

It was the year in which the nation lost Jawaharlal Nehru—with all that that loss meant in the lives of the people.

It was the year which saw the forces of disruption and split act as they had never acted before, to divide the toiling people's movement. The Seventeenth

Year saw the forces of dark communal reac-

tion run' amuck in West Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh. The conspiracies of the imperialists and their henchmen reached new diabolical heights.

But the Seventeenth Year was also the year of the mightiest movement of the toilers. It began with the Bombay Bandh of August 20, 1963. It ends with the still more glorious Maharashtra Bandh of August 12, 1964. In between came the Great March of September 13, the biggest national demonstration ever organised by the Communist Party of India, and the National Campaign of the Toilers.

The Seventeenth Year saw the biggest, broadest congresses, rallies and campaigns for peace and in defence of nonalignment. The Peace Movement began to exert an influence on India's foreign policy, greater by far than it had ever done before ...

Independence Day 1964 dawns in the midst of rocketing prices; large-scale hoarding and profiteering, the loot of the masses, the fattening of the tycoons.

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many villages and districts, of grass be-ing eaten in lieu of foodgrains, of death taking the toll of the hungry and the starved.

All the horror of seventeen years of misrule has, in a flash, been understood by the millions, as they march against the food thieves

Independence Day Editorial

miseries.

and the policies which give the looters a free hand to amass wealth through people's

August 1964 has been and continues to be the month of the mightiest ever working-class actions. As we write, all Bombay and all Maharashtra are BANDH; last week it was Gujarat, which showed the way. The week before it was Kerala Bandh; next week it will be Uttar Pradesh.

India's toilers greet the dawn of the Eighteenth Year of Independence with their marching feet, with their deafening slogans demanding state trading in foodgrains, nationalisation of banks, opening of fair price shops, unearthing the hoards of the profiteers.

The Eighteenth Year begins on the eve of the Great Satyagraha, when lakhs will court arrest under the Red Flag of the Communist Party. The Eighteenth Year opens, as consultations begin to fix a date for Bharat Bandh, the all-India one day



SHASTRI'S DANGEROUS APPROACH TO ECONOMIC CRISIS who would want us to go in for a pruning of the exist-ing Plan and the fixing of a modest target for the next. Ister, has now boldly declar-ed that "deflation does not because in to seek stability by

By ESSEN

In our journey towards economic independence, the seventeenth year of our existence as a politically free nation will for long be remembered as a land-

The man, symbolising flame, was not only the irer and initiator of our inspirer and initiator of our odyssey but an incomparable helmsman whose vision even when it was somewhat blurred by the exigencies of the situation, never lost the di tion of the country's development

But now this peerless leader is no more and the country, as it enters the eight-eenth year of its indepen-dence, finds itself facing an edented crisis. It is not and the consequent price-rise, nor even that of the path we have chosen for our develop-ment. It is all that and more.

It is the crisis of an inept policical leadership growing nervous in the face of eco-nomic difficulties, and allowing itself to be stampeded into a line of action which. instead of solving these difficulties, aggravate them

The government instead of curbing profiteering, holding the price-line and taking all those "institutional" steps which would enable a smooth functioning of the econor is taking recourse to half-measures on the one hand and preparing to change the perspective of our progress on the other.

For the situation is unmistakably grave, in the sense, that with Jawaharlal gone, even those, who in his life-time had considered it expe-dient to pay homage to his reasoning and approach to the country's development, have now shed their cloak and begun expounding a different course different course

Muddled Thinking Exposed

And those whose adherence to his approach was more a matter of personal loyalty than ideological affinity have also started to expose their muddled thinking affinity have muddled thinking. Even Jawaharlal was convalesc from his illness after Bhuba-neshwar the Finance Minis-ter had begun to twist the Bhubaneshwar precepts to facilitate the growth of pri-vate enterprise in league with foreign capital.

And now that Jawaharlal Nehra is dead, even Manubhais and Sanfeeva Reddys have rushed in with suggestions for foreign equity participation in steel and other basic industries.

But TTKs, Manubhais, and

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IT will be a poignant me-mory, however, because with it is associated the extin-guishing of a flame which had illumined our path so long. The man, symbolising this flame was not only the of acquiescing in it, it be-comes necessary to sit up and ponder over ponder over.

The subject on which this change is most clearly mani-fest is the shape and the perspective of the Fourth Five Year Plan. It all started with what then appeared to be a chance remark by the Prime Minister that the Planning commission of which he had become the Chairman fol-lowing the death of Jawahar-lal Nehru, should pay special attention to the problems of unemployment and lacks amenities for the common man.

This remark, when it was made in June last did not appear to suggest a basic reorientation of the Plan to mould it—as we had said then (NEW AGE, July 12) then (NEW AGE, July 12)— "not with an eye on the perspective, as Jawaharlal had done, but with stress laid on raising production in the immediate." But now it seems that it was made to probe reaction to an eventual scuttling of the Plan perspective.

Campaign for **Basic Shift**

The havoc wrought by the sion created by interested cir-cles that the only factor res-ponsible for it is the inflaponsible for it is the inna-tionary pressure of huge de-velopment expenditure were exploited by the detractors of planning to unleash a cam-paign for a basic shift in Plan schemes. Starting with whis-pers about the need to prune the Third Plan schemes, they began to openly call for con-centrating effort in the next plan only on those which are "quick-yielding" in their results.

Yet neither these gentle-men nor the government for men nor the government for whom their remarks were meant cared to find out if the basic needs of the common man, his food, shelter, medical facilities and em-ployment could not be se-cured without giving up the emphasis on the perspec-tive tive.

The fact is that the pretine fact is that the pre-sent predicament on the ques-tion of prices has not occur-red because of too much ex-penditure on development but because a major part of the fruit of this development has found its way into wrong hands. "Black", or unaccoun-ted money, finds frequent But TTKs, Manubhais, and even Sanjeeva Reddys can perhaps be dismissed as abe-rrations from a pattern which

unearthed the hoards of this ill-gotten wealth.

In the villages where these hoards are said to be largely concentrated and where their concentrated and where their impact in the form of fillip to speculative activities is also mostly widely felt, no attempt is made to extricate the peasant from the clutches of their owners. And yet the very persons who would not raise their little finger to end this clutches this situation nonchalantly talk about the need to go slow on development to con-tain the "inflationary pressures "

What Step Against Inflation ?

Similarly, it is no secret that the banks, in spite of the socalled 'draconian' banking legislation, advance huge sums of money for speculation in grain and other commodities. Yet the gentlemen who knowing all this, dismiss the demand for banks nationalisation as a doctrinnaire fad, have the audacity to talk about the evils of inflation. ation as

Inflation is, no doubt, a phenomenon corroding our economy, but the quarters, talking the loudest about it, have no interest in contain-ing it. Their interest in it is confined to presenting it as a bugbear to scare the chick-en-hearted among our policy makers into 'adjusting' the Plans to suit their party Plans to suit their narrow ends

Nay, their interest extends farther to providing grist to the mills of regular detractors and opponents of the Plan to e them to intensify efforts to deflect it from its COUISE

It is in this context that Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri's earlier remark and Shashi's earlier remark and subsequent directive to his Cabinet colleagues are omi-nous. For, what he has call-ed for is a basic shift in em-phasis in spite of his tall claims to the contrary.

Postponement of all pro-jects in the field of heavy industries for one year is tantamount to putting a moratorium on the growth of the basic sinews of de-fence and development. Likewise a fresh assessment of all projects and program-mes for which funds are to mes for which funds are to be allocated now and the next year—proposed by him —is merely an euphemism for the same,

In the absence of a precise delineation of the implica-tions of this directive it is not certain if projects Bokaro-which are crucial for like the country's future develop-ment—will also be scuttled. But the very fact that this might happen points to the dangers inherent in the Prime Minister's approach. The por-tents become grimmer when it is remembered that his ex-planation for suggesting those measures is the same as that of the people who have no heart for a planning that leads to economic indepen-dence. NKW AGE ment—will also be scuttled. But the very fact that this might happen points to the dangers inherent in the Prime Minister's approach. The por-tents become grimmer when it is remembered that his ex-mianation for suggesting those

modest target for the next.

The 'Well-Wishers'

The World Bank, always afflicted with agony at our audacity to plan for inde-pendent economy, wants a modest Fourth Plan; the modest Fourth Plan; the Finance Minister, always eager to throw the door open-for foreign capital, is also against what he terms an "ambitious" Plan target; the FICCI, the organ of big busi-pers at home would of course FICC2, the organ of big busi-ness at home, would of course, not favour a high Plan tar-get unless it be reserved largely for indigenous and foreign private enterprise

It is a misfortune that the Prime Minister who should have followed the trail of his illustrious predecessor in de-bunking the 'expert' opinions of these quarters should be should be

acclaiming their viewpoint. To this bleak picture lominant thinking in the Planning Commission appears to provide a possible silver lining. The Deputy Chairman of the Commis-Chairman of the Commis-sion, Asoka Mehta, who had earlier appeared to be the alter ego of the Finance Minister, has now buildly declar-ed that "deflation does not provide the answer (to the current malaise), because that is to seek stability by disowning growth." He has also called for the

acceptance of a "certain number of basic controls" as the only possible course to assert the price rise. As for the surgestion that it is the surgestion the suggestion that the Plan strategy should be changed he has said that "no one, who has seriously examined all aspects of our economy, can envisage a fundamental change in our development programme

Acting under Asoka Mehta's leadership the Panning Com-mission has also rightly de-bunked all forebodings about possible shortfalls in resour-ces for the next Plan. It has given a firm call for remov-ing all barriers in the way of mobilising resources, which it is sure can be had if the government is prepared to make the necessary institu-

tional changes. Evidently, the policy makers are not of one mind, but the fact that the Prime Minister has chosen to side with those who would want to go back on the Plan "perspective" makes it an unequal contest That is why the people who would lose the most if this "perspective" is changed, should intervene to defeat the designs of its detractors.

PUNJAB SATYAGRAHA PLAN FINALISED

JULLUNDUR: The Punjab state council of the Communist Party of India has finalised its programme for the forthcoming all-India satyagraha against rising prices, for adequate increase in wages and dearness allowance and for effective measures against hoarding and profiteering which should include state trading in foodgrains and bank nationalisation.

Dank nationalisation. THE council, which held a meeting on August 4 and 5 under the chairmanship of Sohan Singh Josh, called on all Party. members to enrol as volunteers for the satyagraha and popu-larise the demands and the move-ment and to draw in and enrol others also as volunteers. Yogindra Sharma, member of the central secretariat of the CPI, attended the meeting and explained the background to the decision of the secretariat to call for countrywide satyagraha from August 24 to 28. State council secretary Avtar

Singh Malhotra placed the pro-posals of the state secretariat regarding the agitation before the council, which discussed them and took the decisions.

Besides mass and street cor-ner meetings, rallies and de-monstrations, the programme includes a 48-hour hungerstrike by Communist MLAs at Chandigarh from August 17.

From August 24, for five days Communist volunteers will offer satyagraha by picketing the dis-trict and tehsil headquarters, government offices and important banks.

The council decided to con-tact those parties and groups which agreed with the main demands put forth by the Party for all possible joint action. It expressed regret that the leaders of the left-sectarian Com-munist group had refused to participate in the movement. These sectarian leaders had

These sectarian leaders had decried the satyagraha on the strange plea that masses were far ahead of such an action, while all that they themselves could think of was a call for meetings and demonstrations on one day. This showed them up again as heroes of left phrases whose revolutionary talk only masked their actual role of splitters. sectarian leader

masked their actual role of splitters. The state council expressed deep sympathy for people in various districts in the state hit by floods and regretted that the official machinery had not moved in time to give them relief. It demanded speedy relief for the floodstricken people, emergent measures to drain off

AUGUST 10, 1954

NDIA's attitude towards the right, by holding out the the US aggression against bait of huge shiploads of North Vietnam is the touch-stone which may well decide the future of India's foreign Despite these pressures policy.

The outrageous incompetence and downright betrayal of our basic policies, which India's chief representative India's chief representative displayed at the Commonwealth Conference, led to the speedy appointment of a whole-time Foreign Minis-ter. An angry people, critical of the conduct of the Prime Minister's representative the London Conference assured that now all would be well, for we would have a senior Cabinet Minister exclusively in-charge of the External Affairs Ministry.

There was a sense of relief that pro-imperialist rightwingers in the cabinet t out of this key port-, and the job given to a minister; whose record was one of general support to the positive Nehru policies of nonalignment and peaceful coexistence, disarmament and opposition to colonialism and racialism. in all their shapes and forms.

But the fact, must be faced that the problems confronting our foreign policy cannot be solved merely by the appointment of full-time Foreign Minis-tor however commetent and ter, however competent and devoted he may be. The devoted he may be. The pressures being exerted by the imperialist powers and the right reactionary forces cannot be met merely by the exclusive attention to foreign policy by a Cabinet Minister, instead of the part-time attention which the Prime Minister could

These pressures against our foreign policy reached new heights after the Chinese aggression in 1962. And there was a marked tendency to lean to the Right, away from strict nonalignment, in the actual execution of foreign

Pressures And Commitments

India remained on the brink of the abyss of alignment for a considerable period after the events of October-Novem-ber, 1962.

🛧 The "air umbrella" hovered constantly over our heads and the raucous voices of the American parties and forces inside our country were raised again and again urging acceptance of the

* The VOA deal was signed, even if it was later repudiated.

The joint air-exercises did take place, even if they were not the kind of exercises originally planned by the imperialists.

The blackmail over Kash-mir grew in intensity and devilry.

 \star Pressures and threats were used in connection. with our economic needs—the story of Bokaro needs no retelling. The criminal failure of government policies on the food front was used by the imperialists to pressurise India to shift its policies to

AUGUST 16, 1964

beginning of a counter-off-ensive by the peace forces of our country against the right reactionaries: The All-India Peace Cong-ress (November 1963), the Seminar on International Affairs and World Peace and the Fourth National Confer the Fourth National Confer-ence for Afro-Asian Solidarity (December 1963) were the the most powerful and broadest demonstrations in defence of the policy of nonalignment, which had ever been held in this country.

remarkable vigilance

policy and to defeat the

actions

The wheel had indeed turn-ed full circle: in November 1962, the pro-imperialist right gangsters ruled the streets, openly calling for a military alliance with the USA and for the scrapping of nonalign-ment; one year later, the peace forces counter-attacked and raised higher than ever the banner of peace and nonalignment, which the actionary forces had sought to tear to pieces. These con-ferences were not only the biggest mass demonstrations for a policy of peace; they also opened the door to a qualitatively higher stage in the broadening of the peace

movement. The fact that Prime Mi-nister Nehru sent messages to the two conferences and inaugurated the seminar himself was proof enough of the new realisation by government of the strength of the people's movement for peace. The very pressur-es and blackmail by the im-perialists and reactionaries ed those in authority to realise that a mass neace

movement alone could com-bat these pressures successfully. The last phase of Prime Minister Nehru's stewardship of our foreign policy undoubtedly felt the impact of the peace movement, felt it in a way it had never felt it before. New initiatives began to be taken to strengthen our bonds with the newly-independent coun-tries of Asia and Africa. Closer relations were sought to be established with the Soviet Union and other socia ist countries

The testing time for India's foreign policy has come with a bang in the first few weeks following the death of the chief architect of that policy—Jawaharlal Ann Independence IDoug

Despite these pressures, India did not go over the brink. Nonalignment was saved. In retrospect, it is essential to point out here the key role, which was played by the Indian peo-ple and the broad peace movement in the country, in ensuring that the presures were successfully sisted.

The Communist Party and the mass organisations led by it acted throughout with helped mobilise opinion aga-inst any weakening of our policy of nonalignment. Democratic and patriotic 'Congressner also played their part in the nationwide efforts to uphold and strengthen the positive aspects of our foreign actionary pressures for a reversal of the basic policies.

The end of 1963 saw the

This last phase saw the vigorous initiative taken by India to ensure that the Soviet Union is given its rightful place in the Second Bandung. Gone were the hesi-tations and vacillations of old: India took the lead in demonstrating its refusal to succumb to imperialist pres-sure to keep the Soviet Union out of the Afro-Asian family.

New Attack On **Basic Policy**

With the passing away of Pandit Nehru, the imperialists and reactionaries began a new attack on our foreign policy. The monopoly press is desperately striving to cast doubts on the "wisdom" and "practicality" of the policy of nonalignment. The Swatan-tra Party leaders were the first to call the death of the Prime Minister "a blessing in

Assessment

ing of the policy of nonalignment, giving it a sharper anti-imperialist edge. It is this alone which will win India greater support, and friendship. The line pursued by TTK in London-of appease-ment of imperialism-isola-tes India, blackens its image among the vast majority of countries of the world.

At non-official conferences for peace and Afro-Asian solidarity held during the period since Chinese aggres-sion, it has been demonstratsion, it has been demonstrat-ed again and again that a genuine anti-imperialist stand, emphasising our policy of nonalignment and peaceful coexistence, finds a ready response from all sincere peace workers of all lands.

India was appointed the agreed chairman of the Com. mission because of the high place it held in 1954 in the ils of the world. Would India be appointed chairman in 1964 if a new commission of this vital nature were appointed?

This depends on whether India will at this moment take a firm and positive in itiative to halt the aggress itiative to nait the aggressors and demand the removal of all US forces from Indo-China. The arguments being poured out by the External Affairs Ministry spokesmen that the Supervisory Comthat the Supervisory Commission cannot take note of US aggression because the US government is not a party to the Geneva

-Focus On-Foreign Policy

disguise"—desperately hoping that the positive Nehru poli-cies would be abandoned and the way cleared for that alignment with the Western po ers of which the reactionaries

In the name of "facing realities" or "winning friends" the foreign policy which has won India its high place in the councils of the world, is sought to be denigrated. Flat-tering Nehru's successors for their "common sense" (as op-posed to Nehru's lack of it, evidently!), long articles are being put out in the monopoly press, urging a reversal of our basic policies—all in the name of "common sense".

Deriving strength from the stand taken by Finance Minister T. T. Krishna-machari in the Commonwealth conference, the reactionary forces, leaders of the Swatantra Party and the Jan Sangh, who have backed TTK's performance, now demand the continua tion of this anti-Indian line in our foreign policy.

What is especially disturbing is the manner in which reactionary parties are now sending their emissaries abroad, talking in the name of India and only succeeding in blackening India's imag The 10-member "Indian liamentary delegation" Dahyabhai Patel and led by com posed of Swatantra. Jan Sangh and DMK MPs. which visited the American empire in Asia only recently, did more damage to India's good name in anti-imperialist Afro-Asia than perhaps anyvisited the American thing else for a long time. The Chinese leadership skill-fully used this visit and the pro-imperialist statements made by the reactionary "de-legation" for their own sinis-ter anti-Indian purposes. pro-imperialist

What is necessary is not a weakening but a strengthen-

Contrast the back seat hich TTK took in the which TTK took in Commonwealth conference and his complete fai-lure to win support for India's case with the success of the Indian dele-gation at the recent anti-nuclear conferences in Japan, where not only was India in the front ranks of the conference, but was als able to secure the unani-mous adoption of a resolu-tion on the Colombo probo proposals, which totally en-dorsed India's position.

TTK's pro-imperialist line, which was a negation of Indian foreign policy, isolated India even at the Common-wealth conference. The weath conference. The Indian delegation's forthright. exposition of our country's basic anti-imperialist policies in the conferences in Tokyo and Hiroshima won for it the highest place in the hearts of

futile; feeble and utterly false arguments.

The Supervisory Con sion must make its autho-rity felt. It must denounce the US actions and insist that the US army quits South Vietnam and Laos,

This is the test of India's foreign policy today. On it will depend whether India emerges once more into its rightful place as an initiator for peace and an outstanding leader of the peace zone.

India's high place in the councils of the world councils of the world was not won by passivity, but by re-solute, firm and determined action against war and aggression.

It is not enough for India to refuse to endorse Johnson's letter: food-ships or no food-ships, India must denounce the US, aggression if it wants to be true to the



the delegates who came from all corners of the globe.

India's stand aggression against North Vietnam has certainly not pleased the imperialists, who uemand hundred per support for their foul barbaric bombiner cent and ess, it is still a policy of inaction, of waiting to see what others do, and of then attem-pting a "neutral" position.

India cannot wait and see. India. is chairman of the International Control and Supervisory Commis-sion: it has a special role o perform, a role for peace, which it cannot surrender at a moment of grave crisis and tension

foreign policy which so many have associated for so long with the name of Jawaharlal Nehrn.

The testing time is NOW. The new Prime Minister and the new Foreign Minister have the first opportu-nity of bringing back the lustre to India's image. They have a duty to per-form, which they must not shirk-whatever the pres-sures, whatever the black-mail.

On Independence Day 1904 we expect to see the many pledges of continuing and strengthening the Nehrui On Independence Day 1964 peace policies being fulfilled concrete deeds.

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Utter Failure Of Foreign Policy

WHILE FLAMES OF WAR RAGE. INDIA WAITS HOPING FOR BEST

By K. U. WARIER

The US attack on North Vietnam last week threatening to spread the flames of war in South-east Asia seemed to jolt New Delhi from its slumber on the sidelines of international conflicts, but the effects of the long torpor have continued to cramp its diplomacy even after the shock.

MATURALLY, any expectaion that India as Chairman of the International Control Commission for Viet-Gontrol Commission for Viet-nam, would take initiative to deal with the situation creat-ed by the American attempt to extend the war to North Vietnam came to nought when New Delhi decided to back seat and wait, hoping for the best.

In the balance, such an attitude has led to the feel-ing in political circles in the capital that not only is New Delhi reluctant to he drawn into the conflict, but it is particularly unwilling to condemn the all too clear US provocation which led to the sudden crisis of last week.

The result has been that the fact that the Govern-ment of India was the first to issue a statement expressing "grave concern" at the situation last Wednesday when news came of US bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam-a point which Sardar Swaran Singh made at his meeting with Communist MPs—has hardly impressed anybody, even though it is welcomed. What has more caught the attention of obser-vers is the state of inactivity and hesitation in the External Affairs circles

Bureaucracy

On Show

While explanations for this may vary, there is un-animity that the External Affairs Ministry is not as sensitive as it used to be under the late Prime Minis-ter Nehru. It is no longer an active limb of the government and its functions have become more routine and habituated to official slow-thinking. One of the major tasks for Sardar Swaran Singh, observers stress, woud be to free our foreign policy from its bureaucratic ment set it again on the active path, if it is to survive and show

Indicative of the confusion and doubts that characterise the activity of the External Affairs Ministry these days is a report that even though initially the concern of the Government of India the US attack on DRV and its consequences was con-veyed to the American government through its represen-tative here, a formal reply on these lines to the US Presithese lines to the US Pr dent Johnson's letter Shastri could not be sent till August 11. According to well-placed sources, the Min-istry has run into difficulties in drafting the reply.

Confusion

Worse Confounded

However, it is sought to be impressed that the Government of India is firmly aga-inst the extension of conflict in Southeast Asia and hopes for an early peaceful solution to the conflict in Vietnam. In this connection, Prime Minister Shastri's statement that India "wholeheartedly' agreed with the view express-ed by US representative Adlai Stevenson in the Security Council in favour of restoring the 1954 position in Vietnam has been noted as being significant.

But what New Delhi is reluctant to admit and yet is a fact is that it was the United States that first refused to sign the 1954 Geneva Agreements, that upset the status quo of 1954 and has since continued to oppose any move for peace in Vietnam.

The latest mad adventure of the USA to provoke a war with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam by sending her Seventh Fleet into the Gulf of Tonkin where it had no business to be and by bombing DRV's naval bases has come in for severe condemnation here in all sober political cirdirect consequences as reflected in these aggressive actions of the US forces against North Vietnam have caused deep concern in these circles.

Among the critics of the US government have been a number of Congress MPs also and the point that has emerged most in these ori-ticisms is that the presence of US Seventh Fleet in Southeast Asia is a threat Southeast Asta is a threat to peace in the region. As against this, the sober and sensible stand of the Soviet Union is highly appreciated here and wel-comed as a major contribu-tion to resolving the arisis tion to resolving the crisis.

While an official view has been put out that the ICC cannot investigate the com-plaint of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam against the US attacks on her naval bases since the United States is not a signatory to the 1954 Geneva Agreements there is even in the External Affairs Ministry another view which discounts this argument based on technical considerations. It s pointed out that the ICC has powers to look into the da-mages and destruction caused to North Vietnam by a third power, even if that third po-wer is not a signatory to the Geneva Agreements.

American Violation

Also it is emphasised here that the 1954 Geneva Agreements expressly forbade the introduction of additional troops and reinforcements. into Vietnam as well as the establishment of new military bases there. In all these res-peets, the US has violated the Geneva Agreements and her latest attack on North Vietnam is a culmination of a series of such violations.

Observers here hold that India as Chairman of the ICC should take a firm stand against the latest US provocations, not confining herself to pious hopes that peace will be restored in Vietnam. This is necessary not only to help establish peace in Vietnam, but also to retrieve our lost positions in the Afro-Asian world and to restore fully the cles. The emergence of Gold-waterism in the USA and its independence to our foreign image of anti-colonialism and policy.

The Quiet Indian

AL Bahadur Shastri prefers to do things in a quiet way. This was the dominant note of his , name discourse. last week-end, at an exhibition press

conference. The main theme was the explosive food situation. There were no fireworks because pressmen by a prior under-standing did not put questions. However, at tea, which pre-

However, at tea, which pre-ceded the press conference, a senior correspondent specialis-ing in economics seems to have told Shastri what he genuinely felt about his halt-ing food policy. The whispering had gone home. He began by saying that one of our fraternity had been disagreeing with their food policy. As for himself he believed in doing things in a quiet way. And he hastened to add that the quiet way had its

that the quiet way had its disadvantages also in this that it did not impress the public. We have already had some We have already had some samples of this quiet way of doing things. For, one thing, Shastri has been quiet all these weeks when people here and there were quietly dying of starvation. A fortnight ago the supine Delhi administration sudden-

ly woke up and started a noisy raid on food godowns. The administration dramatically an-nounced a catch of two lakh

nounced a catch of two laken the pre-tons of foodgrains. Twentyfour hours later it matters, all ended in a whimper. He is The turbulence subsided, who, wh The quiet way of doing tary of things came on its own, of the I The sheepish Delhi adminis-vised t tration officials apologised: Sorry, gentlemen of the press, it was not a raid but a checkup of the stock in a quiet way, the Shastri way! Last week the fashionable Marine Drive in Bombay. was caught in a storm. And lo and behold! in three days it was all quiet on the marine was all quiet on the marine

ront. At least three important acwspapers — the HINDUnewspapers — the HINDU-STHAN STANDARD of Cal-cutta and the HINDUSTAN TIMES and PATRIOT of Dabb Delhi reported about police raids on VIP flats and seizure

Incidentally, the report in the HINDUSTAN TIMES had a New Delhi dateline. It presupposes that the Bombay story had been subjected to a check-up at Delhi. Who else in Delhi could confirm it barring the Home Ministry? But on Sunday the PTI was unmoned 'quiethy and the

Is This The Independence For Which Let us now fix our sights a bit higher and see how the

immonom

DELHI TEXTILE - MEN

Ekta Union on Wednesday decided to suspend its 20-day-old agitation for August 1964. two months from Thurs-

Com. Radhakrishan, muni-cipal councillor, and the seven the agitation.

'quiet way' operates at the higher level. In the field of planning, heavy industries are being quietly demoted in the name of the common man.

In the monetary field, a big noise is being made about the impending cut of 70 crores in government spending to keep inflation down. Last week the enforcement branch of the Foreign Ex-change Directorate was look-ing for smuggled diamonds in Bombay. They raided the house of a Sindhi business-man. But instead of diamonds they stumbled into stacks of currency notes, two lakhs of currency notes, two lakhs of

currency notes, two lakhs of rupees. Imagine, one tycoon keep-ing in one Codrej safe Rs. 2 lakhs of unaccounted money! At the Bhubaneswar session of the Congress, Patnaik esti-mated the quantum of black money at 3,000 crores. A lot of it is flowing into the food trade and pushing the prices to dizzy heights. Last month the Prices Sub-committee of the Congress committee of the Congress Party in Parliament demanded on this front

But then? Shsh! Let's do things quietly. Let the sleeping dogs lie. If we kick them awake, they will lie. If we ske, they will . kick them awake, they will bite us when the general elections come round! There is nothing very origi-nal in the 'quiet way.' It is the hide-bound bureaucratic way. No wonder, Shastri showered encomium on L K the et encomiums on L. K. Jha at the press conference for his "expert advice" on economic

He is the same ICS chappie who, while he was the secre-tary of the Economic Division of the Finance Ministry, advised throwing open even India's consumer industries to foreign equity capital.

Ministerial batteries have started barking at the rising demand for wage increase by all sections of working people. It is idle hope if think they can silence them.

think they can silence them. They can't even silence the employees of the AICC office in the capital. IN-SIDER has been confident-ly told by one of them that they had put up a demand for a 10 per cent salary rise. rise. Instead of conceding this

meagre demand the bosses raised the pay of four de-partmental heads by Rs. 200 per month. The remaining fifty of them

are furious. They have been asked not to take to the trade

one of them jocularly told the INSIDER that they would jolly well organise a trade union and affiliate it to the AITUC!

-INSIDER

SUSPEND AGITATION

HE Kapra Mazdoor textile workers who have been on hungerstrike will end their fast at 6 a.m. on Thursday, 13

two months from Thurs-day, in order to give time to the conciliation board appointed by the Chief Commissioner to make its Com. B. D. Joshi, general secretary of the union, said that since the conciliation board had been asked by the Delhi Administration to report within two months the union had decided to suspend

AUGUST 16 1964

NEW DELHI: The Indian Capital took the lead in protesting against the unwarranted attack by United States naval and air force units against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam on August 5, just as it had done at the time the US imperialists decided to send their Seventh Fleet into the Indian Ocean.

"defence" of your country as

around Asia and Africa, you

are inventing excuses which no one, not even your ruling class, believes to be true. These excuses are nothing

but a cover to commit ag-gression against the inde-pendence of the countries

of Asia Africa and Latin

America, against the coun-tries of the socialist camp

and thwart the movement

of liberation of those peo-

ple who are yet held in co-lonial subjection.

The presence of over 20,000

Vietnamese fighters for free-

agreed with the advice of the

carried out an aggressive at

tack on the Democratic Re-

Thereby your government

has not only hurt the feel-ings of the Asian-African and all peace-loving peoples

a thing which puts you back

again on the discredited tactics of brinkmanship and

limited wars, a thing which threatens not only the Asian people but also threa-

tens the people of your own

country who do not want

war and annihilation from a nuclear conflict.

The people of India and the whole world, who cherish freedom and hate the pros-

pects of a nuclear world war

strongly condemn this beha-viour of your ruling class. We are aware that your

ruling circles believe that India will sympathise with or

of the world, you have do

public of Vietnam.

attack on North Vietnam.

A militant demonstration, No country in this region or organised by the Communist Party of India, pro-tested against the US attack minis against DRV before the American Embassy on August 6. CPI chairman S. A. Dange led the demonstrators.

The Delhi police took the unwarranted step of stopping the demonstrators yards away from the embassy gates and, when the demonstrators insisted on going to the lawns near the embassy, used force to

block the way. In the minor scuffle which In the minor scuile which followed, the demonstrators including S. A. Dange and Jogindra Sharma, member of the central secretariat of the Communist Party of India were pushed · around American army men, equipp-ed with guns, planes and all, in South Vietnam to prop up by the po

Following Dange's protests the Additional District Magistrate present against the show of force by the police, the police allowed the demonstrators to assemble in the lawns before the embassy

gates. Addressing the demonstrators Dange pointed out the peaceful nature of the de-monstration which had come to present a letter to the American Ambassador to against North Vietnam. Condemning the action of

the police in stopping the de-monstrators, he said: "This is Indian soil. We were not trying to enter the premises of the American Embassy. We do not want to encroach forcibly into the embassy precin-cts as the Americans have invaded North Vietnam."

Later Dange handed over to the US embassy adminstrative officer a letter on behalf of the Communist Party of India, asking him to trans-mit it to the President of the United States

While handing over the letter Dange said: "This is a protest letter against the American invasion of North Vietnam and behind this letter is the united voice of the millions who stand with the Communist Party of India."

CPI's

Letter

The letter, signed by S. A. Dange, Chairman of the CPI, said:

On behalf of the Communist Party of India and mill-ions of its followers and sympathisers in India, I wish to bring to your notice that the attack which your Seventh Fleet and armed forces have made on the Democratic Re-public of Vietnam has evoked deep resentment among the Indian people.

We learn from the press that you justify this attack support your aggression be-cause India gets "aid" from as a retaliatory and defensive on against the sorties that you in the matter of foodaction against the sorties that the North Vietnamese torpedo boats are alleged to have made against your warships in the Tonkin Bay which, you say, were outside the territorial. grains and industry. Let us tell you in plain words that your ruling circles live in a fool's paradise if they think that the Indian were outside the territorial waters of North Vietnam and masses will condone your imwhere they had every right to do "patrolling duty". perialist aggression

The people of India have all along questioned your socalled duty or right to "patrol" the seas and oceans around Asia, Africa or Latin America. There is no reason why your warships should be stationed in the waters of Asia and Africa.

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against the freedom of the Asian-African and other people be-cause of your socalled "aid". The Indian people will rather starve, if it comes to it, and find their own way to solve their internal crisis, than support your at-tacks on the freedom of any country in the world.

PAGE FOUR

* FROM FRONT PAGE

The martyrs, who laid down their lives

for the Motherland's freedom, did not die to create an India in which hunger rules

the roost and the price sharks revel. The

masses march today to build the India of

which our martyrs dreamed... in which hunger has been banished for all time.

heiore.

Our Martyrs Have Sacrificed ? Seventeen years ago.... on August 15, 1947.... the nation danced with joy, as the Union Jack was pulled down and the general strike, which shall carry the toilers' struggle to peaks it has never reached Flag of Independent India was unfurled. The guns bo med, the lights sparkled, the

frequences of the sky, the children laughed and clapped their hands. Freedom has come

The toilers march again today to make that freedom complete, to drive out for all time the monster of hunger... and the system that breeds it.

expensive smuggled goods. Incidentally, the report in

summoned quietly and the obliging news service flashed the message contradicting the

www whese allery minimum

In the mon etary field, a big

• • •



Your actions in South Vietnam, your attack on North Vietnam and your socalled "patrolling" in the high seas cannot be ignored by the Indian people because only a few months ago you told India that your warships of the Seventh Fleet will enter the waters of the Indian Ocean also.

The nations of the Indian Ocean certainly did not ask you to oblige them with your presence. You did it in order to spread tension in this area. encourage the racists of South Africa and create more hot-beds of cold war and aggres-

the working people at home nam, demand that the Seven and abroad

So in the interest of your own people, in the interest of the people of the whole world, in the interest of peace, democracy and freedom, we ask you to stop your war in South Vietnam, your attacks on North Vietnam and withdarw your Seventh Fleet from all the Asian and African waters and return all your military forces to your own country. If you do not heed this demand of the people of the world and the Indian neople in particular, you will be the cause of your own ruin.

th Fleet leaves Asian waters forthwith, and to ensure the settlement of the internal affairs of Vietnam by the Vietnamese people themse the basis of the Agreements of 1954." Geneva

On behalf of the All India Peace Council, Dewan Cha-man Lal MP, chairman of the presidential committee, said that the situation has become "explosive" and called upon peaceloving people to act immediately. The Peace Council appealed

to "all. our countrymen to raise their powerful voice and



CPI demonstration led by S. A. Dange being stopped by police

sion around the Indian Ocean. The ambition of your rul-ing circles to dominate the world, to halt and defeat the ing advance of socialism and na-tional liberation are behind all those moves of yours in the various continents of the world.

The attack on North Vietnam, your army's presence in South Vietnam, your provo-cations in Laos, your threat of entry to the Indian Ocean, are all the results of your ambitions.

We ask you to guit Asia and Africa and withdraw your armies and navies from all the bases that you hold outside your own country. By not doing so, you are only earning the hatred of the millions throughout the world and besmirching the fair name of the millions of the American working people. By your

by your policies of aggres-sion against the peoples of other countries you are encouraging the aggressive and murderous behaviour of your own racist reactionaries aga-inst the Negro people in your own country. Aggression and hatred ab-

road breeds its counterpart at home because the forces hehind both are the samethe warmongering monopolies that thrive on the labour of

NEW AGE

We request you to forward this representation of ours to your government.

Protest of Mass Organisations

The All India Trade Union Congress said on August 6 that "aggressive circles in the USA have been for a long time preparing provocations and armed attacks on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam on various pretexts and the dastardly acts committed by the US impe-rialists yesterday were in continuation of the dirty war they have been carrying on against the national liberation struggle in South Vietnam". In a statement the secre-

tariat of the AITUC said: "Freedom-loving nations the world over cannot but watch with extreme concern these sinister interventions by US government's political by the military apparatuses in the internal affairs of Vietnam. To pursue such naked impe-rialistic policies the US gov-ernment has even begun to

stake the peace of the world." The AITUC called upon "the people and the Government of Indiia to unequivocally condemn the aggressive acts of the US imperialists in Vietdemand peace in South East Asia must not be leopardised. US government must respect the Geneva Agreements on Indo-China, US must withdraw their troops from South Vietnam immediately."

The Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity held the US government "initially responsible for the gravest provocation aga-inst the Democratic Republic of Vietnam for sending its vessels of the Seventh Fleet into the coastal waters of North Vietnam under the plea of their be-ing in international waters". The Association urged the Government of India "to take all possible steps to bring about an end to the cruel war against the people of South Vietnam, withdrawal of all foreign military interference and for the full implementa-tion of all the terms of the original Geneva Agreements on Vietnam.'

Sarada Mitra, general secretary of the All India Youth Federation, and Hiren Dasgupta, general secretary of the All India Students Federation, in a joint statement on behalf of their organisations connned the US aggression and demanded, "hands off Vietnam", US fleet must quit Asian waters".

PAGE FIVE

The Registrar of Newspapers in his annual report 1964, which covered the condition of the Indian press in the year 1963, has said that "monopolistic trends continue to exist.

higher and the rate of growth much faster had it not been for the inevitable curbs which had to be placed on the allocation of newsprint to the newspaper combines who have during the past 18 months from time to time approached the government for additional quota to bring out new publications: dailies, weeklies and monthlies. It is therefore the shortage of foreign exchange which is retarding- the growth of these combines."

THIS, it seems, is a very fac-tual statement. The press so, let us have a look at what monopolies are growing; only the circulation of these common their growth is not as fast as they would have liked and wanted have liked and wanted of the restrictions on newsprint import-licences.

The Registrar has mentioned in his report that despite the nonavailability of newsprint, THE TIMES OF INDIA chain has brought out a Hindi film maga-zine; it is proposing to bring out a new children's magazine. out a Hindi film

a new children's magazne. Again, "the Express chain have also approached the government from time to time to bring out a number of daily newspapers and weeklies from Delhi, Bombay, Bangalore and Madras. This chain had also to keep their pro-posals in abeyance for want of posals in abeyar newsprint".

No Newsprint But New Edition

This is only half the truth. The fact is that the Express chain started new editions of their daily, THE INDIAN EXPRESS, and weekly, THE SUNDAY STANDARD from SUNDAY STANDARD from Madras in 1963 despite the gov-ernment's claim that no news-print was alloted for this ven-

Another big daily, the THAN-THI, qualified as a multiple unit in the report, started a new edition from Coimbatore, bring-ing the total number of its edi-tions to four.

The number of dailies under and number of dailies under common ownership rose from 130 in 1962 to 143 and their circu-lation from 35.46 lakhs to 38.17 lakhs. This meant a 7.6 per cent increase, against a rise in circu-lation of only 3.7 per cent for all dailies in the country.

Nine principal English dailies Nine principal English dailies under common ownership com-manded as much as 75.8 per cent of the total circulation of all English dailies. These dailies were THE INDIAN EXPRESS, THE TIMES OF INDIA, THE HINDU, THE STATESMAN, THE HINDUSTAN TIMES, AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA, FREE PRESS JOURNAL, HIN-DUSTAN STANDARD AND INDIAN NATION.

Thirty-six English dailies controlled by chains, groups and multiple units commanded 91.1 per cent of a total circula-tion of 14.52 lakhs commanded by 47 English dailies for which data were available.

Out of the total circulation of 7.64 lakhs of Hindi dailies, 4.25 lakhs (55.6 per cent) was com-manded by nine dailies under common ownership. The lion's share in this was taken by NAV BHARAT TIMES (1.39 lakhs) and HINDUSTAN (0.81 lakhs).

Out of a total circulation of S.03 lakhs of Bengali dailies, two chain papers, ANANDA BAZAR PATRIKA and JUGANTAR Just as the report has pointed PATRIKA and JUGANTAR out, "common ownership is not among themselves commanded as to be confused with monopoly", much as 2.54 lakhs or 83.09 per but "common ownership may tend to give vast influence to per cent over 1962.

PRESS MONOPOLIES GROW He added: "This growing trend would have been DESPITE NEWSPRINT CURBS. Revealing Data in Registrar's Report

By PAULY V. PARAKAL

Seven Gujarati dailies under per cent of the total circulation 2,32,926 and THE STATESMAN common ownership commanded of 1.77 lakks commanded by all a circulation of 2.33 lakks out of the total 4.41 lakks of the 28 Urdu seems to have had the Sujarati dailies. This comes to 52.7 per cent of the readership in Gujarati.

Two dailies, PRAJAVANI and SAMYUKTA KARNATAKA among them commanded a circu-lation of 1.03 lakhs out of the total 1.74 lakhs for all the Kan-nada dailies taken together. The percentage is 59.1.

Twentysix Malayalam dailies lawentysix Malayaiam caules claimed a total circulation of 5.13 lakhs out of which MATH-RUBHOOMI, under common ownership, commanded 1.64 lakha 029 root (Anchor ownership, commanded I.64 lakhs, 26.8 per cent. (Another such daily, MALAYALA MANO-RAMA, which has a circulation of 1.40 lakhs, does not find men-tion in the report dealing with circulation of common ownership tion in the report dealing with circulation of common ownership dailies.)

In Marathi, five common ownership dailies commanded 60.9 per cent of the total circu-lation of 5.36 lakhs of all the Marathi dailies together. LOK-SATTA alone had a circulation of 1.24 lakhs.

Four Tamil dailies under common ounership command-ed a circulation of 4.77 lakhs out of the total circulation of Tamil dailies at 6.88 lakhs. The percentage works out to 69.3 which is 2.6 per cent more than what it was in 1962. THANTHI had a circu-lation of 2.33 lakhs and DINAMANI of 1.31 lakhs.

The two common ownership dailies in Telugu had a circu-lation of 1.26 lakhs, forming 71

Urdu seems to have had the

best position with five dailies under common ownership com-manding only 0.57 lakhs circulation against the total circulation of 2.60 lakhs commanded by 44

Increase In Circulation

Coming to the circulation posi-tion of the big chains and groups, we find that the general trend has been of an increase in their circulation.

Thus, the Express chain in-creased the circulation of all their publications from 10,19,781 to 11,21,600—an in-crease of more than a light 10,10,101 to 11,21,600—an in-crease of more than a lakh! And this despite the announc-ed policy of the government that no additional quota for newsprint would be given to chains.

The Hindustan Times chain in-creased its circulation from 3,03,865 to 3,12,717; the Amrita Bazar Patrika chain from 2,36,089 to 2,37,903; the Mathrubhoomi chain from 2,07,320 to 2,32,873 and the Saurashtra Trust (publi-shers of JANMABHOOMI) from 1,30,925 to 1,38,847.

The only one which suffered a loss in total circulation, a minor one at that, was the Times of India chain. The circulation of their 13 publications went down from 8,24,055 to 8,15,662.

Trom 8,24,055 to 8,15,662. The Press Registrar has added one more name to the list of chains he had in the 1963 report: that of Patil Puttappa, who commanded a circulation of 52,150 for his VISHVA VANI daily, PRAPANCHA weekly and MANORAMA fortnightly (all Kannada). This brings the total number of chains to 15.

Among the groups, THE HINDU still maintained the dominant position with a circu-lation of 3,13,292 though this was 1,743 less than in the previous year.

Some other big newspaper groups which suffered marginal loss in circulation are Free Press Journal group from 2,14,615 to Journal group from 2,14,615 to 2,08,936; Andhra Patrika group from 1,41,852 to 1,38,588 and

Ananda Bazar Patrika group

The total number of groups has gone up to 36 in 1963 from 32 in 1962. One of the group enterprises had moved up to the chains category, as earlier mentioned.

A newspaper group which does not find mention in the report on the section on groups is MALA-YALA MANORAMA which has a daily and a weekly of the same name. The combined circulation

Both the big multiple unit newspapers showed substantial increase in their circulation: THANTHI from 2,26,222 to

Taking the biggest chains and groups, the Express chain increased the percentage of circulation it held among circulation it held among dailies from 11.1 to 11.5; Ananda Bazar Patrika group from 3.2 to 3.5 and Statesman multiple unit from 2.2 to 2.3.

Those who maintained their circulation figures steady were: Thanthi multiple unit at 4.2 per cent; Hindustan Times chain at 4.1 per cent and Hindu group at 2.4 per cent.

There was slight fall in the There was slight fall in the percentage of circulation of the dailies in the Times of India chain from 7.9 to 7.8; Amrita Bazar Patrika chain from 4.1 to 3.9 and Free Press Journal group from 2.9 to 2.7

As far as the ownership pat-tern was concerned, a noticeable change was the "Indianisation" of THE STATESMAN. Origior Intel STATESMAN. Origi-nally, the Calcutta Discount Co., was controlling 100 per cent of the share capital of the States-man Ltd., owners of this paper. On July 1, 1963, the Calcutta Discount Co. ceased to be the sole shareholders.

The shares passed into the hands of 15 business firms, chief among them being Cal-cuita Discount Co., Tata Sons, Martin Burn, Mafatlal Gagal-bhai Co., Sankey Electrical Stampings and Binny and Co. All of them held more than one ner cont of the share one per cent of the shares.

Another change was in the ownership of the Behar Journals Ltd., of the Hindustan Times chain. Here, all the principal shareholders increased their-holdings: the New India Sugar Mills from 61.09 to 81.79, Bharat Sugar Mills from 11.25 to 13.38, Birla Brothers from 2.35 to 3.15 and Oudh Sugar Mills from 1.08 to 1.32 per cent to 1.32 per cent.

Swallowing Process

It would not be out of place to quote a significant passage in the Press Registrar's report: "Of late, there has also been some informal moves by the big news-paper combines to purchase and merge with them some medium and small newspaper units which offered for sale their under-takings. takings.

"Some of the small and medium newspapers which are unable to withstand compe-tition and lack financial and economic stability, have made these offers. Such mergers of small and medium papers with bigger combines, had they come through, would have accelerated the growth of monopolies." monopolies."

It is a pity that the Registrar has It is a pity that the Registrar has not mentioned the big combines which tried to swallow up the small and medium papers. All the same, he has pointed his finger to the danger spot. It is now up to the people to be vigi-lant against the sinister designs of the press monopolists and insist that the government should take steps against such possibili-ties.

AUGUST 16, 1964

There stands a tangerine tree on our soil that has no equal. Tended by careful nourishment the tree is growing fast. Since February 13, 1960 it has grown in all directions and is further growing as time passes.

the Suratgarh Central Mechaed Farm and its growth represents the new vistas that have opened in our coun-try in mechanised farming.

Suratgarh farm, set up with the Soviet gift machi-nery in 1956, is a saga of man's triumph over nature. A dust bowl dotted with sanddunes, shrubbery and knar-led accacia trees has been turned by the combined effort of man and machine into a smiling farmland with waving golden fields of wheat and green patches of grains.

Approximately 23 miles in length, with an area of over 30,000 acres, Suratgarh—the biggest irrigated farm in South-East Asia-produces, apart. from wheat and other dgrains, cash crops as cotton, sugarcane and oil-seeds. It produces pedigree seeds for other state farms and also other state farms and also has poultry farming and fish-ing. The whole face of this part of Rajasthan has changed; a desert has burst forth into a blooming greenery.

Suratgarh has proved be-yond doubt the viability and usefulness of largescale mechanised farming in India. In fact, only such farms can solve our chronic food problem, and not PL 480 bounties. The late Prime Minister Nehrn had remarked that if India could have a hundred farms like Surat-garh, its food problem will solved.

His dream has not yet come true but the Soviet Union has assured India all help in the establishment of such mechanised farms. On June 7, 1964 a new agreement was signed between our country and the a new agreement Soviet Union for the setting up of another mechanised farm of 30000 acres (same as Suratgarh) at Jetsar. entire equipment for this farm is being supplied by the Soviet Union.

policy of the government. In

the coming week workers of Delhi, Maharashtra and U.P.

states are also joning them in this protest on August 12

Government had ample

warning and notices that to protest against their failure to tackle food situation

working class and people will peacefully but firmly raise their voice. The pur-

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A

and 18.

shop. There were other in-

Suratgarh fully justified these investments. During the Second Five-Year Plan

period. the farm produced

Investments

Tustified

AITUC PROTESTS AGAINST POLICE FIRINGS

The secretariat of the AITUC issued the following statement on August 8.

LL-India Trade Union pose of these one-day strikes, hartals and de-monstrations is to wake the tests against the unwarranted firing, lathi charge and the arrests made by the govern-ments of Gujarat and M.P. in government from its apa-thetic attitude towards this national issue, and express in unmistakable terms that dealing with agitations aga-inst scarcity conditions and rising prices of food articles. people would not tolerate continuation of these con-ditions for long. ATTUC congratulates the workers of Kerala and Guja-rat for unitedly expressing their protest against the food

Mere assurances and announcements of long term schemes would not feed peo-ple, nor can the hoax as displayed in Delhi regarding "raiding" of godowns satisfy them. Central and state gov-ernments have been refusing

to take proper and quick steps to check rise in prices. And then they seem to be afraid of even peaceful protests from the people.

1,10,556 to 1,06,472. showed an increase from 2,26,184 to 2,48,909 and Sandesh group from 1,07,969 to 1,12,227.

name. The combined circulation of the two publications rose from 3,04,489 in 1962 to 3,21,089 in

It is in this background that In Calcutta, more than 2,000 the Reserve Bank employees have employees demonstrated before launched the agitation for a wage the RBI offices after office hours. middlen.

Demonstration of Reserve Bank employees in Delhi

NEW AGE



observed All-India Demands Day on August 10 to demand an allround 20 per

cent increase in their wages. The Day was observed on a joint call by the All-India Reserve Bank Employees Associa-tion and the All-India 'D' Class Bank Employees Union.

A powerful demonstration was held on August 10 before the Reserve Bank in New Delhi. The demonstrators were addressed by Prabhat Kar MP, H. L. Parwana, P. L. Syal and O. P. Mahajan. The case of the Reserve Bank

employees is very simple. Though the RBI authorities had assured the employees of better wages and amenities compared to the em-ployees of commercial banks, it has not been honoured.

The authorities did admit the steep rise in prices and the faulty nature of the consumer price in-dices which do not reflect the actual cost of living, but they have summarily rejected the demands of the employees. The Reserve Bank and its em-ployees have not been impleaded

PAGE SIX





6.5 lakh maunds of grain valued at about Rs. 107 lakhs, in 1961-62 its output was about 3.21 lakh maunds and in 1962-63 about 4.73 lakh maunds. The total value of the produce during



Rajasthan Chief Minister showing the ripening m crop to N S. Khrushchov at Suratgarh (1960)



tances is impossible. AITUC will continue to lead the protests of the workers un-til government comes out with concrete steps to fight hoarders, bring prices down and provide people with articles of daily use at rea-sonable prices. with

AITUC demands judicial in-quiry into the firing at Ahmedabad, punishment to the guilty, payment of com-pensation to the dependents of deceased and release of arrested persons. It demands of M.P.' government to immediately release Homi F. Daji and other hungerstrik-ers of Indore, immediately.

We hope government will not resort to provocative ac-tions by arrests, lathi charge and firing against these protest actions by the working Meek submission to their take suitable and concrete misrule in these circums- steps to solve the probems.

NEW ACE

these two years is Rs. 95 lakhs. In 1963 the farm produced about 5,000 ton-nes of foodigrains alone and earned an income of Rs. 12.6 lakhs. The farm fulfilled the aims for which it had been established. It became even a profitable enterprise. Dur-ing 1962-63 alone, it has yielded a gross profit of Rs. 12.65 lakhs.

The Damle Committee, set up by the government in 1959 to examine in detail the eco-nomics of large stateowned farms, in the light of the experience gained at the Cen-tral Mechanised Farm at Suratgarh, with a view to set- Still Depending ting up more such farms, observed that this farm "has On Imports kept on making steady progress from its inception date and has nearly achieved its principal objective, namely, production and multiplicamultiplication of improved seeds.'

The estimate of the committee that it would be perfectly feasible for the Su ratgarh Farm to yield a net. return of six per cent on the initial capital investments, which amounted to Rs. 227.64 lakhs (includin the gift machinery) ha been justified.

The late Prime Minister Nehru's hope that hundred Suratgarh farms would solve India's food problem was not a baseless one. A famous So-viet agricultural economist, A. Tulupnikov calculated that A. Tulupnikov calculated that there are 97 million acres of uncultivated land in our country owned by the state. If 2.5 million acres of this land were reclaimed and about 100 largescale state farms of 25,000 acres each were set up on this land, then with proper mixture of grain with proper mixture of grain crops and double crops a year, these 100 state farms will produce another three million tons of wheat, if the yield is taken to be only 0.8 ton per acre. This measure can solve the problem of supplying grain to India.

In Suratgarh, the perennial sector is already producing about 20 maunds per acre and in some places the yield has been as high as 40 maunds per acre. In 1963-64 nearly 7,810 acres of land at Suratgarh were under the Kharif crops, including 514 acres under paddy, 599 acres under sugarcane. and 1,040 acres sugarcane, and 1,040 acres under cotton. Rabi occupied 17,590 acres including 8,825 acres under wheat

The record of the farm shows that under favour able conditions Suratgarh's highest output was wheat 39 maunds per acre, paddy 43 maunds, jowar and gram 25 maunds each, mustard 15 maunds, baira 17 maunds, cotton 13 maunds and sugarcané maunds.

1.400

This shows the immense possibilities that exist in this field for a permanent solu-tion of our food problem. But unfortunately the govern-ment has not yet taken firm steps in this direction. After eight years of the setting up of the Suratgarh Farm, only in 1964 the Government of India negotiated another agreement with the Soviet Union for the Jetsar Farm. If this be the rate of progress, then several centuries will be passed before we have 100 such farms.

Instead of rapidly developing such farms, the Government of India talks of "tiding over" present difficulties in regard to food by PL 480 imports and barter deals with several countries. Nowhere in its longterm measures there is any emphasis for large mechanised farming.

Today, when the country is facing its biggest food crisis it has become all the more imperative that intensive measures are taken for large-scale mechanised farming for the more intensive production of adequate food-grains and ensuring its effec-tive distribution.

The Soviet Union and other socialist countries are pre-pared to give us all the help we need in this regard. Already in our country every fifth tractor on the field is a Soviet tractor. It is only through dotting our fields with thousands of tractors that we can achieve maximum yield of harvest. Radi-cal land reforms, cooperatives and state-owned largescale mechanised farming is our only solution.

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Subs	cription	Rates	
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PAGE SEVEN

DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM

time the minority is to be "accomodated"? Will it be the minority itself? Obvi-

ously, here again the majority

has to decide. This principle

Not the CP alone but any

mass organisation, any group

discussion but in action, has

eventually to decide issues by

majority vote if unanimity is

a strike ballot? Why not

not possible. Otherwise why

give a few cowards and blacklegs the right to veto any

This does not mean that

the majority should not make concessions to the minority on matters not affecting prin-

ciple or which are not so basic

and fundamental at any given moment. This does not mean

that the majority should

stampede the minority pre-

vent its views from being heard or hurl them out on

The CPI "left" leadership

in 1948-50 did precisely this. Without calling any Central Committee meetings, a small

group decided all matters on

directives, hounded Party members, created a suffocat-

its own issued all manner of

Today, on the contrary, the majority in the CPI not only holds frequent and regular meetings of its lead-

ing bodies but has gone out of its way to invite the minority to state its views,

to join in drafting the Party

locuments, to circulate its lernative views and so on.

It has gone to the further-est limits—sometimes even

est limits—sometimes even beyond—to make the lea-ders of the minority realise

their responsibility and re-main within the Party. But

Now for the two statements

of fact. At the Vijayawada Party Congress the various state delegations were asked

to submit lists for the Natio-

The Congress as the sup-

agreed

NEW AGE

nal Council. When agr state lists were not poss

the splitters would

none of it.

delegations.

the slightest pretext.

strike and any action?

which believes not only

cannot be escaped.

Q. Is the principle of the minority obeying the majo-rity to be followed in all circumstances and without exception? If so, then why was the unanimity principle followed in the election of the Nation Council at the Vijayawada Party Congress and in the April 1962 session of the National Council which chose Dange as Chairman? Did not these two unanimous decisions help the present majority in the National Council? (A. V. ADINARAYAN REDDY, Anantapur)

A. The principle that the minority must obey the majority is not something invented by the present lea-dership of the CPL. It was laid down as the cornerstone of the organisational principles of Party organisation for all CPs by none other than Lenin himself some sixty and more years ago. There has not been a single CP anywhere in the world at any time that has ever denied this principle. We can confidently challenge the splitters to give us even a single instance to the trary.

As a matter of fact, one of the main planks of the revisionists, especially in their abortive offensive in 1956-57 was that this principle should be given up and replaced by the rule of "freedom for the minority". The world Com-munist movement took up the challenge, ideologically de-feated the revisionists and reasserted the inviolability of the principles of democratic centralism, where the minority obeying the majority is one of the central planks.

Only once before had freedom of the minority" een used on so extensive a scale to try to disrupt the unity of CPs all over the world. That was at the time of the Trotskyite offensive in the 1930s. The only difference was that then this disruption was covered up by "left" "revolutionary" phrases whereas in the 1950s the banner of socialdemocracy was unfurled by the revisionists.

This is another interesting example of the meeting of extreme wrong views—the Right revisionists and the "left" "ultra-revolutionaries" both want democratic centralism to be given up.

One simple question can be put to the splitters in India, ing atmosphere within the CPI and expelled comrades who are now talking loudly of "minority veto rights": will the splitters' party put down in its new constitution this "new principle" that the majority need not always be obeyed by the minority? Will they advocate similar rights for minority opinion, say in the CPC or the CP of Indonesia

Why is this principle insisted upon? Lenin long ago an-swered this questin. He point-ed out that the CPs are not just a gathering of indivi-duals to discuss and debate issues. The CPs are a sum and system of organisations for the purpose of leading the tolling people to accom-plish a revolution. Unity of outlook has to take the form of unity of action first by the vanguard, then by the class and then by the masses. Revolution is not a picnic but the highest form of class bat-

in some delegations, some "left" leaders sought to im-pose their will by using the majority they had in these If minority veto is to be allowed, how is one to de-cide what constitutes this minority? Even one dissi-dent or two or three can reme organ of the Party, then decided that elections to the National Council would take claim to be a minority who have to be "accommodated" before decisions can be taken. How is one to decide place at its plenary session.

PAGE ETGHT

ters_announced their sion not to contest sion not to contest for the National Council. If they were in a majority, as they now claim, why was it that they were scared to face the ver-dict of the delegates to the Party Congress? If the pre-sent meiorith in the National whether a minority is "im-portant"? Even this decision has to be taken by majo-rity decision! sent majority in the National Council was really a minority at the Vijayawada Party Con-Further, who is to decide gress why were they not on what question and at what afraid of what that highest

body of the Party would de-

The "left" leaders who had

come to Vijayawada with the

also sick", had to rush to that

YOUR QUESTIONS

ANSWERED

in

cide?

Vijavawada Congress nded to the appeal of Ajoy Such are the facts. As for Realising that they were in a minority some forty "left" leaders—some of whom have now become champion splitthe April 1962 National Council meetng, it should be first remembered that

even the splitters concede that it had what they call a "revisionist" majority. With this majority it could have elected "chief revisionist" Dange the Ge-neral Secretary quite easi-ly. But here again some of those who are new champion splitters tried black-mail and tried to pit Nam-boodiripad against Dange.

Once again, the majority in the National Council did not want to impose its will on this point and so agreed to have Dange as Chairman and Namboodiripad as General Secretary and to include pro-minent "left" leaders even in the Secretariat.

It was this very same Sec-retariat that came to the August 1962 meeting of the National Council with its proposals on organisation. It was E.M.S. Namboodirinad who not only moved these propo-sals but insisted that top priority should be assigned to

Among the most important slogan that "Ajoy Ghosh must go", that "Ajoy Ghosh is sick and he has made the Party of these proposals were that the flouting of majority de-cisions should not be tolerat-ed; that National Council very Ajoy Ghosh. He appeal-ed to the Congress to accom-modate the "left" and to have members must defend its decisions within the Party, not to speak of outside; that fac-tionalism and formation of unanimous elections and in order to do so to increase the number of the National Coungroups must be eschewed. What do Namboodiripad and

cll. Anxious for unity and having secured a correct poli-tical line the majority at the other former sticklers for organisation have to say about these proposals now? Tes-

Thus, at Vijayawada and since the majority in the Party has always sought to accomodate the minority on all matters of a minor nisational character. it cannot accommo te the ninority is on matters of ideology and political line Even less can it accommodate the minority with regard to democratic centralism with its emphasis on the minority obeying the majority.

On matters affecting ideolo gical questions facing the world Communist movement gical and the political line of the and the polucal line of the CPI decisions have very often been taken by majority vote. This was so at the Palghat (1956) Party Congress and again at the Amritsar Congress (1958). Even at Vijayawada various amendments to the finally unanimously adop-ted Resolution and speech were put to vote and that which received the majority of votes was adopted and th became the line of the Party as a whole, including those who voted against.

Even where the minority was accommodated as at Vija-yawada and at the April 1962 National Council meeting, it was because the majority decided that way. It never did so on the basis of the "principle" that the minority need not obey it. This "prin-ciple" the CPI can never accept unless it wants to give up the honour of calling itself Communist Party, a Party of revolution.

-MOHIT SEN

The call of "Gujarat Bundh" given by the United Workers' Action Committee (SAMYUKTA KAMDAR SANGRAM SAMITEE) of the Maha Gujarat Janata Parishad to demonstrate on August 5, by one day general strike and hartal the protest of the people against the rising prices, the demand for increase in dearness allowance, effective action against hoarders and the opening of fair price shops, received an unprecedented massive response from the working masses and the common people of Ahmedabad and the other principal cities of the state.

of Ahmedabad and the other principal cities of the state. THE high water mark of this upprecedented statewide ac-tion was reached in the capital city of Ahmedabad where des-pite the vicious strike breaking (INTUC) and the provocative repression by the police, which started the night previous to the strike day, the general strike and hartal was almost, complete. Mills and factories, shops, schools and colleges, all transport includ-ing taxis, and autorickshaws--everything came to a dead stop. Had it not been for the strike-breaking activities of the Majoor Mahajan and the provocative

ing taxis and autorickshaws-everything came to a dead stop. Had it not been for the strike-breaking activities of the Majoor Mahajan and the provocative repression of the police, the gene-ral strike and hartal in Ahmeda-bad would have been complete-ly peaceful. Attempts to lock up the workers of the last shift of August 4 inside the mile in August 4 inside the mills in order to show that the mills were August 4 inside the mills in order to show that the mills were working on the day of the strike; police beating up the workers in chawls known to be strongholds of the Sangram Samiti; police-men on horse-back riding into the procession to disperse it, trampling women under horse hoof; repeated tear-gas attacks and lathicharges on crowds dur-ing the day—these resulted in a demonstration before a police station and clashes in which one policeman was killed, four citizens were killed in police firings, hun-dreds wounded in lathi charges and horse charges. Besides this

Yagnik's Protest

Besides these, 12. other leaders of the Sangram Samiti were also arrested. Their names are: Gorhan Patel (secretary, Ahmeda-ad district committee CPI): bad district committee CPI); Sakharam Rathod (secretary, Mill Kamdar Union); Sohrabali Ansari (joint secretary, Sangram Samiti); Javed Ansari; Ratilall Shah (secre-Palkhiwala. Palkhiwala. "It appears the government is bent on striking a mortal blow at the Parishad and especially at the Samiti. They hope to paralyse the Samiti by arresting all these comrades who did invaluable work in mobilising this massive action of the masses." Sangram Samitee, and Parishad); Tapubhai ary, Rakhial branch, Janata tary, Janata (secretary, Parishad); rangsingh Rakhial branch, Janata Hanumansingh Baj-(leader, Ahmedabad district committee); Faruq Ali Sadiq Ali, Nathu Singh Indra Singh; Chandubhai Hathibhai; Nurmuhammad Mohammad Hus-Referring to the strike-breaking activities of the Majoor Mahajan and the brutal police repression launched by the government,

SOUTH KANARA WORKERS' SIGNIFICANT VICTORY

From B. V. KAKKILIYA

MANGALORE: Workers in South Kanara have won a significant victory after a long struggle on the food front: about 16 thousand workers have started getting fifteen kilograms of rice a month at 47 paise kilogram.

THIS price is 40 paise less than the price prevailing n the open market. Not only to the district to meet the than the price prevailing in the open market. Not only workers but govern-Workers should get rice ment and municipal employees are also getting this benefit achieved through the struggle of the workers.

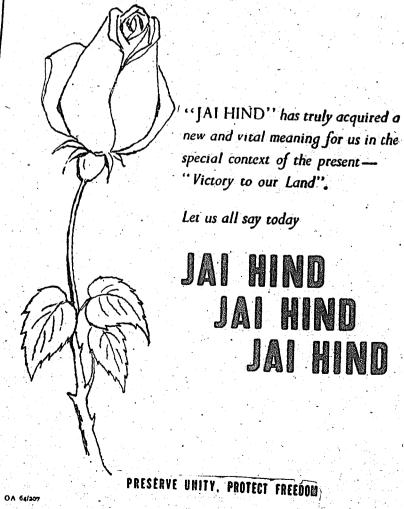
The agitation for cheap food had started as far back as April. At a meeting, the South Kanara district council Kanara district cou of the Communist Party took stock of the grave situation on the food front and planned for the agitation.

At the time rice was selling at 85 paise a kilogram—a price which had never before reached in the district. The district is not considered to be a deficit area; even if it is, it is only marginal.

It had never before experienced shortage in rice in the open market and had never had to pay such high prices because rice from the adjoining surplus districts used to come in freely. The scarcity was therefore artificially created by the hoar-ders and blackmarkcteers.

The district council put forward the following mands to meet the situation:

AUGUST 16, 1964



AUGUST 16, 1964

shops should be opened villages and towns. Rice should be sold in factories and fair price shops at a maximum of 50 paise a kilogram. & Government should take over wholesale trading in foodgrains.

demand till the next harvest.

in the factories: fair pric

The council chalked, out a programme of action. It was decided to collect signatures on a memorandum listing the on a memorandum listing the above demands and to hold mass demonstrations and meetings at the district headjuarters on June 15 when the memorandum would be pre-sented to the Deputy Com-

One-Day Strike

missioner

A one-day general strike was decided upon. And finally, picketing of the offices of the Deputy Commissioner tehsil. and the dars from July 1 if the de-



detained under DIR. Protesting against these arrests, Indulal Yagnik, President of the Janata Parishad and the Sangram Samiti, has issued a statement in which he says: "About twenty-leading first rank workers of the Sangram Samiti have been arrestleading first rank workers of the Sangram Samiti have been arrest-ed by the Gujarat government under the DIR. Among them are not only comrades of this or that Party, but there also are non-party men. All of them are tried and tested workers of our Pari-shad and Samiti, leading among them is our Vice-President Din-kar Mehta and our secretaries Ratilall Shah and Manubhai Palkhiwala.

mands of the people for cheap food were not met by that time.

On an invitation from district council of the CPL the South Kanara Trade Union Council and the Raitha Sangha (kisan organisation) also joined the campaign. A joint action committee was formed at the district level and similar bodies at taluk levels.

About 25 thousand signa-tures were collected on the memorandum in a record time of three days. Mass de-monstrations were held in Mangalore, Buntwal, Udipi and Coondapur. Memoranda were submitted to the Deputy Commissioner and the tehsil-

But these did not have any effect on the authori-ties. Then came the one-day general strike in the district. Twentyfive thou-sand workers struck work all over the district. Even workers under the influence of the INTUC, HMS s and Shramik Sangh abstained from work and expressed sympathy and solidarity with the movement.

The joint action committee. then started enrolling volunteers for the picketing of gov-ernment offices. Nearly 1,500 volunteers, both men and wo-

NEW AGE

sain; Chagansingh Ladusingh— all these have been arrested and detained under DIR. Frotesting against these arrests, Indulal Yagnik said, "their efforts to crush the Samiti and to clear the ground for the Majoor Mahajan will not succeed. As the people's booes get broken and as their blood flows, their determination Samiti, has issued a statement in which he says: "About twenty leading first rank workers of the Samtram Samiti have been arrest. Gujarat and no am unt of brute repression and arrest of leaders will succeed in destroying them."

The government and the Majur Mahajan publicly tried to make out that the general strike in the Ahmedabad textile mills was not a success. But the facts given by the JANATA-RAJ the organ of the Sangram Samiti are as fol-

the Sangram Samiti are as fol-lows: None of the mill workers living in the city went to work for the morning shift. Workers living in chawls in the mill-area did not go to work because of police re-pression. In score will scored pression. In some mills second and third shift workers of theprevious day were illegally fined in the mills for the ni fined in the mills for the night to make show of work on August 5. All manners of pressure were brought on the workers through *dadas, chavol jamadars,* money-lenders and managers.

July 1 and tehsildar offices on July 6.

Picketing started with ten volunteers a day, but later the number was increased to 15 with the intensification of the campaign. Everyday the volunteers were arrested by the police and later released, When about a thousand volunteers had thus courted arrest, the government moved. The state Labour Minister visited Mangalore and assured that arrangement for supply of rice at cheap rates to factory workers would be made. The Deputy Commissioner called the representatives of the joint action committee and made the same assurance. He said rice would reach Mangalore and would be sold to workers at 47 paise a kilogram within two or three

Cheap Rice For People

days.

Following this assurance, the agitation was called off. The authorities have implemented their assurance and so workers are getting cheap rice, which has helped in de-pressing the open market price of rice too.

Some people do not be-lieve that this government could be made to yield to mass pressure and help the people, but the experience in South Kanara has pro-ved how wrong they are.

The Communist Party has not rested with this achieve-ment. The district council has already decided to throw men, enrolled as volunteers. Picketing of the Deputy Com-missioner's office started on

Despite all this 80 per cent of the workers voluntarily ab-stained from going to work. Among the 20 per cent who did go to work, the majority were those who were illegally detained during the night. Only 5 per cent of the work-ers voluntarily resonded to the led to the ers voluntarily responded to call of the Majoor Mahaja call of the Majoor Mahajan to reject the strike call, 45 mills were completely closed. In 15 mills there was attendance but not enough to get them to work normally.

Provocative police repression started on the night of August 4. S.R.P. police men began beating up workers standing in the streets or those collecting within their chawl limits.

In the mill areas, Khokhara, Mehemdabad, Gomtipur, Sarang-pur, Rakhial, Saraspur, Naroda, Asaswa etc., police entered into some 200 workers' chawls and beat up the workers' with beat up the workers with what-ever they could lay their hands on. The concentration was on chawls which were strongholds of the Sangram Samitee.

of the Sangram Samitee. For instance in a chawl in Rakhial, which was a known stronghold of the Samiti, police ran riot on August 4 night. They entered the rooms to beat up the people. They broke open closed doors, drag-ged out workers and beat them up. This went on throughout the night. When the workers resisted, tear gas attack was launched. This is a picture of what happened in hundreds of chawls in that pre-strike night.

Attack By **Mounted** Police

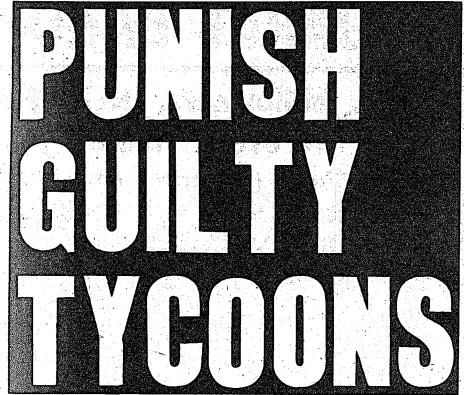
I On the afternoon of August 5 the Samiti had given the call for a mammoth procession which was to culminate in mass rally at the end of the was to culminate in mass rally pr at the end of the day. But the of police suddenly banned the pro-e cession. Fifty thousand people had already assembled and Indulal bhai wanted to explain the ban to the people but the police refused him the use of microphone.

Bet before proper instruc-tions could be given to the assembled mass, the policemen on horseback without notice suddenly rode into the crowd. Several were wounded among them a woman who was Several were wounded among them a woman who was severely hurt in the stomach by the horse. tread. Under the British rule cavalry was often used to break up processions but after independence this is the first time that policemen on horseback were used for the nurmose. on horsepace the purpose.

It was this provocation that led to the incidents near the Kalupur police station and the burning of police jeeps. The police fired 47 rounds and 37 people were wounded, of whom four were killed on the spot.

"No martyr's memorial has yet been erected after the establish-ment of Maha Gujarat, but the police by their brutal firing have added four more names to the list of the martyrs. The people of Gujarat will never forgive the government for the?" I never forgive the for this," wrote government

PACE NINE



BIHAR MLA's BUBHAR MLA's HUDSEP-Strike From K. GOPALAN PATNA: A statewide struggle for people's food was launched in Bihar with the three-day hungerstrike of ten Communist legislators before the state Assembly from August 2 to 5

August 3 to 5.

HE second stage of the struggle, which will include statewide hunger marches, dhar-nas, gheraos and dehoarding operations, will start on August

And the third stage will be the massive satyagraha and picketing from August 24 to 28 before the offices of district magistrates, affices of district magistrates, subdivisional offices, block deve-lopment offices and big banks.

opment offices and big banks. The Bihar state council of the Communist Party of India has called its units to enrol. ten thousand columiters for participating in this satyagraha, which is part of the all-India action called for by the central secretariat of the CPI. The hungerstile commenced

secretation of the CPI. The hungerstrike commenced in the early hours of August 3. Thousands of people gathered before the Assembly to greet the Communist leaders when they arrived to start the hungerstrike. Those who participated were Indradeep Sinha, Chapdra She-khar Singh, Rajkumar Purbe, Teinarayan Jha, Baidyanath Yadav, Ramavtar Singh, Basta Soren, Bisheshwar Khan, Suraj Prasad Singh and Pitambar Singh. They sat in five tents specially exceeded to give them protection from the heavy rains. The Assembly gates turned

re the state Assembly from the stocks of hoarders. The meeting fully supported the decision to organise hunger into a place of pilgrimage for the three days the satyagrahis sat there. Besides legislators and leaders of various political parties, thousands of workers, of people visited the place from morning till late in the night. trom the stocks of hoarders. The meeting fully supported the decision to organise marches and dharnas before various block offices from August 17 and massive satyagraha and picketing before the courts of banks from August 24 to 28. It also appealed fervently to all the political parties and organisations who agree with the

night. The hungerstrike was ended at demands put forward by the a mass rally held before the CPI to unite the people in the Assembly on August 5. The meet-sacred struggle for people's food.



Communist Legislators on Hungerstrike

GOVERNMENT FOREWARNED

WEST BENGAL Agitated

From AJOY DASGUPTA
 CALCUTTA: The mounting discontent of the people over the food crisis and ever increasing prices has begun finding expression in meetings and demonstrations, deputations and conventions and interventions in the food queues. With every passing day, the movement is gaining momentum and direction.
 W HAT is heartening is that the agitation and movement is not confined to the Calcutta industrial area, but is wide spread throughout the state of West-Bengal.
 In West Dinajpore district from middle of July meetings and demonstrations were held at various levels demanding nationalisation of banks and wholesale trade in foodgrains, dehoarding and land to the tiller.

officials at various levels demand-ing nationalisation of banks and wholesale trade in foodgrains, deboarding and land to the tiller. This stage of the movement, led by the Communist Party, culminated in a district food convention at Gangarampur, the stormy centre of the memorable Tebhaga movement. More than a hundred and twentyfive delegates attended the convention which adopted a plan for a long drawn, and sus-tained movement. A committee was also elected to conduct the movement. movement.

movement. The open session was address-ed 'among others by Renu Chakravartty MP, district CPI secretary Hrishikesh Bhattacharya and Moloy Bagchi, convenor of the food committee. The railway town of Kharag-pur witnessed a big meeting on July 25 addressed among others by UCC Secretary M. A. Rahman and Narayan Chowbey MLA. At Kolaghat a mass deputation wait-ed on the BDO.

ed on the BDO. In far away Jalpaiguri in the foothills of Himalayas a big procession consisting of members of 19 mass organi-sations of workers, employees, teachers and others, paraded the streets and held a meeting. In this town as in others, not only the prices are high, prac-tically rice, dal, oil and fish are not available in the open market. In Krishnanagore more than

market. In Krishnanagore more than 2,500 students brought out a big procession at the call of the Students Federation and led by general secretary of the Bengal Provincial Students' Federation. Earlier on July 27 a denutation Provincial Students receration. Earlier on July 27 a deputation consisting of leaders of the Com-munist Party, chairman of the manicipality, teachers and lawtore order. But this having pro-duced no result he adjourned the House for the day. But next day the same thing happened. Jyoti Basu read out the motion amidst great noise but could not . make his voice heard.



cil, explained the need of the satyagraha in the context of the present day situation in the country. A resolution welcoming the lead of the Party Centre was passed. The detailed programme of activities leading to the satyagraha was announced by Ajoy Das Cupta, secretary of the Calcutta district council. As reported last week, the West Bengal Legislative Assembly was to debate a no confidence motion against the P. C. Sen ministry on Monday August 3. But an unprecedent ed uproar in the house, this time by the Congress members, made it impossible to carry on with the business of the house for 25 minutes to rest.

people of Kerala for making the July 31 hartal and general strike a complete success. It condemned the action of the police in resorting to lathi charge and arrests in Quilon,



Apart from affiliated unions, transport employees, bank and insurance employees also joined in. Thirtythree unions marched on that day led by Makhdoom Mohiuddin and Raj Bahadur Gour and K. L. Mahendra and Amlok Ram.

At Vijayawada, the CPI held its first meeting after the dreadful days of arson. Those who hoped that Party was finished had to sulk at home

as huge throngs of people turn-ed up to hear Rajasekhar Reddy and Visveswara Rao and Rajagopala Rao lashing out at government for legalising blackmarket prices and cham-



From S. SHARMA

ANDHIRA Demonstrations Demonstrations From MOHIT SEN HYDERABAD: At the call of the Andhra state council of the Communist Party and the APTUC whole state resounded to demonstrations and meetings on

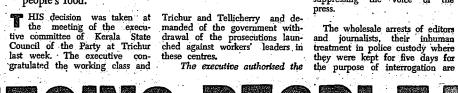
August 9 and 10. August 10 and played the big merchants that people august 10 and played the big merchants that people august 10 and played though heart of city's shopping centre and then went on to warn to be big merchants that people were fed up with their black-Apart from -^{mor}

of executive committee of the Party starting on August 12 at Vijayawada. He will be issu-ing public statement explain-ing his present decision. With his return the splitters

With his return the splittens lose their majority in yet another of Andhra district. His example is bound to make many rethink who had been taken in tempo-rarily by slanders and tall talk of splitters.

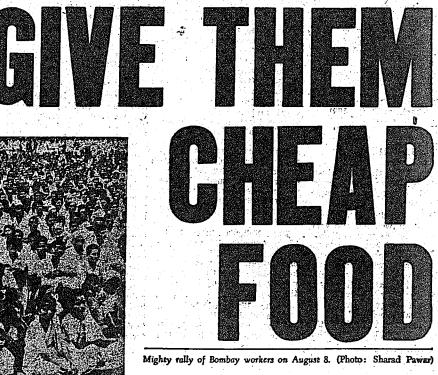
authorised the legislature Party to give notice of a no-comf-dence motion against the Con-gress regime in the state for its colossal failure in tackling the food situation as also its anti-democratic measures like the recent launching of prosecution against Communist dailies.

TRIVANDRUM: Over ten thousand volunteers will be mobilised all over Kerala for picketing and satyagraha from August 25 to 28 before government offices and godowns and shops of wholesale dealers in rice and other food articles, as per the call of the central secretariat of the Communist Party of India for all-India action for people's food. The executive severely con-demned the action of the govern-ment in proceeding against the ight serious allegations against the I.G. of Police. Instead of taking action against the I.G., the state government embarked upon suppressing the voice of the press.



state secretariat of the Party to discuss with other opposition parties and state trade union centres the question of taking forward the united movement against price rise. Further, it not only a blot on the Consti-tution but constitute an unpreco-dented attack against the free-dom of the press and democratic

* ON PAGE 18





By LAJPAT RAT

Jawaharlal Nehru's interest in Latin America

WEHRU was a great stu- was unrivalled by the cities dent of ancient civilisa- of contemporary Europe and tions. The historian in him "was comparable and the time the was paramount and the past held a great fascination for him R nning with his student days in England, he delved deep in the ancient history of f Egyptians, Chinese, s and Romans as well as in the hoary past of his own country. No wonder the ancient civilisations of South America—namely those of the Aztecs and the Incas—held a great interest for him.

The second factor which impelled Nehru to devote his time to the study of this region and its problems was his interest in what he himself called "the mechanics of imperialism". In Latin Ame-Nehru saw another face of imperialism—its veiled face. There was no empire in the old sense of the term, with physical occupation of countries by a great military power. Yet. Nehrn saw the twenty independent countries of Latin America bound hand and foot to the charlot wheels of the mighty United States.

Nehrn named this phenomenon "economic imperia-lism" and called Latin America an "Invisible Em-pire of the United States." Much has been written about the Aztec and the Inca societies (collectively known as the Maya civilisation) by the Western writers. With a few exceptions, they either dismissed them as "primitive and barbaric societies", or idealised them with fulsome praise calling them the "most advanced societies of their time". Nehru with his discerning eye could see both the progressive as well as the reactionary aspects of this civilisation and also the réa-sons that brought about its collapse in the 16th century. collapse in the 16th century. In one of his letters to his daughter (Glimpses of World History) written on June 5, 1932, Nehru observed:

"We know that both in Mexico and in Peru and neighbouring countries civili-sation had been existing for several hundred years. In some respects they were re-markably advanced: in markably advanced; in other respects they appear to have been just as remar-kably backward" (p. 166)

Ancient Civilisation

Describing the American societies of the Maya period in his characteristic style

Nehru wrote: "There is stone work and pottery and weaving and very fine dyeing. Copper and gold are abundant, but there is no iron. Architecture develops iron. Architecture develops and cities vie with each other in buildings. There is a special kind of intricate writing. Art and especially sculpture, is in much evidence and is of considerable beauty.

Nehru then tells about the great city of UXMAL which

PAGE TWELVE

goes as far back as the early years of 1920s. This interest was inspired by two factors.

"was comparable only to the great cities of Asia in those days". Other important cities of this period were LABUA, MAYAPAN and CHAOMU-TUM. With the conquering of

these cities by the Aztecs of Mexico early in the 14th century, TENOCHTITT AN become the capital of the whole Me xican world. When Cortes, the Spanish conqueror first saw the city he was astounded by its greatness. He had seen nothing like it in Europe. European cities looked like hamlets before the great capital of the Aztecs built of lion, petroleum from 22.1 crore gallons to 267.2 crores solid stone and having build-ings many storeys high". gallons, coal from 2.9 crores gallons, coal from 2.9 crore to 24.1 crore tons and pig iron from 1,665,000 to 13,789,000 tons.

The Aztecs were also known for their knowledge of astronomy, sculpture, copper and bronze casting, weaving, etc. Agriculture was also fairly developed and terrace cultivation was known.

On the other side, says Nehru, the Aztecs were a priest-ridden people, believ-ing in witchcraft and hu-man sacrifice. Thousands of human slaves were sacrificed at the altar of Azter gods every two years, when a great festival was held in their honour.

Early

Conquistadores

Describing the fall of this civilisation in the 16th cen-tury Nehru wrote:

"When the Aztecs were an parently at the height of their power and glory, the whole empire came down with a crash before a handful of foreign bandits and adven-turers. And this was brought about by a Spaniard Herman Cortes and a small band of troops with him.... But nei-ther Cortes's courage, nor his guns and horses would have availed him if the Aztec em. pire had not been rotten at heart. It had decayed inside and was based on exploita-tion. So when it was attacked New the people at large welcomed the discomfiture of the impe-rialists." (Glimpses of World Marauders History, p. 185)

Nehru also took note of the great and remarkable Peruvian civilisation of the Incas who had a "divine monarch and were known for their advanced arts, crafts and culture. This empire was des-troyed by the Spanish con-quistadore named Pizzaro who reached Peru at the end of the 16th century along with a band of a few hundred soldiers.

But Nehru's interest in Latin America did not end with the study of her ancient civilisation. He was also a keen student of the contem-porary history of this con-

The Wars of Independence of the Latin American peoples against the Spanish rule stirred the mind of the



to protect them from the pro-tector—the United States.

How could the United States manage to dominate the South American Republics? It was through the control of their economies which was achieved by sending goods and con-trolling their markets, through financial investments in agriculture, mining and industry, through loans to gov-ernments, and so on. Nehru called it economic imperia-

Nehru was actually cons-cious of the rise of another Imperialism

young Nehru who hated

young Nehru who hated imperialism in all its forms and manifestations. He was a great admirer of Bolivar, the Liberator, whom he called "the great hero of South American Indepen-dence"

imperialist power in the world in the 19th century-the United States of America.

From a position of inferio-

rity in 1860 it had advanced

to the position of economic importance. Its population had increased 97 per cent

had increased 97 per cent between 1870 and 1900 and

cotton from 4.3 lakh bales

Colonisation of the West

had been completed and no more virgin lands were now available. The large scale in-

dustry had produced huge quantities of 'surplus' goods which now sought markets

abroad, and so did the 'sur-

plus' capital which wanted avenues of investment in

The United States was

resounding with the slogans of "Manifest Destiny" and

the "Spanish Rough Riders

of Teddy Roosevelt were openly demanding the an-

nexation of Cuba and

been considerd by Western

uarantee of

n state

"shield

historians as a "guarantee of freedom for the Latin Ameri-

covering the newly indepen

a "protective wall. provided by the powerful neighbour of

But Nehru's penetrating

vision saw more in this doc

trine than could be seen by the Western historians. In his letter dated November 19,

1932 Nehru wrote to his

"Monroe was the President of the United States, and he told the European powers that if they interfered any-

where in America, North or South, they would have to fight the United States. This threat frightened the Euro-

South American Republics

daughter:

Republics", a

dent South America

the North", etc., etc.

foreign lands.

dence.'

In his inimitable style Nehru went on to describe the working of this economic imperialism in Latin Ame. rica—a new type of imperia-lism replacing the old, yet ful-



filling the same purpose, namely that of enslavement and exploitation.

"United States prevented interference in Latin . America from Europe by means of Monroe Doctrine. But as they grew wealthy they began to look outside for fresh fields

Puerto Rico as a first step towards the further expan-sion to the South. look outside for fresh licits of expansion. Naturally their eyes fell first on Latin Ame-rica... They did not take po-ssession of these countries, but sent their goods and cap It was at this time that the Monroe Doctrine had been proclaimed, warning the European nations to keep their hands off the American continent. This doctrine has but sent their goods and cap-tured their markets. They also invested their capital in rallways, mines and other undertakings in the. South. They lent money to govern-ments and sometimes to war-ring sections at times of re-volutions. By "they" I mean the American capitalists and bankers, but behind them and supporting them was the American government. Gradu-American government. Gradu

ally they began to control, through money they had lent or invested, many of the smaller South and Central American Republics. Behind these bankers and capitalists was the great United States government, so what could the small and weak South American countries do?'

Thus Nehru, in a forthright manner called a spade a spade, branding the United spade, branding the United States an imperialist power exploiting the peoples of the small Latin American coun-tries. He was not content, however, with the mere des-cription of the role of North American capital in Latin America, and its political consequences. As a historian he could see

pean powers and since then they have kept more or less away from South America. The Doctrine protected the the changing forms of impe-rialism in the modern times. The old imperialism was giv-ing way to a new one, which he called "economic" or "infrom the greed of Europe for a long time. They were pro-tected from Europe weil enough, but there was no one " or "in-Treatvisible" imperialism. Treat-ing the subject historically, Nehru by his observations made a major contribution to the discussion on the role

Today United States domi-nates them, and many of the smaller Republics are com-pletely under their thumh." of imperialism in the past and present. Here are his profound yet simple words which he wrote as early as (Gimpses of World History, p. 395) under the world demonstration of the world garded USA as the "greatest garded USA as the world democracy" of the world

"In the Bible one reads of the Jews being taken away into captivity, because they were defeated in war by the Babylonians and there are many other instances Gra dually this gave place to another type of imperialism, when only the land was animperialism. nexed and the people not made slaves. doubt, discovered that it was easier to make money out of them by taxation and other methods of exploitation. Most methods of exploitation. Most of us still think of empires of this type, like the British in India

"But this type of empire is passing away and giving place to a more advanced and perfected type. This latest kind does not annex

alterable. But the *forms* of revolu-tion, its timing and the ways and methods, depend on the concrete

Jawaharlal Nehru's Meeting with Fidel Castro in Harlem, New York, 1960.

Wrote Nehru:

in the country. By doing so it can exploit the country fully to its own advantage and can largely control it, and at the same time has nsibility to shoulder no resp for governing and ing that country." and repress-

A country "may appear to be free and independent if ve iree and independent if you consult geography or Atlas. But if you look behind the vel the veil you find that it is in the grip of another country."

Words To

Remember

Coming to Latin America and its relationship with the United States, Nehru concluded:

"It is this invisible empire that USA possess in Southern America. The map does not show it. Through the control of wealth, it is easy enough to control the peoples of these countries."

Thus, Nehru warned the peoples of the world against modern imperialism. Now that the peoples of newly liberated countries and Africa are being subjec-ted to the policies of this im-perialism, what we call the policies of "neo-colonialism", Nehru's warning will be of much use. His words "Thro-ugh the control of wealth, it is easy enough to control the peoples of the must be remembered the resurgent nations by all who want to maintain their hardwon freedom and to develop their countries economically and socially.

It is also a warning to our own people when they see foreign capital, particularly American, being freely invited into our country

AUGUST 16, 1964

This is the third and last instalment of our correspondent P. KUNHANANDAN NAIR's interview with A. RUMY ANTSEV, chief editor of the WORLD MARXIST REVIEW (PEACE, FREEDOM AND SOCIALISM). The first and second instalments appeared in NEW AGE dated August 2 and 9 respectively.

JUDGING by the docu-ments' of many Com-munist and Workers' Parties, possibilities are visualised now for a number of coun-tries to accomplish a peaceful transition to socialism. Some comrades argue that this is a revision of Marxism-Lenin-ism and a repudiation of the theory of revolution. What could you say on this score? The Marxist-Leninist concep-tion of revolution never identified The Marxist-Leninist concep-tion of revolution never identified tion of revolution never identified it with an armed uprising. An uprising is no more than one of the ways of revolution is in abolishing the power and rights of ownership of the bourgeoise, establishing the power of the working class and the working people in general, and transform-ing private into public ownership, This essence is, in substance, un-That Hamper

question of forms of revolution in the programmes of the separate parties, and—which is the main

thing-enriched their practical activities.

In settling the question of the further ways of revolution, the Communist Parties proceed from the fact that the social positions of imperialism in the various countries and internationally, are not what they used to be.

1 The main distinctive feature

cialist world system is becoming the decisive factor of social deve-lopment. The strength of world socialism obstructs export of

socialism obstructs export of counter-revolution, and thus in-

2 Although there is not always a direct relation between an international detente and the in-tensity of the class battles in the capitalist countries, detente

capitalist countries, detente greatly facilitates the solution there of social problems.

there of social problems. **3** There is rapid increase in the numerical strength, poli-tical consciousness, militancy and organisation of the proletariat, the leader of the people in the struggle against monopolies, which are factors furthering the victory of socialism.

ternal revolutionary processes the individual countries can

pelop more naturally.

of our time is that the so-

in

There are, of course, factors, which hamper peaceful develop-ment of revolution. Communists are aware of this, but they know that formerly the bourgeoisie was stronger than the proletariat and often compelled it to fight on un-favourable ground. Today, so-cialism is growing stronger and is able more and more to impose its own forms of stringgle and the battlefield on the bourgeoisie. However, a possibility does not become reality automatical-ly; this depends on the struggle of the masses and primarily on the strength of the Communist Parties and on the correctness of their policy. But when the reactionaries resort to extreme conditions. The general conclusion on the increased possibilities of a peace-ful socialist revolution set forth in the documents of the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU, takes into Congress of the CPSU, takes into account the historical experience of all the Communist Parities. In turn, the ideas of that Congress, developed at the international conferences of Communists (Mos-cow in 1957 and 1960, Rome in 1959, and others), prompted a more concrete elaboration of the question of forma of computing

reactionaries resort to extre and brutal means to suppr the revolutionary masses, nu suppress and ortical means to suppress the revolutionary masses, non-peaceful forms of class struggle, and ultimately a non-peaceful revolution, become necessary and inevitable.

* * *

The Chinese leaders' general line has completely repu. Difference diated peaceful means saying In Two Forms there never were any histo rical precedents. There are many who have genuine doubts.

It is safe to say that all doubts It is safe to say that all doubts and objections regarding, the pos-sibility of a peaceful revolution stem from the following conten-tion: history has not yet witness-ed instances of peaceful transit-tion from capitalism to socialism, of a revolution accomplished by peaceful means.

The implication seems to be that there can only be what has already been. But there was a time when socialism did not exist either. Does it "fol-low" that it must not exist? If this "logic" were pushed to the end, human thought and all social development would freeze for ever at some primor-dial stage.

fully. In the European people's democracies the revolution was accomplished by comparatively peaceful means. In short, history shows that certain positive experience of

growing deeper. 5 Even between groups of the ruling hourgeoisie the con-tradictions are growing keener. The new balance of social forces and the new nuclear-missile weapons are affecting even bour-geois thinking: some imperialist politicians are sober-minded enough to realise that the course of fascism and war is suicidal for the capitalist system. certain positive experience of revolution by peaceful means is already on record. One may even say that history, has not witness-

politicians are sober-minded revolution by peaceful means is nough to realise that the course if fascism and war is suicidal for e capitalist system. The differences between frank-reactionary and liberal-minded ments, periods or instances of ourgeois politicians; Lenin peaceful progress, although non-rote, "are quite minor and un-portant from the standpoint of till now been manifestly predo-ure i.e. the capitalist system. The differences between frankire, i.e., abstract con

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unism, minant.

even the land; it annexes only the wealth and the wealth producing elements

Transition To Socialism Lenin wrote: "The form of coercion is determined by the degree of development of the given revolutionary class, and also by special circumstances, such as, for example, the heritage of a long and reactionary war and the forms of resistance put by the bourgeoisie or the petty-bourgeoisie." ("The Imme-diate Tasks of the Soviet Govern-diate Task

either. But this means that it will be more 'difficult for domestic reaction, tho, to rely on arms in the struggle against the people. It is wrong to think that only the non-peaceful road led to so-cialism in the past and that now, at last, exclusively-peaceful deve-lopment has become possible, or even inevitable, and that hence-forth peaceful development can proceed everywhere and at all times. What has changed is the correlation between these two possibilities: the latter has grown immensely, but the former canpossibilities: the latter has grown immensely, but the former can-not disappear as long as armed imperialism exists. A special warning was issued to this effect by the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU, and the same thing is stressed in all the documents of the world Comments the world Con

In some countries there exist today greater possibilities for the peaceful development of recolution, whereas in others (Guatemala, Ecuador, Portugal, Peru and a few other countries among them, according to their respective Communist Parties) the non-neaceful way appears the non-peaceful way appears to be more probable.

In any case, revolution is al-ways social though not always armed coercion. It would be more armed coercion. It would be more correct to speak not of peaceful and violent revolution, but of peaceful and non-peaceful revo-lution—peaceful in so far as it proceeds without an armed upris-ing, without a civil war, without armed 'export of counter-revolu-tion, and non-peaceful in so far as some of these elements (or all of them, as in Russia's case) are to be found in it.

tical consciousness, militancy and organisation of the proletariat, the leader of the people in the struggle against monopolies, which are factors furthering the victory of socialism. **4** The contradiction between the handful of monopolists and all the other strata of the people is growing deeper. **5** Even between groups of the ruling bourgeoise the contradictions are growing keener. The new balance of social forces and the new nuclear-missile weapons are affecting even bourfreeze for ever at some primorial stages.
freeze for ever at some primorial stages.
Nor does this deduction accord the peaceful and non-peaceful roads to socialism is not the difference between evolution and socialist revolution in Russia (e.g., from April till July 1917) peace-from April till July 1917) peace-ful and reformists since Bernstein things to urgeoiste the contradictions are growing keener. The new balance of social forces and the new nuclear-missile weapons are affecting even bouris not an exportable «commodity, but an objective, natural, process.

* * *

NEW AGE

a degree of political conscioness and organisation as the n ment"). ness and organis So we ask again: Can these peaceful way.

Perspectives Of World Revolutionary Process

Possibilities For Peaceful

ment). So we ask again: Can these circumstances change, and if so, how can they change? Has not the political consciousness of the proletariat and its organisation improved? Nobody can deny that it has. But this means that possibilities for peaceful revolu-tion have grown. Have not the possibilities for armed export of counter-revolu-tion (easier in wartime) decreas-ed? This cannot be denied, either. But this means that it will be more difficult for domestic reaction, too, to rely on arms in the struggle against the people. said in 1899: The working would, of course, prefer to power peacefully..." (W FLPH, Vol. 4, p. 276). (Works, Sinc 1917 the extreme value of this way was stressed in dozens of Lenin's works.

As we see, Marxism came into being with the idea that peaceful socialist revolution is desirable. Communists have been upholding this idea as long as they have existed.

existed. There has been no "purely" peaceful or "purely" non-peaceful revolution. What we see is the dominant trend which supersedes other trends. The accent may shift from it. Be-sides, combinations of trends are possible, and often inevi-table. Therefore none of the possibilities should be denied. possibilities should be demined. More than a hundred countries are yet to take the path to so-cialism, and very different trends, in diverse "combinations" and

in diverse "combinations" and "proportions", are liable to mate-rialise in any of them!

What means of struggle will be the best? Guerilla warfare? Political general strikes? An elec-tion campaign? An armed up-rising in town or country? In what combination can the various means be employed? Before ans-wering these nuestions of interwering these questions, all inter-nal and external factors must be considered, and these, we keep changing constantly. What is needed, as Lenin said, is con-crete analysis of the concrete situation.

Not By Alarm Clock

When and how will the revo-When and how will the revo-lution begin in this or that coun-try? What spark will ignite it? A new "law of poverty", or the murder of a democrat? An in-crease in military taxes or the siting of American or German rockets in the country concerned? Attempts to start an aggression or establish a fascist regime? No-body can answer these questions, either.

either. It is possible to set the day and hour for some concrete act—a strike, demonstration, etc. But revolution cannot be set like an alarm-clock, to go off at a definite time To work day in and day time. To work day in and day out with all the sections of the To treat the issue separate-ly from means and forms what is the key issue in the transition? The central issue of both peaceful and non-peaceful revonon-peaceful ways of revolution, of the further differentiation of the forms of class struggle, are continuously discussed on the continuously discussed on the pages of our journal and are re-ceiving increasingly concrete treatment.

· * · · ¥

What is the main danger sation as the non- today to the international Communist and working-

wrote in "Principles of Com-munism": "The 16th question: Is aboli-tion of private ownership beaceful means possible?" "Answer: It would be good if this could be so, and Com-munists would certainly be the ast to object to this." The same principle was reaffirmed time and again by Marx and Engels. It

' (Answering an interjection by (Answering an interjection by our correspondent Rumyantseo here added: "It pains us very much to hear what is happening in the CPI. We highly regret that a difficult situation has been created there.

Living Reality

The world bourgeois press has raised a howl about an internal crisis in the Communist movemen crisis in the Communist movement and alleges that it is on the verge of collapse. I should like to stress, therefore, that the fraternal par-ties, while conscious of the gra-vity of the situation, are not in-clined to exaggerate its magnitude, as is being done by bourgeois pro-paganda which naturally rejoices at the difficulties that have arisen in the international Communist-movement. movement.

The Communists are confident that the future belongs to the working class and its parties. Peace and socialism are sure to reuce upd socialism are sure to triumph on earth. This histori-cal outlook was indicated to mankind more than a hundred years ago by Karl Marx and Frederick Engles, the founders of scientific communism. History has borne out their scientific prediction: Once a mere "spectre" haunting Europe, the Communist movement has communist movement has grown into a living reality that now shaping world his

the centenary of the First In-ternational this year forcefully demonstrates the growth and de-velopment of the Communist and working-class movement. The path traversed by socialism in the past century has been marked by such milestones of historic importance century has been marked by such milestones of historic importance as the October Revolution in Russia, which ushered in a new era in the history of mankind, and the victory of the forces of socialism, peace and democracy over the forces of fascism in the Second World War, which under-mined the foundations of imperia-list reaction and thereby paved the way for the current unprecedented rise and development of the world rise and development of the

Looking back at the path travel-led by the Communists in these hundred years, we see that des-pite many hard trials, difficulties. and obstacles, despite betrayals by and obstacles, despite betrayals by opportunists and renegades, des-pite the many temporary retreats and setbacks, the general trend of socialized deviation of the temporary ternt has been socialism's develo one of steady, rise, of continuous growth of strength, of gains and

OVERLEAR

PAGE THIRTEEN

ALEKSANDER ZAWADSKI

ON August 7 the Preident of the Polish People's Republic, Aleksander Zawadski, passed away after a protracted illness. His death is a painful loss for the Polish working class, for the Polish United Work for ers' Party, for the Polish nation as a whole and for the international working class movement.

Zawadski Aleksander was the son of a metal worker and a miner him-sef. He devoted his early years to social emancipa tion. Very soon he joined the Communist youth movement and in no time became an outstanding activist. He was an ardent revolutionary and a talentorganiser.

In the course of twenty years between the two world wars, Zawadski as one of the leaders of the Communist Youth · Union and an outstanding func tionary of the Communist Party of Poland, organised

the struggle against the bourgeois government for ocratic freedoms the right of youth to study and work, for people's power. for socialism.

He was subjected to terrible tortures during his eleven years in prison but that could not break him. When the war broke out he was imprisoned in Brest prison and from Brest the wave of war carried him to Soviet Union. In Soviet Union he joined the struggle against Nazism, and participated in the famous defence of Stalingrad. He became one of the leading organisers of the recons-tituted Polish armed forces and held the post of Se cond-in-Command.

After liberation he devoted himself fully to the reconstruction of war-ravaged Poland. He organised the working class of Silesia and Dabrowa Sasin, directed the reopening work of a number of coalmines and iron & steel factories etc.

He was elected to the Polit Bureau of the Central

77.00 T 1.20

> President Zawadski with Prime Minister Nehru (Delhi, 1961)

Committee of the Party dia in October 1961 was an important contribution to the further development of fruitful cooperation between Poland and India. and as the Chairman of the Central Council of Trade Unions and finally as the President of the Polish People's Republic which post he held for the

During this visit he had long discussion with the late Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru on various contributed to a very great extent towards develop-ment of Polish-Indian friendship. His visit to Insubjects including ques-tions of disarmament, tions peaceful coexistence and Polish-Indian relations.

In a joint communique signed on the conclusion of the visit. President Zaof the visit, President Za-wadski and Prime Minister Nehru expressed their deep satisfaction at the in-creasing understanding and friendship between Poland and India and at the development of cooperation in the economic and cultural fields between the two countries.

after renewed attacks against American destroyers in the gulf of Tonkin"?, as the imperialists say,

Is the US bombing of Vietnam "a retaliatory action

gressor's plot is compiled from newspapers:

30: After long contro-January 30: After long contro-versies within the Saigon military junta (which overthrew dictator Ngo Dinh Diem) General Nguyen Khanh, leader of the American faction comes to power in South Vietnam. At this time American assistance amounts to 4 billion dollars, the number of US instructors amounts to 29,000. The South Vietnamese army consisting of about 5,000,000 men is completely de-pendent on US weapons.

Khanh said "the situation is Khanh soid "the situation is precarious." The FLN (National Liberation Front) has already freed half of the 14 million people and three quarters of the territory of South Vietnam. February 21: Sueddeutsche Zei-tung states in an analysis of the situation that continuous setbacks in South Vietnam, have consed

in South Vietnam have caused earnest considerations in Washington. There are people favouring a considerable increase of the American role in the fight against the Vietcongs (FLN). They want an offensive guerilla war against North Vietnam. March 16: Max S. Johnson

FACTS prove that aggression and has long since been a part of the military planning of the Penta-gon. Official announcements and US leaders' statements vouch for their treacherous preparations. The following chronicle of ag-cressor's not is commiled from occupy Hanoi.

March 17: DPA, the West Ger-March 17: DPA, the West Ger-man newsagency reported that in Washington General Khanh's plans for a "national mobilisation" were being fully supported. According to UPI, General Khanh had announced that American officers in Washington were asking for permission to expand the war to North Viet-nan hy schotzare actioner consist nam by sabotage actions against important military and industrial establishments of DRV.

establishments of DRV. April 2: According to AFP, US war Minister McNamara stated that the American govern-ment examined the possibility of an American aggression against North Vietnam and the means necessary for it.

May 24: According to AP, Barry Coldwater demands the use of atomic weapons against the FLN, to destroy trees and busbes as well as to interrupt busbes as well as to interrupt supply for, the FLN. Obviously he also thought of attacks he also thought of attacks out-side the frontiers of South Viet-

side the frontiers of South Viet-nam. June 8: AP announces that already in March 1964 all members, of the US general staff for the first itme took

***** FROM OVERLEAF

successes. This irrefutable bistorical fact shows that no difficulties or dangers can stem this natural

It is, I think, from the stand-It is, I think, from the stana-point of this historical perspec-tive that we should assess any difficulties and complications arising in the international Com-munist movement during the struggle for the triumph of Marxist-Leninist ideas.

world Communist movement is today stronger than ever. The Communist League founded by Marx and Engels in 1847 iniby Marx and Engels . Hally bad about 400 m e First Congress of the First ternational in 1866 was attended by representatives of only four

In 1935, not long before the Second World War, there were 61 Communist Parties in the world, and today, there are Communist Parties in nearly 90 countries, with Parties in nearly 90 countries, with a membership of more than 42million. The Communists, who have built a socialist society on one-third of the globe, bave won the support of millions of working people in the capitalist world.

The world Communist move-The world Communist move-ment has matured and become the greatest force of our time. So, if they could successfully overcome all difficulties created by oppor-tunistic activities in the past, there is no reason to doubt their ability to defeat the subversive work of the Chinese creater. the Chinese splitters.

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Facts of interference in the internal affairs of fraternal parties have been observed of late in the ranks of the international Communist movement. What is your journal's stand on the Marxjournal's stand on the Marx-ist-Leninist principle of non-Leninist party to cement the inter-PAGE FOURTEEN

ties in each other's affairs?

interference by fraternal par-

By interfering in the internal affairs of fratemal parties and con-ducting splitting activities in their ranks the Chinese leaders are greatly violating the elementary principles governing relations be-tween fratemal parties. These activities of the Chinese leaders are denounced by all concerned in the world Communist and work-ing-class movement. ovement.

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW bas explained time and again the principle of non-interference of fraternal parties in each other's σ

irst Equality and Independence

The journal stresses that the principle of the complete equality and independence of every party is universally recognized in the world Communist movement. Our movement has no "superior" and "subordinate" parties, no parties "giving" or "taking" orders. It would be absurd and harmful to try to direct the Communist de-tachments of 90 countries from some single centre.

The present great acceleration The present great acceleration of the world resolutionary pro-cess, manifested in each country in distinctive and specific forms, heightens the responsibility of every party for its independent elaboration of revolutionary po-licy in its own country. There-fore, attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of fraternal par-ties do great harm not only to the parties concerned, but also to the entire world Communist and working-class movement.

In explaining the content and purport of this Marxist-Leninist purport of this Marxist-Lemms principle, our journal links it close iy with other cardinal principle governing relations between frater-nal parties, particularly the prin-ciple of proletarian international-ism. The journal stresses that it is ses that it is

World Communist **Conference Called For**

national experience. Besides, there is the common responsibility of all parties for each, and of each party for all.

last eleven years.

President Zawadski has

Any shortcoming in the work of one party is a shortcoming of all our movement and retards all our movement and retards its progress. A step forward by any party is our common achi-evement. Comrade Pessi, Gene-ral Secretary of the Communist Party of Finland, wrote on this score in a contribution to our magazine :

"The principles of non-interfer-ence cannot be interpreted as the self-isolation of one or another party or indifference towards it on party or indifference towards it on the part of others. By its nature the international Communist move-ment is internationalist, a single social organism nourished by the same bloodstream."

Lenin adjured Comm nists to view the national features of every country in close association with the objective laws common for all countries. This can only be done through a systematic study of in-ternational experience, through its constant confrontation with one's own national experience. The journal has printed many articles by Party leaders emphasising the need to learn from one another, to belp one another, to subject shortcomings to friendly criticism and to exchange experience more frequently.

Lenin's Idea of Unity

As Lenin said, "Discussing the problem, expressing and hearing different opinions, ascertaining the views of the majority of the or-manised Marrists, erroresting these ganised Marxists, expressing views in the form of decisions adopted by delegates and carrying

NEW AGE

them out conscientiously—this is what reasonable people all over the world call unity." (Works, FLPH, Vol. 4, p. 519).

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW takes guidance in this correct Marxist-Leninist conception of the principles governing relations be-tween fraternal parties, and promotes their implementation in every way. * *

What is your opinion of the role of international conferences of representatives of the Communist and Workers'

parties today? After the Comintern and Com-

After the Comintern and Com-inform were dissolved, meetings and talks became the main form of contact between fraternal par-ties. At these meetings and talks party representatives discuss all problems of common interest and adopt joint decisions, acting in conformity with the principles of Marxism-Leninism and in the spirit of proletarian international-ism and fraternal friendship.

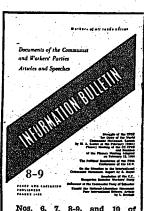
The unity of the world Com-munist movement finds expression in decisions which representatives of all the fraternal parties adopt at international conferences con-vened at intervals by mutual agreement. It will be recalled that such conferences were held in Moscow in 1957 and 1960.

They showed that in present conditions such international' forums, organized on a strictly democratic basis and rigorously observing the principle of inde-pendence of every fraternal party, constitute the most effective organisational form of

coordinating the actions and ensuring the unity of the Marx-ist-Leninist parties.

At present, the overwhelming majority of Communist Parties favour an early convocation of a new conference, in order to settle pressing problems of the world Communist and working-class Communist and working-class movement. The CPC leaders, fearing a confrontation with inter-national Communist opinion, are doing their utmost to prevent such

Expressing the opinion of the majority of Communist and Work-ers' parties, the journal WORLD MARXIST REVIEW supports the proposal to convene the conference in the nearest future.



Nos. 6, 7, 8-9, and 10 of Information Bulletin on the world Communist movement's struggle against Chinese split-ting activities are now available at PPH and allied bookstalls. Priced 12 Palse each, they carry documents of CPs from all over the world. Order your copies right now.

AUGUST 16 1964

EUROPE DISTURBED **OVER U.S. AGGRESSION**

From KUNHANANDAN NAIR

BERLIN, August 8: The atmosphere of a quiet summer in Europe has been disturbed suddenly by events in South-East Asia.

P EOPLE of Europe, big and small countries, many of the political parties, trade unions and several leading newspapers have already denounced indignantly the US aggression in Vietnam.

Stormy protest actions that Europe witnessed during the last two days were reminiscent of the solidarity demonstrations for Cuba in October 1962 during the demonstrations for Caribbean crisis

Last two days' demonstrations have stormed US missions in several European cities. Big trade unions in Italy, France, Great Britain, Austria, Sweden, Bel-gium and other capitalist coun-tries have come out against the

aggressors. The solidarity actions show that the small Vietnamese Repub-lic has very large number of friends in Europe, not only the socialist states, but powerful for-ces in capitalist Europe too. US aggressors are isolated from the vast majority of public opinion in these continue to sun larger mis-takes next time." The paper concluded, "that has been the history of the Viet-namese war so far." *Birmingham Post* commented, "The gunboat type of diplomaty, so which America's latest action is the current version, may prove feasible in this context, but its days are are to sun larger mis-takes next time." in these countries

Communist Parties are in the

AUGUST 16 1964

rounded by Communist ports. A warship flying the American flag could expect to attract attention to herself in these

air attack, the US administration is dangerously staking its prestige on adventures doomed to failure and in an effort to redeem it, it gets seduced into still larger mis-takes next time."

is the current version, may prove feasible in this context, but its days are numbered in South-East Asia." Scotsman's diplomatic corres-

communist Parties are in the forefront of the struggle against aggression in South East Asia. Labour, liberal and conservative papers too have many words to write; newspapers in all Euro-pean countries are against. US action in the Gulf of Tonkin. In Britein Grandler and South Carlos and South



decision for a war against North Vietnam.

June 9: According to AP an American jet fighter formation is ready for action from the Philip-pines. The fighters are to attack supply and centres of the North Vietnamese troops.

supply and centres of the North Vietnamese troops. June 23: US president John-son announced the resignation of the American ambassador to Sai gon, Cabot Lodge and named his successor General Maxwell D. Taylor, Chief of the US general staff.

stan. June 24: McNamara and gene-ral Taylor spoke before the foreign political committee of the US senate according to AP. Taylor expressed his conviction that the fight against the Com-munist rebels in South Vietnam could be successful if the USA showed the necessary resolute-ness and used all means available. ness and used all means available. After the session, Senator George D. Alkon said, accord-ing to UPI, he himself was convinced that the USA were preparing for the extension of war in South-East Asia. Senator Wayne Morse said he understood the report in that

party in the forthcoming American tions. British and French public opinion suspect that US air attacks and movement of mili-

*ON PAGE 18

stated on Taylor's appointment the following: One must fear that the whole matter will be a regular muck-up so that nothing will be left than a war.

Greater Confrontation

two lists containing altogether 400 targets. July 13: The West German illustrated paper Stern on the situation in Vietnam: it is a bitter sad truth. If there took place elections in whole Viet-nam, a free, secret and UN-controlled elections today, the read Head of the Stern of

a Communist state. July 19-20: At the order of the Khanh government Saigon celebrated the tenth anniversary of the Geneva Indo-China agree-governments will win this war;

of the Geneva Indo-China agree-ment as a "Day of Dishonour". His hired men demonstrated in Saigon under "March to North" banners. Some 100 rowdies da-maged the French embassy be-cause of de Gaulle's anti-Ameri-can proposals calling for Vietcan proposals calling for nam's neutralisation.

way that the USA were nearing a war in South-East Asia. June 25: According to AP, a civilian official of the Pentagon stated on Taylor's appointment

July 21: AP reports that the Chief of the US Fleet Vice-Admiral Roy Johnson arrived in Saigon to study the possibility of an interference of the Seventh Fleet in the South Vietnamese

war, July 22: According to UPI, Commander Nguyen Cao Ky Acconunger Constant July 1: US State Secretary Rusk told the press according to DPA: the USA are conscious of the risk that the present develop-ment (in South-East Asia) could lead to greater confrontation. July 10: According to New York Herald Tribune, US officers have prepared detailed bomb attack plans against North-Viet. namese territory. There were two lists containing altogether 400 targets.

General Khanh reached tuli agreement. The two states are pursuing the same policy. July 27-28: Khanh announced after a talk with Taylor in Saigon (UPI): His government was free to decide when to attack North Vietnam. The USA had promised further strong of troop units and other

nam, a free, secret and UN-controlled elections today, the supply of troop units and other red Head of the State of North Vietnam Ho Chi Minh also in South Vietnam and so Vietnam could be reunited as a Communist state. The USA had promised turtner supply of troop units and other help. Twentyfour hours later UPI. About 5,000 Ameri-can soldiers in addition will be sent to South Vietnam within the next month as officially an-nounced in Washington.

extension of the North Vietnam.



MOSCOW, August 9: United State's warmongering and play with fire in Southeast Asia has aroused the wrath of the Soviet people.

ing of coastal points hro populated centres of the De-mocratic Republic of Vietnam being condemnea angry protests are are and angry protests are being volced by public meet-ings, organisations and the press. Soviet newspapers strongly condemn American aggression and declare that the piratic acts of the US Fleet and Air Force are not at all defensive actions · but clear blatant attacks and

action in the Gulf of Tonkin. In Britain, Guardian wrote an editorial soon after news of US bombing flashed on the wireless, under the heading "President Johnson Extends War" saying. "Us can't expect from the rest of the world a "good press for its air attacks." The paper recognised the integrity of territorial waters of Vietnam when it wrote, The Gulf of Tonkin except for its mouth is entirely suraggression. "Put out this dangerous fire

NEW AGE

THE irresponsible aggres-sive acts of the American wards bringing in a spirit of military machine, the bomb- sanity and not letting the wards bringing in a spirit of sanity and not letting the flame grow into a conflagra-tion.

Khrushchov in course of a speech in Orjonikidze on Sa-turday declared, "the Soviet Union decisively these aggressive acts of the United States which are an attempt to use again the methods of arbitrariness and piracy in interstate relations which have been condemned by the people.

"We want to warn all kinds of 'sub-mad and semi-mad', normal and not so normal people and those who do not want to live in peace and respect the independence of nations. Let them not inter-fere in the internal affairs of other countries.

"Let them understand at last that this is not the time to act as of old. Peo-ple do not want to live as of old, don't want to be staves or capitalism and colonialism. They are fight-ing and wil fight for their independence and no ag-gressive actions of the United States or other imperialist powers will be able to stop them.

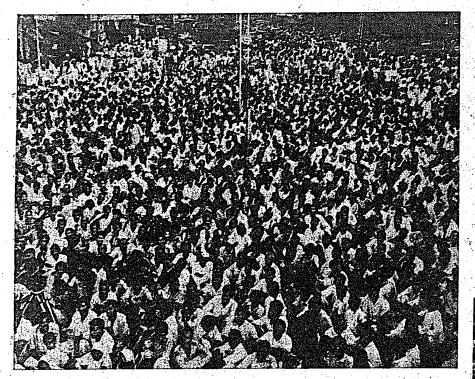
"We want to warn all those whom it concern that they should understand and well digest this truth."

Soviet Premier warned again that if imperialists Premier warned the end of capitalism al-though it would mean great suffering to the people. The Soviet Union does not want war, "but if the imperialists force a war on the socialist countries the people of the Soviet Union will fulfil their sacred duty. They will be able to defend their motherland and other socialist states."

"The Soviet state has now enormous fighting power relying on which we can calmly work and create", Khrushchov declared.

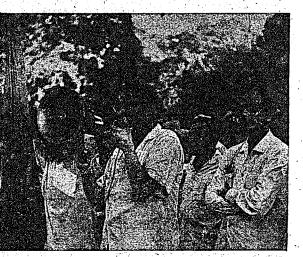
Soviet mass organisations like the trade like the trade unions, peace committees, Afro-Asian Soli-darity Committee, Youth etc., have issued wrathful statements and have sent messages of solidarity to the people of Vietnam. They warned that USA is trying to involve itself in a war which it cannot win.

PACE FIFTEEN





Left: Mammoth meeting at Sabzi Mandi on August 5. Above: S. A. Dange addressing the meeting, Below: B. D. Joshi addressing rally before Labour Minister's house. (Photos by: Virendra Kumar, R. Parasher and H. Dasgupta)



DelhiTextileWorkers Intensify Agitation

Meetings, Demonstrations and Squattings

The 22,000 workers of the four textile mills in Delhi are determined to win their demands. Stage by stage their campaign is becoming intensified and they are their campaign is becoming intensified and preparing for the strike action which will be taken (See last week's NEW AGE).

N August 7 the Kapra Mazdoor Ekta Union led demonstration of about workers before the residence of Union Labour Minister D. Sanjiyayya. These workers squatted peacefully be-fore his gates for two hours without allowing anyone to get in or out of the building. It is reported that the Union Labour Minister had earlier, gone out of his residence.

Demonstration Before PM's House

On August 12 the union is going to lead a large de-monstration before the residence of the Prime Minis-ter, Lal Bahadur Shastri to impress upon him the urgency of the situation and the necessity of his inter-vention in the dispute.

If this representation fails to bring about any positive result, the union will then call upon the workers to strike work either on August 13 or August 14.

Meanwhile three more trade functionaries have joined the hungerstrike before the mill gates; Gangadhar at Swatantra Bharat Mills, Po-thiram at the Delhi Cloth Mills and Tularam at the Ayodhya Mills.

Raghunath, who has been on hungerstrike in front of the Swatantra Bharat Mills since July 29 was removed by police to hospital on August 7 night. His condition has deteriorated very much and one lung has collapsed.

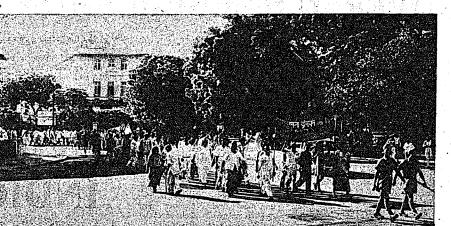
Radhakrishan and Charan Singh who are on hunger-strike in front of Birla Cotton Mills since July 24 have lost weight very heavily and their conditions are causing anxiety. Other hungerstrikers, Shadiram and Rupram who are on hungerstrike since July 29 have also lost weight considerably.

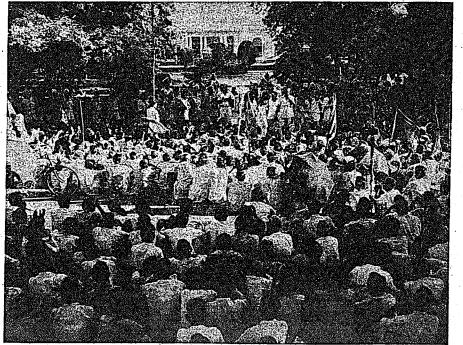
Earlier on August 5 the Kapra Mazdoor Ekta Union held a mammoth meeting at Sabzi Mandi which was attended by about 50,000 workers. The union had invited the bank employees, engineer-ing workers and other sections of toiling people to take part in the meeting. Hun-dreds of workers responded to this invitation and attended the meeting to express their sympathy and solidarity with the textile workers.

The meeting was addressed among others by S. A. Dange, general secretary of the All-India Trade Union Congress, B. D. Joshi, general secretary of the Kapra Mazdoor Union. A. C. Nanda, general secre-tary of the Delhi STUC, and Y. D. Sharma, president of the Petroleum Workers' Union. R. C. Sharma, presi-dent of the Shop Employees Federation presided over the op Employees ded over the (August 10) meetings.

Right top: Workers marching to Labour Minister's house on August 7. Right: the rally before Labour Minister's house

NEW AGE





In the midst of the reports of the daily mounting mass actions for food led by the Communist Party and other parties of the democratic opposition, reports have been appearing now and then in newspapers of action organised by Jan Sangh against the food policies of the govern-

N Delhi it organised a hun-gerstrike and submitted a memoraadum to the Food Minis-ter. In Uttar Pradesh an agitation was organised by Jan Sanghites.

The Swatantra Party is also very critical of the critical of the government in respect. It has, of course, sorted to any 'direct action', not resorted to any direct action, if we disregard a symbolic de-monstration in Bombay docks ag-ainst the export of a small quantity of fine rice. But it has spelt its food policy and has pro-mised to 'educate' the people about it.

This raises the question : what precisely is their criticism of the government's food and price poli-cies? What are their proposals for the solution of the present serious misia?

surprisingly there is root surprisingly there is much in common in the ap-proaches of these two parties to the current crisis. Their criticism is aimed at precent-ing the government from taking any effective action in the immediate context against the

On a long term basis, they seek to bring about basic policy shifts in a reverse direction making use of the high prices and food crisis.

These assertions go against the generally known facts. By the very admission of the Union Food Minister Subramaniam, Minister Subramaniam, hoarding is the immediate cause of the food scarcity and high prices. Government spokesme prices. Government spokesmen have emphasised at least the role of the black money, if not bank advances. dvances.

scapegoat of peasants a should be abandoned"

its resolution.

But, the Swatantra Party and Jan Sangh want no action against Phoarders. They want the drift in favour of the tra-

CHINESE SPLITTERS ROUTED AT TOKYO, HIBOSHIMA Indian Delegation Takes Lead In Preserving Unity Of Peace Workers

By Romesh Chandra

The Chinese leadership's splitting activities ceived the biggest ever international rebuff at the anti-nuclear conference recently held in Japan.

LANNED by the Chinese leadership to be the starting point for the establish-ment of a socalled "peace movement", in opposition to the World Council of Peace, "Tenth World Conference the Against A and H Bombs", which began in Tokyo on July 30. turned out to be a complete debacle for the splitters.

To Peking were brought, before the conference in Japan began, handpicked adventurers and disruptors from wherever they could purchased. The majority of these gangsters were rotten elements, expelled by the Communist Parties in their countries.

All these were then shipped to Tokyo and duly given credentials by the Chinese-manipulated "organisers" of the Tokyo conference.

Bogus Representatives

Most of these seventy or eighty adventurers, did not even pretend to represent a peace committee or a trade union or any other organisation

Obviously they had no right to represent anybody but themselves, but the obliging "organisers" regarded these ladies and gentlemen, school-ed in the gentle art of split-tism by the Chinese leadership, as the "true" representatives of their countries.

AUGUST 16, 1964

publish a full report of the conference which will detail the kind of elements whom Peking recruited to "repre-sent" their countries: sent' In the meanwhile, suffice it to say that the "delegates" whom the Chinese imported to Japan were no "delegates"

Meanwhile the genuine

delegates who had been offi-

cially nominated by their

national peace movement

Next week NEW AGE will

were given a back seat.

to Japan were no delegates at all, and acted merely as the gramophone records of the anti-Soviet hysteria of the Chinese leadership. What queered the Chinese pitch completely was the unanimity with which all ge-

nuine, formally accredited delegates walked out of the tamasha staged by the Chinese leaders in cooperation with their over-zealous Japanese disciples. At the initiative of the In-

dian delegation, seventy de-legates representing 32 coun-tries and all the major international organisations de-nounced the Tokyo conferdeence for the Chinese puppet-show it was and withdrew from the conference.

All the carefully prepared plans of the splitters were thus blown up. The world, including the Japanese people themselves, saw that the Chinese²run conference was completely unrepresen-

PAGE SIXTEEN

ders in the gueenment polic The general council of the Swatantra Party "finds no evi-dence to justify the sweeping charges against the peasants and traders". "The attempt to make a scapegoat of peasants and traders

Both the Jan Sangh and the Swatantra Party resolutely oppose the state taking over of the foedgrains trade.

FOOD

RIGHT

In its resolution In its resolution the general council of the Swatantra Party "warns the country against the proposals for state trading in foodgrains and compulsory levies on the peasants which are being advanced by certain elements in the Congress Party."

The economic analysis of the Jan Sangh organ, ORGANISER, suspects the charge of hoarding "to be a case of giving a dog a bad name and hanging it." The headline in the ORGANISER shrieks: "It is a lie to say that food is being hoarded." "Government should give up he idea of nationalising and "and" demands the idea of nationali monopolising trade" demand. Deendayal Upadhyaya in the ORGANISER. The Jan Sangh wants free trade to be preserved in any eventuality. 1

Not only that. All existing restrictions which hinder 'free unmolested profiteering by the traders are sought to be re-moved by them.

The Swatantra resolution says: "the failure of controls is so "the failure of controls is so obvious that it would be perverse to ignore it. No solution short of decontrol of prices and 'move-ments and the removal of com-

tative—after such a large number of delegates had walked out.

This unity forged among he genuine representative of peace movements and othe international and nationa democratic organisations was carried forward in the "world conference against nuclear weapons" held at Hiroshima sponsored by the Councils Against Nuclear Bombs of Hiroshima, Nagasaki and Shi zuoka—the three prefectures which had been victims of atomic bombs and hydrogen bomb tests.

Support To Hiroshima Conf.

This conference had the support of the powerful Japan Socialist. Party and the mil-lions-strong Japanese trade union movement SOHYO, as well as other sections of public opinion in the host countrv

The Hiroshima conference was attended by well over a hundred delegates from outside Japan, representing 45 countries and ten major international organisations. It came to unanimous decisions on the most vital issues.

A role of the greatest significance was played at both conferences by the nine-member Indian delegation led by Aruna Asaf Ali. At all crucial moments, All. At all crucial moments, the Indian delegation took the initiative to ensure united decisions.

It was the Indian delegation which organised and led

+ ON BACK PAGE

NEW AGE

By S. V. Unnikrishnam

pulsory procurement will fore suffice."

And Jan Sangh demands noval of all restrictions on And Jan Sangh demands "re-moval of all restrictions on the movement of wheat and rice and abandonment of the policy of nationalisation of foodgrain trade."

State trading of foodgrains as part of an integrated pric distribution policy is unav distribution policy is unavoidable in the present context. The Con-gress Party itself has repeatedly stressed its need. Finance Minis-ter TTK spoke in the beginning of June that the only way to surmount the present crisis. is state takeover of foodgrain trade.

Yet the government hesitates on the necessary measures. In this case too the food traders' lobby seems to exercise decisive influence on the government.

The Swatantra Party and the Jan Sangh by their oigor-ous opposition to state trading seek to freeze the government in the suscept protection on state in its present position on state trading

Swatantra Swatantra economic commen-tators do not oppose the setting up of the foodgrains corporation decided by the government. They claim that they have been advo-cating all along that the state may enter the grains market as a competitor.

the general council is silent on this point.

The Jan Sangh is also not opposed to the state entering the market in a moderate way to compete with the private trade.

And on the whole the Swatantra quarters seem to have been encouraged by the criminal drift-ing that has been the encouraged by the criminal drift-ing that has been the government policy during the crucial months of June and July and in fact till now. Their economic commen-tators term the government policy as 'realistic'!

Swatantra Criticism

As for the deeper and more fundamental causes, the Swatan-tra blames the government agra-rian policies and what they call doctrinaire' economic plans. It maintains that the agrarian re-form measures, and particularly the ceiling laws, caused stagna-tion in agricultural production.

The reasoning is that the ceil-ing on land holdings lead to breakup of larger farms which mainly produce marketable sur-plus, and thereby restricts oppor-tunities of intensive capital in-vestment to increase production.

The assumption behind this argument is fallacious. In fact with the present level of econo-mic development and agravian overpopulation, ceilings on land-holdings and distribution of surplus land would im-mensely facilitate rational culti-vation and increase in agriculvation and increase in agricul tural production.

Again, using this opportunity new attack is mounted on the on the ountry's independent economic levelopment.

The Swatantra resolution says: "The false order of priorities in Second and Third Plans, where quick yielding activities such as agriculture, road building and rural processing industries have quic. agriculture, roau rural processing industries nave been negated in favour of low

and slow yielding heavy projects created serious inflationary situa-tion contributing to the crisis. Hence, the demand for reversal rities in planning.

The Jan Sangh is explicit on this score. Deendayal Upadhyaya writes: "Not only that the Fourth Plan has to be conceived this score. Deendayal Upadhyaya writes: "Not only that the Fourth Plan has to be conceived differently but the Third Plan also has to be reoriented to remedy defects...The priorities of the Plan have to be changed and immediate efforts should be made ito inverses the science of and immediate efforts sh made to increase the su consumer goods both larger internal producti supply of

This demand is nothing new. These parties have been put-ting it forward always. They echo the voice of foreign im-perialist interests and Indian monopolists. What is new and dangerous is that today thes essures may exercise bigg fluence on the government, bigger

Prime Minister Shastri's letter to Cabinet Ministers demanding consideration of postponement of heavy projects of the Plan, work on which has not yet commencon which has not yet com ed, is a dangerous portent.

The partice of the parties of right reaction. Sompetitor. But the official resolution of his point, Bis point, But the official resolution of a signature of the parties of the work-the general council is silent on as a whole.

Dominating Influence

Many aspects of these policies. are reflected in the policy and measures of the government it-self through the dominating in-fluence of right reaction within the Congress and government.

It is against such pressures to compel the government to dis-card such policies and act differ-ently that the people have, inter-vened in mighty mass actions led by the Communist Party and other democratic parties. United by the Communist Ur other democratic parties. Ur bigger and mightier battles impending.

But the Swatantra and Jan Sangh advance these policies as opposition parties. They come out as critics of government's mis-handling of high prices, and advocate wrong remedies.

In the case of Jan Sangh there is even a pose of 'militant' action for food. It resorts to satyagrahas, hungerstrikes and other forms of action. These 'struggles' are diversionary tactics to orientate people's attention in a wrong direction and save the real cul-prits from their holy wrath.

This 'militancy' and 'actions This 'militancy' and 'actions against the government may deceive even some wellmean-ing people. This has to be guarded against. It is clear that Jan Sangh cannot be even a momentary ally in the people's struggle for food.

The Communist Party The Communist Party and other democratic parties should carry on explanatory campaign on the dangerous implications of the Swatantra-Jan Sangh policies and expose unrelentingly the tant posture projected by the Jan Sangh lan Sangh.

This is necessary for correct and purposeful orientation in the struggle that is now on. This is necessary for drawing the masses following the Jan Sangh also into the writed cheme of the second sec

PARTIES⁹

^{ee}SLOGANS⁹⁹

Preparatory Meeting

FOR WORLD COMMUNIST CONFERENCE TO **BE HELD IN DECEMBER** many Communist Parties especially in the capitalist

MOSCOW: "An international meeting is the most expedient form of the joint creative work of Commu-nists of the whole word in the contemporary condi-tions, the most effective way to strengthen the unity of fraternal Parties, to overcome successfully the difficulties arising before them," says PRAVDA of August 10 in its editorial entitled "International Meet-ing-the Way to Unite the Communist Movement."

sion of the question discussion of the question of calling a meeting has brought out clearly two stands: the absolute majority of the Communist Parties has come out for the need of holding a new international in the immediate neetin future. The CPSU shares this view

The leaders of the Communist Party of China have assumed another stand. In their opinion the meeting should be called not earlier than 4-5 years now, or better still, not called at all. "The Communist.press rightly as-sesses this stand as denunciation of collective consultations with the other Communist Parties, as a desire to dictate one's will to them."

Coming out for a meeting of representatives of the Communist Parties, the editorial says, the CPSU and the other Marxist-Leninist Parties proceed both from the need of solving collectively the vital tasks of revolutionary struggle in the contemporary epoch and from the traditions which have developed long since in the international Com-munist movement: the questions affecting the common interests of Com-munists of the whole world must be solved at international forums of the fraternal Parties.

PRAVDA points out that the 1957 and 1960 Meetings have played a historic role in the development and consolidation of the Communist movement on the basis of Leninist principles. "The ex-perience of the past years

PRAVDA notes that the has confirmed that the general line of the world Communist movement, jointly elaborated by the fraternal Parties, is the only correct line."

> As noted in the editorial article, four years have pass-ed since the meeting of 1960 and the need has now become imperative for Communists to get together and sum up the results of the stage stage this that has passed since meeting, to exchange new experience and also to con-sider creatively the new pro-blems which arise before world communism, to supple-ment and develop the ideas of the Declaration and Statement

"Marxist s-Leninists", PRAVDA writes, "cannot close their eyes to the fact that during the past four years deep disagreements have come to light in their ranks which, far from losing their acuteness, become more and more serious. At present these differences have already grown into an open conflict, which, if not liquidated by joint efforts, may lead to the splitting of the international Communist movement."

The editorial stresses that "the political struggle against the Marxist-Leninist Parties, unleashed by Peking, under-mines the friendship of the peoples of the socialist states, sows confusion in the ranks of the working class and national liberation movement, may weaken the attractive force of the ideas of socia-lism. It harms the whole Communist movement, affects most negatively the work of

Kerala Arrests Condemned

traditions. The executive has call-od for withdrawal of these prose-cutions by the government. The meeting also reviewed the work of the Party in the matter of preparations for the Party-con-ference, with special reference to the two-day study camps in dis-trict centres. Over one thousand comrades drawn from district, mandal and branch committees had attended the study camps where reporting and discussions on ideological questions, Party Programme, problems of Party unity and mass movement took on ideological questions, Party Programme, problems of Party unity and mass movement took

The executive directed the to elect a new leader in the place of E.M.S. Namboodiripad who had been suspended by the National Council. Despite the National Council. Despite the split forced by Namboo-diripad and his followers, the Communist Party will continue to be the leading opposition party in the Kerala Assembly.

The Adhoc Committee of the PACE FIGHTEEN

* FROM CENTRE PAGES traditions. The executive has call-od for withdrawal of these prose-cutions by the government. The meeting also reviewed the work of the Party in the matter the meeting also reviewed the the more the party in the matter the meeting also reviewed the the more the party in the matter the meeting also reviewed the the more the party in the matter the meeting also reviewed the the more the party in the matter the meeting also reviewed the the more the party in the matter the meeting also reviewed the meeting also reviewed the the meeting also reviewed the meeting also reviewed the the meeting also reviewed the nepotism rampant among minis-ters and high officials and for official highhandedness, and anti-democratic practices growing under the regime.

The committee characterised The committee characterised the prosecution launched ag-ainst the two Communist dailies for publication of an alleged secret document con-cerning the misconduct of the I.G. of Police as the latest in-stance of such highhandedness L'Humanite denouncea une -a neo-colonialist aggression. Public opinion in West Ger-many shows sympathy for Viet-namesé people, even though Chancellor Erhard in reply to 'chacon's message expressed his on the part of the government. The SSP Adhoc Committee has The SSP Adhoc Committee has also decided to convene a ple-nary meeting of their active workers to discuss the electoral strategy for the 1965 elections to the state Assembly. The con-sensus of opinion was, it is broad democratic front of all left parties to give a crushing defeat to the Congress in 1965.

preparatory meeting, to which all the 26 countries which served on the drafting committee of the 1960 World Conference have been invited, opens on December 15. The conference itself is expected to be held in the mid-NEW AGE publishes on this page a TASS summary of this PRAVDA editorial. states... harms greatly the cause of rallying together the

the desire of our enemies to

exploit the difficulties which

this situation. Marxists-

Leninists deem it necessary

The article then goes on to

analyse the "arguments" ad-vanced by the CPC leader-ship against calling an in-ternational meeting. Thus

the CPC leaders imply that

an international meeting will

allegedly be successful only if all the questions, subject to

collective exploration, dis-

cussion and

cussion and solution, are considered and settled in ad-

vance by two Rarties—of the Soviet Union and of China.

conviction of our Party—a re-turn to the times of the per-sonality cult, would mean the

division of Parties into 'supe-

rior' and "inferior' ones Our

Party will never assume such anti-Leninist positions, will fight irreconcilably against all

attempts to impose upon the

Communist movement the dictates of one Party."

PRAVDA points out that

Peking expresses verbal con-cern about the "great prepa-ratory work" which should be

tary power have long been planned and it required only a suitable occasion (which could be easily created by provo-cative tactics) to set them off.

A strike northward was talked of in Washington last few months, reminded a number of

French papers. General Taylor's

appointment as US ambassador in Vietnam was quoted to sup-port that assertion. The French as US amb

Vietnam. The French' Communist Party demanded the recognition of Vietnamese self-determination and reconvening of Geneva conference on. Indo-China. L'Humanite denounced this as

NEW AGE

* FROM PAGE 15

Vietnam

are

anti-imperialist forces... "The fact that the Ameriing stubbornly participation in this effort, refusing point "The fact that the Ameri-can imperialists and the South-Vietnamese military clique, which discharges their will, have stepped up their aggressive actions in South-East Asia testifies again to the design of our anomale, to blank to stop on a reciprocal basis the public polemics and discontinue its subversive work in the fraternal Parties.

The editorial notes, that while the CPSU comes out for a meeting to overcome the existing difficulties and to have arisen as a result of the splitting activities of the CPC leadership." prevent a split, the CPC leaders lay special emphasis on the allegation that in the The Communist Parties, PRAVDA continues, can-not remain indifferent to present conditions a meeting can result only in one thing -the splitting of the Com-munist movement-on the to get together, to hold an international meeting in allegation that it will inevitably "lead to a quarrel and order to exchange views and draw joint decisions. everybody will go home without achieving any results

"It comes out", PRAVDA stresses, "that precisely those who actively create an atmosphere of division in the Communist movement. ignore and cynically mock at the calls of the fraternal Parties to dscontinne subversive work in the Communist movement now don the cloak of adnow don the cloak of au-vocates of unity." "Our Party" PRAVDA says,

"abides firmly and stead-"To abide by this view", PRAVDA points out, "would mean—and this is the firm fastly by its repeatedly de-clared stand and will uphold it by all means: the confer-ence of the Communist Parence of the Communist Par-ties is being called not to 'ex-communicate' from the Communist movement this or that Party, to expel arbitra-rily from the world socialist system this or that country, not to squabble against each other. The CPSU proceeds proceeds that in from the premise that in connection with the disagree-ments confronting the Communist movement it is necessary primarily to concentrate efforts on the elaboration of

that unite all the Marxist-Leninist Parties, on the ex-ploitation of ways to overome the difficulties which

__EDITOR.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, through an editorial in PRAVDA on August 10, has announced the convening of the preparatory meeting for a world

conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties

have arisen". "The most important and principal task of the meeting, apparently, is to con-sider creatively and discuss the new problems, analyse the new economic and socio-political phenomena and processes, approximate as-sessments and positions, enrich and make more concrete in accordance with them the general line of the Communist movement." "The Communist Party of the Soviet Union", the editorial stresses in conclusion, "is going to the international meeting with the firm con-viction that there cannot be any nor are there any insur mountable objective obstacles to prevent the meeting from contributing not to the deep-ening of disagreements but to the consolidation of the unity of the international Communist movement on the basis of the principles Marxism-Leninism.

"Upholding the principles of Marxism-Leninism, our Party links the goals and prospects of the meeting inseparably with the task of strengthening the unity and cohesion of the world Comcohesion of the world Com-munist movement and the world socialist system, the bringing closer of working class victory on a worldwide scale. Our Party is deepl convinced that it is precisel is deeply this approach to the tasks of the conference that meets the supreme interests of world communism and proletarian internationalism, the interests ratory work" which should be efforts on the elaboration of of strengthening the unity of carried out before the con-ference, while actually avoid- search for the common points lutionary forces of our time."

VIETNAM SITUATION CALLS FOR INDEPENDENT INITIATIVE BY NON-ALIGNED POWERS

There is a lull after the storm in the Tonkin Bay. Nobody however can be deceived by this lull. For most likey it is only a prelude to bigger storms.

THE way the US has been of Tonkin incident" (The phossembling its strongestever atomic air and naval force in that small area can bode no good for peace. Ac-cording to the Western press, this force is built around three carriers and an antisubmarine carrier, "far sur-passing the assault potential of the Seventh Fleet concentraton which turned back the Chinese threat to the shore islands of Quemoy and Matsu in 1958. "The two atomic-equipped

carriers Constellation and Ticonderoga are maintain-ing patrol of the Gulf of IN DEVEDSE Tonkin between the coast of North Vietnam to the west and the Chinese island stronghold of Hainan to the

was invented by the US to save Khanh from being top-"In support are the carriers Bon Homme Richard and Kearsarge (a nuclear anti-submarine vessel) and an undisclosed number of missile and escorting vessels

"A third US carrier group is reportedly moving from the First Fleet to the Pacfic and strong reinforcements of interceptor and fighter-bomber aircraft are arriving in Thailand as well as South Vietnam. Shuttle transport services are operating from the US Honolulu, Japan and Okinawa to Southeast Asian areas."

The puppet regime in South Vietnam which according to New York Times had been under imminent threat of deposition at the hands of cer-tain "ministers and senior army officers" only "a few

pled, the subsequent moves of Khanh—his stepped-up drive for "Bac Tienh" drive for "Bac Tienh" (March to the North)—go to show that for his sheer survival, this puppet is going to do everything that he can to enlarge the area of hostilities and drag his puppeteers into a full-scale war if possible. The needs of US electioneering on the one hand and the requirements of power politics within the military junta in South Vitnam on the other have played a very big role in intensifyng the crisis over Vietnam. These factors continue to operate. The explo-sive possibilities of the second

ney one, which never took place), has taken advantage of the situation to earn a new lease of life for itself by im-

posing all sorts of restrictions on the already tightly control-led life of the South Vietnam-

ese capital. This is not likely

to help it much though, for, once again according to the New York Times, the current

puppet Nguyen Khanh con-

tinues to face "a serious in-ternal crisis" despite his de-claration of emergency.

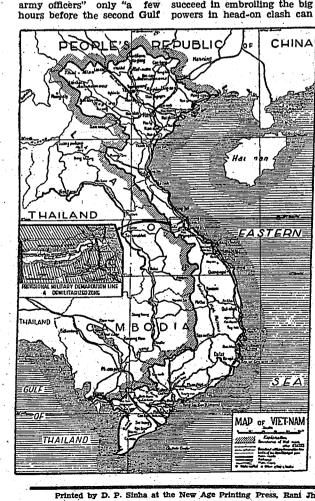
While from this itself is

clear that the so-called "se-cond Gulf of Tonkin incident"

IN REVERSE

14

one are particularly serious, for how exactly the local puppet will behave and whe-ther he will not eventually succeed in embroiling the big



Europe's Reaction

the official newsagency ADN immediately condemned US ag-gression. All newspapers denoun-ced it and the West Cerman ncellor's support of it.

People demonstrated in many centres and pledged support for Vietnamese people. The 6.5 mil-lion strong GDR trade union, FDGB, issued a powerful soli-darity statement. The Ambassa-ter of DPV to CDR Brui Low in port that assertion. The French government circles continue to be reserved in their public com-ments, but their papers are scor-ing the US saying the latest flare up gives new weight to Gen. de Gaulle's call for neutralisation of darity statement. The Ambassa-dor of DRV to GDR, Bui Lam, in a public speech in Berlin express-ed thanks for solidarity expressexpressby CDR population

CPGB general secretary ohn Gollan in a statement CPGB general secretary John Gollan in a statement called to stop the mad men. He condemned this outrageous war on the small Democratic Republic of Vietnam and said the British Government should be made to condemn this ag-gression. The Security Coun-cil should act in defence of Vietnam the Langtion con-Vietnam, the 14-nation con ference should be reconvened ened now for peace and national independence of Laos and Vietnam.

Prof. Bernal, Chairman of Presidential Committee of World Peace Council in à letter to United Nations Security Council sent from London warned that

America's irresponsible action car-ried the risk of nuclear war. Telegraph of Amsterdam, Ber-lingsketidentde of Copenhagen, Paivan Sanomat of Helsinki, Volkstime of Vienna and several Volkstime of Vienna and several other big European dailies in other big European dailies in many languages too have de-nounced US aggression. In the Swedish capital Stockholm a big demonstration in front of Ameri-can embassy on August 6 protest-ed against Vietnam bombing. US has less friends and more ritigs now them at the stress of

critics now than at the time of Caribbean crisis. Every one re-gretted the happenings like this gretted the happenings like this unprovoked attack on North Vietunprovoked attack on North Viet nam. Many papers point out that the paper tiger has shown teeth.

The speculation is that the clash might be contained with the Soviet Union's sober but firm attitude. But all fear US jurn attitude. But all fear 05 action would certainly jeo-pardise East West detente due to American mistakes just on the first anniversary of the Moscow Test Ban Treaty.

Newspapers in GDR promi-ently published yesterday news f protest actions in India, mennently of protest actions in India, men-tioned AITUC, Peace Council, Afro-Asian Solidarity, Youth Federation and other protests and circles

AUGUST 16, 1964

never be predicted. While these dangers loom large over the situation, the main source of threat to peace continues to lie in th fusal of the US rulers to recognise the impossibility of a military solution in South Vietnam. For, if the expan-ded war that the US and its puppets seem to be seeking in the area does come about and if it remains confined to Vietnam (North as well as South, both zones being turn-ed into one common battlefield, with perhaps Laos add-ed), that is, if it somehow does not explode into a world war-and that is a very big 'if', the US would still not be able to improve upon Korean war performance. . The end result would again be a colossal loss of human lives the entire land being redu-ced to shambles and the two sides fighting each other to a stalemate. Such a develop ment while it may help the US to retain its hold on South Vietnam a while longer, would still not give it mastery over South Vietnam forever. It will above all kill all possibilities of neutralist

and independence-striving trends in Indo-China com-ing into their own. It will be a massive blow to nonalignment and national independence in the whole of Southeast Asia.

Apart from these conside-rations, what all are going to be the implications of the concentration of US nuclear and conventional striking power in the region for countries other than Vietnam, say Indonesia and Cambodia? Obviously, apart from serv-ing the purpose which it is supposed to directly serve, this exercise in gunboat diplomacy is directed against the nonaligned countries, not only of Southeast Asia.

Tomorrow, the US and its allies might fabricate another excuse like an imaginary "Chinese submarine" be-ing cited in the Indian Ocean and on that pretext move an equally massive concentra tion of naval and air force into the waters adjoining the coasts of India and East Africa

Is it not necessary, in the light of the immediate as well as the long term dangers arising from the US moves in the Gulf of Tonkin, for the nonaligned powers to consult among themselves and take some concerted concrete action? True, they are going to meet in October. But isn't that a long way off? Are they in the meanwhile going to sit more or less, with folded hands, speculating what the USA would do next and what the People's Republic of China would do next, and being dragged along one way or the other?

CHINESE GAME

Such consultations and certed action are necessitated also by the uncerta intics about the intentions of the rulers of the People's Republic of China. It is clear that it is not just the desire to thwart the war moves of US imperialists or

the desire to help the fraternal people of Vietnam in their hour of grave danger that moves the policy-makers in Peking.

Their vicious batred of the Soviet Union, their des ire all the time to prove somehow that the Soviet Union has "betraved" or is on the point of "betraying" the particular victim of US aggression of the moment (Vietnam in the present instance), their constant effort to sow distrust and suspicion in the latter's mind against the Soviet Union, going to the extent of fabricasting falsehoods and engineering provocations—these constitute one aspect of their

present-day policy. Another aspect of the same policy is the desire to prove themselves to be the only true friends of the victim of aggression, seeking in practice to isolate it not only from the Soviet Union but from the neutralist, nonaligned coun- a positive outcome tries also, seeking to show conference is held.

that the latter, for one reason or the other, have no role to play. It is unfair to the leaders of the Democratic Republic of

Vietnam in the narticularly dangerous situation which their country has been facing, to speculate on how far they have allowed or might allow themselves to be the manoeuvres of the PR



rulers. It is nevertheless definite that the US imperialists are dangerously speculating on this complication and putting very high stakes on it in

Hence the necessity of an independent initiative on the part of the nonaligned po-wers right now. Such an initiative could decisively check the drift to war; it would also strike a powerful blow against US obstructionist tactics in relation to the relation to the reconvening of the 14-nation Geneva Conference and help bring about

name of supporting an ethnic minority which is in

rebellion against the cen-tral authority. More ridicu-

Government's demand that the Cypriot Governr

forces withdraw to positions they held before August 5

before Turkey could agree to the UN Security Coun-

lous still is

the Turkish

ithdraw to positions

Turkey's Aggression development when the ter-ritory of a sovereign inde-pendent country is subjec-ted to aggression in the

"INSPIRED" by the US example in the Far East, the Turkish rulers launched upon a similar action against Cyprus. It was to prevent a decisive outcome to the Cypriot Government's efforts to end the British-backed and Turkish-supported separatist civil war that has been carried on by the Cypriot Turks. The Cyprus Government was on the point of finally liqui-dating the insurgency by al-most capturing the Turkish-Cypriot held Mansoura heachhead where men and arms from Turkey had been landed during the past few weeks. It was to prevent this possibility that Turkish Air Force jets made barbarous raids, utilis-ing NATO bases and NATO-



THE national liberation rialist manoeuvre of bringing war that has been sweep-ing through the eastern Congo can no longer he dis-

missed by the imperialists as a mere regional revolt. The fall of Stanleyville to the forces of the CNL (National Liberation Committee) bears

eloquent testimony to this. It is now admitted by impe-rialist organs that the "rebellion" now covers an area about 550 miles long_from Stanleyville in the North to Manono in the South—and between 50 and 300 miles wide

"It continues to spread every day", writes the Times correspondent from Leopol-dville, "with a speed which is sometimes hard to be-lieve. On July 27, 'General' Nicolas Olenga, commander of the Mamiema Popular Army', warned residents of Stanleyville that he would take their city within a few days. The 'General' and his ragged 'army' were still 200 miles away. Stanleyville's leader scoffed. Stanleyville fell on August 5." The fact is that the impe-

cil's call for a cease-fire. Who could claim that all these blzarre developments would have taken place if the British imperialists had not been actively supporting the ing NATO bases and NATO-assigned aircraft, causing 300 kish Government in their casualties, including women and children. It is a rather fantastic attached to Turkey?

> Tshombe on the scene as a great leader of national "reconciliation" has completely failed. That manoeuvre result of a bargain struck between the US and Belgian imperialists. The Congolese people saw through that game and denounced not only Tshombe but all those who were willing to associate themselves with him. They ignored the stunts that Tsho be staged and went ahead with their armed struggle for national liberation

Now the imperialists are in a tight spot and Averell Har-riman has been conferring in Brussels to devise some new plot. Some sort of onteide military intervention is again being mooted. Their hopes of securing troops from some African country to do their dirty job do not seem to be within bounds of realisation. They are again thinking of utilising South African mercenaries

-Zia-ul Haa

(August 11)

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MAHARASHTRA BANDH!

Unprecedented Protest Action of the Toiling People

From Our Staff Correspondent

BOMBAY: Life came to a complete standstill in Maharashtra on August 12. The fast-moving, bustling eity of millions—Bombay, became silent as all activi-ties ceased at the stroke of midnight on August 11/12. All factories and mills stopped working. There were none to turn the wheels, except the specifically-excluded essential services no other services functioned. It was the same story in all other cities and towns in the state. It was a massive, unprecedented protest of the people; a gigantic action that brought about a complete stoppage in every walk of life; it was a WAHARASHTRA BANDH !

LMOST the same time A LMOST the same time one year back, on August 29, 1963, the toiling people of Bombay had registered their protest against the anti-peo-ple policies of the govern-ment through a general strike A and hartal in the city.

This time, it was an all-Maharashtra protest general strike and hartal against rising prices; for state-trading in foodgrains; nationaliin roograms, incontrast, incontrast, incontrast, incontrast, incontrast, stoppage of hoarding and speculation; for increase in dearness allowance, immediate payment of bonus and such other demands

It was the most peaceful It was the most peaceful protest of people; there was not a single untoward inci-dent. Bombay, Nagpur, Poona, Kolhapur, Sholapur —in city after city, town after town, toiling people quit their work for 24 hours. ant ther work to 24 hours. All shops, tea-stalls, pan-shops, banks, offices inclu-ding the LIC, transport, mills, factories, port and docks_at every place the docks—at every place the strike was a complete site-cess. In Bombay, even the Reserve Bank employees joined the strike. All mem-bers of the Opposition wak-ed out of the State Assem-bly when Speaker disallowed an adjournment motion.

The general strike and hartal was called by the Com-munist-Party and the SSP, supported by other political parties. The support to the strike was so widespread that even the Congress did not

strike was so widespread that even the Congress did not oppose it. No Section 144 was imposed in the city. In Bombay, the Communist Party organised two huge mass meetings: one in the morning near Martyrs' Me-morial and the other at Shi-vaji Park in the evening. The

SSP also held a meeting at Kalaghoda. The meetings of Kalaghoda. The meetings of the Communist Party were addressed by S. A. Dange, S. G. Patkar MLA, B. P. Laud MIA (PWP) and Datta Deshmukh.

In these meetings, the Communist Party leaders explained the programme of the Party regarding the proposed BHARAT BANDH on Soptember 7 and exhor-ted the people to take to this action if government did not act to fulfil the demands demands.

S. A. Dange described the Maharashtra Bandh action as a "sad but the most effective and hopeful commentary on the seventeenth year of Conune seventeentn year of Con-gress rule of independent In-dia" It was ironic, he pointed out that the working class of Bombay, "the home of found-ing the Congress and launch-ing the congress and launch ing the anti-imperialist struggle had to go on a general strike against the rule and policies of that very Congress".

He said that "the strike of August 12 is a lesson to the working people of In-dia to learn that the top monopolists of the monied class, who supported and financed the anti-imperia-Congress of the people list in those days, are now using their state-power against the people and against the country's interest.

He added: "The August 12 general strike and hartal pro vides the most hopeful and historically correct backgronistorically correct backgro-und to the celebration of August 15. It shows that the working people are moving on the right path". Meanwhile, leaders of a number of political parties

and trade unions have writ-ten to S. A. Dange in response ten to S.A. Dange in respinse to his letter appealing for a united action for Bharat Bandh on September 7, that they would meet the Comthey would meet the Com-munist Party Chairman in Delhi on August 17 to discuss the matter.

S. A. Dange, in his letter addressed to political parties and trade union orga-nisations had stated that an all-India protest general an an-india protest backness strike and hartal had never before taken place in the country's history. "The re-sentment of the people, their consciousness and even organisation may be said to have arrived at a stage where such a mighty action has become possible".

The letter proposed that "those of us who can meet

and consider this proposal and consider this proposal should do so immediately. Those who are not inclined to such a meeting may com-municate their ideas to each municate their ideas to each other on this question through any medium. that they may prefer. Though all of us may not be able to come to the same platform, yet we may adopt the well-known for-mula, MARCH SEPARATELY, BUT STRIKE TOGETHER."

25,000 Workers March To PM's House Delhi Demonstration For People's Food

By Our Staff Correspondent

NEW DELHI: Twentyfive thousand workers and middle class employees in Delhi went in a procession on August 12 to Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri's house to present a memorandum demanding effective steps to check the rise in prices and provide cheap food to the people.

THE demonstration was orga-Tnised by the Delhi Trade Unions Action Committee on which are represented all the trade unions in the Capital affi-liated to the AITUC, the Delhi State Bank Employees Federa-tion, the Northern Zone Emplo-yees Union and such other orga-nisations.

nisations. The demonstration started from the Minto Road Park and passed through Connaught Place and Janpath to reach Motilal Nehru Place. Both sides of Connaught Place were lined by people who expressed sympathy with the de-inands of the demonstrators.

Textile workers took leading Textile workers took leading part in the demonstration. The workers of all the four textile mills in Delhi are currently agitating for their own separate demands, and they turned up in their thousands to partici-pate in this demonstration.

Bank and insurance employees also took part in the demonstra-tion in large numbers. Hotel workers, newspaper employees, engineering workers and shop employees also took part in it.

When the demonstration reach-ed Motilal Nehru Place, the Prime Minister was not in his house. It was a heavy cordon of police which greeted the peaceful demonstration.

companies. And so the order rang out just before the demon-stration reached to collect all the lathis and dump them in a corner.

When it was known that When it was known that Shastri was not in his house, a deputation on behalf of the de-monstrators went to meet him in his office in the central secre-tariat. The deputation consisted of H. L. Parwana, B. D. Joshi, D. D. Singh, R. C. Sharma; Ran-jit Singh, Shiv Kumar, A. C. Nanda, Shakil Ahmed and Prem-saear Gunta. jit Singh, S Nanda, Shakil sagar Gupta.

The demonstrators peacefully squatted in front of Shastri's house—on the lawns of Motilal Nehru Place and the road skirt-ing it—for one and a half hours till the deputation came back till the deputation came back after meeting the Prime Minister.

H. L. Parwana, convenor of the Action Committee, reported on the deputation's meeting with the Prime Minister.

Steps Disagreed

The Prime Minister is under-stood to have agreed with the deputationists about the serious-ness of the price and food situation, but differed with them on measures to check the rise in prices. He said govern-ment was taking steps to bring down mices. down prices.

To the demand of the depu-tationists that banks be nationa-lised, the Prime Minister is understood to have given a fat "er" flat "no."

The memorandum submitted to the Prime Minister said that workers have increased the production of cloth and sugar and yet their prices have gone up. Availability of foodgrains is more this year than last year, and yet their prices have gone skyhigh.

"Everybody knows and the government admits that there is

food; but it is in the godowns of hoarders and blackmarketeers. hoarders and blackmarketeers. Despite many conferences at the highest levels and several de-clarations, nothing concrete is being done to disgorge the hoards of blackmarketeers and to purable there this are a frequency for the several theorem is a several despite the several despite t ounish these thieves of people's food.

"It is a far cry from the declaration once made by the late Prime Minister about these 'gentlemen' that they 'must be hanged from the nearest lamp-nort vosť.

"Life has shown and events have proved that distribution of a basic commodity like food-grains should not be left in the hands of a rapacious class of pri-vate traders who have turned baselow and profibers. It must hands of a rapacious class of pri-vate traders who have turned hoarders and profiteers. It must be taken over by the state with-out any further delay. The case for state trading in foodgrains has become stronger by the beha-viour of the private trade.

Drastic Measures Necessary

"In the meanwhile the Govern-ment by an order must bring down prices of foodgrains and compel the traders to sell at fixed prices. No mercy should be shown to the hoarders and profi-teers. Their hoards must be con-fiscated and dractic measures he fiscated and drastic measures be taken against them.

"The stock exchange specula-tors and private bankers have joined hands with the hoarders to joined hands with the hoarders to rob the people and to accentuate the present crisis of prices and distribution. It is strange that the government has not yet closed the stock exchanges and has not even stopped the banks from ad-vancing money to hoarders and methods. profiteers.

"As long as banks remain in private hands, in the hands of a few monopolists, the present situation in the sphere of prices will continue, to the detriment of the interests of the com-mon man. We, therefore, urge upon the government to take upon the government to take over banks and run them in the interest of the nation as a the int whole.

"In the meanwhile the govern-"In the meanwhile the govern-ment must stop the banks from advancing money to big traders of foodgrains and of other com-modities of daily use."

From **HIROSHIMA**

* FROM PAGE 17

the collective protest by the genune delegations at Tokyo.

At Hiroshima, the Indian elegation leader had the honour of being the first foreigner to preside over a con-ference session. In the draft-ing committee, a major share of the work was entrusted at the final stages to an Indian representative.

It was perhaps a result of this special role played by the Indian delegation that the

world conference unanimously world conference unanimously agreed to adopt a resolution fully supporting the Colombo proposals and calling for India-China negotiations "on the basis of the acceptance and implementation of the Colombo proposals" Colombo proposals".

At no previous international conference for peace or for Afro-Asian solidarity or for that matter any other pur-pose, has such a forthright resolution supporting India's just stand been adopted with so much goodwill for India.

The police had indeed put up a big sbow. Hundreds of them lined the route of the procession

Big Show

of Police

of of

and many more were concen-trated near the Prime Minister's house. Armed and mounted police were also posted in front of the Prime Minister's house. This unwarranted show of This unwarranted show of police force must have made even the police authorities self-conscious, especially in front of the movie and still cameras.

NEW AGE

newspapers and television