper commented: "It is evident that they can be effective

only after the next harvest

But it would be too much to

expect the people to meekly submit to semi-starvation

till that time while the hoard-

ers and profiteers go on mak-ing their pile."

-Parakai

Regarding the

will

vorious

together.

decisions

ground.'

\* Workers will have option take these items from the consumer stores for which credit facilities (agreed to earlier) have to be provided take their whole pay packet in cash.

🛧 The expenses for opening the consumer stores and distribution charges are to be

On the right of unrecogborne by the employers. nised unions, it was repre-sented by the AFFUC that The details of this scheme is to be worked out by the they are to be allowed to function and take up issues Standing Committee on Industrial Truce.

The conference also reiterated the earlier decision to suitably link DA to the cost of living index.

It was announced that government decision on the Bonus Commission report will be made known quickly (may be by August 15, 1964).

There is no doubt that these decisions, if implemented quickly and properly, will be a step forward and will mitigate hardships of the working class to some extent. To get these decisions impleme gitation will have to be con-

tinued on these specific points. The AITUC was represented in the 22nd ILC by Dr. Ranen Sen, Vice President and K G. Sriwastava, Secretary, as delegates and M. C. Narasimhan and M S. Krishnan (of the Karnatak STUC) as advi-

HYDERABAD, August 2: The Andhra government's response to the highsounding and tepid measures of the Centre to deal with the food crisis has been tepid and not even highsounding. It had earlier called upon the dealers to declare their stocks and has now gone on to promise family ration cards to those monthly income was only Rs. 100 and below.

or felt called upon to verify stocks has only encouraged cks has only the wholesalers and millers. They got together in a body

anded of the government that it raise the prices of the single polish coarse rice of the Akkullu and Garikalu varieties to the highest possible permitted under the central price-fixation order. uld mean that the wholesale price of these vari- well for the food profiteers ettes would go up by at least and their protectors in the

THE dithering of the gov-ernment, which has not found even a single hoarder or felt called upon to verify ket prices. It means that the poor consumer will face an increase of six paise per kilo, even if we presume that no thing shady goes on at the wholesale or retail levels.

These wholesalers and millers seem to have already persuaded Balarami Reddy, the Food Minister, who will now go on to persuade the Chief Minister All will go

W HEN Jan Sangh leaone-day hungerstrike for food, citizens who <sup>agitati</sup> knew, laughed. What are serious about the solution of these representatives of the hoarders and black-the hoarders. They will marketeers up to, they asked. Must be some game to divert people's attention away from the food-

thieves, they said.

And truly enough it was so. No one was left with any doubt when the Sangh agitators' memorandum to the Food Minister came to light. As re-ported in their weekly, it con-tained three chief points-(1) Abolish Sales Tax and octroi duties on all essential octroi duties on all essentia octroi duties on all essential commodities; (2) Enforce aus-terity in public expenditure and disband unnecessary bodies like Bharat Sewak Samaj, Bharat Sadhu Samaj and Community Development Projects; and (3) Supply esse ntial co employees at subsidised rates.

Not one word was said against the hoarders and specu-lators:

Can sales tax and octroi duties or spending on worthless bodies like the Sevak Samaj or

the Sadhu Samaj explain the unprecedented food or prices crisis of today? No. The culprit is the brood of speculators and hoarders of speculators and nonmonetary power in a few ids today has thrown up

Crores of rupers of unac-counted money in the coun-try, unlimited bank credit available to anti-social opera-tors are permitting those tors are permitting those capitalists to hold the comnity to ran

While more and more people re coming to realise this grim reality, hectic attempts afoot to divert their attent away from it. Turn the people's wrath to inocuous and inane wrath to inocuous and inane bodies like the Bharat Sewak Samaj to enable the food hoar-

tion ever be counterposed against Nationalisation? Only in the digits of juggling tricksin the digits of jugging dicks-ters can such counterposing take place. The right slogan indeed is: Nationalise, and Democratise (or, "labourise" if you please). The Jan Sangh shouts the other half of it in order to

be counterposed ationalisation? Only

prevent the first.

AUCUST 9, 1964



te game. Those who have read Gorky's 'Priest of Morality' know how Priest of Morality' know how this game is played. Agents are hired to create small mischiefs in public places which the press sensationalises. That helps the moneybags to get along unnoticed with their big crimes. Jan Sangh leaders played the same kind of hirelings. It is not fortuitous that the jute-press printed large from the age printed large from the age printed large from the same kind of hirelings. It is not fortuitous that the jute-press printed large from the age printed large from the same kind of hirelings. It is not fortuitous that the jute-press printed large from the same kind of hirelings. It is not fortuitous that the jute-press printed large from the same kind of hirelings. the jute-press printed large front-page pictures of a puny

gitation. Sangh volunteers, who are against the ho amused to find them slinking into holes.

One of Jan Sangh's big cam-paigns these days is: Do not nationalise banks.

onalise banks. The slogan of bank ationalisation has acquired the greatest urgency in to-day's grim background of price manipulations and withholding of stocks. The misuse of big money against misuse of big money against the people can never be stopped unless the banks are taken away from private hands. Hence the rising de-mand for nationalisation.

hands. Hence the rising de-mand for nationalisation. The West Bengal Assemb-ly's resolution in favour of nationalising banks is a sign of the times. sign of the times. Finding themselves more and more at bay, the bankers are bringing out all their hounds to rend the welkin with their

harking ng. , the Jan Sangh is crying e: Do not nationalise the

It, however, realises

It, however, realises the powerful popular urge. So, it says: Do Not Nationalise, But Labourise the Banks. What is this "Labourise the banks"? The phrase, if it is not absolutely senseless or vilnot absolutely senseless or vil-lainously idiotic, can mean only one thing: Democratise the

But how can democratisa

Banks.

# Food Crisis Does Not Perturb Andhra Govt

Ministry, unless the people's "persuasion" further mounts

In the meantime, the re-tailers of Hyderabad have just chosen to ignore the Union Government's order. A random survey conduct-ed by the INDIAN EXPRESS shows that in far-flung areas coarse rice continued to be sold at between 65 to 75, paise a kilo. The finer varieties cost anything from

#### **\* JAN SANGH GAME \* BEWARE OF BLACKLEGS \* RAJAJI'S FRIENDS**

Apropos banks, another task entrusted to the Jan Sangh seems to be to break the seems to be to break the mighty organisation of bank workers—the All India Bank Employees Association. While bank workers all over the country are carrying e strong movement for their demands under the guidance dem of their Association, Sangh tabloids are trying to boost certain stooge bodies among the employees.

But the corridors of Connaught Place, the sidewalks of Chandni Chowk and every other place where one can see bank workers agita-ting for their just demands resound with slogans of "AIBEA Zindabad". The stooge bodies are nowhere in the picture. If Sangh lea-ders tried to blow their disaers the to blow their dis-ruptive trumpet here, they will blacken their face even among those who at one time or other had any soft corner for them.

Rajaji has called for India's rajan nas caucd for India's "frank dependence on external friends" (Swarajya, July 18, 1964). Who are these friends? They are, in his own words: "(1) Our old collaborator (1) Our old collaborator Britain and (2) America, the present Western leading power, and (3) their allies." In sum, all the notorious imperialists of the world—powers of whom India has bitter direct experience.

One of the reasons India should opt for this de-pendence on external friends is "the internal resources, the material condition of our people," which means, saying in frank terms that we should to become dependent nhoose we are poor!

The Aman Sabhaites used The Aman Sabhaites used to oppose the movement for Swarajya during the British days, saying that British pro-tection was indispensable for weak and helpless Indians. Now it is the Swatantrites who call for trach denorm who call for frank depen-dence on external friends. Both gave up independence as a hopeless cause.

It is to be noted that fullfledged political parties have risen in the country which openly call for an alliance openly call for an alliance with imperialism on subordi-nate terms. Rajaji, is the maes-tro of this team of Western time-players.

-Garuda

NEW AGE

#### From MOHIT SEN

85 paise to Rs. 1.75 a kilo. The argument of the retailers is that the order of government has not been municated to them and that in any case they had to buy the rice at higher than the government-fixed prices from the wholesalers.

Relief was and continues to be expected from the price shops but practically in vain. A new trick resorted to make the opening quite irregular—sometimes as early as 7 a.m. and at other at 10 a.m. So arbitrarily close down for three days pleading lack of stocks, others say they will open only on alternate days: will Some shops have queues

waiting from as early as 3 a.m. while in other, place people grimly hang on till noon. In one place the Mayor of the city himself saw a teenager fall down in a faint at 8 a.m. before a fair-price shop: she had been waiting since 4 a.m. Despite her in-juries she refused to be moved as she would lose her pla in the queue. Medical aid had ned to the spot

Many fair price shops are not found where they are supposed to be but often a good mile away. Others hurriedly come into exis-tence when official visits are announced and then peter out till the next visit. Verifiel complaints reveal that even after all these tribulations the consumer gets grain sold in short measure and comes away with a goodly collection of small stones as well.

If this is the situation in the capital it can be imagined what it must be like in other towns and centres the government does not even have to keep up public app

#### Working Class In The Lead

Faced with this situation the masses are moving into actin, with the working class in the lead. On August 1 the Hyderabad City Trade Union Council, together with the bank and insurance employ-ees associations, decided on ees associations, decided on observing August 10 as a day of demonstration

Meeting in a convention presided over by Makhdoom Mohiuddin, it analysed the serious food situation and suggested concrete remedies To compel the wholesale traders and the government to accept this People's Plan For Food the workers and citizens of the twin cities will come together on August 10 evening and march to Osmangunj, the biggest wholesale foodgrains centre in the metropolis. Y. V. Krishna Rao, member of the Secretariat of Andhra

Pradesh Council of the CPI, told NEW AGE that reports have already come in of similar actions being planned in different centres of Warran-Adilabad. gal, Khammam, Nalgonda, Guntur, Anantapur, and Krishna. He said that this

was to be the prelude to Andhra's

lion-hearted participation in the nationwide satyagraha from August 24 to 28. District Councils of the CPI were meeting to draw up concrete plans and lists of satvagrahis. The state executive mittee would meet on August 12 to finalise these plans.

It should not be overlooked that the bank em-ployees of the state are showing marvels of solida-rity and organisation in their participation in the all-India "work-to-rule" movement. In Hyderabad the employees of all banks act in complete synchroni-sation and any observer would be particularly im would be participation im-pressed by the cent per cent participation, for example, in the lunch hour break action. In addition, meet-ings outside the main bank offices and demonstrations go on. On July 31 a big procession was taken out by some three thousand bank employees, led by Dr. Raj Bahadur Gonr.

#### Shady Doings Of Minister

While the people struggle for a bare living their anger is further sharpened when the curtain is lifted on somewhat shady doings of certain Congress Ministers. Some thing of a sensation has been created by some disclosures made in the Legislative Council about Dr. Chenna Reddy, the present Finance and In-dustries Minister. Observers here believe that these dison the closures could take dimensions of a smaller Kairon case.

In the first instance, it has been officially disclosed that Rs. 39,000 of government monev was spent on his official residence which the Minister himself owns! He has the highest record in this respect. Then comes the case of the socalled Vijaya Industries and Vijaya Feed, the partners in which were the wife and son of Dr. Chenna Reddy, Inson of Dr. Chenna Reddy. In-cidentally, till recently this son was working as his father's PA and getting some Rs. 300 of government money. Two fat loans were given by the state Smallscale. Indus-tries Comparation tries Corporation.

What is more reprehenble is that while applying for loans to the government. this company was buying land from Chenna Beddy at inflated rates. Moreover. while others wait months and months Vijaya Feed got its loan within a few weeks. This company, too, "bought" land from the Mi-nister—actually part of his compound till then!

All these facts were brought o public attention by S. Mal-onda Reddy, MLC, President of the Andhra Bar Council The Minister's reply was utt-erly unconvincing. Nandaji erly unconvincing. Nandaji has a clear case for insisting that a probe in the form of a commission be instituted. Such a would be greatly facilitated by Chenna Reddy stepping down until such time as the Commission clears him.

PAGE NINE

# KERALA BANDHI

# General Strike & Hartal all over State

In the capital, the hartal was spontaneous and complete. Apart from the united call and campaign by the joint TU Committee, all the left parties, the CPI, RSP and

the left parties, the CPI, RSP and SSP were active in propagating the slogan of hartal. Workers be-longing to the rubber factory, cycle rim factory, engineering workshops (all three stateowned), the Vijayamohini Textiles, match factories, timber depots, PWD, NMR and Corporation workers, also workers employed in the Pap-panamcode Industrial Estate, all responded to the strike call.

Workers in Ponmudi and

Bonakad Estate struck work. In Neyyattinkara 104 workers of-fered peaceful satyagraha before Taluq offices. This was rounded

off by a meeting at Tricondrum which was presided over by Vamadevan, Deputy Mayor and UTUC leader and addressed by leaders belonging to the AITUC, HMS and UTUC unions.

In Quilon the strike of the 1.5

lakhs workers employed in cashew, tile, saw mills, engineering and

responded to the strike call.

Workers'

Participation

#### From S. SHARMA

All towns and villages in Kerala observed hartal on July 31 while the organised working class barring those employed in the State Transport, Electricity and Health services, participated in the one day general strike in response to the joint call of the three state centres of the AITUC, UTUC and HMS. Public meetings were held in all centres in the evening which were addressed by the leaders belong-ing to all the three centres and leaders of left parties.

EXCEPT those workers under the influence of the INTUC and those who had come into long term agreements with manage-ments, all the workers employed in the major industries including ments, all the workers employed in the major industries includin plantations observed the strike.

The hartal and strike were spon-taneous and peaceful, barring two centres—Trichur and Tellicherry -where police lathi charged the emonstrators.

The hartal and strike were to protest against the total failure of the union and state governments in controlling the prices of essential commodities and to demand state-trading in foodgrains and other steps to offset the rising cost of living.

Towns and cities reverberated with slogans against hoarders and blackmarketers, against the com-plete failure of government's food policy and for state-trading in toodgrains, nationalisation of banks, adequate wage increase and dearness allowance to workers and fair price shops everywhere.

The State Transport workers and NMR workers in the electri-city department and those who could not participate in the strike due to long-term agreement, wore badges against price-rise and stated demonstrations in front of due to lon badges a staged den onstrations in front of factories and offices before and

oil mills and plantation was com-plete. Hartal was a big success. A demonstration of the striking workers paraded the streets led by Divakaran (Municipal Chair-man) J. Chittaranjan and R. S. Unni and others.

Unni and others. In Alleppy, the coir workers, toddy-tappers and workers em-ployed in other units observed the strike call. The meeting and de-monstration were led by P. K. Vasudevan Nair MP, P. K. Velap-pan Pillai and K. K. Kumara Pillai.

In Ernakulam district, the en-In Ernakulam district, the en-tire tody-tappers and workers employed in the plantations and in the three municipalities as well as belonging to other establish-ments staged a demonstration after strike.

In Trichur, the strike of the in Inchur, the strike of the workers all over the district was a success. A demonstration led by trade union leaders was kathi-charged by police while they were peacefully persuading shopkeepers to close shops. Thirty workers have been arrest-ed in this connection. ed in this connection.

In Palghat district the hartal was a success and in Kozhikode, Tellicherry and Cannanore, the overwhelming majority of workers relicherry and Cannanore, the overwhelming majority of workers belonging to AITUC, UTUC and HMS participated in the strike, staged demonstrations and held meetings. At Tellicherry the police have arrested 13 workers for attempt at obstruction.

for attempt at obstatement. Achutha Menon has greeted the working class and people for splendidly responding to the call of the three state TU centres for one-day strike and hartal and stated that this is the first step in the michty neople's movement in the mighty people's movement for ensuring food for the people at fair prices and adequate wages for the working population.

A stirring call to Communist Party members ar supporters was given last Sunday by Chairman S. A Dange asking them to join the great battle for foo dentship of Comrade Y. D. Sharma and organise now jointly by the Delhi Provincial Council of the CPI ar the Party Headquarters' Branch. Dange called un all Party members and supporters to enrol themselved as satyagrahis for the all-India satyagraha planned for August 24-28.

CHAIRMAN Dange started by pointing out that the question had become the most turns of the government in imporant one of the country's trying to explain the food economy. It had reached a crisis. First they said ther stage where the barest mini-mum necessary to sustain human life was not available to the people. They have been brought face to face with capitalism's crisis which otherwise they might not have known.

This was no mere food crisis but the crisis of capitalism, Dange said. Of course, it is not the same as the capitalist crisis in the advanced capitalist countries.

Three years ago, he recall-ed, it was a cloth crisis. There was a 45 per cent increase in cloth prices. And the present Prime Minister refusing to take any action had then take any action had then said that the capitalists were honourable men, had appeal-ed to them to put "volun-tary control" and not let the

rise go beyond 45 per cent and to stamp the prices, and so on. Despite those assurances, WHAT IS

or no stamp-raising them far beyond and above 45 per cent.

After cloth it came to sugar, and there was control, then decontrol, the prices rising all the time and sugar be-coming less and less avail-able for the people.

And now it has come to

were no stocks. Immediately they realised that that argu-ment would not help becaus people were going to ask them what were you doing till now, and why have you deceived us so far.

strike.

When we organised hunger-

gerstrike simultaneously all

The CPI. Comrade Dange explained, wants simultan-eous all-India action. That alone means central orga-

nisation, central discipline

"And unless we have these, nothing will happen. This idea of centrally directed

action started in Septem-ber last and we saw the re-sults of it."

they are doing something for us. "A new atmosphere of dis-

cipline and organisation was

We had to tell the detrac-tors that it was Gandhi's

satvagraha for a pinch of salt

that moved millions into ac-tion and made them ulti-

hartal in 1946, he recalled. "India has a two-crore

strong working class and when it goes on a general strike it will bring a new

THE council has fixed a target of 1,500 volunteers for the

satyagraha in the state. Recruit-ment of volunteers will start

ment of volunteers will start immediately. Even while preparations are going on for the national satya-graha, the campaign for people's food is going ahead in the state. The Jodhpur committee of. CPI organised a token hunger-strike by five comrades from July 23, under the leadership of Ganpat Singh Menta. Two big public meetings were held on July 27 and 28 in con-nection with the hungerstrike. It was addressed by Y. N. Handa MLA.

Handa MLA. The Jaipur committee also or-ganised a token hungerstrike, for four days from August 1. The state coincil has given a call to observe August 4 as Anti-Price Rise Day. This is the second such Day to be observed. July 6 last was also observed as Anti-Price Rise Day in the state, when meeting and

Handa MLA.

feeling and new

born out of that." he said.

strikes many people said that is not Marxism. But when 50,000 workers went on hun-So they changed the top declaring that food wa there but it had been cor over the country everyt could see what it meant. nered by the hoarders. The fretted and fumed agains the hoarders and threaten ed dire action against them Some were even arrest and their stocks seized But immediately they were let off and it was explain ed that government didn't really mean what it has been saying.

"You know what has been happening in Delhi, and I need not go into that. It's all Dange recalled that when following the Party's call workers went on hungerstrike before people's eyes," Dang in Bombay three lakh people visited the place, doing "na-maste" to them and saying

the honourable men of the capitalist class had gone on raising cloth prices—stamp What is the solution, went on to ask, and added: "Of course there is no prot lem for our revolutionar Throw out the governme and bring socialism, they say".

mately rise in insurrection against the satanic British He pointed out there government. Dange recalled how the no overthrow and no so lism for the asking of it There were certainly a lot of struggles and movements go the Party planned after the hunger-strikes to go on to prepare for a national general ing on ever since the came up. The Party had or-ganised a conference in Fe-bruary and given a call for strike and countrywide hartal have been hartals in our country in the past, but no

demonstrations and hunger\_ strikes. It visualised a satyaness like it happened in England in 1926. graha leading on to a general

everybody

"People realise what general strike means when everything stops. In Bombay we had a Bombay Bandh in 1958. Again there was one last year in August. And we are going to have it once more on the 12th of this month

#### NEW ATMOSPHERE

"It creates a new atm phere when everything is closed. The creative power of the working class and its power to stop the creation gets demonstrated."

Dange recalled that the national general strike had to be abandoned in March due to the Party split and the communal riots. It had to be postponed.

Our failures and failings cannot however stop people from moving into action. Now this food crisis has given rise to a spate of actions. There are hungerstrikes demonstrations hartals strikes and satyagrahas going on all over. The SSP, the Jan Sangh and our own Party are

all heading them. But there is no centralised, planned action as yet, as it should be.

Question now is whether, the entire working class all over India will move. The atmosphere is charged. New spirit and content have to be general strike. There was a infused in it. We have called for country-

wide satyagraha on August 24. What will it be like, what is the idea behind it? idea is to move into action against both the government

# Rajasthan's Plan For Satyagraha

JAIPUR: The Rajasthan state council of the Communist Party of India, meeting from July 24 to 26, has drawn up detailed plans for the massive nationwide satyagraha from August 24 to 28 called for by the central secretariat of the Party.

demonstrations were held in many

demonstrations were need in many places. Meanwhile, possibilities of united action along with the SSP and others progressive or-ganisations have brightened in the state.

The SSP and the "left" Com-The SSP and the left Com-munists have approached the Communist Party in Jaipur for united action over the food issue and talks are going on over the

and talks are going on over the matter. However, it has been made clear to these parties that the CPI's programme of mass satya-graha from August 24 to 28 would remain unchanged and that the Jan Sangh and Swatantra Party could have no place in this agita-tion for people's food. These parties were agreeable to these conditions. Following this, a joint demon-stration has been planned for August 5 in front of the state Assembly in which the Communist Party, the SSP and the "left" Communists would participate.



Scenes from satvagraha struggle in Bombay, (Top) A section of the demonstrators before Council House, (Left) Women volunteers who offered satvagraha and (Right) the march to the Assembly.

\*

Now the people realise from their experience that it is the whole system that is in cri-sis, said Dange.







and those who have brought this about.

We usually organise satura. graha against centres of poli-tical power. But we have also to consider that this way those who organise the loot and control the government are left scot free.

This time we propose to ask the administrative autno-rities to check the hoarders and at the same time go directly to the centres and sources of power of the hoar-ders and give them a taste of people's strength.

Our satyagrahis, Comrade Dange said, will go to the

Replying to those who say what is the use of orga-nising satyagraha before markets and mandis Dange pointed out that we have to realise that this entire system of hanks stock exchanges and govevrnment is one integrated whole. It is only by carrying this realisation to the people that we can politicalise them.

In conclusion the Chairman of the CPI pointed out that it was the duty of every member of our Party to enrol himself a satyagrahi. It is not necessary that each one offers satvagraha.



S. A. Dange addressing Party members.

banks and stop their func-tioning for the day. They give advances to the big grain dealers to speculate in people's food. Govern-ment tries to mislead the people and divert their at-tention by saying that it is only the black money that is responsible. But it is not so. We demand that all so. We demand that all advances for purposes of speculation in foodgrains. uld be stopped.

The satyagraha will be against government, against banks and against the grain hoarders and speculators. Trading markets must be closed. Their function has become to upset the price me-Their function has chanism.

Batches of satyagrahis will go like battalions to all these places everywhere to once satyagraha on August 24 and the following days, declared Comrade Dange. The Party "" mosify slogans for each an all-India mass campaign to result's food from the day.

After this we shall call upon all TU centres and political parties to join in an all-India general strike. It has not been possible till now because of the division in the leadership of trade union movement. Now at last this division must be overcome to face the pre-sent crisis. It should be a total general strike meaning total generation of every including the railways. of everything

The Party Committees will decide who all, if any, are to be exempted. No member of the Party, however, will have the right to exempt himself.

is a member of the Party now move into action

must enrol and he who enrols will be a Party member. The non-Party comrades who come into the satyagraha are potential members of the Party.

Comrade Dange went on to dwell upon the inter-connection between satyagraha and the preparations for the Party Congress and the inner-Party dis He pointed out that empty discussions about alterna-tive "paths" will lead us nowhere. It is a fighting Party we have to build and here is the question of go-ing into actual action. He who does not see its imporance cannot be serious about the Party Congress either

This does not mean that this satyagraha and action is to stop the Congress or the discussions. In fact thes will ent concreteness and life to the discussions and preparations for the Congress will revitalise the Party. fine

If it comes to that, said Comrade Dange, we hold our conferences inside the jails. But it is not our intention to go and sit there. From this satyagraha we want concrete gains for the people. Some gains blunt the edge of repeople think that partial do not agree with them.

Unless there are partial gains from struggles there will be no revolution, said Dange, illustrating the point with instances from the operience of the movement.

He referred to the current struggles of the Delhi work-ing class, the bank employees and the textile workers, and said they were already show-Each member of the Party ing the way. The whole Party should bring at least five or and the whole of Delhi's conten people with him. He who scious working class must

# Bihar To Launch Hungerstrikes By MLAs

PATNA: The secretariat of the Bihar state council of the Communist Party of India has drawn up plans for a food agitation, culminating in the great national satyagraha from August 24 to 28 for which a call has been given by the central secretariat of the CPI.

an all-India mass campaign to secure people's food from the clutches of the hoarders and

The state council had already

both the legislators' hunger-

T HE secretariat welcomed the strike and the demonstrations initiative taken by the cen-would be held according to plan, tral secretariat in giving shape to the campaign should culminate an all-India mass campaign to in a mass satyagraha before the offices of SDOs and collectors and big banking companies from August 24 to 28,

Party units have been called upon to recruit immediately ten thousand. volunteers for this

The state council had already planned to organise a three-day hungerstrike by Communist legislators before the Assembly from August 5 to 7. It had also decided to organise the offices of the Block Develop-ment Officers and Subdivisional offices on August 17. The secretariat has decided that while both the legislators' hunger-

# WOMEN OF NEW GERMANY STRIVE FOR LASTING PEACE

By SARLA SHARMA, Secretary, National Federation of Indian Women

"I don't sit at home and wait for my husband. We work together," said a collective farmer, a delegate to the Women's Congress of the German Democratic Republic held at Berlin from June 25 to 27, 1964.

TNDUSTRIAL workers, teachers, doctors, technicians, engineers, ministers, collective far-mers, cattle breeders, housewives, all who formed the 1200 dologates representing 7.5 million women of GDR came from all parts of the country, belonged to various par-ties and organisations or to no party at all, members of the Democratic Women's Federation of Germany who had jointly prepar-ed for the Congress, moved by the one common desire of how all women can become still more useful and intelligent partners in the further building up a peace-ful and socialist Germany.

I and socialist Germany, The women of GDR enjoy full equality not only in law but in practice and to imple-ment it the state provides them with multitudes of construct with multitudes of opportuni-ties of education and training, of health and welfare services, of creches, kindergartens, day schools and summer camps for their children.

The state gives them all such odern facilities so that houseold work is no longer a drudgery does not consume mu

Maternity leave of 14 weeks is given to all working women but if the young mother wants to, nurse her child longer she can have unpaid leave upto one year

a the young month while to an invested ber child longer she can have unpaid leave up to one year with full security of the job. The woman of course gets equal pay for equal work and paid annual rest holidays, besides financial benefits on the birth of a cbild. 47 per cent of all working women and 95 per cent of all working women are organised in trade unions. Thirtyone per cent of all judges are women. Every fourth lawyer is a woman. Every second technical school graduate is a woman besides the

chool gra-besides the second technical school gra-duate is a woman, besides the highest share is held by women in pedagogic, medical, artistic and linguistic occations. In the chemicals, electronic and engineering industries women are not ordinary hands. They oc-

cupy leading and high-ranking position. 26.5 per cent of mem-hers of the People's Chamber are women and in the district legis-lative bodies their share is 31 per cent This

high percentage every-is not accidental. It is made where is not acc possible by the state by constantly endeavouring to provide all the educational and social prerequisites for the activity of w

is for the activity of women. It was not an easy task either. Agelong prejudices against wo-men had to be fought. But given the opportunities, the women soon proved their worth. Their creative cooperation under a socialist social sys-tem gave their life new im-

pulses, a new content. It is no wonder that the Presi-dent of GDR, Walter Ulbricht, in e reception to the delegates Women's Congress said that "we are prouted of our women who are equal, active and intelligent partners in the building of our state—a peaceful and socialist state."

many of its outstanding delegates. It raised the slogan of a Technical Revolution. It emphatically said, "the needs of our state, of our expanding economy demand more from our women."

Agriculture is mechanised. Highly complicated machinery is handled by women. Technical education for all young girls and mothers is immediately essential.

mothers is immediately essential. A delegate came up and said, "it's not enough for us to have a diploma. We need more prac-tical experience. We should in-troduce our girls to technical work long before they finish studies." Another, a worker in a factory proudly said, "we had set before us high production targets. We have fulfilled it. But we tell you, we haven't worked overtime.

have fulfilied it. But we ten you, we haven't worked overtime. Still our production has gond up. Why? It's our technique. It's our socialist system. We produce for peace, for strengthening our so-cialist state which has lovingly mothered us all and assures prosperity for all."

#### Peace As Pivot

Yes, in the Women's Congress as well as in our tour of the New-Brandenburg district we could distinctly see that peace was the pivot of all work and activity in the GDR.

the GDR. Young and old, the Socialist Unity Party, the National Front, the Christian League and various other organisations and groups— all were united in producing for peace, in defending and strenall were united in producing for peace, in defending and stren-gthening the new socialist state and in fighting all moves and threats of a nuclear war.

threats of a nuclear war. The Women's Congress expres-sed concern at the conditions of women in West Gemany and ap-pealed to them to recognise the danger of Nato policy and atomic armaments and to struggle to see that West Germany may no longer remain a hothed of an atomic war.

remain a hothed of an atomic war. It appealed for starting negot-ictions for relaxition of tensions and for normalisation of rela-tions between the people of the two German states but it cate-gorically stated that any thought of reunification under the boots of war criminals would be a betrayal of the German nation-a betrayal of interests of wo-men and children. All aspects of life were discuss-

men and children. All aspects of life were discuss-ed at the Congress from hair dres-sing to technical revolution, from cattle breeding to changing of architectural designs of sheds and buildings, from marriage as being "a development of personality of both the partners" to the educa-tional system which teaches the children to be honest, self-confi-dent, just, efficient, free, friendly and peace loving. The discussions were free, frank and concrete. The common woman

and concrete. The common woman who participated felt it was her Congress. The state felt the same

way. The women were proud of the state which had given them their life and joy. The state was proud builders. That is why the attrac-tive slogan, "Our republic needs all women—All women needs our Republic", formed the backdrop of the Congress. Hearty annious of its women who were its sincere builders. That is why the attrac-

or the Congress. Hearty applause greeted a dele-gate who said, "I am a bourgeoise. But I am proud to be a citizen of the GDR. Our state is generous. Many had laughed when Lenin had said, 'the strength of state lies not in guns and cannons but not in guns and cannons but

in hearts and heads.' Today one sees how true it is."

Yes. GDR is a strong force today. GDR is a reality and must be given its due recogni-tion in the international sphere. World peace and security itself demand it. India, too, has yet to establish diplomatic relations with the CDR.

I am happy to have been able to attend the Women's Congress and to see GDR. The bright, self-confident and friendly faces of its women will ever remain an inspir-ing memory with ing memory with me.



Sarla Sharma (extreme right) among the delegates A view of the Congress in Session



# Under Uncle Sam's Umbrella THE HOLES ARE GROWING BIGGER

safeguarding the "free world" and fighting the safeguarding the "free world" and fighting the "menace of communism" never paid any dividend. What is more disconcert-ing for him is that even the edifice he had built up of war blocs directed ag-ainst the socialist coun-tries has begun to crum-ble. His partners and allies are trying to get out of the stifling atmos-

accelopment in the SLAIO brings quite a lot of head-ache for the Uncle. The member countries who were so long dittoing the Uncle's wishes have now begun to hum a different tune and do not quite sea the problem not quite see the problem as the Uncle does.

as the Uncle does. The background to this SEATO war bloc is quite in-teresting. After the Dien Bien Phu debacle, the French had to face the inevitable. They were booted out of Vietnam, which was not the least their docise.

The Geneva Conference on

NEW AGE

T HE Uncle's old stra-tegy and tactics for safeguarding the "free und tactics for the independence and territorial integrity of Viet-nam. The imperialists-USA, UK and France-solempik age hecome much to expensive and detested in home cricles. The prospects for the Uncle's diplo-macy are also bleak

> had not bargained for. He ig-nored the fact that the acti-vities of the SEATO were in contradiction with the interest

allies are trying to get out of the stifling atmos-phere he had created and see the world at least from a little different angle. For example, the latest development in the SEATO brings quite a lot of head ache for the Uncle. The member countries who were so long dittoing the Uncle's wishes have nown begins to the seator of the upper hand, there will be more holes in the SEATO contradiction with the increase of the Asian countries and thought that through and stooges he would be able to execute his designs in the newly-liberated countries. significant mistake, among several. He had misunderstood the national interests of the young nations. And this is be more holes in the SEATO umbrella and gradually its practical significance will grow smaller."

grow smaller." And on top of it, in the Uncle's homeland there is a growing feeling of futility about it. The era of brinkmanship, unless it is brought back by the scrapheap of history; the undeclared war by the Uncle in Vietnam has on for much too long and

-CHARVAK

are also bleak Even the Uncle's assistants

have given vent to their frus

have given vent to their frus-trations. Senator Morse has declared: "In my opinion we should note the fact that our SEATO allies have re-tired and betrayed us." He could not hide his despera-tion when he added: "The only country which fulfilled any whatsoever obligation, and I consider this a mistake, which could he recorded as

which could be regarded as envisaged by the SEATO treaty is the United sates..."

And this is what the Uncle

The Uncle has made on

AUGUST 9, 1964

This is the second part of our correspondent P. Kunhanandan Nair's interview with A. Rumvantsey, the Chief Editor of the World Marxist Review (PEACE, FREEDOM AND SOCIALISM). The third and final instalment will appear in our next issue

lishment of a large state-

cooperative sector in the eco-nomy and the sweeping de-

mocratisation of social affairs,

indicate that Algeria has taken the non-capitalist path leading to socialism.

The United Arab Republic,

Mali and Burma are embark-

ing on non-capitalist develop-

ment, and other Asian and African countries are ap-

As you see, the facts have

confirmed the postulate, contained in the Statement

of the 81 Communist and

Workers' parties on the non-capitalist path of de-

velopment. The experience

of various countries, nota

bly Cuba, Algeria, the UAR, Burma and Mali, shows that

in our time—a time of transition from capitalism to socialism and of increas-

to socialism and of increas-ing socialist superiority over capitalism—practically any country can take the non-capitalist path, the path of socialist construc-tion. In my opinion, that is the most important factor in the evaluation of recent

changes in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Current developments in

the national liberation move-ment call for painstaking study and for the solution of

new problems related to the prospects of the newly-free countries and the different

forms and ways of their

Many: of these problems were exhaustively discussed by Marxists of different coun-

tries at symposiums. held under the auspices of our journal in September 1961

and December 1962. The dis-

cussions centred on two topics: "The Path of Deve-

opment of the Newly-Emer-

gent Countries" and "The Socialist World System and

the National Liberation Move-

transition to socialism.

OPEN TO ALL

proaching it as well.

THE Moscow Meeting ad-self-administration of setvanced two new ideas tlers' property transferred to concerning the national-liberation movement and cal agrarian reform, the estabthe transition to socialism. namely, national demo-cracy and the non-capitalist way of development. Further changes occurred in Asia, Africa, and Latin America after this.

What do you think of these changes, especially those in Cuba, Burma, Al-geria and Ghana? To what extent do they confirm the theory of national demo-cracy and the non-capitalist way of development?

What is the role and place of different classes during the transition to the non-capitalist path of development and the ad-vance to socialism?

Since the 1960 Moscow Meeting of 81 Communist and Workers' parties, the nationliberation movement in , Africa and Latin America has extended its range and acquired extremely important experience, the experience of grand victories, expe also of failures. All in all, the has today embarked on a stage of development in which the objectives af na tional liberation have fused with tasks of economic and **A PATH** social liberation.

Most of the politically independent Asian and African countries feel acutely that their revolutions are as yet. uncompleted. They feel the contrast between what peo-ple fought for against imperialism, and what independence has yielded them so far. The abyss between the countries of the socalled third world and the economically developed countries, far from shrinking, is getting deeper all the time. For this reason, domestic political and class struggle is growing more acute in the Asian, African and Latin American countries over the question of their further socio-economi

#### CAPITALISM DISCREDITED

This struggle proceeds against the setting of the chief contradiction of our time, that between world socialism and world capitalism.

Capitalism as a social system, and the bourgeoisie as a class, are discrediting themselves. Millions of people in Asia, Africa and Latin America are coming to realise that the capitalist path will not end hunger, need and backwardness, and some of the really independent governmente are proclaiming socialist objectives.

In Latin America the Re-public of Cuba has already embarked on socialist cons-

The young Algerian Republic, which has emerged from a heroic war of liberation, is also taking guidance in socia-list ideals. The important socio-economic reforms made in Algeria, such as collective

AUGUST 9, 1964

ment" (abridged transcripts appeared in World Marxist-Review, Nos. 4-7, 1962, and No. 3, 1963.) Problems related to tional democracy, the non-capitalist way of development and the prospects of the na-tional liberation struggle are also treated in "National De-mocracy—the Way to Social Progress" by A. Sobolev (World Marxist Review, No. 2, (World Markist Review, No. 2, 1963), "The National Libera-tion Movement and the World" Revolutionary Process Revolutionary Process" by Fuad Nassar and Aziz al Hajj (World Marxist Review, No. 3

Building a reliable mate-(worm markst nervey, NO. 3, 1964) and "Peaceful Coexist-ence and the National Libe-ration Struggie" by Mamun (World Markist Review, No. rial basis for social progress and for the state is one of the most important tasks during the transition of the newly free countries to the 10 1962), etc. non-capitalist path of deve-lopment. The state and cooperative economic sector, In our country a contra-versy is going on on the concepts of National Demowhich performs important social functions, is just such a basis. Difference of socioeconomic conditions from by the socialist camp to the country to country and dif-Asian, African and Latin ferences in the balance of American countries. This aid and Non-Capitalist cracy and Non-Capitalist Path. Could you please define the principal content ferences in the



We believe that the discussion of the above problems n World Marxist Review has brought us nearer to a solu-tion of some complicated theoretical questions, to a definition of the principal content of national democontent of national demo-cracy and the non-capitalist path of development, and of the role and place of the different classes during the transition to the non-capitaist path and the advance to socialism.

#### ITS MAIN ELEMENT

Marxists believe that the main element of the non-capitalist path is the revolutionary process of socio-eco-nomic and class development which, given the socialist world system, enables them to advance from a semi-colo-nial and semi-feudal economy with a more or less de-veloped capitalist basis to socialism, bypassing the stage of mature industrial capitalism, in a short historical period and more or less painlessly. The non-capitalist path is

a series of revolutionary changes and rapid reforms leading to socialism. The political nattern of society during the non-capitalist pe-riod of development, and the length of this process, may vary from country to coun-try, depending on the speci-fic socio-economic and historical conditions, the distrincal conditions, the distri-bution of class forces, the political activity of the masses, the policy of the re-volutionary vanguard, etc. In some cases, as in Cuba, for instance, the national-

liberation revolution may develop rapidly into socialist revolution and lead quickly into socialist to socialist construction. In other cases it may constitute a long period of qualitative change in socio-economic relations generated by reforms and alterations, effected effected and and alterations, effect chiefly by peaceful means.

National democracy may be one of the forms of transition to the non-capitalist path but, naturally, other forms of advance along the path of national liberation and social progress are not ruled out.

- **X** 

Would you please touch upon the role of the state sector in this process?

JEW AGE

of National Democracy in class forces have a bearing is meant to develop projects on differences in the social important for the further functions of the state sector. development of the national

In countries like India. where national capitalism has made considerable advances, the state sector is part of the capitalist structure and various groups, of the national bourgeoisie are going out of their way to use it for their class ends.

The role of the state sector in India not only as an eco nomic but as a socio-political factor will largely depend on changes in the balance of class and political forces, on the class struggle and the struggle between the bloc of progressive democratic forces and the reactionaries.

In countries like Algeria. Mali and Burma, where na-tional capitalism has not yet taken root, the state sector has more pronounced transi-tional features---not yet socialist, but, no longer purely capitalist. It invigorates ha-tional independence and serves as a basis for democratic gains and social progress.

The state sector may be used in the interests of economic and social liberation, as a basis for transition to the non-capitalist path also in countries where the capi-talist mode of production is firmly rooted and considera-bly developed, provided the governments there follow a policy of gradual restriction with respect to big and medium private national tal, a policy of nationalisa-tion and curtailment of the tion and curtailment of the private sector, and provided they lay emphasis on the state-cooperative sector. The UAR, Ghana and some other countries are good examples.

#### U.A.R.'S EXAMPLE

socio-economic re-The socio-economic re-forms of the last few years in, say, the UAR have given the state sector control over nearly 80 per cent of the country's economy. In the 1962-63 fiscal year it accounted for 96 per cent of the industrial investments and for 68 per cent of the aggregate industrial output. growth of the state secto enabled the UAR to mak sector good headway in closing the economic gap, mitigating the colonial structure of its economy and putting an end to conomic dependence.

The socio-economic reforms in the UAR, though they are as yet no more than national general democratic reforms and by no means socialist in complexion, are gradually creating the material and technical foundation for the country's transition to the non-capitalist path leading to socialism.

ve economic sector, A big part in establishing performs important and extending the state sec-functions, is just such tor is played by the economic and technical aid rendered

important for the furthe development of the nationa economy.

In this discussion on the new forms of transition, the questions of hegeof hegemony, classes and parties in it and the allies of revo-lution are heatedly debated today. Could you shed some light on this question too?

The gradual development of anti-imperialist national liberation revolutions into anti-capitalist social revolutions, which proceeds in varying degrees in all the countries of the "third world", calls for a new approach to the problem of the revolutionary vanguard and the role and place of the different classes. What is needed to solve this problem correctly and select the right tactics is a concrete analysis of the situation and of the balance of class and political forces in the country con-cerned, be it India or the UAR, Algeria or Guinea, Brazil or the Congo, and so on.

#### PEOPLE'S POWER

Marxists believe that, depending on the concrete socio-economic and political conditions prevailing country, the political trend in the period of transition to the non-capitalist road, the road of socialist construction, will probably be determined not by one class either the working class or the national bourgeoisie—and not by one party, but by a bloc of all the progressive and democra-tic leftist forces, notably the foremost sections of the working class, the peasantry and patriotic national bourgeoisie

The experience of Alge-ria, the UAR, Burma, Mali and other countries shows that many of the socioeconomic reforms usually carried out in the period of the development of national ocratic revolution into proletarian revolution (such as nationalisation of foreign capital and local monopolies, consolidation and en-largement of the state sector, and the like) are now effected prior to the estab-lishment of the dictator-ship of the proletariat.

The experience of Algeria and some other countries shows that it is possible for countries to embark on the non-capitalist road of de-velopment by establishing people's power based on a broad national front that may even take the form of a party consisting of members from various patriotic sections of society favouring socialism.

The probability of the noncapitalist road

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#### New Poland-III

#### By MASOOD ALI KHAN

This was done at a time when

sants, youth and intelligentsia. When the party was facing repression and terror, when many

# New Poland—III By MASOOD ALI KHAN By MASOOD ALI KHAN in which Poland and the world found itself. THE PARTY : FROM DISSOLUTION TO REGENERATION The Polish United Workers' Party (PUWP) is the vanguard of the working class and the people of Poland. Polish working class and the people of Poland.

The Polish United Workers' Party (PUWP) is the guard of the working class and the people of Poland, is the guiding force and the decisive element in the struction of socialist society; it coordinates and ensures homogeneous direction of activity on all sectors, it ites the people and inspires them for the great victories The Polish working class and pro-gressive forces were disarmed and disorganised and depriced of their leadership on the eve of the war crists, the Nazi thousand the occupation that followed. This was done at a time when vanguard of the working class and the people of Poland. It is the guiding force and the decisive element in the construction of socialist society; it coordinates and ensures a homogeneous direction of activity on all sectors, it unites the people and inspires them for the great victories in their struggle for a better life; and the great successes achieved in the last 20 years by people's Poland are the result, above all, of the correct Marxist-Leninist path followed by the Party under the leadership of Wladyslaw Gomulka. This was done at a time when the political leadership of the control of the correct Marxist-Leninist path followed by the Party under the leadership of Wladyslaw Gomulka. This was done at a time when the political leadership of the ponse throughout the country, when after the big congress of cultural workers in 1936 under the slogan of a popular front the ranks of the democrats, progres-sives and anti-fascists were grow-ing, when the mass influence of the CPP was at its height and it had carried out innumerable mass actions of the workers, pea-sants, youth and intelligentsia. in their struggle for a better life; and the great successes achieved in the last 20 years by people's Poland are the



The Face of New Warsaw

THE PUWP demonstrated its THE PUWP demonstrated its unity, maturity and cohesion at its 4th Congress held in June this year. Since its previous 3rd Congress 725,000 new members, joined the party and now it has more than 1,534,000 members, which is a colossal force in a country with a total population of 32 million... The history of the party has been one of long and arduous struggle, immeasurable sacrifices and courageous battles for the cause of the people and national freedom. It is to the Polish Com-munists that the country owes

freedom. It is to the Polish Com-munists that the country owes today her resurrection, her resur-gent, dynamic drive and breath-taking achievement. The Polish Communists had

not only to fight under the trying conditions of pre-war fascist dictatorship of Pilsudski in feudal-bourgeois Poland, they not only had to face the ergentions executions, tortures and con-centration camps of the occu-pation under Hitler, not only centration teamps of and pation under Hitler, not only did they lead the partisans in the rear and take part in the battles on the many fronts of the war and in many countries of Europe : they had also to suffer, fight and finally over-come the distortions, aberra-tions, mistakes, injustices and even criminal repressions of the period new known as that of the cult of Stalin. Their path has not been strewn with roses, and although they also committed mistakes due to their own inexperience and due

to the complexity of problems, a lot of thorns were added to the uneven path by Stalin's mis-guidance, wrong theories, suspi-cions and disloyalties.

It is necessary today, when attempts are being made to re-vive theories and methods of the cult period, it is necessary to remind ourselves of the heavy cost of other parties, of the mis-takes and bigotry of that period, and to learn from the experience.

a and to learn from the experience. The Communist Party of Poland, which was founded in 1918, was dissolved by the Comintern in 1938 under the direct inspiration of Stalin. Its leadership was charged with hav-ing "spies" in its fold, (it seems the oldest and easiest justifica-tion for disruption), and it was alleged that the party had fallen into such a state that nothing could be done to improve matters and the only way open was to and the only way open abolish it. was to

olish it. This tragic "mistake" meant a new Marxist-Leninist party that the country and the with a programme of action to

-

New Sanatorium at Szczawnica

to light against the Nazis for the independence of Poland." The Communists broke open the prisons, came out and de-fended Warsaw heroically arms in hand. A number of organi-sations of Communists emerg-ed to carry forward the fight for national liberation. And on the basis of their own ex-perience and their creative thinking the Polish Workers' Party was established in 1942. thinking the Polish workers Party was established in 1942, which under the leadership of Marceli Nowotko, Pawel Fin-der, Malgorzata Fornalska and Wladyslaw Gomulka became the driving force in this anti-fascist struggle.

#### Burden Of The Cult

were in prison or underground, when, in spite of this, the CPP was most active and influential on all fronts, there came the news of dissolution from above as a bolt from the blue. After liberation the new Poland had to make further sacrifice to undo the colossal damage caused by the war. Heroic effort of the people made possible the re-construction, industrialisation and the minit commenced the rapid recovery and economic

news of dissolution from above as a bolt from the blue. When leaders and promi-nent workers of the Party went to the headquarters of the Comintern, leaving the country under conditions of illegality, and wanted to find out the reasons for this unjust and treacherous step and to explain that this drastic step must be result of some tragic mis-understanding, they paid with their lives for their trust. Thus the CPP at this critical hour in Poland's history lost a big-part of its top cadre and lea-dership. The bungling of the demigod But even now in the party it was not all smooth sailing. The dogmatic sectarian concepts and the flourishing Stalin cult was a burden which retarded further advance, led to adventurism, mechanical conving of export mechanical copying of experi-ence of other countries and im-position of solutions without regard to the conditions and his-

meet the new historical situation in agriculture forced collectivi-in which Poland and the world sation was tried and led to fall found itself. in production and dissatisfaction

in production and dissatisfaction among the peasantry as the com-pulsory deliveries, were beyond their power to fulfil. Much harm was done to social sciences and scientific studies as everything had necessarily to be based on quotations from Stalin and to explaining these quota-tions. This did a lot of harm to the training of matter adverse. tions. This did a lot of harm to the training of party cadres. In spite of the fact that many re-sisted these methods many others took to the dogmatic ways of thought and action. These mistakes were leading to isolation from the masses, dissatis-faction among the people and the party rank-and-file, who demanded

a correction and an end to dog-matic blindness and slogan-

matic blindness and slogan-mongering. The 20th Congress of the CPSU, which exposed the Stalin cult and its mistakes and crimes, came as a breath of fresh air for the Polish Communists, it gave a push to the revolutionary pro-cesses taking place inside the party and the working class, and there followed the big shake-up of 1956 which brought about the change in leadership, re-appointment of Comulka as the party leader and re-establish-ment of the Leninist norms in the party.

the party. At the historic Eighth plenum At the historic Eighth plenum of the Central Committee of the PUWP a new platform of work was adopted. Comulka declared that the main problem of the day was that of restoring relations with the masses which had been very much weakened during the cult period. Close links with the workperiod. Close links with the work-ers, peasants and the intelligentsia had to be established, new forms of work with them had to be evolved, many of their just de-mands had to be met, and a new beginning made to clear the way



#### Wagon Factory at Wroclash

torical features of Poland and the national and psychological make-up of the people. for future advance and uninterrup-ted and harmonious building of socialism.

ted and harmonious building of socialism. The principles of the rule of law and democracy which had been violated in the previous period were to be restored and strengthened. The youth move-ment was entirely reorganised. The government began to extend and deepen the democratisation of the various spheres of life. In addition to the Works Coun-cils, trade unions, within the in-dustrial enterprises new Workers' Councils were also set up as a form of self-government of the workers to control and supervise

form of self-government of the workers to control and supervise the activities of the management and to achieve the best possible results in production. A new period of the restoration of balance in national economy beran. A new five-year plan for 1956-60 was adopted which sought to reduce and eliminate the un-sound disproportions which had become evident during the previ-ous six-year-plan. The structure of ous six-year-plan. The structure of investments was changed, more was alotted for the development of agriculture and consumer goods. As Oscar Lange put it: "This

As Oscar Lange put it: "This was a policy of slowing down growth to restore balance, earlier we had growth at the cost of balance." A new agricultural policy was

**ON FACING PAGE** 

AUGUST 9, 1964

SANTIAGO, Cuba: Premier Fidel Castro reading a "Declaration of Santiago" to more than half a million Cubans here at the July 26 celebrations, asserted that "the Organisation of American States lacks the moral right to judge or impose sanctions on Cuba." as the territory of Nicaragua, Costa Rica and other nations on the rim of the Caribbean, thousands of mercenaries have been organised and trained and are employed in acts of aggres-sion against Cuba.

That it is known by all world public opinion that from bases in those countries, the Playa Giron invasion was organised which cost Cuba more than 100 lives, enormous material losses and that from bases in those same countries sea and air attacks have been carried out againt Cuba and

sea and air attacks have been carried out against Cuba and its economic and industrial in-stallations.

That the Central Intelli-

gence Agency of the Uni-ted States Government has in-troduced into Cuba hundreds

of specially trained agents to carry out acts of vandalism and murders of teachers and farmers in vengeance against

our revolutionary people.

HE peasants, city workers and youths raised their hands and shouted approval of the 12-point declaration, Cuba's answer to the resolution adopt-ed by the OAS in Washington the day before by a vote of 15-4. The OAS resolution im-poses a near total Latin Ameri-can diplomatic and trade. embargo on Cuba. Below is the text of the De-claration of Santiaco:

claration of Santiago:

That the Organisation of American States lacks completely the right and the morality to judge and sanction Cuba.

Cuba. That the United States, in complicity with the gov-ernments of Guatemala, Nicara-gua, Costa Rica, Venezuela, Puerto Rico and others, has in-troduced into Cuba an infinite quantity of arms and tons of our begins to overthrow, the xplosives to overthrow the

That, within the US Army and on US territory as

NEVER AGAIN . Says German "In West Cermany, however, events took a different course after Peace State To War

#### From KUNHANANDAN NAIR

On the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of the first imperialist war (World War I) August 1914, history's first German peace state, the GDR de-clared: Never again shall a war be allowed to arise from German soil.

German soil. SPEAKING at an anti-war anniversary function in Berlin recently Prof. Albert Norden, secretary of the Socialist Unity Party (SED) and member Presi-dium of GDR National Front call-ed upon all Germans to unmask enemies of peace. Never again do we want to raise arms against each other on imperialist orders —declared the veteran anti-fascist fighter. Present at the meeting were representatives from 12 European countries invaded by Hitler troops in World War II, Present were

represent at the intering were representatives from 12 European countries invaded by Hitler troops in World War II, Present were also a delegation of Communist Party of West Germany, politicians

Germany disturbing. peace and again, it said: First, formation of denuclearised



AUGUST 9, 1964

# The Polish Communists think that this characterisation of the first period of the last war was erroneous, it created much con-fusion and could only lead to their isolation. But as Comulka said at the meeting to mark the 20th anni-versary of the founding of the Polish Workers' Party (January 20, 1982), "the Communists gave proof of their patriotism even in prisons where they volunteered an masse for military service to fight the Germans. It was not easy to build the revolutionary Beria period was lost, Gomulka who opposed many of these mis-takes was removed from the post of the General Secretary, and he and a number of leading com-rades were removed from the party, arrested and sent to work in mines. fight the Germans. It was not easy to build the revolutionary t-Leninist party me of action to ines.

a mines. The Chinese today talk a lot of "the baton" but this is how the baton worked under the Stalin cult, which for their opportunist ends they now try to justify. Accusations were fabricated, labels of "national-ist, rightist deviations" were tagged on to the leaders, who had a long record of service to the party and the people under the most difficult conditions. Even a trial was being prepar-Even a trial was being prepar-ed for Gomulka and a group of comrades.

During the next eight years the cult ruled the roost. In the economic and political fields it meant schematism and imposi-tion from top, mechanical copy-ing of Stalin's mistakes with no regard for local conditions. Serious disproportions in the divi-sion of the national income led he national income led burdens on the people; to heavy



That from the Guanta-namo naval base, which the US government occupies by force, marines have engag-ed in thousands of provo-cations against our country which have resulted in several wounded and one dead in recent weeks.

That US military planes have been violating Cuba's sovereign air space, in violation of the norms of international law.

8 That those who are guilty should constitute themselves to judge and sanction that country is a cynical act without

That the Cuban people reject, as cynical, shame-

nuclear death from our continent. But to give in to West Ger-many's stricing for nuclear wea-pons and for establishing the multilateral nuclear force of Nato would in effect help un-leashing a new world war and play into the hands of those guilty of two world wars. Secondly, recognition of both German states. This plus normal-isation of relations of all states of Europe, Asia and America with the two German states would be very conducive to the cause of peace.

peace. To recognise the Bonn government's claim of being the sole representative of Germany would only further strengthen the megalomania and the un-scrupulousness of the West German military leaders and the storage

their stonges. Thirdly, conclusion of a peace treaty with both German states confirming and guaranteeing the present German frontiers.

To tolerate or promote Bonn's demands for the restoration of the borders of 1937 would only encourage the revenge seeking politicians and advance their

politicians and advance their preparations for war. The declaration points out that German imperialism has been responsible for two world wars. Therefore the lesson to be drawn from history is as follows: "The rule of German imperialism and militarism is inconsistent with the interests of the German people, inconsistent with the people's longing and will for peace." inconsistent with the people's longing and will for peace." The German Democratic Repub-

Those representing the interests of German imperialism, the military and all active supporters of the Hitler regime have been removed from all power posi-tions in this part of Germany. "The roots of national arro-gance, conquest, suppression and pillage of foreign countries and pieoples have been eradicated. The people erected in free self-determination the fundamentals of a democratic, peace-loving Gerdetermination the fundamentals of a democratic, peace-loving Ger-man state whose inviolability was

That the Cuban people, I O anat the Cuban people, be declaration approved by that OAS meeting which constitutes a shameless call for counter-revolution.

That the Cuban people, warns furthermore that if the pirate attacks being car-ried out from US territory and that of other nations on the rin of the Caribbean do not cease, as well as the trainnot cease, as well as the trainnot cease, as well as the train-ing of mercenaries to carry out acts of sabotage against the Cuban revolution, and also the sending of agents, arms, and explosives into Cuba, the Cuban people will conclude they have the same right to help, with all the resources

The West Germany, however, events took a different course after 1945", the declaration states. "Under the patronage of the west-ern powers a state was set up in that part of Germany whose policy But to give in to West Ger-many's stricing for nuclear wea-pons and for establishing the multilateral nuclear force of Nato would in effect help un-leashing a new world war and play into the hands of those guilty of two world wars.

they believe suitable, the revo-lutionary movements in all those nations which engage in such intervention in the in such intervention in the internal affairs of our country. That is, the Cuban people consider, it has the same right to help with all the resources at its command the revolutionary movements in all those nations which engage in simi-lar intervention in the internal affairs of our country.

12 The Cuban people re-pudiate the insolent threats of armed a conceived in the (OAS) document as aggression infamous (OAS) document and warn that it is not the same thing that it is not the same thing to fire on a disarmed people unable to defend themselves as in Panama as against a people willing to shed their last drop of blood.

ment built a new aggressive army, incorporated West Germany into Nato and is now striving for con-

Nato and is now striving for con-trol over atomic weapons. "From this the danger arose that for a third time a world war might be precipitated from German territory. This danger is serious. German imperialism has always been unscrupulous, aggressive and unaccountable, and given means and the chance it, would not hesitate for one it, would not hesitate for one moment to plunge the peoples into the horror of a new war, the appeal warned in the end.

#### POLISH COMMUNISTS

#### \*FROM FACING PAGE

<sup>e</sup>FROM FACING PAGE adopted which gave peasants com-plete freedom to join collectives or remain outside as individual farmers. This gave the peasants a feeling of security. The structure of prices was radically changed in favour of agriculture, the compul-sory deliveries were reduced and their prices raised. Formerly the means acquired by the state from compulsory deli-veries were chiefly expended upon the development of industry; under the new policy they were devoted entirely to agriculture. An Agricultural Development Fund was set up in 1959 and these financial means were put at its dis-posal. Part of this money now goes directly to the countryside in the form of machinery which is put at the disposal of Agricultural Circles (a form of voluntary self-help organisations of peasants), the Circles (a form of voluntary self-help organisations of peasants), the remainder, about 12 per cent, is for financing the construction of enterprises working for agriculture. It was decided that the social

inconsistent with the people's inconsistent with the people's inconsistent with the people's inconsistent with the second the mathematic forman denomic transformation of the countryside along socialist lines will be spread over a long period, and no definite time-limit for this was fixed. The state adopted the policy of supporting and encouraging all forms of rural cooperation on the deal and economic transformation of the countryside along socialist lines will be spread over a long period, and no definite time-limit for this was fixed. The state adopted the policy of supporting and encouraging all forms of rural cooperation on the davantages of cooperation on the basis of their own experience without any outside compulsion. All these measures led to a rapid increase in production of

All these measures led to a rapid increase in production of food and consumer goods and a rise in real wages (about 28 per cent) and considerable in-crease in the standard of living of the peasants and the work-ers.

The policy of giving detailed instructions and directions in the field of literature and artistic and scientific activities was abandoned. Full freedom of discussion in crea-

Full recedom of discussion in crea-tive work was restored. An immediate response came forth from the people. There was a mass participation in putting forward candidates for the 1957 elections. Votes were cast not for lists, as in the past, but for indi-vidual candidates, as the candidates were more than the actual dates were more than the actual number of deputies from the given area. The powers of the local councils, specially those at the lower level were increased by the Seym (parliament). All these changes gave con-crete forms to the development of casilities demonstration in Palada and

All these changes gave con-crete forms to the development of socialist democracy in Polánd and united the people behind the PUWP and the government. The all-stded organisational activity of the Polish United Workers' Party, the correct course adopted by the Central Committee, led by Wladyslaw Gomulka, the selfess, experi-enced, wise and cool-headed leader of the working people and the international Commun-ist movement, frustrated all hopes of reaction to create anarchy and taking advantage of past mistakes restore the capi-talist order; it made possible a wide and popular united front of all progressive forces and a of all progressive forces and a balanced advance in the building of a new life

ing of a new life for all. The overcoming of the mistakes of the period of sectarianism and or the period of sectaranism and Stalin cult; and the manner in which this was achieved, showed the maturity, flexibility, experi-ence and sober-mindedness of the Polish Communists and their crea-tive approach to Marxism-Lenin-ism. (To be concluded)

NEW AGE

# CLASS STRUCTURE CHANGES employment regroupment of the past had little industry but rich natural resources, throws light upon this.

# **IN SOCIALIST SOCIETY**

Socialism brings profound changes in the class structure of society. How rapidly this transformation can take place is exemplified by Hungary. The most characteristic change that has come about in class structure of Hungarian society is that the majority of the population is no longer made up of peasants.

N 1900, nearly 59 per cent of the population was made up agricultural workers; in 1920, of agricultural workers; in 1920, it came down by 1 per cent, and in 1949, it was 50 per cent. That is, during about fifty years, the rate of change has been of a. very low order. In 1964, the figure dropped to 33 per cent, i.e., in just 16 years the rate took extremely rapid strides.

In this transformation, mem-bers of the peasantry mainly joined the ranks of the working class. The living standards of the peasants also changed in a radi-cal manner. The per capita con-sumption pattern from 1949 to 1965 (plan projection) shows the following nichure: following picture:

	-4 -			
,	1949		100	-
	1955	· ·	124.5	
	1957		136.9	
	1960		161.5	
	1962	×.,	167.8	
	1965	(Plan)	184.0	

Another main characteristic Another main characteristic of the changes that occurred in the class structure of the Hungarian society was the rapid pace of increase in the number of workers practically tripled. Continuous improveimprove-he devement characterised the lopment of the living standards of the working class, and while the pace of this improvement surpasses that of the peasan-trys, the regrouping also

middle of August. The

survey will be carried out

by the Soviet scientific

ship 'Akademik Arkhan-

gelsky' which has already

Arrived at Madras. Reserves of underground of have been already found in our mainlands with the belp of engineers of the socialist countries, particularly the Soviet Union, and exploitation thereof has also begun. India has already entered the thres-hold of an independent oil industry. And if the off-shore prospecting brings fruitful re-

prospecting brings fruitful re-sults, it will be possible for our country to take a giant stride forward.

PAGE SIXTEEN

The Soviet emloration

arrived at Madras.

meant a rise in material well-being. The standard of living of the working class in this period developed as follows: Per Canita Real In

er.	Capita	neai	Income	
194	9		100.0	
195	5	1.	121.8	
195	7		148.8	
196	0 ' '		172.6	
196	2		178.0	
196	5 (Plan	)	200.8	
_ ·			4 C 1	

The socialist trend of trans The socialist trend of trans-formation of society is perhaps reflected even more realistically in the changes which took place in the lives of intellec-tuals. The most striking change was the significant increase in the number of intellectuals. The data of the level of edu-cation shows that during 1949 to 1960 the number of wagecation shows that during 1949 to 1960 the number of wage-earners who completed uni-versity or college education in-creased by 65 per cent, while that of secondary school gra-duates by 81 per cent.

duates by or per com-Nearly FIVE times as many graduated from university and colleges during the 1961-62 school year as during the 1937-38 school year. While during 1937-38 only seven out of every 100 secondary school age child-ren continued their studies, the figure totals 28 and ren continued their studies, today the figure totals 28 and this, together with college edu-cation, will broaden considerably by 1965.

One more index on the numerical increase of this group is this: in 1949 for every 100 physical labourers



employed there were 25 intel-lectual employees, and by 1963 the figure grew to 33.

The sources from which in-telligentsia originates, apart from its numerical development, are also very interesting. The repre-sentative survey made in 1962 WMANIA provides a felling example of a by the by the Demographical Science Research Group on the social-

broad national front embrac-

tional bourgeoisie, especially of the intelligentsia and the

army officers, makes it impe-

rative that the working class and its parties build up and

strengthen a united national anti-imperialist front. Joint

action by the various classes

entering the national front

and holding power in the country, constitutes at once

an enduring alliance and a struggle between them in be-

half of the country's social

nants of imperialism and feudalism. With respect to

feudalism. With respect to the small commodity and middle capitalist sectors, it

provides for mutual coopera-tion and economic bonds, on the one hand, and economic

pressure, on the other, for the

purpose of converting rela-tions of private ownership

into relations of public own

in the



careers

Rumania's

today have originated in other strata of society. This shows that opportunity exists for the mem-bers of the peasantry and the working class for intellectual

**R** UMANIA provides a put was exported. Rumania is relling example of a now third in the world and small country, which in the production and excord

ROLE OF WORKING CLASS

IN NATIONAL DEMOCRACY

\* Continued From Page 13

Even in those Asian and.

manufactures today the out-According to the survey, ap-proximately two-fifths of Buda-pesters in intellectual occupations are of working class family des-cent. In its entirety therefore approximately one half of the persons in intellectual occupations today have originated in other fit needed for crude-oil ex-<sup>/</sup>traction and processing at home, and also export-availabilities

The oilfield equipment plants of the Rumanian People's Republic bave turned out 444 drilling rigs for medium and big depths, since 1959.

This important sector of the Rumanian machine-building industry is fulfilling, at main assortments, this year already, the targets set for the next year. A wide range of drilling rigs is now produced, for depths ranging from 1,200 m. down to 6,000 metrec

The Rumanian-made oilfield equipment, well known on a world scale for its high standard, is in demand in several coun-tries including. India; last year, 28 per cent of the national outproduction and export.

Behind a thickly-padded barrage of lies the US imperialists launched upon their blatant and fullgame of provocation against North Vietnam Wednesday morning.

For days they had broadcast the lie that their warship Maddox had been attacked in international waters off North Vietnam and behind the smokescreen of that false propaganda they launched airraids on the peaceful population of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam on the morning of August 5.

T 11 hours IST a group of aircraft intruded into the Nghe An province of North Vietnam at the provincial capital of Vinh and later at the provincial port of Ben Thuy. They strafed fishing boats and villages, trying to terrorise the population. Again at 13-50 hours IST

another group of American aircraft strafed villages near the city of Hong Gai where the principal coalmines of the Republic are situated.

This game of provocation had started from July 30. when American warships intruded into the territorial water of Thanh Hoa and Nghe An provinces. On the night of the 31st they sent a destroyer into the area which cruised there for two days. They bombed and shelled two off-North Vietnamese

could be no question of their mistaking that they were within the territorial waters of the DRV. Yet the next day Johnson claimed that the American destroyer was attacked in international waters! The

shore islands, and there

Big Lie technique went on expanding. In addition, on August and 2 the US imperialists sent their aircraft from Laos to encroach upon the North Vietnam border. These US aircraft attack-éd North Vietnamese vil-lages four to 20 kilometres inside the border.

The big-scale provocations of August 5 are part of the well-planned US escalation of the con-flict in the Indo-Chinese peninsula. They are meant to cover up the disastrous defeat that the US imperialists have

# **Fantastic Concept of Pay Structure**

#### **BIHAR COMMITTEE'S FINDINGS**

The Pay Revision Committee appointed by the Bihar government to fix pay scales for its employees has introduced a novel concept of wage fixation, on the basis of a return on the investment incurred on education and training.

demand for fixing need-based wages as per the tripartite agree-ment in the 15th Indian Labour Conference. Instead, the committee felt that the consideration in wage fixation

#### JUTE WORKERS' DA CUT IN CALCUTTA

Bombay workers led by the Girni Kamgar Union compelled the index to acknowgovernment ledge that the compilation of their cost of living index was faulty. An experts committee cor- jute millowners have cut rected it and the workers the DA by 60 paise per got about Rs. 9 increase in their DA.

the Government of India and the state governments try as most of them had followed the practices of the Bombay index which was the oldest in the coun-

The Gujarat and Andhra governments took steps in that direction, but not from the workers. cease to ha The workers in Delhi workers.

AUGUST, 9, 1984

BY SOVIET ENGINEERS THE marine seismic pleted by October vember next year. survey for oil and

**Bridges Of Amity** 

OFF-SHORE OIL SURVEY

gas reserves under the sea-bed of our country is expected to begin by the middle of August. The gas bave already been dis covered and this lends ground for hope that oil may also be found under the sea-bed.

#### FORTHCOMING LEIPZIG FAIR

THE first Indian exhibits for the autumn fair in Leipzig (GDR) which will be held between September 6 and 13, have already reached Leipzig.

In all about 20 overse Countries are participating in this year's fair, among whom India is the biggest exhibitor. The Indian products to be exhibited in the fair include cottop the land The Societ exploration this year's team is headed by Dr. India is the Malovitsky and his team The India would be joined by ten exhibited in Indian specialists at Madras cotton, I who would participate in goods, raw the exploration. The pros-pecting work will be com-and crafts. cotton, linoleum and jute goods, raw wool, ores, coir, coffee, tea and products of arts

more relations of public own-ership, with the possible sub-sequent ousting of private capitalist production by peaceful economic means. Most Revolutionary Force

However, the possibility of starting the transition to socialism on the basis of a broad national front led, let us say, by representa-tives of the revolutionary intelligentsia or other pa-triotic sections of the small national bourgeoisie, should not obscure the paramount, if not decisive, role of the working class in the strug-gle for socialism.

NEW AGE

ing workers, peasants and representatives of the pro-gressive sections of the naespecially, African countries where the proletariat is only in the formative stage, or insufficiently organized and hardened, and where the conditions for leadership by the proletariat are not yet ripe, the working class is still the most revolutionary political force in the struggle for non-capitalist development capitalist development, eco-nomic emancipation and so-cial progress. It is the revolutionary activity of the work-ing class and its organiza-tions—the Communist parties and trade unions (the latter 

In the economic heat is envisages struggle against and eradication of all rem-nants of imperialism and cialism of the petty-bour-geois leaders of some Asian and African countries.

#### Advancing To **Decisive Influence**

As the state sector in the economy expands and coope-ration in small scale production increases in town and country, working class influ-ence will grow steadily. It will, in the performance of its historical mission, exert an increasing and ultimately a decisive, influence on the decisive, influence on the policy and ideology, of revo-lutionary democrats and on the transition to socialism.

An even more important role is played by the working class in countries with an already relatively distinct class structure, such as India, Ceylon, Pakistan, Brazil, etc.

The most important mem-The most important mem-ber of the bloc of Left, pro-gressive democratic forces, the working class, as repre-sented by its vanguard, the Communist parties, acts in

these countries as the main bearer of scientific socialist bearer of scientific socialist ideas among the masses. The tactics of the working class parties in countries with a developed class structure is now aimed at building a broad national front of all the Left national front of all the Left patriotic forces in order to omplete the anti-imperialist anti-feudal, democratic revo-lution, i.e., to create the most favourable conditions for the transition to the non-capitalist road.

The road to socialism of

That is the internal outadvances Socialis

(To be concluded)

The ATTUC then asked to re-examine and correct all the indices in the coun-

try.

index in Calcutta has shown a fall and hence the month. Is it not an obvious manipulation that in Calcutta, where the anarchy and rise in prices is noto

index. And now comes strange

news that the cost of living

rious, that the index should show a fall? The workers have started protesting against the cut. Unless the unions are associated with the verifi-cation of the index, which is a demand made by all TU centres, this fraud by the government's labour offices acting in league with some agitation the employers will not workers. cease to harass and rob the

Search Grows For National

Forms

cialis

port to the newly-free coun-tries, which accelerates their transition to machine production, lightens labour and

the Asian, African and Latin American countries is a tortuous one. The dicisive battles are still ahead and. the outcome still hangs in the balance. But for all the diversity of the current historical processes from coun-try to country, we witness a steady growth of the forces advocating the non-capitalist road and of the search for indigenous na-tional forms and me-thods of transition to so-

look for the socialist develop-ment of the Aslan, African and Latin American counand Latin American coun-tries. The external aspect of it is bound up with the mounting the second s mounting influence exerted on the progress of national democratic revolution by the socialist world system, the experience of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, and their tremen-dous moral and material sup-

been facing at the hands of the South Vietnamese patriotic forces in re-cent months. They have spread lies of North Vietnam involvement in the guerilla war in South Vietnam, only to cover up their massive inter-vention.

On the other hand the US imperialists have been forced to go on increasing the number of US "advi-sers" in South Vietnam till they numbered over 29,000 before the announcement of Johnson of his intention to send another 5,000-6,000 more of them. The whole world knows that these socalled advisers are actively en-gaged in combat operations, even compelling the puppet troops to continue fighting their compatriots against their will and conviction.

They have recently start-ed the ruse that not the American but the South

gory of work in government service.

To this was added the amount the employee could have ordinarily earned, as an unskilled worker, that is, without acquir ing the requisite education and training for his job. On the total amount, the committee has determined a return of eight per cent per annum.

The pay scales have been devised in such a way that the cost involved plus the eight per cent return, is fully reimbursed to the was taken at their recent conteremployee during his term of service.

The committee has thus fixed Rs. 134 a month for a matriculate, Rs. 171 for the intermediate, Rs. 210 for graduates in arts or commerce, Rs. 251 for those wbo commerce, Rs. 251 for those woo hold Master's Degree in Arts or Commerce, Rs. 278 for Bachelors in Medicine and Surgery, Rs. 229 for M.Sc. in agriculture and D. Stoff ar concinent as well as for M.Sc. in agriculture and Rs. 250 for engineering as well as veterinary science graduates.

#### Curious Formula

This formula of wage fixation is, however, limited to the lower grade, non-gazetted staff. For the higher categories, the criterion is "ability". Thus, an Arts graduate holding the post of a Deputy Collector would be given a pay scale of Rs. 325—1,000 while an M.A., working as an Assistant in the state government secretariat would be entitled to the scale of only Rs. 125—225.

Employees have reacted strongly against the committees proposals and have alleged that the pay fixation has been arbitrary and the arbitrary and the fixation has been arbitrary and the whole concept of return on invest-ment was wrong and will not satisfy the accepted norms of rational wage fixation. The em-ployees' organisations have there-fore demanded the rejection of the Pay Revision Committee's for-mula for pay fixation and have urged that need-based wages should be fixed, as per the tri-partite agreement. (IPA) (IPA) nartite agreement.

NEW AGR

Vietnamese puppets, Khanh and the rest, are insisting on an aggressive, policy of extension of the war while the fact is that not a single move can be made by Khanh without support of powerful circles in the Pentagon and the CIA and other US ruling circles.

U.S. Provocations

Against N. Vietnam

The willingness and of the Johnson administration to appease and please and even vie with the Goldwater lunatic fringe in brinkmanship also plays a notable part in the present series of dangerous provocations, as pointed out by our New York correspondent in in the despatch that anpears on page 19 of this ssue.

The world has again been brought dangerously to the edge of the abyss by the prestige-mad US monopoly capitalists who aspire to dominate it. The peace and

existence not only of Vietnamese people, but of the whole world is at stake and there is no time to lose. A neaceful settlement of th whole Vietnamese issue is within grasp on the basis of respect for the Geneva Agreements of 1954, on desisting from a military solution as re peatedly stated by U Thant and others, withdrawal of US military forces and leaving the South Vietnamese to settle their future among themselves in whatever manner they might

Meanwhile, US provocations and aggressions aga-inst the Democratic Repub-lic of Vietnam must be brought to a halt. Hands Off DRV. Hands Off Peace -India must demand in cooperation with the rest of the peace forces of the

-ZIAUL HAQ

(August 5)

Madras Govt. **Employees To Take** Strike Ballot

The Madras government employees have decided to take a strike ballot next month.

reason for this decision, which was taken at their recent confer-ence, the Madras government ence, the Madras government employees have put forward some other demands also.

Among them is the demand for scrapping of the practice of main-taining confidential files of an employee by the superior officers. According to the employees, such files are subject to abuse and become instruments of victimsation

If the government wants to continue this practice, the em-ployees demand, there should be equality of treatment and the subordinates too should have the right to make notings on the work and conduct of their superiors on the confi-dential files.

The other major demand put forward is also for parity of treatment. The Madras employed want parity with the Central G vernment employees in respect of pay and allowances.

INDEX	PROB	E BODY
FO	R DEL	HI
Expert Co by Dr. J.	Satyan Satyan National d Econor to probe ex, and t	into the

The state government's reaction to both these demands is one of annouance. The demand regarding confidential files is considered unwarranted and rejected out of hand.

Regarding parity in pay and llowances with Central em-Regarding with Central cau-ployees, the state government pleads financial stringency. But it is likely to raise the issue with the Centre and seek assistance to bring about some impr

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## CHINESE TACTICS FORCE A WALK-OUT

Chinese-led obstruction and sabotage of the Tokyo Conference convened by Gensuike (All-Japanese Council for Banning of Nuclear Weapons) were denounced at a press conference on August 1 by foreign delegations that had walked out from the conference in protest.

PENING the press conferleader Mrs. Aruna Asaf Ali innounced that the delegations of India, Canada, Bulgaria, Sudan, Cyprus, USA, Bechuanaland, South-West Africa, Ghana, Finland, Czechoslovakia, USSR, Mon-golia, Malawi, Republic of Somali, French Somali, An-Somali, French Somali, An-gola, Lebanon, Syria, Algeria, Britain, Uruguay, Colombia, Argentina, Italy, Jordan, France as well as the World Council of Para Council of Peace, Women's International Democratic Fe-deration, World Federation of Democratic Youth and the World Association of Demo-Lawyers had walked out of the conference.

Josef Curtis (Nigeria) read out a joint letter by foreign delegates to the conference saying that they were unable. to fulfil their mission because of obstacles raised by the opponents of businesslike dis-cussion of the tasks now before the neace movement

was addressed also by such prominent peace champions Souyah (Algeria) and Endi-cott (Canada) who declared solidarity with the struggle of the Japanese people for the prohibition of nuclear wea-pons. The Vice-President of the World Council of Peace, Endicott, wondered why the conference was attended by almost 50 people who represented no one.

Next to take the floor was the head of the Soviet delegation, G. A. Zhukov.

#### Soviet

#### Statement

A statement of the Soviet delegation was then circulated. It says in part:

"The Chinese representatives and their puppets dis-tort the meaning and nature of this conference. Instead of discussing in a quiet and businesslike atmosphere the problems of struggle for peace now be-fore our movement and examining ways of further stepping up the peoples' struggle against the impethreat of nuclear war, the Chinese leaders and their supporters are trying to divert the conferwork into an anti-Soviet channel. As a matter of fact, they want the anti-imperialist front to be directed against the Soviet Union. This brings into full view once again the splitt-ing and chauvinistic nature of the Peking leaders' poli-

leaders have sabotaged the they are made, though many normal work of the confer- delegates, for reasons not

PAGE EIGHTEEN

ence and sought to impose ence Indian delegation their ideas on it, showing er Mrs. Aruna Asaf Ali thereby that they are not ounced that the delega- only indifferent but also hos-s of India, Canada, Bul- tile to the interests of the peoples' struggle for peace, against imperialism and the threat of a nuclear war.

#### **Puppets Who Represent** Nobody

The representative of Ango-la, Noi Kabuteri, said: "Why do imposters get all the rights while we, the plenipotentiary representatives, are not al-lowed even to take the floor? We resolutely protest against such rules at the conference. Our position is clear. We are anxious about our future we are fighting for it, for the rights of the peoples and, consequently, against colonialism and imperialism, for peace in the whole world." The Vice-President of the

Argentinian Peace Committee, Varella, exposd the imposters who came to the themselves for representa-tives of Cuba, Peru, and Colombia, but who have nothing in common either with the peace movement or with any other mass movement in these coun-

tries. The leader of the move-

ment of French peace champions, Laffite, exposed the splitters who came to Japan to "represent" France. "There were two Frenchmen in the editorial commission of the conference. The French peace movement, hundreds of thousands of peace exponents, do not know them," he said. The representative of Sou-

thern Rhodesia, D. Mnongo said: "We were invited to this conference but on coming here met people who are un known to us. Who them, if the official invitation was extended to us? It is clear that these people were invited by the Chinese." Mustafa Hamdun, one of

the prominent public leaders of Syria, said that he met here a Lebanese who registered as a representative Syria though actually he did not represent anyone. "I am sure," he continued, "that the main aim of this conference is to attack the Soviet Union, all the progressive forces struggling for peace in the world.'

Thirty delegations were denied participation in the conference's working organs. where the seats of genuinely representative national organisations were taken over by puppets brought from Peking. ey." A rule was invented stipulat-It is pointed out in the ing that speeches must be statement that the Chinese presented 48 hours before

depending on them, arrived only on the eve of the open-ing of the conference. The ing of the conference. representatives of Argentina, Algeria and other countries were denied the right to were denied the

And all because the splitters refused to recognise the right of representative delegations to participate both in the Tokyo and Hiroshima conferences without interfering the internal affairs of the Japanese peace movement.

Japanese newspapers ported on July 29 a soca 'consultative meeting" of the Gensuike Board with foreign delegates to the Tokyo Con-ference on the Banning of Atomic and Hydrogen Wea pons. The meeting was held on July 28. These reports showed first of all that the conference, judging by the character of this meeting, had already begun, although only less than a half of its participants had had time to reach Tokyo.

The newspaper Mainichi stresses that the Chinese delegation, exploiting those who followed in its wake, launched from the very start of the "consultative meeting" an unbridled campaign of clonder orginat the Societ slander against the Soviet Union, striving to bar the Soviet delegation from the conference. It used as a pretext for this the intention of the Soviet delegation to at-

The sponsors of the "meet-ing" did their best to make the Soviet delegation explain the reasons for its decision to attend both conferences and to sit in judgment over it then and there. However, the Soviet delegation could not be drawn into debates, which had nothing in common with the tasks proclaimed by the organizers of the Tokyo conference. The Soviet delegation waited until, finally, the meeting got down to the discussion of the agenda (and this happened only at night!), and then the head of the Soviet

delegation G. A. Zhukov sub-mitted a constructive programme of action. "We regard as the main task the struggle against the forces of war, headed by American imperialism, and this is precisely the task we devote all our efforts to," G. A. Zhukov said. "Disputes and strife among us would play only into the hands of Ameri-can impediation The main can imperialism. The main can imperialism. The main thing is to achieve agreed decisions. This is the pur-pose for which the delega-tion of the Soviet Peace Committee has come to

Japan. "We do not intend to waste our time on squabbles. It is not a court room here and we do not intend to put any of the peace champions in the dock and much less to permit anybody to sit in judgment over us Our common task is to fight the imperialists is precisely why we wish to submit concrete proposals on the basis of the agenda ad-vanced."

#### Seven-Point Programme

G. A. Zhukov then proceed-ed to give an outline of the drafts of seven resolutions:

**Khrushchov On Test-Ban** 

tend also the Hiroshima con-ference, but actually it went out of its way to slur and in-sult grossly the Soviet Union and the CPSU. of underground nuclear tests and nuclear weapons, against French nuclear test in the Pacific, on nuclear-free zones against the creation of the NATO multilateral nuclear force, and on the unity of fighters for peace. The texts of those documents in Russian, Japanese and English had then and there been handed over to the presidium.

The calm positive tone of the speech of the Soviet dele-gate at that "consultative meeting" was in such striking contrast to that adopted by those who initiated all this hue and cry that it landed them in a state of shock. The splitters expected that the Soviet delegation would en-gage in altercations and never thought that it would reply to attacks of the Pek-ingese with a constructive programme to oppose which is much more difficult than to vie in rudeness of expres-.

Even such a past-master of provocations as the Chinese delegate Tung Ming-shao could only say in confusion that the Soviet resolutions allegedly were against the spirit of last year's Hiroshima conference. The preliminary meeting of

the foreign delegations had an end quite different from that lanned by the organizers of the provocative outcry. The seven concrete documents of the constructive programme suggested by the Soviet delegation had been brought to the knowledge of the participants in the Tokyoconference.

The delegations which had walked out from the Tokyo meeting joined the Hiroshima rally called by the SOHYO and others. The conference at Hiroshima has just opened and its reports are, yet to

#### The explosions of wrath seem to have spent themselves for the time being. An uncertain calm now pervades the atmosphere of the three communities which were the last few weeks' flaming headlines of battles of outraged Negroes against massive assault forces of pistol-firing and billy-wielding police.

choice.

"Poverty more than the distinc-tiveness of colour holds Negro Americans fast in the Harlems of America and sets them apart from their fellow Americans.

"The massive deprivation and poverty of those who live in the Harlems of America are, ironically, licent and indirect source of

a direct and indirect source of fabulous riches which flow into the coffers of those who command the economic and political power

"Harlem has grievances. Harlem is determined on a

Harlem is determined on a course of mass direct action to obtain redress of her grievances. The Harlems of the North and West are joining the new de-mocratic revolution which was

mocratic revolution which was born of the southern Negroes' desegregation battles."

That warning has now come to

structure of our nation.

"Communist

Infiltration"

**I** N the wards of the city hospitals in Harlem, Bedford-Stuyevesant and Rochester, all but ten or twelve of the half thousand casualties of the turbulent days were well on their way to recoverv.

But the jails were still bulg-ing with the victims of Police hysteria and indiscriminate ar-

The cauldrons of the steaming ghettoes have returned to their eversimmering norm; they have ceased boiling over. The sense of urgency and alarm that was felt among politicians and affluent people and had led them to agree that something had to be done to alleviate conditions which pro-voked such outbursts, was already giving way to a "return to nor-malcy"—that is, complacency and "business as usual".

The flames have died down but the coals still burn. For the powers-that-be it would be a criminal folly to delay coming forward with the announcement of a full-scale programme for the all-sided renovation of the Harlem of this country. It be a provocation equivalent to the shot in the back of 15year old schoolboy James Powell, which the hate-crazed n Gilligan fired on that fateful day. That warning has now come to a head exactly a year later. But even now has it served its pur-pose? Let us look at another aspect of the ruling authorities' attitude to these happenings.

In every city in this country with sizeable Negro communities, the demand has been 'repeated like a chant, again and again, for relief from the predatory abuse of power and brutality of the police. Negroes everywhere de-Confronted with the violent up-heavals initially touched off by the killing of a Negro youth by a trigger happy cop and com-pounded by wholesale clubbings and shootings by contingents of sadistic helmeted police, those res-ponsible for the existence of such police. Negroes everywhere de-mand that the police be bridled and the reins of control be put in the hands of citizens' review

boards. They demand that the mother of young James Powell and all the James Powells be awarded gener-ous sums in indemnification for the crime of the police in taking the life of their innocent ones.

the life of their innocent ones. The police, however, are but a part of the whole patterm and purpose of the oppression and per-secution of the Negro ghettoes. The police are only the executors of the will of the mercenary, moneyed merchants in misery, that handful of the richest men who dwell in the loftiest chambers of the economic and political power structure of America's capitalist social system.

It is they who ultimately profit from the super-exploitation of the Negro and the effect that his low living standard has upon depres-sing and denying the masses of Negro and white working people as a whole standard of living at a leviel it property should be a level it properly should be

Negroes have served notice to the American nation at large that ghetto life for them is no longer

#### Symbol Of Super-Exploitation

In a remarkably point, well as prophetic article, the edi-tors of *Freedomuoays*; quarterly magazine of the Negro freedom movement, introduced their special HARLEM issue last July, 1963, the message that is worth rewith a message that is calling. They wrote:

"Harlem is something else than a particular ethnic com-munity off Manhattan's upper east side; Harlem is a condition of life for the overwhelmin number of the two-thirds rwhelming America's twenty mi lion Negroes who live in its cities.

"Harlem is a community of New York but Harlem is a euphemism

sanctions and a near total trade embargo on Cuba by the Organisation of Ameri-. It is they who ultimately profit can States (OAS) indicate that the action may not be the "body blow" to Fidel Castro that Thomas C. Affairs, asserted it would be.

Sen. Radimiro Tomic, a top goods. leader of the Christian Demo-cratic Party of Chile-one of the four countries that voted against repudiat the OAS action—termed it a "judicial crime and a political stupidity". He said there had been no imminent danger of ag-gression against Venezuela.

ARLY reactions to im-position of diplomatic

President Jorge Alessandri of Chile has reportedly asserted that he would take no "irreversible measures" in foreign policy before the national elections due September.

Mexico denounced the censure of Cuba at the OAS conference. Her foreign minister, Jose Coris-tiza, was the only Latin Ameri-can foreign minister to spurn the conference

In a concession to put over the vote, no time limit for compliance was set. Bolivia's acting foreign minister, Luis Rodriguez Bide-

Treaty Anniversary T HE immediate result which was obvious already at the signing of the Moscow Test Ban in which it is easier to take up this maior question. disarmament. This only brings us nearer to a situation the transform the transform. disarmament. transform the transform transform transform to the tension in the Caribbean, of tension in the Caribbean, in South-East Asia, in Cyprus and the Arab Peninsula. I think the year that has passed since the signing of passed since the signing of the Moscow Treaty has en-riched international life riched international life with new experience : with

of international tension and toward agreement in differ-ent fields, and this can be achieved not only by sign-ing official agreements but achieved not only by sign-ing official agreements but also through a policy of, "mutual example". It is very important, therefore, to guard this store of trust and not to allow it to run out but, on the contrary, to strengthen and extend it in every you

In short, a great deal has still to be done if we are to

settlement. cult to approach the problem of general and complete dis-armament, the importance of the solution of which is litespace for nuclear weapons and somewhat to reduce

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view in Moscow.

Treaty—an end to the up this major question.

active failout of the alf which man breathes and the food he takes has grown in significance. Today, one year later, the positive effect of the Treaty, already signed by over 100 states, on the inter-national situation, too, has be-come clearer, said Soviet Pre-mier Khrushchov in an inter-view in Moscow. said :

on other outstanding problems on other outstanding pronems on which an improvement in the international climate de-pends first and foremost. Above all, it is the question of drawing a line beneath the last war through the achieve-ment of a German peace

iew in Moscow. The signing of the Mos-cow Treaty helped to ease international tension. Fol-lowing the prohibition of nuclear tests in three en-vironments it became possi-ble to close access to outer prace for nuclear treapons Without this if is also diffi-

# contamination by radio-active fallout of the air Asked how further to work for relaxation of international tension, the Soviet Premier

It is necessary that the states, not resting on their laurels, concentrate attention

a certain amount of trust that has been accumulated, it is possible to advance further towards a relaxation

every way.

and somewhat to reduce the solution of which is lite-the influx of fissionable rally acknowledged by every-materials into the nuclear one. On the order of the day arsenals of the states. It can be said that the significance of the Moscow Treaty has already been re-cognised. It should be stress-ed, however, that neither this treaty nor agreement on other

AUGUST 9, 1964



police brutality tried to dub the wrathful reaction of the Negro people as being no more than a response to some "Communist sponse to some "Communist rovocation". Thus they tried to provocation". Thus they tried to dicert attention from the real culprits and the real source of Negro people's anger.

This was the meaning of the This was the meaning of the sending of the FBI to Harlem by President Johnson, and of the simultaneous lying accusa-tion of Acting Mayor Screeane that the "disorders" were the work of "infiltrators" from the Communist Party.

And then lo and behold! As if And then to and bench. A gang of adventurers did appear, de-claring that they were indeed "Communists" and they did indeed advocate violence and terror against the police and the others.

These self-proclaimed "Com These self-proclaimed "Com-munists" going about under the sign-board of a self-styled "Progressive Labour Move-ment" persisted in carrying through a demonstration which 69 Negro organisations asked them to call off on the ground that it was an obvious police trap.

The CPUSA has most emphati-cally declared that these people are not Communists and their rantings and irresponsible actions rantings and irresponsible actions have nothing in common with Communism or the position of the Communist Party. "Their leaders", says the CP statement, "were' in fact expelled from the Communist Party some years ago after a long history of such ad-venturism



gain, said he could not say when Bolivia would act to abide by the OAS sanction against Cuba.

In Rio de Janeiro, Journa In Rio de Janeiro, Journal de Brasil, observed that the inter-American system, "instead of destroying Castroism, is des-troying itself."

In Ottawa, Canada, not a member of the OAS. Pau Castro that Thomas C. Martin, minister for External Mann, Assistant Secretary Affairs, said Canada will contiof State for Inter-American nue trade and diplomatic relaban on the export of strategic

In Buenos Aires, Argentina, several demonstrations took place repudiating the diktat, of the Washington OAS conference. Hundreds of demonstrators burnt in the public square an effigy of Uncle Sam. Sevenal MPs strongly ondemned the anti-Cuban deci-

The CPUSA leader, Gus Hall, in a message to Premier Fidel Castro declared:

"Those who conspire against you and conduct economic or military warfare against you from the States do not reprefrom the States do not repre-sent the will of the American people even when such acts are committed in the name of the US Government. On the other hand there is now a growing expression of support even in government circles for new and normal relationship be-tween our countries." tween our countries.

"And they were expelled for cowardice—for demanding the dissolution of the Communist Party in the face of the efforts to Negro homes and burning autos outlaw it through the infamous McCarran Act.

"Nor does this crew have any real following. They exist only as parasites on the body of the Negro freedom moveof the Negro freedom move-ment, working to sap its streng-th and divert its energies. What semblance of importance they have is only that bestou-ed on them by the press and television because they serve the dual purpose of smearing both the Negro people and the Communist Party".



Min Mississini ..... in Mississipi white racists have stepped up their campaiga

civil rights workers.

They burned down the Rose. Hill Negro church near McComb, the latest of three to go up in flames in the area during the past three weeks.

The assaults came as Dr. Mar The assaults came as Dr. Mar-tin Luther King, Jr., concluded a five-day tour of Mississipi to build support for the Freedom Party which is challenging the Democratic Party machine in the nging the ie in the Democratic Party machine in the forthcoming convention in Atlan-tic city. King told a news conference .

"The church burnings, ment and murders in this state are a direct result of the fact that the Negro citizens cannot vote and participate in electing res-ponsible public officials who will protect the rights of all the people."

### BEHIND GOLDWATER Lunatic Fringe Rallies As Administration Trails

Senting the sentence of the se reward for his successful efforts to prevent reference to and condemnation of the John Birch Society and the Ku Klux Klan at the Republican national convention.

First, Dixiecrat Governor George Wallace withdrew from the race, thus assuring Goldwater the vote of every Southern and vote of every Southern and Northern bigot. And now Gold-water has received the enthusias-tic endorsement of both Georgia's the endorsement of both Georgia's grand dragon of the KKK, Calvin F. Craig, and of the National Conservative Council's convention, just concluded in Chicago. The Conservative party claims organi-sation in 21 states.

In addition to Conservative Party delegates, the Council brought together representatives of almost every Rightist and fascist organisation that exists today in the States.

Among other organisations re-presented were the John Birch Society. Also present was Louis W. Hollis, a top administrator of the White Citizens' Council of America, the most active racistand terrorist organisation in the South today.

From the representation of these organisations and the pre-sence of their notables it can be seen that these groups are allott-ed a significant role in the cam-paign to make Barry Goldwater, President of the United States.

The Goldwater nomination is not only influencing US policy in Southeast Asia but becoming a major factor in the manoeuvring the Saigo provocations of regime.

James Marlow in the NY Post has dealt extensively with the counter measures President John-

The result is that, while the The result is that, while the President does not now go as far as demanded by Goldwater in, for example, Cuba and South Vietnam, every step he takes is not away from incoloe-ment but towards. greater inroliomont

Marlow comments as follows:

"Coldwater will have less to complain about if the clampdown on Cuba gets tighter and the Vietnamese war tougher."

#### Aggravating Brinkmanship

Some other commentators have Some other commentators have drawn attention to the fact that a policy already fraught with grave dangers is not only serious-ly aggravated by appeasement of Goldwater but becomes still more dangerous when the puppets headed by Gen. Nguyen Khanh, in addition to having the support of some in the Pentagon and the CIA, now count on the support of the Republican Party's Presi-dential nominee.

Here is what Peter Grose, writing from Saigon to the Sun-day Times, has to say in this

matter: "He (Khanh) was embolden-ed by Sen. Goldwater's nomi-nation, for he interpreted it as a sign there was support in the . US for a more aggressive war policy, including outside South Vietnam's frontiers, and 'he points out attacks on North Vietnam were American ideas in the first place. He thought that his open advocacy of this policy might draw the Ameri-cans in or might give them an excuse, 'if that is what they wanted HE MAY STILL BE RIGHT IN THIS." RIGHT IN THIS.

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# SETBACK FOR GUPTA BUT UP TANGLE NOT SOLVED

#### By K. U. WARIER

Congress President Kamaraj's order for a recount in the UPCC poll has dealt a heavy blow to the Gupta group in the Pradesh Congress; but as near as one can see the Congress conundrum in UP is not going to end so soon.

**T** NDEED, the first reactions of jubilation in the dissidents' camp and protests from the miniscamp and protests from the mans-terialists would forecast further intensification of the group rival-ries that have dominated the Congress scene since long in that ries that have commance un-Congress scene since long in that province which enjoys special status at the Centre. And also, beyond the immediate ups and downs of the contending factions in UP, the High Command's decision is vested with a significance of its own for the Congress alignments at the Centre.

Notice of the control of the control

#### Not Any Surprise

The statement therefore of a spokesman of the ministerialists that "some members of the High that "some members of the High Command were eager to dislodge Mr. Gupta and they have succeed-ed in their attempt" has not come as a surprise in the capital. This, notwithstanding the fact that Nanda's report on the irregularities in the PCC election is accepted as being foic and unpresudded and as being fair and unprejudiced and C. B. Gupta could not have avoided the consequences of a recount even if the High Command had no special preference for any group. But all the same, preferwere there ences

The unsuccessful attempts for "" "compromise" bea socalled "compromise" be-tween the two factions in UP, socalled tween the two factions in UP, initiated with no great enthu-stasm either in Delhi or in Lucknow, did not mislead ob-servers who from the beginning could see that they were futile. After the victory of the dissi-dents reflected in their strong majority in the PCC executive and the narrow win for Gupta

by a forthright pursuit of the policy of peace and de-mocracy, President Johnson himself took up the Gold-water scean and her

water sogan and has atta-cked North Vietnam, thus-trying to ontbid the fas-cists by fascist behaviour.

But it would be unwise for

the Indian people to think that these are merely the pre-election tactics of the American imperialists and that we, as Indians, can re-

main indifferent to it. The American imperialists

have no business to keep their Seventh Fleet in the Asian and African waters.

They have no business to put an army of 30,000 in South Vietnam in support of

a fascist puppet regime there. They have no business to be

\* From Front Page

in the contest for the president-ship, it was clear that Tripathi's men would not rest content without dislodging C. B. Gupta from his key position. Adding to this determination of the dissidents was the fact that Home Minister Nanda who en-quired into the completions of

quired into the complaints of voting by unauthorised persons-quota-permit holders and the like -found that 20 such votes were exercised unauthorisedly. Nanda's report was a strong point in the report was a strong point in the dissidents' favour which they never

let go. They have maintained that in They have manuaned that in the event of a recount their candi-date, Kamalapathi Tripathi would win presidentship by at least three votes. The ministerialists' prefer-ence for a repoll had no chance

votes, inc. ministerialists, measurence, for a repoil had no chance of being agreed to. In the context of moves to for-tify the position of "the Syndicate" in the government and the ruling party, the Kamaraj verdict on UPCC elections would spell an-other set back for the Morarji lobby, C. B. Gupta who supported Morarji against Shastri in the race for Prime Ministership in June last will now find that he could not easily challenge the authority of the High Command in UP. However, observers here do not underestimate the still strong fac-tional hold of C. B. Gupta on the ministry and Congress organisa-tion in UP and his capacity to manoceuve.

manoeuvre.

anoeuvre. Coming after the Kairon ouster in Punjab, the UP Con-gress affairs have been so han-dled by Kamaraj and Shastri that it has once again demon-strated the Syndicate's capacity for consolidation. Many here now look to Orissa as a possible next step in the process.

## POLICE RAID FIASCO

T HE situation on the food front is too serious for the people to allow any pranks by the Administra-

tion which perhaps may not understand the extent of their sufferings or the disgust and indignation which the public have come to feel by watching the inconsistencies in its behaviour.

Yet what happened in Delhi last week when the police swooped down on private godowns and carried out searches and checking of stocks of wholesalers and as suddenly withdrew from the scene leaving exemptions as bafers leaving everything as before was a classic example of official bravado about "stern action" against hoarders petering out in a meek retreat before the pressure from the hoarders themselves,

After the initial boastful phb-licity which the authorities can-vassed when the searches—they were described as "raids"—were instituted, it was not even possible for them to offer a coherent explanation for their sudden retreat. All that was said by the police and the Chief Commissioner of Delhi to explain this strange behaviour amounted to contradictions and a

amounted to contradictions and a sheepish attempt to wriggle out of a difficult situation. It was therefore given out that there were no "raids", no "seizure" of stocks and no question of "seal-ing" godowns. Why, the inspection

One week back, for the week ending June 27 the index figure stood at 147.8 one month back for the week ending June 6 at 145.3 and a

year back for the week end-ing July 6, 1963 at 135.6.

has been particularly notable in the case of food articles. The index for food articles stood at 156.5 for the week

ending July 4 as against 155.1

VIETNAM

The rise in index numbers

had not even disclosed any "major. discrepancy or malpractice" by the had not even disclosed any 'major. discrepancy or malpractice' by the big traders! Only the public whose assistance in the operation' was sought and praised highly had been misled to think that there was some big campaign of un-hoarding initiated by the govern-

hoarding initiated by \_\_\_\_\_\_ ment. The city's consumer population however has not been gullible to believe these explanations. For, this very experience has exposed the weakness of the government in fighting the hoarders and black-marketeers about which the Union Food Minister had only very re-cently given strong assurances. Food Minister had only very re-cently given strong assurances. Not only that, the facts, as they are now known, about this inci-dent have revealed a gloomy state of affairs in the highest circles of Administration.

dministration. Apart from the pressure and threats from the big traders against the "food drive initiated in the capital, it is learnt that the officialdom in the Food the officialdom in the Food Ministry took strong exception to the drive and the Home Min-istry had therefore hastily to call off the whole thing. Also it is learnt that the state govern-ments, invaridbly under the in-fluence of wholesalers and grain monopolists, took panic at the "goings on" in the capital and prevalled upon the Centre to stop the drive. And so, whatever was the ob-ctive of the Home Ministry when

And so, whatever was the ob-jective of the Home Ministry when it initiated the searches of goit initiated the searches of go-downs in the capital, the opposi-tion of the bureaucracy in the Food Ministry and the opposition of the vested interests in the food trade and their political patrons in the state governments could see

to it that it was not achieved. The people in the capital had been subjected to a cruel joke. The Food Ministry officials are understood to be strongly averse

Addition

inderstood to be strongly averse to any scheme, of drastic action to unearth hoardings and to in-troduce largescale state-trading and rationing. The conventional plea of lack of effective machinery to supervise rationing and check malpractices is trotted out to pre-vent any serious attempt to curb private trade.

private trade. The Patil heritage of free trade and PL 480 is too strong in the Ministry for even Subramaniam

to do anything effective to match his anti-hoarder declarations. It is known that there is a sec-tion in the Cabinet which feels that halfway measures will not succeed and unless drastic steps are taken in the direction of state trading, rationing and stopping of bank advances to grain trade, the government would not be able to government would not be able to control the worsening food situa-tion. But there are too many hesi-tations and considerations still to overcome before the government can proceed in that direction. \*

Food Ministry secretary V. Shankar is back from the United Shankar is back from the United States after discussions with the US government officials on more food imports to India. Since Shankar is specially close to S. K. Patil and has followed him around from one Ministry to another, official gossip in the capital now speculate when Patil is going to claim his protege for the Railway Ministry. Subramaniam might be persuaded to give up Shankar to facilitate such a reunion, it is being said.

in the prices of all

1963.

dities, especially food articles. The wholesale price index number for all commodities.

number for all commodities stood at 146.4 for the month of June (latest month

which figures are available) while it was only 143.1 for May and 134.0 for June 1963. The index for food arti-cles stood at 153.1 for June

while it was only 147.8 for May and 134.8 for June

The rise in index figures

for the different articles were

as follows: Cereals from 126.7 in May

to 132.5 in June; for pulses from 135.8 to 141.8; for fruits

from 135.8 to 141.8; for fruits and vegetables from 173.8 to 179.1; for milk and ghee from 139.7 to 140.5; for edible oils from 174.3 to 185.7; for fish, eggs and meat from 156.6 to 161.2; for sugar and gur 183.6 to 194.7; and for 'others' from 178.0 to 178.2. The Inion Finance Minis-

178.0 to 178.2. The Union Finance Minis-ter, T. T. Krishnamachari, cannot wash off his hands by merely shoving off his res-ponsibilities to the shoulders

of the Food Minister. It is high time that he took con-

crete measure to hold

price line.

commo

TOP

the

# **FOOD PRICES GO STILL HIGHER**

#### BY OUR STAFF CORRESPONDENT

3,1

While the government is dillydallying with the problem of prices and food scarcity, its own official figures of prices are showing an upward trend, more marked in recent weeks. THE official wholesale price index, computed by the office of the Economic Advi-ser to the Government of India, stood at 149.0; base 1952-55=100 for the week end-ing July 4, the latest for which figures are available.

for the week ending June 27. For the week ending June

For the week ending June -6, the index number for food articles was only 151.3 Cand a year back for the week ending July 7, 1963 only 137.8.

food articles showed an All upward trend in prices as in-dicated by the index figures for each item.

for each item. From 134.1 for the week ending June 27 the index number for cereals rose to 134.6 for the week ending July 4; for pulses from 143.9 to 145.1; for fruits and vege-tables from 175.4 to 178.7; for tables from 175.4 to 178.7; for milk and ghee from 140.2 to 147.5; for edible oils from 193.1 to 198.5; for fish, eggs and meat from 163.1 to 163.9; for 'others' from 183.4 to for 'o 184.5.

Only in the case of sugar and gur, there was a slight fall in the index number, from 195.8 to 186.6.

Monthly averages also

## AIBEA STAND

#### \* FROM PAGE 4

last two years, but without any response either from the bank-

response either from the bank-ers or the government. The AIBEA congratulated the bank employees all over the country for manifestation of their solidarity and determi-nation and for carrying on the movement in a disciplined nation and for carrying on the movement in a disciplined manner even in face of grave provocations from some bankers including the incident of stab-bing in Bombay. The AIBEA hoped that the

bankers will not come to the tripartite conference with a closed mind or with reserva-tions or treat the conference as 

a mere formality. Manage-ments of different banks in their individual capacities have been appreciating the force in the demand of the force in the demand of the employees and it is hoped that this appreciation will be given a concrete shape in their col-lective approach at the forth-coming Tripartite Conference. The AIBEA believed that the success of Tripartite Confer-ence lies in the cooperative and objective approach. from all parties.

parties. The AIBEA has summoned

its Central Committee meeting in Delhi on August 13-15 to review the present situation and decide future steps.

anywhere in Asla or Africa with their aggressive military warmongering slogans re-ceived in America and afraid to fight Goldwater force

hands off North

It is good that the Government of India is asking the American government not to spread the war. But that is not enough. The people of India and the government should demand that the American armies quit Sonth Vietnam, that they cease their interfer-ence in Laos and let the people of these countries decide what regime they want.

The people of India and the government must demand that the 7th Fleet must not enter Asian or African waters, and not be anywhere in the Indian Ocean at all. Henchmen of the American

imperialists in India would want to point to the "aid" of wheat that India gets from America and ask us to connive at American aggres-

sion in Wetnam. We must sion in vertician. We must tell this reactionary gentry that India will not sell its championship of Asian-Afri-can freedom, its defence of freedom everywhere for a mess of American wheat pottage. India will stand for the defence of freedom and Afro-Asian solidarity against the aggression of the Ameri-can imperialists.

If we fail to do it, we also will lose our own freedom and fall into neo-colonialism and

nd a new slavery. Let the Indian people rise nd protest. Let us all demand -Hands off North Viet-

nam! imnerialists\_Ouit

-You, imperiali Asia and Africa! Quit Asian and African

-Let not the Seventh Fleet enter the Indian Ocean!

Hands of Asia and Africa!

#### show the same upward trend