

SANKAR: WAGES OF SIN

anti-people policies lead to ministry's fall

From S. SHARMA

TRIVANDRUM: Once more Kerala will be under President's rule—the third time in the span of ten years, the earlier two being in 1956 when the Congress Ministry under P. Govinda Menon was voted out of office in very similar circumstances to the present one and in 1960 when the Centre moved in to oblige the anti-democratic agitation called "liberation struggle" organised by the Congress in alliance with the Muslim League and the Praja Socialist Party.

WHEN the Sankar Ministry was voted out by the entire opposition and a section of Congressmen in the Kerala Assembly on September 8, there was more than poetic justice to it; a tradition had been kept up. It was the ninth ministry since independence to be thrown out of office before its term expired.

The no-confidence motion, which the Kerala Assembly debated and passed this week, was the fourth to have been moved against the government in the present Assembly. The first was against the coalition ministry headed by Pattom Thanu Pillai in 1961, the second and third against the Sankar team in October 1962 and September 1963 respectively.

The ministry survived the previous three no-confidence motions because the Congress had stood united and had received the support of both the PSP and the Muslim League first and later by the neutrality or support of the League when the PSP voted against it.

The High Command tried its best this time again to save the Sankar Ministry. Its emissaries, AICC general secretary G. Rajagopalan and ace trouble-shooter S. K. Patil, did all that they could to save it from the ignominious fate it faced.

Patil met Nair communal leader Mannath Padmanabhan and made a cringing appeal to him to restrain his followers from voting against the ministry. He also contacted the Muslim League leader,

Bafaq Thangal in an effort to neutralise its MLAs. He was ed to have a full-fledged alliance with the Muslim League if only the League "changed its communal name".

But all these had no effect. Seventy-three members in a house of 126 voted against the Ministry. Following Achutha Menon's masterly and principled attack on the Congress record of betrayal of pledges to the people, to its own allies and to its own groups, speakers from the democratic opposition chargesheeted the Ministry on its complete failure in ensuring a morsel of food for the common man during the present lean months in a deficit state.

The debate was turned into a forum to put forward national demands of state-trading in wholesale grains, use of the DIR against the black-marketeers, hoarders and black money, for a progressive labour policy and defence of the interests of minorities.

Former Law Minister V. R. Krishna Iyer, speaking on the motion said that a nemesis had overtaken the Congress, who, abetted and aided by their High Command, had conspired with the feudal communal complex of Kerala, weakened parliamentary democracy, grabbed political power, betrayed their own allies one after another to monopolise the use of power, to advance their own narrow interests.

Even in the hour of crisis that special envoy of Prime Minister, S. K. Patil, had gone to cringe before the supremacy of feudal-communal forces.

Iyer hoped that the downfall of the ministry had drawn the curtain over the stink of corruption, communalism and factional conspiracy on the part of vested interests and hoped that in Kerala's political life it will open a new non-communal, secular and democratic page.

As distinct from the speakers from the democratic opposition parties like Namboodiripad, Gouri, Chandrasekhar, Balachandra Menon, Bhargavan and others, spokesmen of dissident Congressmen came out more against Sankar's leadership, and the corruption and communalism practised by Sankar and his group. Their game was obvious—to pull down Sankar and pressurise the Congress High Command to make out that the Congress can have no majority or stable rule, unless it

NEW WAGE

CENTRAL ORGAN OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

Vol. XII No. 37 New Delhi, September 13, 1964 25 Paise

acts up to the behests of the Church, Mannom and the vested interests.

Speakers from treasury benches attempted to expose the forces behind the dissidents who had brought about the downfall of this ministry as communal. But this did not cut ice; neither did professions of democra-

cy and secularism ring genuine in the background of Patil's flirtations with the communalists.

Commenting on the resignation of the ministry, Achutha Menon said: "One more Ministry has gone out of office" in Kerala

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QUESTION MARK FOR SHASTRI CABINET

BY OUR PARLIAMENTARY CORRESPONDENT

Excitement did not reach dizzy heights when Parliament's monsoon session opened on September 7. This was notwithstanding the poignant food crisis and the great debate on lack of confidence in the government which highlight the session, with the melodrama of the anti-corruption drive and the hair-raising Walcott-Murud gun-running interlude very much in the parliamentary sidelines.

BUT the new phenomenon which did begin to take shape even during the first week of the session was the fresh line-up on the crucial issues of the day.

The four-day food debate saw the beginnings of the great divide—those who stood against the "unholy trinity between the hoarders, high business manipulators and the government"—as Hiren Mukherji put it—and others who echoed

Masani's demand for scrapping of planning and the halting of measures for industrialisation and economic independence.

The impeachment of the government's policies found the roles of the opposition reversed. The ardent crusaders against the Nehru government, the Swatantra free-enterprise champions and Acharya Kripalani, have turned lukewarm and have developed new spots, turning friendly to the government, while the Jan Sangh attack lacks its usual vigour.

On the other hand it is the Left among the opposition who had stood by certain beneficial policies of the Nehru government who lead the new impeachment directed against the Shastri government's vacillating stand against the unholy trinity.

It was significant that the great divide found its echo in the treasury benches too. While there were those who willy nilly accepted Masani's version of the crisis as being the result of industrial planning, others joined hands with the opposition in seeking prompt and urgent steps for state-trading in food and stern action against the hoarder-financier combine.

There were those like A. C. Guha who stood for ending the diabolical practices of the trading intermediaries and extension of aid to the small peasants, while some Congressmen such as Bibhuti Mishra who were unable to

fall in line with all that was happening preferred to keep quiet.

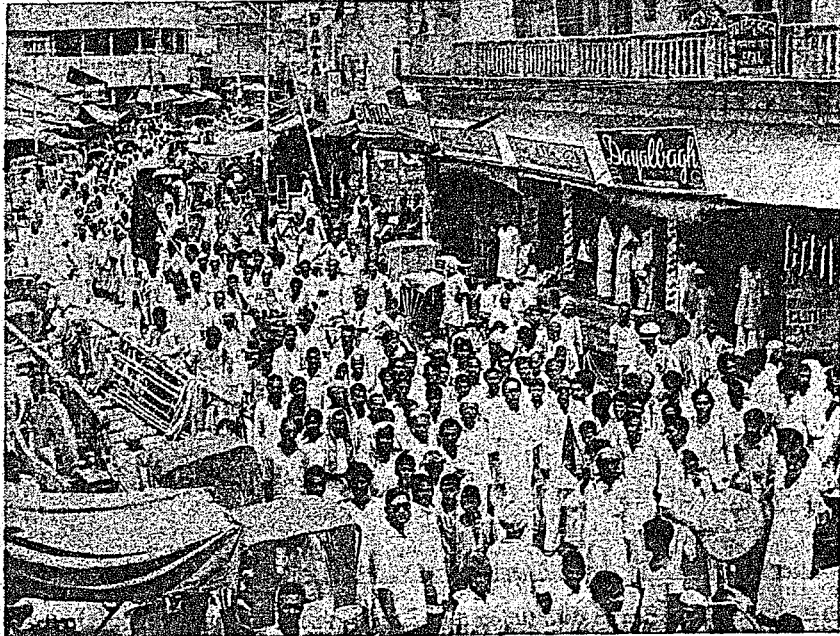
The postures during the food debate are likely to be indicative of the fresh alignments during the rest of the monsoon session. The choice which the no-confidence debate places before the government is of a clear enunciation of their national and international policies backed by equally clear actions.

For or against the drive for food self-sufficiency based on the support of the peasant masses and the apparatus of state-trading in its distribution; for or against the drive for planned economy, of industrialisation and economic independence; for the upholding of the drive for cleaner public life and democratic freedoms; and, finally, for a clear stand on the international policy of nonalignment.

It is on these issues that the Shastri government will be asked to provide a clear answer during the coming days. The answer which Masani and his friends on the Congress benches seek was already suggested in his contribution during the food debate. He demarcated the Shastri government from the past—it was a "new government" and the "sins" of planning from which the Nehru government suffered need not be passed on to them.

The new Prime Minister, Masani said, had given encouraging indications when he recognised the need for slowing down industrial projects, especially those relating to heavy industry.

Prime Minister Shastri will have to clarify his attitude towards the compliment paid by Masani to his government—will he clasp it to his bosom or throw it overboard by coming forth with the much-needed correctives?



Demonstration at Azamgarh on August 28

INDIA WEEK

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SOCIALISM AND THE CONGRESS

Congress Workers' Convention in Delhi Pinpoints Need for Bold Approach

Nobody needs to be told today that Congress Raj has not ushered in the socialism to which the Congress as a party is supposed to be pledged. But so great is the attraction of socialism for the masses, primarily as a result of the achievements of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, that all Congress leaders of all views do at times declare themselves adherents to "socialism".

THAT there are reactionary rightwing elements, agents of the vested interests who parade themselves as "good", "socialist" Congressmen, should not however prevent one from recognising that inside the Congress, particularly among the rank and file workers, there are many who sincerely seek a genuinely socialist order.

The first organised expression of the views of socialist-minded Congress workers—since Jawaharlal Nehru's death—was heard at the Northern India Congress Workers' Convention, called in New Delhi last weekend by K. D. Malaviya and other progressive Congress leaders.

Despite numerous shortcomings and failures—above all the lack of time to hear the opinions of the bulk of rank and file workers because of unnecessarily long discourses by too many leaders—the convention has been rightly welcomed as an attempt to bring together the various anti-right forces in the party, who seek to maintain and continue, whatever the odds, the basic policies associated with the name of Jawaharlal Nehru.

Large Attendance

Even the organisers are reported to have been pleasantly surprised at the very large attendance (some one thousand to fifteen hundred) of Congress workers in the convention. Actually there was no need for surprise: the convention was called at a moment when the contradictions have begun to sharpen between those Congress leaders who seek to reverse the basic policies and a shift further to the right, and those Congressmen who intend to uphold the basic policies and urge a more rapid implementation of progressive pronouncements, and a shift to the left.

At such a moment, the convention was bound to meet with success, provided adequate organisational steps were taken to rally workers from different parts of the region sought to be covered.

Of course, the right reactionary elements in the Congress fought hard to make the convention a failure. They spread all types of false slanders against the convenors. They questioned the very right of Congressmen to organise such a convention outside the official Congress organisation.

This rightwing pressure succeeded only to a limited extent: it compelled the organisers to change the title of the convention; it was originally to be a socialist Congressmen's convention, but the right insisted that such a title implied that some Congressmen were not socialists and the change was brought about in the convention's name.

Again no document was formally adopted; the draft was merely sent on to the AICC. But these "successes" of the right were minor, compared with the overwhelming gains of the convention.

The speech made by Indira Gandhi at the open session

By Our Political Commentator

has naturally won special attention. Her outspoken attack on the rightwing forces which attempted to undermine all the basic policies at the recent AICC session, and her scarcely veiled condemnation of those who seek to alter the emphasis in the Plan—were indications of her own profound concern at the drift to the right, which is discernible already in government policies.

Home Minister Nanda concentrated his speech on defending himself and his campaign against corruption from rightwing slanders. Here again it was clear that one of the key targets of the right was seeking support of the Congress masses against the conspiracies to scuttle all the basic policies.

Of special significance were the speeches of K. D. Malaviya, V. K. Krishna Menon and others, which clearly and categorically demanded that banks should be nationalised, that government should enforce state trading in food-grains etc.

Seething Discontent

The district and village level workers made no bones about it: the people were seething with discontent, the rich had become richer, the poor poorer.

(Indira Gandhi incidentally, in an otherwise positive speech, added a whole dissertation on the glories of Congress Raj, quite unnecessarily, and particularly attacked those who say the rich are richer and the poor poorer, as "the enemies of the nation"!)

The question which remained unanswered was: what is each of the delegates to do after the convention? What is the way forward?

The bogey of "forming a group" of progressive Congressmen was raised again and again. One can only hope that the bogey will not prevent Congressmen, who agree with the basic policies, from coming together against the right on the basis of a common policy.

Factions Galore

The people are fed up and tired of the factions which run the Congress today. But those are the factions based on personalities and castes and regions.

The coming together of healthy elements on the basis of a concrete programme would actually help to destroy the personality factions, which muddy the stream of political life today.

At the time of the death of Jawaharlal Nehru, the left showed signs of weakness, the principal reason for which was the disunity among the anti-right sections in the Congress, their mutual bickerings and consequent confusion and lack of direction.

The Northern India Congress Workers' Convention and the conventions which are to follow, will be able to make a signal contribution if they can help to unify the anti-right Congressmen. The start augurs well, but the task is difficult, for mutual prejudices stand in the way. Only a bold

and concrete programme of action can unite the different elements for struggle against the right pressures on the basic policies.

An unfortunate gap in the understanding of most of the anti-right Congressmen who attended the convention is their failure to realise that no advance is possible without bringing together forces from both inside and outside the Congress.

No one can object to the repeated assertion at the convention of faith in the Congress—for it was essentially a party convention. But this was carried too far by many, who insisted that "the Congress alone" could bring about advance.

It is time for progressive Congressmen to burst this balloon boldly. No significant advance is possible without common united struggle by progressive forces in all democratic parties.

There was a strong feeling of confidence among those who attended the convention—confidence in their capacity to bring recalcitrant Congress leaders to heel, to change anti-people policies, to defend the interests of the masses.

It has to be underlined that this cannot be done by alliance with any of the unprincipled factions in the state Congress organisations—even if these factions for the moment, for reasons of their own, are willing to lend sup-

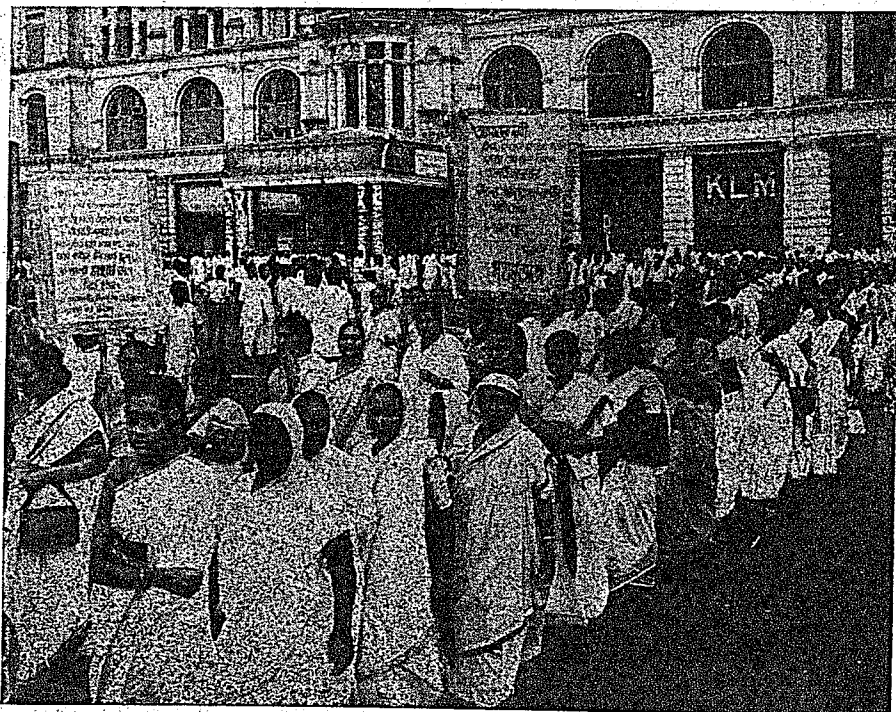
port to the convention's slogans.

Those who sincerely desire to build the unity of democratic forces will warmly welcome the efforts made by the Congress Workers' Convention to unite Congressmen against the sinister efforts by the right reactionary forces in the Congress to reverse the basic policies.

At the end of the two-day session, the convention adopted the Draft Declaration which has put forward a 14-point programme. Included among the points are: the policy of peace and nonalignment, "socialistic" programme of production and equitable distribution, the taking over of the ownership of private banks by the community, a moratorium on rural debt for all tenants who own less than 50 acres, a programme of mechanisation of agriculture, the building of agro-industrial units, building of heavy industries in the public sector and take over of important consumer goods industries by the community, state trading, checking of monopolies including press monopolies, equality of educational opportunities, social security measures and more attention to providing employment opportunities.

Steps must now be taken to campaign for the programme, together with democrats outside the Congress. In the measure that this is done will the aims of the convention be achieved.

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Teachers' Demonstration in Calcutta on September 5 (Photo: SHAMBHU BANERJEE)

CPC Chauvinism, Expansionism, Reach Fantastic New Limits

No honest Communist will be able to restrain his wrath when he reads what we are quoting in letters of black on this page, from the report of what Chairman Mao Tse-tung told a group of Japanese Socialist leaders on July 10, when they visited China. This report appeared in the August 11 issue of SHEKAI SHUHO and has recently been given worldwide publicity.

NO contradiction of the reported talk has come from Peking. On the other hand, confirmation of the erroneous and dangerous views expressed by Chairman Mao has come from several influential Chinese sources. Premier Chou En-lai himself made a statement (published in the Japanese daily ASAHI on August 1), repeating more or less the same ideas as those in the report of Mao's talks with the socialist group. Furthermore, when a Soviet representative in Peking asked the Chinese Deputy Foreign Minister Wang Ping-nan for an explanation, this official replied that if Mao Tse-tung said so, he agreed with him. As a matter of fact, the vicious thesis contained in Mao's words—despite its startling and almost unbelievable bellicosity and chauvinism—does not surprise those of us,

who have been following closely the manner in which the Chinese leadership has conducted what it calls its ideological differences with the world Communist movement. What earlier we thought to be merely disagreement—albeit serious—on such vital questions as the character of our epoch, the possibility of averting another war the question of transition to socialism etc.—is now more and more clearly seen to be nothing but the mask for the expansionism and self-aggrandisement of a leadership, which has abandoned everything which one has associated all along with Marxism-Leninism and the very name of Communism.

It is really speaking not necessary to underline the obvious wickedness of the new Mao "thesis". The words speak for themselves. Yet it is interesting to examine the "progress" which the "thou-

gh" of the Chinese leadership has made over the years.

Take the "theory" of the "intermediate zone". Originally it put forward the thesis that the whole world, according to the Chinese leadership, is divided into three zones: (1) US imperialism; (2) the Soviet Union and other socialist countries; and (3) the intermediate zone lying between the first two zones—principally the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Incorrect as this theory always was, its latest "improvement" by Mao Tse-tung himself leads to the most outrageous postulates (with all the consequent dangerous practices.) Now, says Mao, the Soviet Union has "entered in a compact with the USA to struggle for world domination". And so the first zone becomes the

second zone, and the "intermediate zone" as a mask and an excuse, the Chinese leaders are entering into agreements with the people—imperialists, monopolists and reactionaries, fascists and racists—for the one supreme aim of fighting the Soviet Union and other Socialist lands.

Horrible also is the manner in which Mao glorifies the aggressive expansionism of the Japanese militarists during the last war.

Editorial Article

Japan, he says, is a "great nation", and goes on immediately presumably to explain why by pointing out how this "great nation" "attacked Pearl Harbour, occupied Vietnam, the Philippines, Thailand, Malaya and Indonesia..."

The manner in which Mao deals with Sino-Soviet differences proves conclusively that he and the Chinese leaders have no intention whatsoever of attempting to overcome them. With all the conceit which is characteristic of expansionists, the Chinese leader talks of the dispute as "a war on paper", which "we are ready to continue... for another 25 years".

Surely the elementary principles of Marxism-Leninism teach us that all efforts should be made to settle differences. But not one word comes from the Peking leaders of efforts to solve the differences. Like gods they insist that they are right, and others must conform—or the "war" will continue.

It is the last section of this talk which is supposed to deal with the "territorial question", that reveals the Chinese leadership in all its wretchedness of expansionism and anti-Sovietism. Not only does the Chinese leadership make the most vile

attacks on the Soviet Union comparable only to those of the yellowest imperialist rags. More, it justifies the old lebensraum theories, associated with Nazism, when it starts

comparing the Soviet Union's area and population with those of Japan—presumably to argue for the surrender of

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THOUGHTS OF MAO TSE-TUNG

INTERMEDIATE ZONE

"ALL peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America come out against imperialism. Imperialism is also opposed by Europe, Canada and other countries. Imperialists also come out against imperialists. Is not de Gaulle an example of this?"

No Communist denies that inter-imperialist contradictions exist. But to turn this concept upside down, and make out that de Gaulle is a "fighter against imperialism", as the Chinese leaders now assert, is to invite catastrophe.

The truth is that, using this bogus and utterly evil "theory" of the "intermediate zone" as a mask and an excuse, the Chinese leaders are entering into agreements with the people—imperialists, monopolists and reactionaries, fascists and racists—for the one supreme aim of fighting the Soviet Union and other Socialist lands.

SINO-SOVIET DISPUTE

"We have been challenged and we are giving a rebuff. We were offered to cease the open discussion for at least three months. We said that we would not cease it even for three days. We were waging war in the course of 25 years. Twentytwo years of them were the civil war and the war against Japan, three years were the war in Korea.

Before that I was a teacher. I did not know what war was. Three teachers taught me war. One of them was Chiang Kai-shek, the other—Japanese imperialism and the third—American imperialism. Everyone knows what war means: when it is waged, people die. In these 25 years of war the losses of the Chinese people were several tens of millions of

killed and wounded. "As for war on paper, no people are killed in such war. We have been waging it for several years now, but not a single man has died. And we are ready to continue this war for another 25 years."

TERRITORIAL LIMITS

"There are too many places occupied by the Soviet Union. According to the Yalta agreement, the Soviet Union, under the pretext of guaranteeing the independence of Mongolia, has actually placed that country under its domination. Mongolia occupies a considerably larger area than Kurile Islands.

"In 1954, when Khrushchov and Bulganin came to China, we raised this question, but they refused to talk with us. They have appropriated part of Rumania. Having separated part of East Germany, they expelled the local inhabitants to western part. Having separated part of Poland, they included it into Russia, giving to Poland in compensation part of East Germany. The same happened in Finland.

"They have separated everything that could be separated. Some people have stated that Sinkiang area and the territories north of the Amur river must be included in the Soviet Union. The USSR is concentrating troops on its border.

"The Soviet Union occupies an area of 22 million square kilometres, and its population is only 200 million people. It is time it stopped the division. Japan occupies an area of 370,000 square kilometres, and its population is 100 million people.

"About a hundred years ago the area east of Baikal became Russian territory, and since then Vladivostok, Khabarovsk, Kamchatka and other places are territory of the Soviet Union. We have not yet requested settling this account. As for Kurile Islands, this question is clear for us. They must be returned to Japan."

(Pravda)

MAO'S LATEST "THESIS" REVEALS ANTI-MARXIST, ANTI-LENINIST GREAT POWER HEGEMONISM

THE FALL OF SANKAR

The resignation of the Congress Ministry in Kerala, following the adoption of a no-confidence motion by the Legislative Assembly, is an event, which may well have nationwide repercussions.

WHILE the dominant reasons for the situation which brought about Sankar's fall essentially pertain to Kerala, there is no doubt that the undercurrents were closely connected with the general national situation of acute discontent with anti-people policies of the Congress rulers.

It can be argued, of course, that all that happened was that a group broke away from the Congress, for purely factional, communal (and certainly not progressive) considerations. This is not by any means a false argument and the rumours that the Chacko dissidents may join hands with the Swatantra Party are also not without substantial basis.

other states, using Congress factions for this purpose.

There are those who prescribe as a remedy for all today's ills, the unity of all anti-Congress parties, Right and Left. This is a totally mistaken and dangerous outlook.

What the Indian people want is a shift to the left in government policies. They do not want the replacement of Congress governments by governments in which the right reactionary forces play any part whatsoever.

It is in this context that the efforts in Kerala to bring together, in some form of an election united front, all the democratic and progressive forces, should be viewed. It is right and proper

clear cut progressive programme, a programme of opposition to Right reaction, both inside and outside the Congress—the alliance of progressive forces and groups can win the support of the Kerala people. The opportunist line, advocated by some fairly openly earlier, of seeking an "arrangement" with parties of the Right like the League, will yield no lasting dividends, whatever its immediate paper gains may be.

The events in Kerala have also brought to the fore certain important questions relating to the fundamentals of parliamentary democracy. The refusal of the Sankar Ministry to resign immediately after an absolute majority of the MLAs stood up in support of the admission of the no-confidence motion, is, in the view of many, a total violation of the spirit of parliamentary democracy, if not of the letter.

Valuable time was given thus to the Congress High Command to use all its guns—S. K. Patil was the chief gunman of all—to beat the Congress MLAs into some semblance of unity. (That the guns failed is another matter.)

When a clear cut majority supports a no-confidence motion, the government has no right to stay in office a day longer. That appears to be elementary and in conformity with the spirit of the Constitution. The failure of the Congress High Command to enforce this is a serious violation of parliamentary democracy.

And what now? The Congress bosses in New Delhi appear to be all set for Presidential rule, and hope to utilise this to prepare for elections. Again, parliamentary democracy demands that the leaders of the opposition parties be invited by the Government to see if there is any possibility of the formation of an alternative government, before any proclamation of Presidential rule.

It is hoped that this practice has been strictly followed, though at the time of writing full details are not available.

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PRESIDENT'S VISIT TO USSR

Editorial THE VISIT OF PRESIDENT Radhakrishnan to the Soviet Union is an important landmark in the development of Indo-Soviet friendship and co-operation. It follows closely on a series of visits by Indian Ministers, which have culminated in the latest by Defence Minister Chavan.

The desperate efforts made by the imperialist powers to drag India away from nonalignment were stepped up and reached new heights following the death of Prime Minister Nehru. There was open speculation regarding the possibilities of a sharp shift to the Right, not only in internal policies, but also in foreign policy. Such a shift would necessarily have meant a cooling off in Indo-Soviet relations.

All the wishful dreams of the imperialists of a break in Indo-Soviet cooperation have, fortunately for us, been proved completely false. Far from a lessening in Indo-Soviet cooperation, it is clear that relations are improving even faster than before.

It is already known that the Chavan mission has been promised the most substantial military assistance. Prime Minister Khrushchov has himself had a long interview with the Indian Defence Minister and assured the fullest support to India's efforts to maintain its nonalignment.

Petroleum Minister Humayun Kabir returned recently with vital new agreements for further Soviet cooperation in the oil industry.

President Radhakrishnan's state visit takes place in an atmosphere of the deepest friendship and affection. The Soviet Union has again and again declared its readiness to give every possible cooperation to India. This readiness has been reiterated and proved in practice more than ever before, in the difficult days which followed the death of Prime Minister Nehru.

The President's talks with Soviet leaders are bound to cover the widest range of subjects. At this moment when the imperialist powers are creating increased tensions and dangers of war in several parts of the world, particularly in South East Asia, an Indo-Soviet exchange of views on the problems of peace can have the most valuable results. It is to be hoped that a meeting between the Prime Ministers of the two countries will also take place in the earliest future.

The enemies of our country's progress rattle their teeth in anger at the development of Indo-Soviet relations. They do everything in their power to prevent this development. Conspiracies are afoot to weaken the ties between India and the socialist countries.

Vigilance is necessary to frustrate the evil designs of the conspirators who seek every occasion to create a rift between our country and the Soviet Union.

President Radhakrishnan carries with him the fraternal salute of India's millions to the Soviet people, and the assurance that Indo-Soviet friendship shall grow stronger and firmer with every day that passes.

The imperialists and their reactionary henchmen howl in vain: the caravan of Indo-Soviet amity moves on, climbing to ever new heights.

(September 9)

heartedness of the Jan Sangh is also an indication of its capacity to realise but its incapacity—having an eye on the masses—to act on it.

ORISSA ANTICS

ORISSA is the one topic in Parliament lobbies this week. Some went to the extent of mixing the murder of Solicitor-General Sanyal with Orissa politics.

What Kamaraj and TTK and for that matter, even Ramnath Goenka could not do the college students of Cuttack could. It's a master-stroke

—INSIDER

In the coming session of Parliament it is reported that the government will be bringing forward an anti-corruption bill which will change a number of existing laws to facilitate the drive against corruption.

WHILE this is welcome news, one is disturbed by a new chorus that is heard nowadays which says that there is more talk of corruption than corruption itself, that the disease is magnified out of proportion.

In fact, there is good ground for believing that the Congress High Command itself is not united on the question of the urgent necessity of combating corruption as a national drive.

The furore over Gulzarilal Nanda's Sadachar Samiti which Atulya Ghosh raised in the Congress Working Committee last month was not mere constitutional quibbling whether the Cong-

ress had formally sanctioned the setting up of that body. Behind that bout inside the High Command there loomed the larger question about the perspective of the crusade against corruption.

A brief reference to the origin of the Sadachar Samiti will reveal the true import of Atulya Ghosh's sudden concern about the legitimacy of Nanda's Sadachar baby.

On November 30, 1963 the Home Minister made a declaration that "within a period of two years if I fail to produce a striking impression and to make a substantial difference in regard to prevalence of corruption, I would give up my

A PATRIOT'S NOTEBOOK

TTK'S LONG TONGUE

IF TTK's utterances in Kuala Lumpur in support of Malaysia and in condemnation of Indonesia reflect the "considered" thinking of the Government of India, then it is clear that Indian foreign policy has been given a sharp twist to the right, at least in this sector of the world.

Let there be no mistake about it: progressive opinion all over the world, the socialist countries as well as the non-aligned Afro-Asian countries, look upon Malaysia as the creation of the British imperialists intended to facilitate their neo-colonialist aims.

If anyone had any doubt earlier, these should have been set at rest by the latest developments, when British troops in Malaya have started openly carrying out operations against the alleged "aggression" by Indonesian paratroopers. How "independent" is independent Malaysia can be seen, in a flash, in this demonstrative action by the British troops, who continue to occupy Malaya.

In such circumstances, singing hymns of praise to Malaysia will not exactly strike a responsive chord in anti-imperialist Afro-Asia, whose friendship the Government of India rightly seeks.

My own impression is that TTK went much beyond his brief. Government policy on Malaysia is fairly weak and as on so many other issues, particularly relating to South-East Asia, dangerously coloured by Chinese provocations and attitudes. But nevertheless, Indian official spokesmen have thus far been fairly circumspect and have not waved the Union Jack so obstreperously as TTK has done on this occasion.

I feel particularly angry on this latest of TTK's exploits into the realm of foreign policy. And I put the blame squarely on the Cabinet as a whole. The manner in which TTK was virtually shielded by the Cabinet after his dismal performance in London, naturally encouraged him to seize the very next opportunity to put across his own special imperialist-orientated version of our foreign policy.

I have been told that Indira

Gandhi, who accompanied TTK to London, was in complete disagreement with what the Finance Minister said and did at the Commonwealth Conference. But when asked why she did not speak out, she is reported to have pleaded that it is not possible for one Minister to contradict another—the old school tie and all that.

We are paying the price for this failure now. I know that it is argued that the very appointment of a Foreign Minister was the best expression of disapproval of TTK's London mission. But quite evidently it was not. All ministers—and particularly TTK—must be held to stick to the jobs they have been given.

TTK is not the Foreign Minister and he must not appropriate to himself the right to make foreign policy declarations as he did at Kuala Lumpur.

TYCOONS AND CONGRESS

IT is in their interest that the rich donate handsomely to the Congress. Such truths sometimes have a strange way of gushing out of mouths from which one least expects them.

In this case, the truth quotation was uttered by Atulya Ghosh, West Bengal Congress boss and AICC treasurer, member of the "syndicate", which is said to control government and Congress in the post-Nehru period.

Atulya Babu is in Rajasthan "for a change of climate", and he made this statement linking the rich with the Congress while talking to newsmen in Jaipur on September 4 (I am quoting from HINDUSTAN TIMES' staff correspondent's report).

Of course Atulya Babu first waxed eloquent about how he would "prefer a donation of Rs. 1,000 by 1,000 people rather than by a single person." But he went on to admit that it was due to Congress rule that "the big people" have made their money and so the conclusion that it is in the interests of the rich to pay handsomely to the Congress.

Against Corruption: What's The Target?

By OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

present position and not regard myself worthy of holding any such office".

On December 31, 1963 a meeting was held in Delhi of some social and religious organisations—mainly at the initiative of Nanda—which decided on the formation of the Samyukta Sadachar Samiti.

And on April 13, 1964 the Samiti actually came into being with Nanda himself as its president and Blumens Sachar

as the general secretary. The vice-president of the Samiti is K. K. Shah and its working committee include K. Santhanam and Shrinani Narayan.

Presuming that Atulya Ghosh reads newspapers and is in touch with the day-to-day happenings in the country, one might very well ask the question that when such well-known Congressmen are prominently associated with the Sadachar Samiti, how is it that Atulya Ghosh should take four long months to raise in the Congress Working Committee the very locus standi of the Samiti. According to Atulya Ghosh's letter to Nanda, which was quietly given to the press, the ostensible provocation on his part was that a Congress MP, Subhadra Joshi, had alleged at a Calcutta meeting ("of all places" in Calcutta, complains Atulya Ghosh, so touchy about his own domain) that a section of Congressmen were opposing the Sadachar Samiti.

What is intriguing is that Atulya Ghosh did not take it up with Subhadra Joshi, for it is now learnt that at her Calcutta meeting she did not speak at all about the Sadachar Samiti, which came up in a casual talk with a journalist. Incidentally, Atulya Ghosh tried to implicate Humayun Kabir, his bete noire in West Bengal Congress politics, by saying that he had attended Subhadra Joshi's meeting. Actually Kabir was not in Calcutta at the time!

The real reason for Atulya Ghosh's sudden concern about the Sadachar Samiti has to be sought elsewhere. In December last Nanda prepared a whole set of proposals to deal with cases of corruption among ministers and political leaders. These proposals were discussed by the state chief ministers at Bhubaneswar during the Congress session in January.

But this "high explosive", as a Congress MP described it, was quietly shelved and it was decided that the proposals would first be handled by the Congress Parliamentary Board.

In April came the report of the Santhanam Committee (which was set up in June 1962 after MPs from all parties referred to the growing menace of corruption in government during the Lok Sabha budget debate on the Home Ministry), which among other things took up the question of dealing with corruption among political leaders. Obviously there was no escape from taking up the question.

In fact, the Home Ministry, on the basis of the Santhanam Committee report, prepared its own memorandum to tackle the issue. And Nanda prepared his note for the Congress Parliamentary Board which was scheduled to discuss it immediately after the meeting of the Congress Working Committee last month.

Atulya Ghosh's apparent-

ly innocent excursion into the origin of the Sadachar Samiti was thus meant as a broadside against Nanda so that he may be dissuaded from proceeding with his proposals for dealing with corrupt political leaders.

After the Sadachar breeze in the Working Committee, in which Kamaraj neither affirmed nor denied the parentage of Nanda's offspring, the Congress Parliamentary Board quietly postponed the consideration of Nanda's proposals.

Meanwhile, a new barrage was launched by some eminent VIPs arguing that our country was indulging in an overdose of corruption talks, saying that many other countries were no less corrupt. The game was clear and few in New Delhi were deceived about the real purpose of this sudden awareness.

Second Thought On Graft

The Political Correspondent of a pro-Congress daily, by no means inclined to the Left, commented freely: "Apparently, on the subject of political graft, second thoughts have started even before the first ones have fully taken shape."

The major roadblock for any effective crusade against corruption is the close entente between Big Money and VIP politicians. Recent weeks have seen a number of cases of ministers and prominent Congress leaders getting exposed about their shady transactions—sometimes those of their sons and relatives too.

Pratap Singh Kalron had to quit, but at the moment, as many as six chief ministers are being openly accused by Congressmen themselves of being involved in corrupt practices.

The misdoings of R. Shanar has cost the Kerala Ministry for the Congress.

The Orissa Chief Minister together with some comrades-in-corruption and his guru, Biju Patnaik, have taken recourse to filing defamation suits against some newspapers which have publicised their exploits. The idea seems to be that by doing so they can ward off the pressing demand for a commission of enquiry on the lines of the Das Commission which brought about the downfall of Kalron.

Besides, a civil suit will easily drag on for at least two years, that is, upto the next general elections in 1967 and meanwhile the misdeeds will be kept away from public scrutiny on the plea that the matter is sub judice.

In fact, some of Biju's boys have been peddling this about in New Delhi.

Then there is the case of Morarji Desai, rather of his worthy son, Kanti. Already newspapers have given out harrowing details of his shady

*ON PAGE 14

Comment

But to see only this factional break in the Congress in isolation, would be to miss the full meaning of the collapse of Sankar's Ministry. Whatever the motives of the Congress dissidents, the fact remains that the vast masses of working people in Kerala and in the country see in the end of the Congress Ministry hope for relief from the growing burdens which are falling on them and which are evidently seen today in the food crisis and the shooting up of prices.

It must also not be forgotten that the key issue on which the dissidents based their opposition dealt with charges of corruption against Sankar, which the High Command refused to investigate.

Right reactionary parties seek desperately to cash in on the present situation, and are openly announcing their efforts to bring down Congress governments in

that these democratic forces have refused to have any sort of alliance with the Muslim League, despite the temptation of its influence among sections of the Muslim community in Kerala—sections which at times have a decisive marginal strength in certain constituencies.

This attitude is in sharp contrast with that of the Congress High Command as represented by S. K. Patil, who wooed the Muslim League as well as the feudal and communal leader, Mannom, in a last minute bid to save the ministry.

One can also be sure that, should the Swatantra Party try to field candidates—using the Chacko group or some Catholic, Nair or other communal organisations—the progressive Left opposition parties will equally have nothing to do with them, and will oppose them relentlessly.

It is only on the basis of a

TRULY SHASTRIAN



SLOWLY but steadily Shastri is pushing ahead with new ideas. Whether they are his own or borrowed are immaterial. He is slow because he hasn't yet that self-confidence needed for effecting visible changes. But he is steadily persisting.

The latest is his decision to post a sentry to keep a watch over the Planning Commission. The idea is to have a national planning council to advise the Planning Commission.

About 10 so-called detached individuals, all experts, I am told, are going to sit on the council.

Most of the names being mentioned for inclusion stink to the high heavens. Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar is one. This old British crony is the most sought after by the freebooters as an ideal chairman of companies.

Another is Prof. C. N. Vakil of Bombay, a loud-mouthed advocate of laissez-faire.

A third one is Lokanathan, beloved of the Ford Foundation.

To most of them, at least

the most important among them, socialism, democratic or otherwise, is a dirty word.

But they are welcome in the present context because they are ready to implement Shastri's publicised ideas for de-emphasising heavy industry from planning.

Once these free enterprisers are assembled for advisory work, then Shastri can free himself somewhat from public odium. Presently, in matters concerning planning, he is outwardly schizophrenic.

He seems to be willing to wound the basic concept of the Plan but afraid to strike. Incoherence is writ large on his pronouncements in this regard as would be seen in his recent interview with the London ECONOMIST which was broadcast by All-India Radio last week.

After discussing the new orientation of the Fourth Plan, namely the employment-orientation with emphasis on medium and small-scale industry, the correspondent asked whether it implied "a pause for consolidation?"

The Prime Minister's reply was typically Shastrian:

"Yes and no." Throughout the interview he was doing tight-rope. At one stage he said "scheme on paper—even if they are included in such weighty documents as the Five-Year Plans—are not enough."

After this the inevitable question followed. Did it mean that Shastri couldn't do what Nehru with his "magic hold on the Indian people" could.

The sting in this question must have been obvious to Shastri. A hint of change in the Nehru policy! He got nervous and his answer was again typical: "It is quite mistaken to put it that way."

On the whole it is quite a "botheration to handle planning. A brains-trust of Mudaliar-Vakil & Co. could fearfully take care of it. And more such brains-trusts are in the offing to look after other troublesome things left by Nehru.

More than anybody else the Swatantra Party is alive to all these under-currents. So it has wisely refrained from supporting the no-confidence motion in Parliament. The half-

West Bengal

Engineering Workers

D. A. Increased

CALCUTTA: The West Bengal government announced an ad hoc rise in DA for the two lakh engineering workers and enforced it under the provisions of Rule 124 of the D.I.R.

THE increase awarded under this directive is at a flat rate of Rs. 10 p.m.

According to the state government, the ad hoc rise in DA granted by it is with reference to the proposed constitution of the wage board in engineering industry and will be adjusted against the wage revisions that the board may order. The question of appointing a wage board for engineering industry has been before the central government for a long time. A decision on it is likely to be taken soon.

The trade unions in West Bengal in the engineering industry have been demanding a 30 per cent wage rise. Though the increase in DA effected by the government order is not considered adequate, it is taken as a good gesture.

It may also be noted that the minimum wage in West Bengal engineering industry, as a result of the ad hoc rise, will go up from Rs. 87 to Rs. 97. This is still far short of the minimum in Bombay (linked for long with the textile DA) which is now over

Rs. 145. Such a large disparity in wages between two centres is the cause of severe strain in industrial relations in West Bengal.

However, the decision of West Bengal government, coming so soon after the bank agreement is significant, though partial acceptance of the view that special compensation, over and above the awards in operation, to cover the unusual rise in prices, has become inevitable. This is expected to influence developments in other sectors also.

The West Bengal government's decision to increase DA for engineering workers in the state is the second major state intervention in industrial disputes under emergency powers. The first time DIR was used in a major dispute was to enforce the Textile Wage Board award in Bhiwani mills in the Punjab last year, after a prolonged strike led by the INTUC.

The government through its notification has also changed the formula for revision of DA. Instead of annual revision, there would henceforth be DA revision every quarter and workers given neutralisation at the rate of 20 paise per point.

EMPLOYERS PROMISE TO BEHAVE

NEW DELHI: A major crisis which might well have undermined the Code of Discipline itself was averted when the employer representatives on the Central Implementation & Evaluation Committee agreed in its meeting on August 28 to reconsider their earlier attitude of "no sanctions" against their erring members under the Code.

AS was expected, the TU representatives on the committee declared that they would consider the Code as not binding if employers refused to work the code as per the tripartite agreement. The issue arose out of the refusal of the Employers' Federation of India to amend the Association Rules to provide for sanctions against its members for breach of the Code of Discipline.

The I.&E. Committee in its final decision stressed the need "to apply more effectively sanctions, already agreed for breaches of the Code of Discipline, so as to create public opinion against parties which persistently infringe the Code."

The Committee also impressed upon the employers' representatives the need to abide by the decision taken at the 20th session

of the Indian Labour Conference that after failure of conciliation, arbitration should be the next normal step, except in matters involving creation of new rights having wide repercussions and large financial stakes.

The Committee decided to undertake evaluation study of industrial relations and the extent of implementation of labour laws in public undertakings where industrial relations had not been generally satisfactory.

While discussing the complaint about breach of the Code by the Bhilai Steel Project in its mines, the Union Labour Minister, D. Sanjivayya is reported to have observed that the continuation of the contract system would amount to a breach of the Code of Discipline. The complaint was made by both INTUC and AITUC unions.—(IPA)

UNITED MOVEMENT OF KERALA TRADE UNIONS

Joint Meeting and Demonstration for Cheap Food

ERNAKULAM: A huge demonstration and mass meeting was held on August 28 in Ernakulam under the joint auspices of 82 trade unions belonging to various central trade union organisations, including AITUC, INTUC and UTUC, as a culmination of the campaign that was unleashed to press for the burning demands of the workers.

The campaign was jointly

undertaken by the 82 trade unions and set on motion on August 9 in a joint meeting of these trade unions. The demands included, among others, the taking over of wholesale and retail trade in foodgrains by the state, opening of fair price shops, linking of dearness allowance with the cost of living index and correction of faulty index etc.

A memorandum to this effect was presented to the Chief Minister and Food Minister on behalf of the trade unions on August 16.



S. A. Dange Addresses Meeting of the National Campaign Committee of the Toilers of India in New Delhi on Sept. 5

ANOTHER ROUND OF TALKS BETWEEN BANKERS & EMPLOYEES

NEW DELHI: The tripartite discussion between the representatives of bank employees, employers and government in pursuance of the terms of settlement of August 18 was held in Bombay from August 28 to 30.

DURING the discussions, the three more banks, Krishnam Bank Ltd., Belgaum Bank Ltd., and United Industrial Bank Ltd., for implementation of the terms of the settlement.

The bankers agreed to increase on ad hoc basis the salary of all subordinate staff by Re. 1 irrespective of the rate of increment now prevailing.

The bankers agreed to abolish Area IV banks with effect from September 1 and transform them into B class banks. With regard to C class banks, the bankers expressed the opinion that certain banks in this class were in the list of exempted banks and were not in a position to bear the additional load in case area IV was abolished.

But finally the bankers agreed to persuade these banks

for abolition of area IV from January 1, 1965 and the ABEA and the Chief Labour Commissioner would be informed of such decision by September 30.

The tripartite meeting did not come to any decision concerning provident fund and gratuity and these have been held over till the next tripartite meeting.

It has been also decided in this meeting that the demand for medical aid to employees would be taken in a tripartite meeting which would be convened in Delhi on September 30. As regards other pending issues, it has been mutually agreed that all such pending issues would be enumerated and explained in a memorandum on behalf of the employees which will be submitted to the Chief Labour Commissioner by September 25.

WORKERS WARN BOMBAY TEXTILE MILLOWNERS

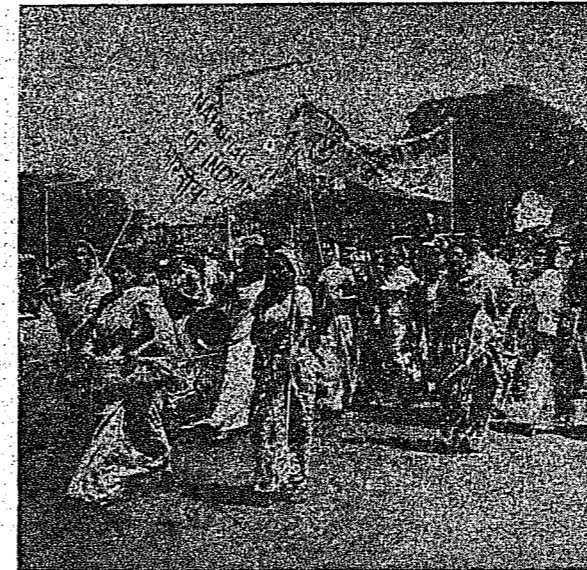
Three Month Bonus Demanded

BOMBAY: More than 60,000 workers participated in a mass rally on August 30 in Bombay held under the auspices of the Mumbai Girni Kamgar Union to protest against the modifications of the Bonus Commission report.

The union has already served a notice on the textile millowners of Bombay demanding bonus equivalent to three months' total wages (inclusive of dearness allowance) for each worker, to be paid at the same rate in all the mills in the city, for the year 1963.

Should the millowners fail to declare bonus by September 30 or if the declared bonus is found to be unsatisfactory, the union has warned the managements that it would then consider the calling of a general strike in all the textile mills.

A resolution adopted at the meeting has already been sent to the millowners' association, the state Labour Minister and the Chief Minister.



Women marching to Parliament House on September 7

INEXPLICABLE WAYS OF FRATERNITY!

HYDERABAD: Strange are the ways of splitters who in their unholy hurry to emerge out of their self-imposed isolation court the strangest bedmates.

IN Hyderabad, the splitters recently found themselves in the company of the Hindu communal organisation, Jan Sangh, on one side and the Muslim body, Majlis-e-Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen, on the other.

When moves were made here to form a united committee to fight for people's food, the Samyukta Socialist Party insisted on taking both the Jan Sangh and the Majlis into it. The Communist Party was prepared to accept this only on condition that they accepted the slogans of state trading in foodgrains and nationalisation of banks.

These communal, reactionary parties were not prepared to accept this condition. So, the CPI stayed out of the citizens food committee consisting of the SSP, the Jan Sangh and the Majlis.

The splitters thought this

★ No slogans demanding state trading in foodgrains should be raised.

★ The splitters should not use their flag in any of the demonstrations taken out jointly, and

★ P. Sundarayya should not participate in any of the joint activities of the committee.

The splitters agreed to all the three conditions and joined the Sangh-Majlis committee. The haste which they called for in Hyderabad on August 24, incidentally, was not a success.

Police Attacks On Communist Prisoners

Chief Minister Refuses Enquiry

From K. GOPALAN

PATNA: Chief Minister K. B. Sahay has turned down the demand of the Bihar state council of the Communist Party of India to institute a judicial enquiry on the brutal lathicharges on peaceful satyagrahis in different parts of the state and severe assault on Communist prisoners in Jahanabad jail.

THE Chief Minister, who expressed complete ignorance of the lathicharges on food satyagrahis outside and inside the jail told a deputation of the CPI that he was not prepared to order a judicial enquiry.

He was not prepared to accept that government officers would go beyond the limit of the law. However, he agreed to examine specific cases of atrocities, if any, committed by the police or any other officer.

The two-man delegation, consisting of Jagannath Sarkar and Krishna Choudhry, members of the secretariat of the state council of the CPI, gave a brief account of the unprovoked lathicharges on satyagrahis in twelve places,

especially in Madhubani, Darbhanga and Jahanabad.

In Madhubani even women satyagrahis were not spared. One woman satyagrahi, Zahida Khatun, remained unconscious for 24 hours as a result of lathi blows.

Communist MIA Rajkumar Purbey, who was leading the satyagraha on August 24 was also badly injured by the lathicharge.

Unprovoked lathicharges on peaceful satyagrahis have led to widespread condemnation of the government. The joint secretary of the Darbhanga district SSP, Deochandra Jha, has issued a statement condemning lathicharge at Madhubani, especially on Rajkumar Purbey.

DELHI WOMEN MARCH TO PARLIAMENT, DEMAND CHEAP FOOD

By OUR STAFF CORRESPONDENT

NEW DELHI: The opening day of Parliament, September 7, saw a big women's demonstration before Parliament House demanding cheap food, exemplary punishment to hoarders and blackmarketeers and state trading in foodgrains.

THE demonstration was organised by the National Federation of Indian Women and led by two of its secretaries, Vimla Farooqi and Sarla Sharma.

More than a thousand women participated in it, many of them with babes in their arms and toddlers trudging alongside. Women from all walks of life took part in the demonstration: building workers, factory hands, commercial employees, teachers, housewives.

Women of all ages, from young girls to white-haired grandmothers were there, women clad in many a style from black burgas to colourful sarees and salwar-kameez.

It was indeed a cross section of the capital's female population protesting against the high prices which are inflicting the severest hardship on them and their families.

The women marched down to Parliament House from the

NFTW office in Connaught Circus. They demonstrated for about three hours before Parliament, and distributed a memorandum to Members of Parliament.

The memorandum expressed "grave concern over the ever-rising prices of essential commodities, and worse still, periodically the complete non-availability of certain important items like wheat, rice, sugar, kerosene, coal etc.

"We, as wives and mothers feel distressed at the privations of our near and dear ones, when we find that the meagre family budget has to be readjusted every day and each day the number and quality of items in the budget has to be curtailed due to the rise in prices every week. No amount of stinting and scraping makes both ends meet.

"The shameless way in which traders are sucking the life's blood of the people fills

us with alarm. Hoarders, blackmarketeers and adulterers are filling their pockets at the cost of the hungry millions. Nothing effective has been done so far to stop them in their nefarious activities.

"In our distress we approach you, in the hope that you will raise your powerful voice towards relieving our sufferings."

The demonstrators wanted to present the memorandum to the Union Food and Agriculture Minister, C. Subramaniam. But the Minister expressed his inability to come out and meet them because "it was the opening day of Parliament."

However, Subramaniam has agreed to meet a deputation from the National Federation of Indian Women on Thursday, September 10.

Two of the leaders of the NFTW who are members of Parliament came out and greeted the demonstrators. They were Renu Chakravarty and Vimla Devi.

Communist MP Sarju Pande came out of the House and spoke to the women demonstrators. A Congress MP, Savitri Nigam also came out to meet the demonstrators.

(Photos: R. Parashar)

A View of the demonstration



In his written statement, Jha particularly named a police officer who abused Purbey in "filthy language" and asked a constable standing by to "teach him a lesson" for raising his voice in the legislature and outside.

Meanwhile, the lathicharge on satyagrahi prisoners inside the Jahanabad sub-jail has created a chain reaction. A criminal case has been instituted by the lawyers against the jail authorities who are alleged to have assaulted Triveni Sharma Sudhakar and others.

Satyagrahi prisoners lodged in Patna, Muzaffarpur, Chapra and other jails observed 24 hour hungerstrikes as a protest against the assault in Jahanabad jail.

Brutal lathicharges on peaceful satyagrahis at various places as well as the assault inside Jahanabad jail are likely to be raised in both

the houses of the state legislature, which is scheduled to meet on September 16.

A privilege motion is also expected to be moved against the manhandling of the Communist legislator Rajkumar Purbey by the police.

The pitiable condition of over 1,500 satyagrahi prisoners in different jails of Bihar was also brought to the notice of the Chief Minister by the deputation.

All satyagrahis, except legislators, are being treated as ordinary 'C' class prisoners. In almost all places they are served with non-labouring diet from the general kitchen for criminal prisoners.

A request for treating the satyagrahi prisoners as political prisoners was turned down by the Chief Minister.

IS IT OPPORTUNISM TO HAVE ELECTORAL ALLIANCE?

Q. Is it not sheer opportunism on the part of the CPI to come to an electoral understanding with the splitters' party in Kerala? Is the lure of the Ministry so strong as to make the CPI forget its ideological responsibility? (DINESH GOSWAMI, Kharagpur, West Bengal)

A. The CPI has never wanted a split and its leadership went out of its way to try to make those who were intent on leaving see reason and be patient. But a hard core of splitters and the shrill cries of the CPC made the split inevitable.

After the split the CPI sharply attacked the disruptive role that the leading splitters were playing and the danger and damage that this represented to the entire democratic movement in India and not the CPI alone. The CPI clearly demarcated itself from the neo-Trotskyite ideological and political positions that the more diehard among the splitters were imposing on their new party.

At the same time, the CPI, at all levels, made determined efforts not only to bring back to the Party as many of those who had gone over to the splitters because of confusion but also to have as much united action with them as possible. In the panchayat elections in Andhra, for example, the CPI did its best to see that candidates of the rival party, where they were in a strong position, were returned and the worst reactionaries defeated. In the great Maharashtra Bandh action a similar united front approach was adopted.

In the recent successfully concluded Great Satyagraha and in the demonstrations in support of it also appeal was made to the splitters to join this great mass movement.

Despite the negative and sneering attitude adopted by the leadership of the splitters, in some places the rank and file as well as some cadres did participate in all these different movements and helped to make them the success that they were.

Difference with Splitters

Again, contrary to the eloquent silence observed by the leadership of the splitters, the CPI has always quickly condemned the arrests of the splitters by the government for organising, or participating in, any mass movement for the relief of the masses and for a change of the reactionary policies of the government. The most recent example is the sharp protest against the disgraceful arrest of Nambudiripad and other MLAs of the splitters' party in Kerala in a vain attempt to save the Shankar Ministry from the no-confidence motion.

It should also be observed that despite all their "revolutionary" sneering against the satyagraha and demonstration, the splitters have not done more than this when it has come to their turn to protest. On the question of soaring food prices they have only observed August 16 as a day of demonstrations and on 31 their Kerala branch went in for that very form of satyagraha, which had been condemned as "reformist".

Thus, the CPI has no inconsistency to explain away when it decides to go in for a joint front with the splitters, with the RSP and other democratic opposition parties on the basis of a minimum programme to dislodge the Congress from power in Kerala and form a Ministry of this front. It has always held that the Congress monopoly of power must be broken but from the standpoint and with the strength of the democratic opposition and not by hotch-potch combination with Right reactionary parties.

League Kept Out

The CPI was, therefore, naturally somewhat worried when one of the topmost splitters, A. K. Gopalan, declared that he was for an alliance with the Muslim League. Now the leadership of the splitters seems to have had second thoughts and decided against it, thus facilitating the formation of the democratic opposition front.

Further, press reports indicate that the splitters wish to build a united front in Kerala of what they call progressive forces to replace Congress rule there. In this united front they have included the CPI. Hence, the CPI now becomes a progressive force and that, too, to the extent of being included in a united front to topple a Congress Ministry! What has happened to the thesis that the CPI was simply a bunch of "disguised Congressmen" that it cared only for one thing, i.e., to sell out to the Congress and collaborate with the bourgeoisie which, in turn, was collaborating with the war plans of US imperialism?

The CPI leadership had noted, from the time of the split itself, that as days went by many of those who had been temporarily confused by the splitters' slander about "capitulating to the Congress" would see things clearly once again, learning from their own experience.

The numerous mass struggles that the members and leaders of the CPI have organised since that time and above all the great all-India movement against soaring prices, have shown up the splitters. The no-confidence motion in the Kerala Legislature for which CPI leader Achutha Menon gave notice further smashes this canard. The experience of trying to build a united progressive front to replace the Congress regime in Kerala will be a still more powerful blow against the slanderers.

The CPI does not regard the splitters as its class enemy. It rather looks upon them as Communists who have become seriously infected with the petty-bourgeois disease of adventurism, sectarianism and anarchism. It further considers that the overwhelming bulk of the followers of the splitters, as well as sections of its leadership, are

sincere followers of the Communist ideal and ideology but who have been grievously misled, particularly by misplaced loyalty to certain individuals, whose past work has given them a great deal of prestige.

Hence, the CPI at its last National Council meeting reiterated that the doors of the Party were being kept open and that once the splitters individually or collectively agreed to once again accept

YOUR QUESTIONS ANSWERED

the discipline of abiding by majority decisions, all disciplinary actions against them would be immediately rescinded. In other words, if any splitter or group of splitters once again demonstrated his adherence to the principles of democratic centralism, they could again work under the banner of the CPI.

With this approach, it is only natural that the CPI should strive to build the maximum united front relations with the splitters' party. It is not the CPI which is afraid of "contaminating" itself by working together with

predicted that these same champion splitters will move heaven and earth to see that somehow this unity is not realised in practice, even if it means that the Congress is benefitted thereby. We can expect all sorts of false issues, inordinate claim of constituencies, red herrings of slanders etc., to be brought forward.

The path towards united political action with the splitters in Kerala is, therefore, not likely to be smooth. But there is no reason for undue pessimism. The leadership of the CPI, especially those in

Kerala, have a great deal of experience in building and consolidating the united front.

Healthy sentiments of unity are widespread among the splitters at different levels, particularly in Kerala. And above all, the pressure of objective reality and overwhelming mass desire will be powerful factors making for unity.

At the same time as it works for such unity, the CPI will not slacken one jot in its ideological struggle against the harmful theories, policies and actions of the splitters. It will not cease its polemical and explanatory campaign among the Party members and masses against the disastrous ideology of splitism and the great harm that this has already done.

It can further be confidently

There is no question of any sudden lure of a Ministry. For quite some time, long before the split, the CPI had put forward the view that it was both necessary and possible to dislodge the Congress from power in Kerala. This would not only be good for Kerala but for the entire democratic movement in India, including the democrats inside the Congress. It would give a big impetus to the forces of the Left throughout the country.

The CPI, after the split, had reiterated this viewpoint and deplored the split, especially as it might adversely affect this hopeful perspective in Kerala. Now that the splitters have also decided to try for a united front the CPI will do its utmost to make Kerala once again the vanguard state in India's advance towards national democracy.

—MOHIT SEN

Sangh's Study Camp

new epoch will be untrammelled by his visionary dreams.

THE Jan Sangh study camp at Gwalior adopted a "draft thesis" (believe it or not, that is precisely the word used), presented by general secretary Dindayal Upadhyaya. It was announced that this thesis will be thrown open for discussion among party members and will then come up for final adoption at the Sangh's plenary session in January.

Now, adoption of draft thesis, discussing them by party ranks and final adoption at conferences—is that not a peculiarly "foreign practice" which the Communists are known to have "imported" into India?

For Jan Sangh doing the same what shall we say now? Has it given up the "Bharatiyata" veneer?

Not only was a "draft thesis" adopted on the "foreign pattern", many "foreign" concepts were also introduced in the thesis. For instance, it said that the individual's right to property as absolute and sacrosanct could not be accepted. It also said that the conflict between society and the individual was not inherent. These are the stands of socialism which refuses to recognise the right to property as sacrosanct.

If this is specifically Indian, socialism cannot be foreign for us Indians.

Question naturally arises, what is Dindayal upto? Is he going to betray the Gokulwar cult?

Nothing of the kind really. The thing is only this: Sangh

leaders have come to a point where they see that any further expansion is impossible without embellishing their plank with more demagoguery. Hence the study camp, and the "draft thesis."

This is borne out by the fact that some new items are proposed to be included in the Sangh manifesto. For instance, we are informed that the thesis takes note of the rapidly expanding public sector. Even Urdu—red rag to the Sangh cadres—is mentioned in it as "occupying an important place in literature."

The study camp, which discussed the draft thesis, also heard a 70-minute peroration by the RSS joint general secretary Bala Saheb Deoras. No details, not even a gist, of this speech have been published. The special lecture was to remind the Jan Sangh men—all of them RSS whoremasters of the political front—of their real communal fascist mooring. It was heard with rapt attention, we are informed.

Along with the study camp was held a meeting of the Jan Sangh's general council. This meeting passed two very significant resolutions. One resolution, supposed to be a homage to Nehru, actually insulted his memory in a most shabby manner. The resolution asserted that "Nehru's interests and achievements were more international than national" and emphasised that "we pay him homage only as a world leader."

Devoprasad Ghosh expressed the hope that the Nehru epoch has ended for ever, and the

—GARUDA

NEW DELHI: A national forum of youth and students was held in New Delhi on September 6 to express support for the World Forum of Youth and Students in the Fight For National Independence and Liberation, For Peace.

It was the most representative gathering of youth and students in the country. Young men and women professing differing ideologies and owing allegiance to different political parties attended it.

The forum was organised jointly by the Youth Congress, the All India Youth Federation, the Young Farmers Association, the Young Workers Committee of the AITUC, the youth department of the IN-TUC, the Bharat Yuvak Samaj, the National Union of University Students of India, the All India Students Federation and the National Council of University Students of India.

As Puran Singh Azad, chairman of the National Forum, said, it was the first time that youth and student leaders of all shades of opinion had come together at the national level on a single platform.

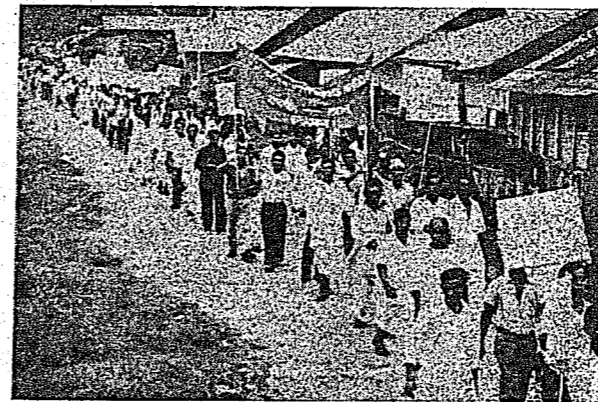
The forum was inaugurated by Dinesh Singh, Deputy Minister of External Affairs, who hoped that the youth would bring their "recklessness" into this fight for freedom and peace all over the world.

He said that it was wrong to think that the subject of freedom was "obsolete". "There are people who are still under colonial domination; there are people suffering racial domination and there are a very large number of people who are under economic domination, which is more crooked."

Hiren Mukherjee, leader of the Communist Group in Lok Sabha, said that there was a link between the freedom movements all over the world. "Only when all peoples attained independence from all kinds of imperialist and neo-imperialist oppression can we say that our freedom is complete," he said.

He hoped that the Indian delegation to the World Forum would be able to contribute to the discussions in Moscow and come to decisions on how best the youth of the world could coordinate their fight against imperialism, whether it be in Africa or in South East Asia or elsewhere.

Another speaker was to have been G. Rajagopalan, general secretary of the AIOC, but he did not address the forum because he could not return to Delhi in time.



Imphal Demonstration on August 24

MASS HUNGERSTRIKE IN IMPHAL

PROTEST AGAINST RISING FOOD PRICES

From Our Correspondent

IMPHAL: A mass hungerstrike in front of the Manipur secretariat was undertaken by more than a hundred satyagrahis on August 26 and 27 demanding cheap food for the people.

THE hungerstrike was organised by the Manipur unit of the Communist Party of India. It began at 10 a.m. on August 26 and ended at 10 a.m. on the next day. Thereafter, the Manipur secretariat was picketed as part of the All-India Satyagraha against high prices and for cheap food. Though more than a hundred people offered themselves for arrest, none was arrested.

Earlier, the Party had organised a three-day hungerstrike by twelve persons from August 22 to 24. This batch of hungerstrikers was led by Th. Bira Singh, secretary of the Manipur state council of the CPI.

Before the hungerstrikers broke their fast on August 24, there was a big demonstration which paraded important streets in Imphal. More than 2000 men and women took

part in the demonstration. Later, a public meeting was held at the Chelrap Mamang Grounds, presided over by S. Satradhari.

Besides all-India demands like seizure of hoards, state trading in foodgrains and nationalisation of banks, the Manipur unit of the CPI has put forward two specific demands on the food front: They are fixing of the price of rice at Rs. 44.80 a quintal and opening of more fair price shops to cover all parts of the plain and hill areas of the state.

It is to be noted that the price of rice in Manipur has almost doubled in the last eight months, and along with it the prices of all essential commodities have gone up unprecedentedly. Even though Manipur is more or less a surplus area, the food problem has been

persistently bad for the last few years due to the activities of hoarders.

The government has not appreciated the nature of the food problem and therefore has set up only a few fair price shops in the plains. These shops are selling rice at Rs. 53.58 a quintal from August 21, the government's stand being that it would arrest prices from going up further.

The Communist Party had told the Chief Minister in a memorandum on August 21 that the issue was not of arresting the prices. From further rise, but of bringing it down to normal level and making rice available to the people.

But as yet the government seems to be not in a mood to take any effective steps in this direction.

A View of the Hungerstrike Camp



In Honour of World Youth Forum

UNITED NATIONAL FORUM IN DELHI

By Our Staff Correspondent

Participants in the Forum included N. Basu of the YFA, C. K. Chandrappan of the AISP, G. V. Narayan Rao of the AIYF, J. Narayana of the NCUSI, Sirish Jawal of the NUUSI and Brahmchari of the BYS.

Two points which were stressed by the speakers were the immense possibilities of development and progress if the threat and preparations for a war were done away with and the necessity for solidarity with the people fighting for freedom all over the world.

A resolution passed unanimously by the national forum supported the Moscow World Forum and said: "We warmly welcome the ideals of the Forum as we are enamoured with its theme—solidarity of youth and students in the fight for national independence and liberation, for peace."

Recalling the important role of the youth and students in India's own national movement, the resolution said: "There can therefore be no greater gratification to us than to note that it is intended through the World Forum to provide a basis for the unity of all democratic, anticommunist and peace-loving forces in the world youth and student movement."

"Such a unity, we are confident, would give a tremendous impetus to the struggle for complete national liberation and independence of all the peoples all over the world."

The resolution noted that India is striving to establish, through democratic institu-

tion, a socialist order ensuring to all its citizens justice—social, economic and political—liberty of thought, expression, faith, belief and worship and equality of status and opportunity.

It said: "Of particular interest to us would be the exchange of views in the World Forum on those concrete forms of assistance that can be given to the newly liberated countries as well as to those being liberated, in their fight against hunger, disease, poverty and illiteracy."

Denounce Aggression

The resolution recalled the efforts for peace which leaders of India have made from time immemorial and are still continuing to make.

"While our country was thus engaged in the task of national reconstruction and in making an effective contribution for world peace, our people were shocked and distressed some two years ago to see China committing unprovoked and wanton aggression on our northern frontiers. This meeting of the national forum strongly urges upon the World Forum to denounce unequivocally the aggression committed by China on our land."

The resolution appealed to "all the youth and student organisations participating in the World Forum to help in creating a world opinion strong enough to compel the aggressor to vacate the ag-

gression on our land, to restrain her expansionist tendencies and to accept the Colombo proposals which our country has already accepted in toto."

The national forum "records with appreciation that it is also proposed to discuss in the World Forum the problems of racial discrimination in various parts of the world", and called upon the World Forum "to support resolutely the cause of the miserably suffering people of South Africa".

Greeting all newly independent countries, the resolution said: "We are firmly opposed to the foreign intervention in the internal affairs of North and South Vietnam and in Congo and demand that such intervention and foreign military forces there be withdrawn."

"We believe that the attempts to subvert Cuban independence should be foiled and Cuba allowed to live and develop peacefully. Foreign intervention in Cyprus should cease and peace restored to that small long-suffering people."

Consolidate Peace

The resolution concluded: "We hail the World Forum as an important landmark in the history of international youth and student movement. The Forum, we have no doubt, would provide an excellent opportunity to the youth coming from all over the globe to share experience and exchange opinions for achieving common ends, would lead to the unity of the world youth movement."

"We hope that the Forum would consolidate the efforts of the progressive youth of the world in their struggle for liquidation of colonialism, neocolonialism, for the economic, social and cultural progress of humanity and would find solutions aimed at achieving a lasting peace all over the world. We wish the Forum to make a singular contribution to mankind's struggle for peaceful, bright future."

The resolution was read out by K. V. Reddy, as moved from the chair, and it was seconded by Sarada Mitra, general secretary of the AIYF.

The national forum was greeted on behalf of the South African youth by Yusuf Dadoo and J. B. Marks who promised that a delegation of South African youth would participate in the World Forum despite the difficulties of sending anybody out of the country. Dadoo called on the Indian youth to "add your voice to their voice at the Moscow Forum against the monster of racialism" and to come to agreed decisions on how to fight that monster.

The national forum was also greeted by U. Budjema, representative of the international preparatory committee of the World Forum, and Heinrich Wessel of the Free German Youth.

DECISIONS OF THE NATIONAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE

The National Campaign Committee met in Delhi on September 5 to review the struggles conducted by the working class and trade unions in support of the 11-point charter of demands adopted by the All-India Conference held last December in Bombay, and to decide on the next course of action.

The Committee meeting was attended by S. A. Dange, Ranen Sen, P. Ramamurti, Parvathi Krishnan, Satish Loomba, K. G. Sriwastava, T. B. Vittal Rao, M. Elias, Monoranjan Roy, Jagannath Sarkar, Ram Asrey, B. D. Joshi, Kartar Singh, Swami Kumaranand, S. K. Sanyal, Harbans Singh, Robin Mukherjee, S. C. Patkar, S. K. Limaye, Y.

V. Chavan, J. Satyanarayana, P. K. Kumaran, K. M. Sundaram, Prabhat Kar, Vithal Chaudhari, Dr. U. Misra, P. Kapadia, B. Trivedi, Munilal and Nihar Mukherjee. Among them were 17 members of the Working Committee of the AITUC.

Among those who spoke at the meeting were S. A. Dange, P. Ramamurti, Ranen Sen, K. G. Sriwastava, Satish Loomba and the general secretaries of various state TUCs and industrial federations.

The following two resolutions, outlining the next course of action, were adopted unanimously.

APPEAL TO ALL CENTRAL TRADE UNION ORGANISATIONS

The National Campaign Committee of the Toilers of India congratulates the lakhs of men and women—workers, employees, professional people, shopkeepers and others—who responded magnificently to the call for statewide 'bandhs' in Kerala, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Uttar Pradesh and Goa and made these actions a united manifestation of the people's anger against rising prices and scarcity of essential commodities and the anti-people policies of the government.

The workers in many parts of India have gone on united local actions as in Colmbatore and West Bengal, Delhi and other places, adopting various forms of struggle.

As a result of these and other struggles, the demand for state trading in foodgrains and for nationalisation of banks has gathered momentum and many sections of people, and political opinion have begun to press for their immediate implementation. The government has been forced to announce that state trading in foodgrains will be introduced but their scheme of a Trading Corporation is partial and defective as it does not envisage monopoly purchase of foodgrains by the state, thus leaving the way open for pri-

vate trade and speculators to operate. The steep and continuous rise in prices is not due to any natural causes but is the result of the growth of monopoly concentration of wealth and money and the speculation and hoarding which are facilitated and abetted by the policies of the government.

It is a matter of deep concern that these policies still continue. Prices continue to rise; speculators and hoarders continue to mint money out of people's food, creating an artificial scarcity and the government refuses to take any effective

action against these enemies of the people. Such half-hearted action as the government has been forced to take has not resulted in improving the situation as a whole but has worsened conditions and accentuated the crisis in some areas. Government's anti-working class attitude has found another concrete manifestation in the decision to alter the Report of the Bonus Commission against workers' interests and along the lines pressed for by the monopolists, as reflected in the dissenting note of their representative in the Commission.

In these circumstances, the

National Campaign Committee once again reiterates its firm belief that it is only united and resolute action by the working class, in solidarity with millions of other toilers, which can force the government to take concrete action against the food hoarders, monopoly financiers and others who are heaping misery on the people. It is only united action by the working class which can force the government to abandon those policies which have led to the present conditions and adopt measures which will relieve the situation and benefit the people. Such a united class action should naturally take the form of Bharat Bandh.

Today, workers' struggles on local, industrial and statewide scale in support of their demands will continue to take place. The National Campaign Committee lends its full support to such struggles and considers them an integral part of the nationwide struggle to defeat the offensive of the anti-people forces. It appeals to all workers, whatever their affiliation, to unite together to make these actions successful and to lay the basis for a united all-India action of the toilers.

The series of statewide 'bandhs' actions have made it clear that if various central TU organisations can give a united call, the working class and other toiling sections of the

In the main body of the Bonus Commission's report, it has been recorded that S. A. Dange, who represented the AITUC on the Commission, did not agree with the Commission's observations or recommendations on various issues. For the information of trade unions, extracts noting the dissenting opinions of S. A. Dange are reproduced below.

1. ON COMMISSION'S OBSERVATIONS ABOUT BONUS FORMULA SUGGESTED BY TRADE UNIONS

"Our colleague, Shri S. A. Dange, does not agree with our assessment of the formulae suggested by trade unions. However, he does not want to press his views at this stage in view of the common understanding on the formula arrived at by the Commission." (page 30)

The Commission had stated in the report: "Having considered the various views on this matter, we are unable to recommend that bonus should be determined at a certain percentage of the gross profits

or the need based minimum wage convention." (page 57)

2. ON RATE OF RETURN ON PAID UP CAPITAL

"Our colleague, Shri Dange, does not think that a sufficient change in the circumstances, since the Full Bench Formula was devised, warrant some increase in the rate of return on paid up capital. He, however, has given his consent to raise the return to 7 per cent because of the common understanding on minimum bonus." (page 50)

The Commission had stated in the report: "Having given careful consideration to the representations made before us, we are of the view that the return on paid up capital to be allowed as a prior charge in the bonus formula should be at 7% (subject to a Minute of Dissent by Shri Dandekar). There has been a sufficient change of circumstances since the Full Bench Formula was devised to warrant some increase in the rate of return on paid up capital."

3. ON BONUS IN NEW CONCERNS

"Our colleague Shri Dange does not agree with this recommendation as he feels that this will deprive thousands of workers for such a long period as six years, despite their being in production, from the benefit of even the minimum bonus, in concerns which are expected to have enough financial resources to meet this extra addition of only four per cent to their normal wage bill, which today is, in no case, based

DISSENTING VIEWS OF S. A. DANGE RECORDED IN BONUS REPORT

of the need based minimum wage convention." (page 57)

The recommendation made by the Commission, referred here to as "the general bonus formula proposed by us should not apply to new concerns until they have recovered all early losses including all arrears of normal depreciation admissible under the Income-tax Act, subject to a time limit of six years. In other words, in such cases we recommend that the liability to pay bonus (including minimum bonus) in accordance with our formula should commence only (a) from the year in which there is for the first time an overall net profit, i.e., sufficient profit, after providing for that year's normal depreciation, to wipe off all accumulations of previous losses and arrears of depreciation; or (b) from the sixth year following the year in which the undertaking begins to sell its products and/or services; whichever may be earlier."

4. ON BONUS TO SEAMEN

"Our colleague, Shri Dange, however, is not inclined to agree with this view." (page 84)

5. ON BONUS TO WORKMEN IN INSTITUTIONS

"Our colleague, Shri Dange, however, thinks that bonus formula should be applicable to those institutions which are within the meaning of the Industrial Disputes Act." (page 87)

The Commission report recommended that "the bonus formula should obviously not apply to employees of institutions such as Chambers of Commerce, Red Cross Associations, universities, schools, colleges, hospitals and social welfare institutions, etc. Such institutions are not established with a view to make profits, though they may have a surplus of income over expenditure. It is necessary to go into the question as to which of these are industries within the meaning of the Industrial Disputes Act. We recommend that the bonus formula should not apply to such institutions."

6. ON BONUS TO WORKMEN IN PUBLIC SECTOR UNDERTAKINGS

"Our colleague Shri Dange does not agree with this recommendation, as he holds that public sector undertakings should pay bonus from the moment they go into production/service irrespective of whether they are competitive or not." (page 89)

The report stated on this point: "Talking generally in the light of what has been said earlier, we feel that a practical, rough and ready but objective yardstick for assessment of the competitive character of public sector enterprises is necessary. And we recommend, therefore, that if not less than 20% of the gross aggregate sales turnover of a public sector undertaking consists of sales of services and/or products which compete with the products and/or services produced and sold by units in the private sector, then such undertakings should be deemed to be competitive and our formula should apply to such units. We recommend further that in the event of any disputes in particular cases as to whether any anomalous and marginal cases fall within or outside the dividing line of being '20% competitive', the machinery for deciding them should be that recommended by us in paragraph 19.23 Chapter XIX for the settlement of bonus disputes generally."

7. ON BONUS TO "DISMISSED" EMPLOYEES

"However, our colleague Shri Dange totally disagrees both with the approach as well as the recommendation on this question. He does not mind the present position being retained in which bonus is withheld on account of misconduct involving financial loss to the company." (page 93)

The Commission had recommended that "for the present, the existing practice may continue, but with the addition that bonus may be withheld for dismissal only in cases of riotous or violent behaviour on the work premises, theft, fraud, misappropriation or sabotage of property of the concern; and further extension may be deferred to a more propitious moment."

8. STATEMENT AT END OF REPORT

"Our colleague Shri Dange desires that the following statement be incorporated in the report:

"There are certain points in the general body of the report and in the Bonus Formula adopted here on which I would have liked to add a separate dissenting note detailing my views. But I have refrained from doing so in the hope that what has been accepted herein may do away with the complications which the workers had to face on the bonus question in the last few years and may give all of them a better deal for the time being at least." (page 93)

ON GOVT'S MODIFICATION OF BONUS REPORT

This meeting of the National Campaign Committee has considered the decision of the Government of India on the report of the Bonus Commission. This decision lays down, inter alia, that—

(i) All direct taxes for the time being in force should be deducted as prior charges in the calculation of 'available surplus' for purposes of bonus.

(ii) In addition, tax con-

cessions given to industry to provide resources for future development should not be utilised for payment of larger bonuses to employees.

(iii) As regards return on capital, the actual rate payable on preferential share capital, 8.5 per cent (taxable) on paid up equity capital and six per cent (taxable) on reserves should be allowed in respect of establishments other than banks; in the case of banks, correspond-

ing rates to be allowed should be the actual rate payable on preferential share capital, 7.5 per cent (taxable) on paid-up equity capital, and five per cent (taxable) on reserves.

(iv) Bonus beyond a certain level should be paid in the form of savings certificates or other suitable investments.

This meeting is of the firm opinion that this decision is an abject surrender on the part of the government to the pressure which the big capitalists have been mounting quite blatantly for past few months against the recommendations of the Bonus Commission, as a part of their all round offensive to bring about a reactionary shift in the policies of the country. Government's decision is a clear evidence of the big capitalists' influence on the government.

2. In setting aside the recommendations made by a majority of six of the seven members of the tripartite commission, to which one of the employers' representatives (representing the public sector) was also a party, and in virtually implementing the suggestions of the lone dissenting member, the government has created a precedent which strikes at the root of all tripartite collective bargaining bodies.

3. The Commission has spent more than two years in studying all aspects of the question of bonus, on which it has set down its findings in detail. The Commission had given full

consideration to the points of difference raised by their dissenting colleague and had cogently argued against his points. These facts further bring out the thoroughly arbitrary character of government's decisions on the recommendations of the Bonus Commission.

Unions Should Serve Bonus

Demand Notices Before Sept. 25

4. The Commission was appointed as a result of the prolonged and determined struggle waged by the organised trade union movement as a whole against the L.A.T. formula and for a better bonus formula which would yield larger amounts as bonus to the working class in various industries and would narrow down the difference between the actual wage and the need-based wage to which the right of the working class has been recognised. The Campaign Committee is of the considered opinion that modifications effected by the government in the recommendations of the Commission will result in drastically cutting down the quantum of bonus in almost all profit-making concerns which constitute the overwhelming majority of concerns in the country. The fact that government has dared to effect these anti-working class modifica-

drastic cut in purchasing power is the remedy for controlling prices.

5. The Campaign Committee severely condemns this anti-working class decision of the government which has dashed the hopes for a larger bonus of millions of working men and women in the organised industries and has angered the working class all over the country.

6. The Campaign Committee takes note of the fact that conditions for defending workers' interests against this onslaught on them have improved due to the complete unanimity among all trade union centres in the country in condemning the modifications made by the government and in declaring their resolve to fight the decision of the government with all means at their command including that of strike. The Campaign Committee suggests to all the central TU organisa-

tions in complete disregard of the strong and unanimous opinion of the organised TU movement clearly shows that the government fully accepts the notorious bourgeois theory that the rise in prices is due to greater purchasing power in the hands of the working people and that a

7. The Campaign Com-

the body of the Bonus Commission's report.

The Commission, therefore, suggests that since the Government of India has rejected in essence the Bonus Commission formula, all trade union organisations should immediately press for the formula put forward by the TU movement. We should now demand that bonus be paid on the basis of the following formula:

(a) A minimum bonus equal to one-twelfth of the total earnings in perennial industries and one-sixth of total earnings in seasonal industries be paid by all concerns covered by the Factories Act, the Shops and Establishments Acts, etc., irrespective of their financial position.

(b) The available surplus for distribution as bonus should be arrived at and distributed as follows: From Gross Profits, deduct—

—Depreciation;
—5 per cent return on actual paid up capital, excluding bonus shares;
—2 per cent return on reserves;
—Statutory income-tax on profits after deducting bonus payable;
Sixty per cent of the avail-

able surplus thus calculated should be paid as bonus in cash without any ceiling.

(c) There should be no freezing of any part of the bonus amount into savings certificates.

(d) Rehabilitation, development rebate, super tax, shall not be admitted as prior charges.

(e) Accounts of companies must be made available for inspection on demand from unions.

(f) New concerns must pay minimum bonus till they start making profits. New establishments of old companies shall be treated along with the parent company for the purposes of bonus.

(g) All public sector concerns whether departmentally run or otherwise and whether enjoying monopoly or not must pay bonus on the same basis as concerns in private sector.

(h) All workers including casual, temporary, contract workers shall be paid pro rata bonus according to the number of days put in by them with the concern in the relevant year.

(i) Bonus shall be recoverable through Payment of Wages Courts.

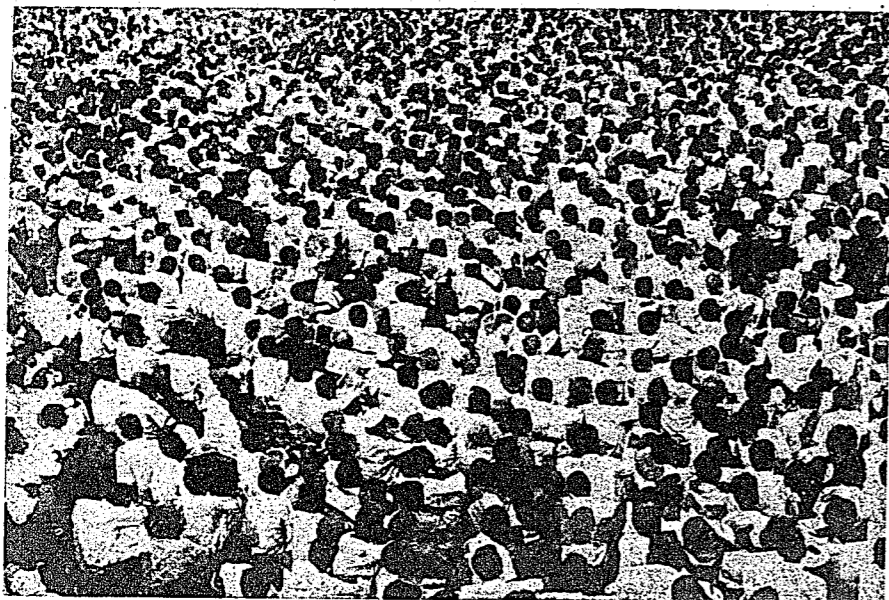
(j) Employers failing to pay bonus due before the expiry of the eighth month after the end of the bonus

year shall be punished. (k) Wherever there exist awards/settlements for payment of higher quantum of bonus, these shall continue. The Campaign Committee further suggests to all trade unions:

i) to serve notices on the respective employers before September 25, 1964 for this year's bonus basing their demands on the points given above.

ii) to organise big demonstrations on September 25, 1964 on the demands for adequate bonus and the demand for linking DA with the local cost of living index, so as to fully neutralise the rise in the index with a point to point adjustment.

iii) To prepare and to resort to strike struggles on the bonus demand if it is rejected by the employers and government in the respective units or industries as and when desired and democratically decided by the unions and workers concerned, so that this year's bonus struggles will become a coordinated all-India bonus battle against the employers as a class.



Bombay Rally on September 6 for Bonus

Demonstrate on September 25 for Bonus & D.A. Linked with Index

Progress Of Egyptian Revolution

By I. BELYAYEV

Only several years ago foreign tourists believed that a box-like sky-scraper on the Nile embankment in Cairo was the best expression of the Republic's striving for a new life.

TODAY, however, when foreign journalists are shown the new sights of the country, they are taken to the small town of Helwan where a new coke battery has been built and an iron and steel plant is being enlarged with Soviet assistance. In the Information Department the journalists will be given thick booklets on statistical data and the five-year plan. The figures of this plan express the impetuous onward march of the United Arab Republic (UAR).

Much has been said and written about industrialisation in Afro-Asian countries. But few countries have accomplished as much as the UAR. In the twelve years after the revolution nearly 800 plants were built. They give one confidence in today and hopes for the future.

Under the budget for the new financial year which started on July 1, nearly thirty times more money is to be expended on

industry than before the revolution. This year alone over 170,000 people will join the seven million-strong army of workers. Such is the industrialisation rate of the once hopelessly backward Egypt.

Many Egyptian economists consider that the UAR is no longer an agrarian country, but an industrial and agrarian state. They have sufficient grounds for this assertion. The UAR's income has been so distributed as to receive a bigger share from industry than from agriculture. The Egyptians are proud of the High Aswan Dam which is being erected with the help of the Soviet Union.

These successes do not mean of course that the UAR has already overcome all its difficulties. The consequences of British domination are too grave. The life of the Egyptian fellahs (peasants) is still hard. Not all of them have land, and it is not so easy to provide them with it. There are many free hands in the countryside.

I happened to be in a village in the Nile delta. The peasants gathered to meet me, a Soviet journalist. Everybody tried to tell me about himself. When I asked a fellow who had no land of his own but leased it, what the revolution had given him, he answered without any hesitation: "I eat every day now."

The fellow told the real truth which revealed another feature of the revolution. He perceived it through bread and land which he had received or will receive under the agrarian reform.

The scheme for building big state farms on lands irrigated by water from the Aswan Reservoir is a really revolutionary step.

When the revolution was just unfolding President Nasser put forward a six-point programme of its aims:

- 1. Doing away with imperialism and its agents;
- 2. Abolition of feudalism;
- 3. Ending the domination of capital over the government;
- 4. Institution of social justice;
- 5. Building up a strong national army; and

Establishment of sound democratic life.

Today it can be said that this programme is being translated into life. The colonialists have been driven out of the country for ever. The feudal and semi-feudal landlords have been liquidated as a class. The revolution also treated with scant respect the capitalists. The big and part of the middle bourgeoisie have lost everything except the hope for a small compensation.

Socialism has become the chief goal of the revolution. By introducing anti-capitalist reforms and putting an end to the big and part of the middle bourgeoisie the Nasser government laid the conditions for effecting sweeping reforms in the future.

It is being argued even now what kind of socialism is being built in the United Arab Republic. The recent negotiations between the delegations of the National Liberation Front of Algeria and the Arab Socialist Union of the UAR showed that the two countries are fully determined to build socialism on a scientific basis.

Nikita Khrushchov's visit to the United Arab Republic showed that Soviet-Egyptian friendship is growing stronger. By welcoming the Soviet Premier as their dear friend the Egyptians want their friendship with the Soviet people to strengthen further.

(PRAVDA, July 23, 1964)

once firms and many factories in Iraq indicates the great influence exerted by the Egyptian revolution on the Arab world.

One of the "secrets" of the successes of the UAR on the road of non-capitalist development towards socialism is friendship with the Soviet Union. This friendship was born as a natural necessity in the struggle against imperialists who attempted to crush the Egyptian revolution.

The Soviet Union sent Egypt arms to help it resist the Anglo-French-Israeli aggression. It also helps Egypt to build its heavy and medium industry. Lastly, Soviet engineers and hydro power experts are working together with Egyptians at Aswan where Africa's largest hydro scheme is under construction. These facts alone show the sincere desire of our people to share their experience with the Egyptians, to help them in economic upbuilding.

The reforms carried out in the UAR have become an example for other countries. Herein lies the strength of the Egyptian revolution. The nationalisation of banks, insur-

To Combat Floods CPI DEMANDS GOVT. ACTION

The executive committee of the Punjab state council of the CPI in its meeting held in Jullundur on September 2 expressed grave concern at the immense devastation caused by the floods in the state.

It held the state government, especially the Kairon Ministry, and the Government of India responsible for their failure to take adequate steps in time to prevent floods.

The executive felt that even now the state government was not handling the situation with as much urgency as the situation demanded.

The executive demanded that the following steps, besides others, must be taken immediately by the government.

- 1. Immediate measures to drain off flood water threatening further destruction and diseases.
- 2. Stepping up relief measures.

ON PAGE 18

Communist Parties around the world are voicing support for the preparatory conference of the world Communist and Workers' Parties meeting, to be held in Moscow in coming December. The Communist Party of India has already supported the decision to hold the preparatory meeting.

THE Central Committee of the Communist Party of Argentina recently made a statement stressing the need for holding a meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the world in the immediate future.

The Committee announced its "full agreement with the political propositions and concrete suggestions of the Soviet comrades on holding a preparatory conference and the meeting of the world's Communist and Workers' Parties to discuss the ideological and political differences between the leaders of the Communist Party of China and the other Marxist-Leninist Parties, to create the conditions for overcoming these difficulties and to put an end to the factional activities of the Chinese leaders and their henchmen in the world Communist and working class movement."

As regards the date for such a meeting, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Argentina points out that "the present situation calls for holding the conference at the earliest possible opportunity. The organisation of such a conference can and must be undertaken by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, as was the case of the 1960 meeting. Since then, however, the need has arisen

of placing greater responsibility in this connection on the other Communist Parties, including our own," the statement says.

The statement says that in their previously published documents the Chinese leaders declared their consent to the holding of a preparatory conference for preparing such a meeting but demanded a change in its composition.

"The CPC leaders," the statement says, "who represent themselves as the sole defenders of the colonial and dependent countries, have suggested and continue to suggest that the Communist Parties of Brazil and Argentina, which took an active part in the preparations for the 1960 meeting, be expelled from the organisational commission for the preparation of the meeting. This shows that the Chinese leaders urge to leave Latin America unrepresented on that commission."

At present the Chinese leaders are openly declaring their intention to continue the polemics indefinitely and demand that the CPSU leadership publish all the documents and correspondence with the CPC and other Parties and that the meeting be postponed for 4-5 years or not held at all, completely ignoring the present world situation which calls with

FOR INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE WORLD COMMUNIST PARTIES SUPPORT PREPARATORY MEETING

growing insistence for greater solidarity of the Communist and working class movement in order to implement the political and tactical line they have jointly developed.

The statement exposes the procrastinating tactics to which the Chinese leaders resort "to gain time, to set up dissenter groupings, and factions in the Communist Parties and to split the world Communist movement." The holding of the conference cannot imperil unity provided, of course, the Chinese leaders do not wish to torpedo it using some method or other; unity is imperilled by their splitting and factional activities in the ranks of the Communist Parties.

The statement says: "The suggestions made by Soviet comrades are aimed at overcoming the present crisis and avoiding the danger of a split. It is quite obvious that if the Chinese leaders were really interested in a greater unity, they would not refuse to discuss the

differences at such a meeting." "The Lebanese Communists, together with the fraternal Communist Parties, resolutely denounce the splitting activities of the Chinese leaders directed against the unity of the Communist movement, the international revolutionary working-class movement and the national liberation movement," says a statement by the Lebanese Communist Party published in the newspaper AL NIDA.

"The Communists of the Lebanon, together with the fraternal Communist Parties, express their wrathful indignation at the attempts of the Chinese leaders to drive a wedge between the newly-free countries and their sincere allies—the socialist states headed by the Soviet Union."

The statement further stresses that the Lebanese Communists vigorously denounce the subversive activities of the CPC leaders against the unity and solidarity of the Communist Parties in the Arab countries.

The Communists of the Lebanon, the statement points out, consider it their duty to expose before the world the activities of representatives of the Peking leaders in the Lebanon, establishing contacts with suspicious elements and renegades ousted from the ranks of the Communist movement as well as with individual representatives of the right-wing Baithists and the mercenary fascist Popular Social Party.

The Chinese leaders are trying to use these elements in their splitting and subversive activities against the national and progressive forces of the Arab countries. Diplomatic representatives of one of the neighbouring Arab countries are making frequent trips to Lebanon to meet these reactionaries. They bribe them, supply them with money and with Chinese propagandistic literature.

Chinese representatives publish paid articles in the most reactionary and pro-imperialist newspapers, in which the CPC leaders and their agents make slanderous attacks on the Soviet Union, the international Communist movement, the Lebanese Communists

and the Communists of other Arab countries and openly call for splitting activities, says the statement.

The Lebanese Communists are with those who struggle to preserve the unity of the international Communist movement and to increase its cohesion on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

The Lebanese Communists state that together with the overwhelming majority of the Marxist-Leninist Parties they approve the idea of the convocation of an international meeting of representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties and fully support the letter of the CPSU Central Committee sent on June 15 to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

Tim Buck, chairman of the Communist Party of Canada, in an interview to PRAVDA says:

"We consider that the convocation of a new international meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties is urgently needed because the leaders of the Communist Party of China have gone to such lengths in their subversive campaign that they are now taking open action to sow dissension in the Communist movement."

"The proposals advanced by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union indicate the way to overcome these difficulties. The purpose of the meeting is to rally the world Communist movement, which testifies to both the concern of the CPSU Central Committee for the unity of movement and its indefatigable struggle for the purity of Marxism-Leninism."

He says: "In September 1962, the Central Committee of our Party adopted a resolution which indicated that a new international meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties was absolutely necessary. And we have always supported the idea of convening such a meeting ever since."

"On behalf of all the members of our Party I say that we welcome the step of the CPSU Central Committee which corresponds to the opinions and outlooks favoured by the overwhelming majority of Parties."

CHINESE VERSION OF MARXISM

AFRICA, LATIN AMERICA, ASIA: REVOLUTION.
(Vol. I, No. 9, Price: 75 cents).

THE international Communist movement has a magazine of its own called "Peace, Freedom, Socialism" (World Marxist Review). It is a cooperative venture of all the CPs of the world and was established by a decision of the 1957 world conference. About two years ago the Communist Party of China not only withdrew its representative from the editorial board but stopped the Chinese language edition of this magazine.

Now the splitters' international has founded a magazine of its own, brought out from Paris and with a chief editor called J. M. Verges, who was thrown out of Algeria by Ben Bella for his disruptive activities.

The very title of the magazine indicates its character. Revolution—yes! But why only in the continents of Africa, Latin America and Asia? And why this geographical approach in the first place? Where does the world socialist system fit into this? What about the international unity of the world's workers—a slogan as old as the 1847 Communist Manifesto of Marx and Engels?

The pro-Peking character of the magazine is indicated by the title—has not Mao Tse-tung's "thought" decided that the fate of the world revolution hinges on developments in these three continents? Moreover, Mao's writing is reproduced, that Khrushchov is "likened" by the US imperialists and there is a long article by a geography professor from New Zealand singing hosannas to the "specific" Chinese model of growth.

For good measure, there is a tirade against the "revisionist" leadership of Gollan, Palme Dutt and George Mathews, which is alleged to have destroyed the "revolutionary spirit" of the CP of Great Britain.

Thus, the reader can have no doubt as to the ideological inspiration behind this magazine, even if

he wonders how such a lavishly produced and "ultra revolutionary" journal can manage to survive in imperialist France without some subsidy from somewhere.

Now what are the views put forward in Revolution? First, note must be taken of the advocacy of split. The article on the CP of Great Britain not only denounces the present "revisionist" leadership

but adds that "a genuine Communist Party must be established in England, in Scotland and in Wales".... a genuine Communist Party must be established before advance can be made against monopoly capital in Britain. We shall, before long, achieve this goal" (p. 61).

No "Dutt letters" have been "discovered" in the British Museum or other articles and the call for disruption is made in terms with which our "Swadeshi" splitters have long made us familiar. How can the "left" Communists here complain, then, if they are accused of being part of an international disruptionist drive against the world Communist movement?

But split is not to be confined to the CPs of the world. There is an article in this issue by Viriato da Cruz, who was removed from the organisation of the Angolan revolutionary nationalists called the MPLA. This organisation is part and parcel of the Angolan government in exile headed by Roberto Holden, which is recognised by the Organisation of African States and which directs

the armed struggle against Portuguese imperialism.

Despite the armed nature of the struggle, supposedly so dear to Peking's heart, and the extremely difficult situation in which the Angolan patriots are fighting, Revolution opens its pages to this renegade and his open slanders and call for disruption. All who have any illusions about the supposed Chinese concern for Afro-Asian "solidarity" would be well advised to go through this article.

Second, Revolution propagates racialism. The CPC leadership and its supporters are very touchy whenever the charge of racialism is made but what are we to make of the article "The Meaning of the Black Revolt in the USA" by James Boggs?

Here are a few gems: "The fact is that the white workers have been gaining at the expense of the Negroes for so long, that for them to unite with Negroes would be like cutting their own throats" (p. 104).

"Where then are the Negroes to go as they press for equality? The only place where they can go is those places which are filled by white workers. The only way they can progress is at the expense of white workers. But the white workers are not going to permit this without a fight" (p. 107).

"Today in the United States, the working class, aided and abetted by the large number of middle-class people who have come from the working class, represents the bulk of the counter-revolutionary forces against the Negro revolt. Theoretically, it has always been assumed that it was the power structure of a society which encouraged and promoted the counter-revolution. But today in the United States it is not so much what the power structure does that is encouraging counter-revolution but what the workers themselves are doing" (p. 108).

"The Negroes, on the other hand, have no choice but to risk conflicts and clashes with white workers, particularly on the question of jobs" (p. 110).



BOOK REVIEW



Satyagraha in Tamilnad.

ULBRICHT'S APPEAL FOR GERMAN PEACE TREATY

From P. KUNHANANDAN NAIR

BERLIN: September 1, 1964 was the 25th anniversary since Hitler unleashed the Second World War.

THE GDR state council chairman Walter Ulbricht addressing the special session of Parliament on this occasion, which was observed as a day dedicated to world peace, called on people's parliaments and governments of the states of anti-Hitler coalition to see the German peace treaty finally concluded and ensure peace in the heart of Europe.

"This could at the same time be the best contribution they can make to the peaceful and democratic reunification of Germany", he reminded.

He called for removal of obstacles hitherto heaped from West German side. Ulbricht proposed: the two German states appeal to the four powers of the Potsdam agreement to respect both German states as permanent nuclear weapon free areas and to withdraw whatever nuclear weapons they may have stationed on German soil.

And the two German states essentially reduce their military budgets and use the funds which are thus made available for social purposes and for the support of economically underdeveloped countries.

As a contribution of the two German states to guaranteeing European security, Walter Ulbricht wanted the two German states to declare their readiness in accordance with the proposals of the Soviet Union to renounce the use of force in settling disputed questions, support the proposal of the People's Republic of Poland and freezing of nuclear arms in Central Europe as a first step to the creation of a nuclear weapon free zone.

He also stated that there can

be no doubt that only a policy of relaxation, the overcoming of cold war and disarmament can lead to rapprochement of the two German states. Peaceful coexistence between the two German states is a fundamental condition for safeguarding peace in Europe and the most elementary prerequisite for a future reunification of Germany.

The Hallstein doctrine is an instrument in the hands of the West German neo-colonialists. The German peace treaty on the other hand, would help the non-aligned states in particular to oppose the tutelage of the West German Federal Republic in foreign policies and to consistently carry through their policy of neutrality.

Ulbricht declared: "In view of the fact that the first and the second World Wars were born out of the striving of German imperialism to set up its colonial regime in vast areas of Asia and Africa in order to plunder the peoples of these areas and in view of the fact that the German Democratic Republic has also learned the lessons of history in this question I solemnly declare on the tribune of this august house: imperialism with its strivings for colonial exploitation and the plundering of other peoples has been uprooted in the German Democratic Republic on the basis of its socialist social system, the German Democratic Republic stood and stands unshakably on the side of the independent states of Asia and Africa and Latin America which came into existence after the Second World War as well as of those peoples still living under the

colonial yoke, in the struggle against all imperialist attempts to restore colonialism with new methods, to preserve it and force the peoples into new forms of dependence."

He said German peace treaty will transform West Berlin into a neutral free city.

Twenty years after the end of the war it was high time to conclude a peace treaty which would make it possible to remove the vestiges of war and form a confederation of the two German states to pave the way for the reunification of Germany into a peace-loving state, Ulbricht visualised.

In this connection the GDR state council Chairman repeated the proposals he made in his letter to West German Chancellor Ludwig Erhard. "The consistent fulfilment of the Potsdam agreement in the GDR gives us the right to emphatically assert the claim of the GDR to participation in international institutions on an equal footing including admission to the United Nations" Walter Ulbricht also declared. He added that it contradicts the interests of peace as well as their self-imposed obligations if the western powers and other states of the anti-Hitler coalition do not maintain normal relations with the GDR but on the contrary support the revanchist policy of the West German state and lend themselves to discriminating against the German peace state and its citizens.

There is but one way for co-existence of the two German states said Walter Ulbricht and that is understanding on step by step disarmament and reduction of the power of the armament monopolies and the influence of revanchism. "The wall in Berlin is the consequence of the policy of the extremists in the West German," he stated in this connection.

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On S. S. Mirajkar's Interview

S. A. Dange, General Secretary of the All-India Trade Union Congress, issued the following statement on September 7, on the interview given by S. S. Mirajkar, President of the AITUC, to a Kerala daily:

"Comrade Mirajkar, President of the AITUC, is reported to have given an interview to the *Deshabhimani*, a Malayalam daily, run by E. M. S. Namboodiripad. Some parts of it appeared in a few English papers. The interview makes certain statements against the AITUC centre and me particularly.

"Comrade Mirajkar's most outstanding complaint is that he is paid only Rs. 100/- (not 1000/- as some papers have said), while even a clerk in the AITUC gets Rs. 250. The facts are as follows:

"There are seven people (excluding myself) who are working full time at the AITUC centre. Two of them are elected secretaries. There are two salary scales in the AITUC centre—Rs. 300 and Rs. 250.

"Besides this, we also meet the part-time needs of some ten organisers in various centres in the country, all of them being whole-timers in TU work.

"The President's post is not a paid post. But the AITUC centre has a practice of giving Rs. 100 or Rs. 150 to the President for his local conveyance, etc. This practice was started by the late N. M. Joshi and Comrade Mirajkar's predecessor was paid in the same way.

Not Correct

"Comrade Mirajkar's complaint that he is not given travelling expenses is not correct. He is always booked by air or first class train and all his costs including stay in hotels are met by the AITUC whenever he chooses to attend its meetings.

"Moreover, Comrade Mirajkar's home conditions are not so bad that he has to live only on the AITUC allowance. His wife earns over Rs. 350/- per month as a senior grade teacher in the Bombay Corporation schools. His son to whom he refers in his interview is reported to be employed on Rs. 300 or so. His another son, who was trained as a Lino operator in the Party press earns over Rs. 500 or so. Thus it can be seen that neither the AITUC nor the Party has conspired to 'disable' him in any way.

"With all this, if he wanted more money, he could have asked for it, which he did not do, until he gave this interview.

"Comrade Mirajkar complains that he has been neglected by the AITUC in the matter of sending him in delegations abroad and that once I sent 'my driver' that is the driver of the AITUC car, instead of the President. What are the facts in this respect?

"Comrade Mirajkar has been sent abroad six times. And he, along with Com. K. T. Sule, is the only Commu-

(6) Moscow in August-September 1961 for medical treatment and rest.

"During these visits, he also visited Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, and several other countries in Europe.

"The driver, about whom he complains, is a victimised trade union leader. He was organiser and secretary of the Road Transport Union in U.P. and lost his job in a strike. Then the AITUC employed him, as it required a driver. He was sent to Moscow in a delegation of the Road Transport Federation. From there he attended the Congress of the WFTU.

"As Comrade Mirajkar had ceased to take much interest

in the AITUC work and did not show any desire to go to the World Congress, he was not included in the delegation which consisted of 25 delegates and 7 observers drawn from all over the country.

"In fact, the President should have been proud that the AITUC sent its driver, who is a worker, to the World Congress. Instead, he is complaining. It is the standing practice in the AITUC centre that all its staff members (apart from the elected office bearers) are given the opportunity to go once at least, in delegations abroad. Five such members have, so far, been sent abroad. Not being functionaries of local unions, they have no chance of being sent through any union. Hence this practice of ours, which enables them to learn and help our work better for the AITUC. It should also be noted that generally, delegations are composed by consultations with unions concerned or the state TUCs or the Working Committee which, on several occasions, delegated the choice to the secretariat.

"These few facts are enough to show that Comrade Miraj-

kar has really no grounds for complaint so far as the treatment he has received from the AITUC centre.

"His story about the WFTU grants, which are given to the AITUC as solidarity aid, is all concoction. The aid is spent through the AITUC and the persons concerned in the office keep the accounts. It is dealt with by me as General Secretary of the AITUC and also as Vice-President of the WFTU. As President of the AITUC, he could any time have asked me about it or looked into the records even in my absence. I may have to say something more about this later on.

"Comrade Mirajkar, in his long interview, has brought in many other matters. I do not think it is necessary to reply to them, because they are nothing but figments of his imagination, coming out rather too late in the day and are drawn from the same arsenal of slanders which has been let loose against me since some time. It is best to treat it with contempt. The real story, it is plain, hangs round the question of a hundred rupees."

The Ninth Comment on the Open Letter of the CC, CPSU "On Khrushchov's Phoney Communism and its historical lessons for the world" is a gruesome document, full of slanders, distortions, half truths and plain untruths.

It contains invidious attacks against the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and personally against Khrushchov. This, of course, is nothing new.

Recently, abuses and slanderous attacks in millions and millions of words have poured forth from Peking against all those who dared to disagree with the Chinese leadership. In this document the ire is turned against the CC CPSU because it dared to lead Soviet people into the construction of communism.

In its almost pathetic attempts to 'refute' the possibility of building communism "so soon" in the Soviet Union, it enters into blatant assertions and contradicts the Chinese leaders' own previous estimates and views on transition to communism.

After the working class assumes state power and starts constructing socialism, how long will the revolution remain socialist? Or how long will it take to complete the construction of socialism and for transition to communism? Read this:

"...Second, socialist society covers a very long historical period. Classes and class struggle continue to exist in this society, and the struggle still goes on between the road of socialism and the road of capitalism. The socialist front on the economic front (in the ownership of the means of production) is insufficient by itself and cannot be consolidated.

"There must also be a thorough socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts. Here a very long period of time is needed to decide 'who will win' in the struggle between socialism and capitalism. Several decades won't do it; success requires anywhere from one to several centuries.

"On the question of duration, it is better to prepare for a longer rather than a shorter period of time. On the question of efforts, it is better to regard the task as difficult rather than easy. It will be more advantageous and less harmful to think and act in this way. Anyone who fails to see this or to appreciate it fully will make tremendous mistakes.

"At that time Chinese society will enter the era of communism in which the principle of 'from each according to his ability and to each according to his needs' will be practical." (Extracts from the Resolution on some questions concerning peoples' communes of the CC CPC, December 10, 1958—emphasis ours.)

In the Political Bureau resolution quoted in the CC resolution it is summed up point blank thus: "It seems that the attainment of communism in China is no longer a remote future event".

So it turns out that the original views of the Chinese leaders were that the process of completion of socialist stages and transition to communism is a question of several years only or at most a few decades. We quoted above from the resolutions of the Central Committee and Polit Bureau.

It follows that these are at least as authoritative, if not more, than the views expressed in the Ninth Comment. Mao himself would have had an important role in formulating the views of the CC.

Why this sharp change in the views of Chinese leaders? Why from such over-optimism of 1958 to the downright pessimism of 1964? It is a nor-

mal practice for parties to explain why their views on a particular issue are being shifted; changed or amended.

Here the change is even more than to an exact opposite standpoint. But the Chinese leaders have nowhere explained why. We can only guess. Has this something to do with some of the economic failures of the 'Great Leap' and the People's Communes?

The Ninth Comment leaves no doubt that what it expounds on problems of socialist construction and transition to communism is of universal validity. It even pretends that the conclusions are derived by a consideration of the realities of Soviet society as well. In this process it has made some amazing 'discoveries' and come to equally amazing 'conclusions'.

The Chinese document asserts that in Soviet society, there exists a bourgeoisie. Well, what are the facts behind this assertion? The document lists a host of cases of economic crimes like embezzlement of funds, cheating, thefts carrying on illegal production and trade for private enrichment etc., by some factory managers, collective farm chairmen and others who ganged up with some other key fellows and carried out such 'enterprises'. These facts have been culled out of published material in the Soviet press.

Generalising these instances, the document concludes: "Obviously these people belong to a class that is antagonistic to the proletariat—they belong to the bourgeoisie. Their activities against socialism are definitely class struggle with the bourgeoisie attacking the proletariat."

Again: "These private entrepreneurs and speculators are engaged in the most naked capitalist exploitation. Is it not clear that they belong to the bourgeoisie, the class antagonistic to the proletariat?"

How are the cheats, thieves, swindlers and speculators a class? What means of production do they own, or are they allowed to own in Soviet society? How can and how do capitalist relations arise and grow from such "economic processes" as swindling, robbing, cheating and so on?

And how does one characterize, say embezzlement of funds by a manager in a capitalist firm in a capitalist society which deprives the capitalist owner of his money? What 'exploitation' is it?

What 'exploitation' is it? Well, Chinese comrades seem to be revising such notions as class struggle, exploitation etc., by new, original ideas!

By the way when they focus attention on the crimes occurring in Soviet society, they leave out a "small" detail. In all the cases quoted by them, the culprits were hauled up before Soviet organs of justice and exemplarily punished! Yet they write: "Unbridled activity of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat are widespread in the Soviet Union."

Chinese Ninth Comment

TRAVESTY OF TRUTH AND DISTORTION

By S. V. Unnikrishnan

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Read the following: "A privileged bourgeois stratum has emerged in Soviet society".

"This privileged stratum is the principal component of the bourgeoisie in the Soviet Union today and the main social base of revisionist Khrushchov clique". "The contradiction between the Soviet people and this privileged stratum is now the principle contradiction inside the Soviet Union and it is an irreconcilable contradiction".

Are They Really Original? All these quotations from the laboured effort which is made in the document to "prove" the existence of capitalism in the Soviet Union. But in this case we are not prepared to concede any originality to Chinese comrades.

We first read this "analysis" of Soviet reality from the writings of western anti-Communist ideologues and publicists. Then the theme was taken up by the "Communist" Milovan Djilas of Yugoslavia. In what an "illustrious" company the Chinese comrades find themselves!

True, income differences exist in the Soviet Union. Perhaps one may think that even unreasonably wide differences in incomes exist. One may criticise such an aspect of Soviet society. But the incomes of all, high and low, are derived on the basis of the work they do for the society. None of them get any dividends from shares or any other unearned income.

How is it that this higher income groups in Soviet society becomes a bourgeoisie? Moreover energetic measures are being taken to reduce the income differences in Soviet society by the Party and the Soviet state had compared to a decade ago, for instance, it has already been reduced much.

But the Chinese comrades seem to be blind in recent years about everything that happens in the Soviet Union. When the Party takes such measures as reduce the income differential that very measure becomes "Khrushchov widening the gap in incomes".

Any measure by the Soviet Communists in economic, state or Party fields taken to improve and renovate certain features of the Soviet society which in the course of development have become outmoded or have outlived their usefulness, or to correct certain distortions of an earlier period which have been hindering the further development of the society or any creative thinking that helps accelerate the process of social development towards

Opposing All Changes

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How To Fight Corruption

* FROM PAGE 5

deals in which Morarji himself played the role of protecting angel.

A memorandum by "a group of Congressmen of Gujarat and Bombay" says: "The scandal of Kanti Desai and the connivance of Morarji Desai with it is causing great damage to Congress prestige and the matter deserves serious consideration and quick action."

The memorandum which has reached the Congress High Command warns: "It would not be revealing a secret that the strong Swatantra Party in Gujarat is cashing very much on Kanti Morarji affair and running down the Congress in that state even in its traditional strongholds. They even boast that in the next election they will be in majority in Gujarat."

Jagjivan Ram is another eminent central minister on retirement whose record one day might reveal quite a few things. This was being talked about even in 1962 and at one stage it was doubtful if he would be taken into the cabinet in view of the clouds gathering round his head. One cannot say if he is yet out of the woods.

Just now, a complaint is pending against a very important central minister on "charges of corruption, nepotism and malpractices". The matter has been pending for quite a few years and the latest complaint reaching the Secretary of the Home Ministry is dated August 24, 1964.

The shocking revelations in Uttar Pradesh about Congress MP Ram Ratan Gupta's election malpractices have come as another feather in C. B. Gupta's cap. These ugly details show how far the Gupta gang was prepared to stoop to get a Money Bag elected to Parliament.

When one reads the election tribunal judgment, it does not come as a surprise that during the tense days of suc-

cession after Nehru's death, Big Business should be found ready to spend lakhs to buy up votes for their respective candidates for the post of Prime Minister of India.

Atulya Ghosh, who has suddenly been pitchforked into all-India eminence through sheer coterie politics inside the High Command, is himself in trouble. On the very day the report about his heroics in the Congress Working Committee appeared, the press carried an interesting item:

S. Gopal, a former DSP in the Special Police Establishment, was hauled up for acquiring assets "disproportionate to his known source of income".

The chargesheet against him disclosed that "Gopal was entrusted with the investigation of cases registered against R. B. Subhlyia, district engineer, and against certain contractors including Messrs. G. S. Atwal & Co., of Asansol whose work was to have been supervised by Subhlyia. It was also alleged in the chargesheet that Gopal had obtained a Fiat car belonging to Mr. Surjit Singh Atwal, a partner of the firm."

Atulya's Network

Asansol, which is Atwal's headquarters—where even an SPE officer can be bribed—also incidentally Atulya Ghosh's constituency. More than that, the expenses for Atulya Ghosh's lavish hospitality in New Delhi, it is reported, is borne by Atwal whose munificence sometimes extends to S. K. Patil also.

Apart from this entente with Atwal, Atulya Ghosh is very close to Bijju Patnalk too. After his rather arid excursion into Morarji's pasture, Bijju is believed to have come back to Atulya's fold. His performance at the recent AICC meeting paying acclamation to Atulya has not been missed by careful observers.

In West Bengal, one of the impediments in the way of government taking strong action against food hoarders is the reported objection of the Atulya Ghosh clique which expects to raise Rs. 14 lakhs for the coming Durgapur session of the Congress from these food hoarders along with other bigwigs of the business world.

Recently, Atulya presented a two-lakh purse to Congress President Kamaraj. After that, on the complaint of West Bengal Congressmen, an enquiry is reported to have been instituted to find out from the list of donors how many came from this tribe of profit-sharks.

Against this background of leading lights of the Congress Right being hand-in-glove with Big Money, there is understandable misgivings about the government's earnestness to fight corruption. Nanda's proposed measures may have the stamp of genuine anxiety to combat this menace, but who can deny that the host of friends and allies who control the destiny of men like Morarji Desai, Atulya Ghosh, S. K. Patil and Jagjivan Ram would find ways and means of getting out of them?

The government's much-publicised raid on filmstars' lockers have now come to be regarded as a diversionary stunt. For one thing, these were undertaken by the Enforcement Directorate of the Finance Ministry which confines itself only with foreign exchange irregularities. And the raids took place in dribs and not in one swoop, so that others could escape.

Besides even with the lakhs that they possess, by fair means or foul, the filmstars' illegitimate wealth is but a fraction of what Big Business commands. Black Money is supposed to total between Rs. 2000 and Rs. 3000 crores. The possessors of this were not touched; rather they got a nice warning to remove

their piles from the lockers. How gentlemanly the government behaves to them!

Another specimen of gentlemanly behaviour towards the Black Money is reported to be in the offing. THE TIMES OF INDIA, owned by one of the big magnates now in temporary embarrassment thanks to the Vivian Bose findings, reported on August 2:

Tax Deal In Offing

"One of the hindrances to the declaration of such wealth (illegotten) by people is the high rate of income tax it would attract. It has been suggested, for example, that the Central Board of Revenue should agree to a 'deal' and be content with a 25 per cent tax on such money instead of over 70 per cent leviable under law."

How decent indeed of the CBR of taking such a 'humane' view of the doings of the patrons of some of the political bosses!

In the present temper of the country, can all these be acceptable to the public? The bosses of the Congress machinery like Atulya Ghosh and S. K. Patil look upon these moneyed patrons as the source which will provide the dough for the election campaign in 1967. But the mass of Congressmen, untainted by the blackmarketeers' bribes, are worried that if corruption is allowed to continue, the masses who have put the party in power will not come to them.

For Nanda, with all his well-meaning Sadachar movement "for purity in national life", the big question to be faced is how to break the axis between the Stock Exchange and the bosses that control the Congress machinery in many places. Until this axis is broken, the Sadacharis will catch the chaps and the clerks while the Atwals and the Kantibhals will go about scot-free.

Dadoo Narrates Agony of South Africa

Appeals for Indian Support to South African People's Struggle

Addressing pressmen on September 5 in New Delhi, Dr. Y. M. Dadoo, who is currently on a tour of this country, expressed on behalf of the South African people deep gratitude for the understanding and sympathy which India has shown and the help she has rendered for the freedom struggle of the South African people. Dr. Dadoo added that to the people of South Africa, India's support to their cause is of great value. In course of a statement to the pressmen, Dr. Dadoo said:

WE consider it our first and foremost duty on setting foot on Indian soil to convey personally to the Indian people the deep grief of the South African people at the passing away of Jawaharlal Nehru.

For us in South Africa, he was like Gandhi, our great friend and guide—the tireless champion of South African freedom. The Nehru government was the first to raise the question of apartheid as a world problem at the United Nations; the first to cut off diplomatic and economic relations with the tyrannical apartheid regime which governs South Africa.

It was not so long before his death that Nehru gave full support to the Conference for Sanctions against South Africa held in London

and he also joined with other world personalities in urging upon the South African government to implement the UN resolution calling for the abandonment of the Rivonia Trial against Nelson Mandela and his colleagues and for the release of all political prisoners.

Need For Support

The purpose of this visit is to impress upon the government and people of India that the need of their continued support to the South African struggle for freedom is even greater today than ever before.

Since the Rivonia trial in which Nelson Mandela and

seven other outstanding leaders were sentenced to life imprisonment, the Verwoerd-Vorster dictatorship is subjecting the people to intensive police raids and arrests under the 90-day no-trial law. Among those arrested are men and women who are prominent in the fields of law, journalism and education as well as many students and university teachers. The police are using torture to extract information from the detainees.

Political prisoners held on the hill of Robben Island and which include Nelson Mandela and his colleagues are given ghastly treatment. Reports reaching the outside world speak of the way in which the police wardens encourage hardened criminals to commit assaults including sex assaults on the political prisoners. Authenticated cases have been published of political prisoners buried up to their necks in the earth while wardens urinate in their faces.

The South African government is also frantically engaged in secretive activities with the Portuguese

colonialists in Angola and Mozambique and with the white racist Government of Southern Rhodesia to create a bastion for the maintenance of colonialism and white domination in Southern Africa.

This alliance presents a grave threat to the integrity and independence of the African states and to peace on the African continent.

What is required in the present situation is the most sustained effort to obtain without delay the full implementation of the UN resolution on sanctions against South Africa by all member-states. For sanctions to be really effective full cooperation of the main trading partners of South Africa namely Britain and USA is essential.

Implement UN Resolution

It is for this reason that we are appealing to the Indian government to use its influence and prestige in conjunction with the efforts of the African states to bring home to these powers the imperative need for them to implement the UN resolution. They must be told that they cannot run with the hares and hunt with the hounds.

We are extremely grateful to the Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity and its president Dr. Tara Chand for

One in 250 in Jail

LONDON: One in every 250 people in the South African Republic is in prison. Most of them are Africans who were thrown into prison for their fight against the racist regime imposed by the white settlers' oligarchy. Altogether, 66,500 people, twice as many as in 1954, are now kept in South African prisons, according to the South African RAND DAILY MAIL.

their invitation to visit India and for arranging our tour.

We welcome the initiative taken in India in setting up the broad Indian Campaign for the Release of South African Political Prisoners under the chairmanship of Dr. V. K. R.V. Rao in order to mobilise full moral and material support in India for our struggle.

We are particularly happy to note that it has been decided to furnish all possible assistance in the establishment in New Delhi of an office of the African National Congress for the purpose of keeping the Indian people fully informed of the latest developments in South Africa.

Lucknow: Teachers Demonstrate

From RAMESH SINHA



LUCKNOW: On September 4, the streets of Lucknow, which for the last two months have been ringing with lusty slogans of the Communist Party's intensive campaign against prices and food bungling, had occasion to witness an entirely different type of procession—orderly, dignified and completely SILENT.

It was a procession of teachers of associated and affiliated degree colleges of the universities of Lucknow, Allahabad, Agra and Gorakhpur.

Some teachers and leaders of the opposition, specially the spokesman of the CPI, SSP, Republican Party and the Independent Group, tried to draw the attention of the smug and callous authorities to the conditions of our gurus by moving adjournment motions in both the Houses. The motions were summarily rejected.

There were lots of young and bright faces among them, both of men and women teachers; but there were also many, many others who were elderly and bent with wisdom and age.

As they marched in unruffled, serried ranks, carrying banners and placards in their hands, they presented an almost unfamiliar spectacle. This was the first demonstration of such senior teachers.

Opposition Support

However, leaders of the opposition parties left the House and showed their regard to the teachers by going before them and saying a few words in support of their just demands.

Among those who spoke before the teachers were Ram Sunder Pande, leader of the SSP and Dr. Z. A. Ahmad, Kalika Prasad MLC, former Vice Chancellor of Agra University and Govind Sahai of the Congress Party also addressed the teachers.

Later a deputation of the teachers met the Chief Minister and the Education Minister in their rooms. The Ministers are reported to have assured the delegation that they would give sympathetic consideration to their demands.

Only two or three weeks earlier, another demonstration and march of the teachers of the Higher Secondary Schools took place in Lucknow. About 8,000 of them had gathered in the capital from the entire state to draw attention of the government and the people to the unbearable conditions of their life.

The placards they carried asked for: "Parity with university grades", "Same pay for same work", "Dearness allowance at 10 per cent of the salary", "Triple benefit scheme consisting of pension, insurance and gratuity". They also asked for a minimum salary of Rs. 400 p.m.

Another demand made by them was that "educational zamindari should be banished" and "twenty per cent of the management should consist of the elected representatives of the teachers with equal right to vote."

Silent Protest

The front of the procession was made up of the leaders of the teachers' movement in the state. Without shouting a single slogan they marched from Aminuddaula Park in the heart of the city's central market to the Council House, creating a deep impression on all who saw them.

Their silent march seemed to indicate to the people that the

versal support. When a similar contamination of the water supply took place some years ago, the Government of India declared it had taken all steps to see that there would not be a recurrence of the dreadful epidemics which followed. But such pledges have no meaning at all.

The guilty men must be brought to book.

Escaping The Verdict

THE slippery nature of the eel is well known. But in some cases, politicians of a certain brand appear to be even more slippery...

Take for instance the latest news from Orissa. Chief Minister Biren Mitra has resigned because of the pain in his noble heart at the recent "misconduct" of students, who broke into the legislature.

Unfortunately for him, people are inclined to connect his resignation with the charges made against him, which were about to be enquired into. It is being suggested that the resignation is meant to evade the enquiry altogether.

In order to set at rest any such suspicion, the Congress High Command must immediately make it clear that the enquiry will be continued in all circumstances. This is necessary to remove the serious misgivings in people's minds.

What is even more remarkable is the rumour that Biju Patnaik will come back to the gadt to replace his protegee and disciple! This is truly an amazing situation. If there are allegations today against Biren Mitra, these are said to be connected with his dealings with Biju Patnaik himself. And if Mitra has had to go, there is no question of Patnaik stepping in.

The stink round the Congress stables cannot be removed by any such gymnastics, as it would appear, the Orissa bosses are trying to perform.

—Ramesh Chandra
(September 9, 1964)

Comment

*FROM PAGE 4

Whatever the actual results may be in this case, to create precedents of violations of parliamentary practice would ill-serve the future of democracy.

J.P.'s Mission

PROGRESSIVE opinion in the country has been shocked of the manner in which Jayaprakash Narayan and his group of so-called conciliators has been allowed to go to Pakistan—with, it is claimed by them, the full support of the Government of India and carrying a letter from Prime Minister Shastri to President Ayub.

If the government has decided to yield to imperialist pressures on Kashmir, it would be far more honest to say so clearly. But here are a set of avowed opponents of our declared policies, assured champions of a policy of surrender on Kashmir, running along to Rawalpindi and negotiating with the Pakistan rulers, on the most crucial issues.

How has this happened? And what does it all add up to? Only the other day, the Swatantra-Jan Sangh mission of MPs arranged by the so-called "Asian People's Anti-Communist League" visited the US-controlled areas in South East Asia, and blackened India's name.

Now once again, Jayaprakash and his friends are allowed to represent India in Pakistan, at a time when the most diabolical blackmail is being used against our country by the imperialist powers, on precisely the issue of Kashmir.

The participation in the JP mission of such known pro-imperialists as J. J. Singh (whose main work since his return to India after years in the USA is to campaign for closer Indo-US ties) and S. Mulsookar (Editor, HINDUSTAN TIMES, whose bias against nonalignment and for closer relations between India and the West are also well-

known), makes the sponsorship and the backing which the mission enjoys, even clearer.

The Government of India must explain its policy clearly to the people. Has the JP mission the support of the government as it claims? Did the Prime Minister entrust JP with a message for President Ayub? And if so why, when everyone knows well enough that the views of the JP mission on Indo-Pak relations are in complete contradiction with government's own declared policies and the will of the people of this country?

If there is no clear statement by government, one must conclude that a sell-out on Kashmir is being cooked in high quarters—and that consequently, there is urgent need for popular action to be launched against any such sell-out.

Disgrace Abounding

INDIA'S capital is faced not only with floods, but now with contamination of its water supply. Who is responsible for this crime? No one believes that all this is the result only of accidents and of the heavy rains.

There are human agencies also responsible—men with vested interests who prevented certain preventive steps being taken by virtue of their influence; organisations who obtained contracts to carry out work on bunds, because of their political influence, but failed to carry out the contracts; inter-state rivalries; and above all, the inefficiency and incompetence and completely callous, indifference of the men in authority.

The disgrace which all this has brought for our country abroad cannot be measured. But still the men responsible go scot free. The demand made by Communist and other opposition members of the Delhi Corporation for a public enquiry, has found un-

CPI SEVENTH CONGRESS

THE Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India will be held in Bombay from December 10 to 20, 1964. The Central Secretariat of the National Council has accordingly addressed a circular on September 3 to the state councils and lower units of the Party laying down the time table for holding state and district conferences.

The district and provincial conferences according to this schedule must be held before the end of November.

Taluk, mandal and town conferences should be over by October 10. The Central Secretariat has suggested that all members in a taluk or mandal should be allowed to participate directly in these conferences instead of the old practice of branch conferences electing delegates to these conferences.

It has also suggested that in the big cities conferences might be held at two or three levels, depending upon the organisational pattern of these cities.

Party conferences are to discuss the Ideological and Programme documents of the National Council. At each level the Party committee concerned will also present political-organisational review reports from the last conference to the present one.

The Central Secretariat has reiterated the National Council resolution adopted at its last meeting regarding the basis of membership for the Party conferences and the election of delegates for the Party Congress. The relevant por-

tions of the National Council Resolution read:

"The Party membership of 1962 which closed on June 30, 1963 with additions in terms of the National Council resolution of April 1964 but excluding such Party members who join the rival party organisations, will form the basis of electing delegates to the Party Congress and Party conferences at various levels.

"Delegates to the Party Congress will be elected on the basis of one delegate for every 200 Party members or a major fraction of it with a minimum of 5 delegates to every state. The Central Party Headquarters branch will also elect five delegates to the Party Congress."

Besides delegates, committees concerned are entitled to allow observers to the conferences.

The Central Secretariat proposes to run a discussion Forum in the NEW AGE Weekly as part of preparations for the Congress. Contributions to the Forum are not to extend beyond a page of the Weekly. Longer documents are to be brought out as separate booklets.

"National" Marxism

*FROM PAGE 13

'national Marxism' in other countries of the Third World" (p. 91).

"China's development illustrates that a 'national Marxism' strongly rooted in tradition and in the

distinctive qualities of a country's human geography can offer a real and effective alternative to the doctrinaire socialisms so long exported by the 'European' left. This example will certainly not be lost on those emergent African States..." (p. 93-4).

And what is the main lesson to be learnt from China?

Some underdeveloped countries, it seems, have "been led astray by the attractions of mechanisation as a short cut out of poverty, and with disastrous results. Mechanisation, yes, but in good time and only after a long period of intensification of agriculture and labour investment on the Chinese pattern. This is the lesson for the underdeveloped world" (p. 96).

One has to make sure that one is reading all this in a supposedly Marxist magazine and not a report of the world bank experts or some Tory economist.

And how is China to remain the model for these countries? By herself remaining poor and backward! "With increasing affluence in the 'European' socialist societies the gap between these and the countries of the Third World widens—and it may well be that the Chinese will increasingly emerge as the leader of the 'damned of the earth' towards a socialism which will be 'national' in character and drawing much of its inspiration from Peking rather than from Moscow" (p. 96).

What will happen if China herself becomes increasingly affluent? What will happen if the socialist character of her economy enables her to advance far more rapidly than the non-socialist countries of the Third World? From the point of view of Revolution it would be a sheer disaster.

Reading this magazine is a classic instance of what the CPC leaders are so fond of calling "learning from a negative example". If this is "pure" Marxism of the new International, our splitters are welcome to establish their monopoly connections with it.

—MOHIT SEN

Bridges Of Amity

Slovak Uprising Exhibition

AN exhibition commemorating the 20th anniversary of the Slovak uprising against Hitler's regime was inaugurated in Calcutta last month by the state Education Minister.

The Education Minister emphasised while inaugurating the exhibition the patriotism of the Czechoslovak partisans which has since "become immortal tales of heroism and self-sacrifice."

On this occasion, the role of Czechoslovakia in helping India was specially mentioned. It was noted with deep satisfaction that the friendship between India and Czechoslovakia is growing every day and in the days to come, it will develop further.

Among others present at the function were Dr. L. Haban,

the Czech Consul General, M. M. Mukherji, the Sheriff of Calcutta; Omeo Goophty, Hony. Secretary of the Indo-Czechoslovak Cultural Society; etc. Dr. Triguna Sen presided over the function.

The exhibition remained open till August 30 and was visited by hundreds of people.

Ballet on India

THE Leningrad People's Ballet Theatre, an amateur theatre group, presented a few days ago a ballet titled: "Beneath the Sun of India."

To present the ballet, the artists including the choreographer Nina Anisimova, took meticulous care and spent a lot of time studying albums of drawings and photographs besides discussing various aspects of Indian life with the Indians living in Leningrad.

The ballet has been very well received.

SOVIET PEOPLE ARE INDIGNANT OVER MAO'S STATEMENT

From MASOOD ALI KHAN

MOSCOW: Afted the publication of Mao Tse-tung's talk with a group of Japanese socialists and the long PRAVDA editorial article on the subject on September 2, the Soviet press has been flooded with letters of protest expressing the wrath and indignation of Soviet people from all walks of life at the expansionist claims of the Peking leaders on Soviet Far Eastern territories.

NOW that Peking has voiced its aspirations through the mouth of Mao Tse-tung claiming "territory east of the lake Balkal", the conflict with China has assumed a more serious character. Newspaper headlines declare "Decisive Rebuff To The Splitters", "Adventurism of Chinese Leaders", "We Fully Condemn These Provocative Acts", "Deep Indignation", "Our Reply To The Chauvinists", "The Plans of Peking Leaders Are Destined To Fail" etc.

The oldest living Communist and member of the Party since 1896, Hero of Socialist Labour and veteran revolutionary F. N. Petrov who himself took a leading part in the establishment of Soviet power in the Far East, exposes the falsehood of Chinese historical arguments pointing out that these territories never belonged to China. He declares these claims to be akin in spirit to the demands once put forward by American imperialism on these lands during the inter-

vention. "The openly expansionist programme of the leaders of China assumed the seizure of many countries, such as Burma, Vietnam, Korea, Thailand, Malaya, Nepal, Bhutan, Sikkim", Petrov declares.

Earlier it seemed that the differences of Chinese leaders with other Communist Parties were based on ideological divergences. But now it is quite evident that this was used only to throw dust in people's eyes and to hide real hegemonic predatory aspirations, Petrov says.

Giving the history of revolution and civil war in the Soviet Far East, Petrov emphasises the Marxist idea that history is made by the working masses and not by emperors. It is amazing that there are people who doubt the fight of workers and peasants on land on which they live from times immemorial only on the basis that in ancient times one emperor defeated another and then was himself overthrown.

ABOUT MAO'S LATEST THESIS

*FROM PAGE 3

parts of the Soviet Union to Japan!

The call for the handing over of the Kurile Islands to Japan is in line with the demands of the worst reactionary elements in Japan, who seeks to whip up anti-Soviet feelings and divert attention from the burning question of US bases on Japanese soil.

PRAVDA has rightly refuted editorially the wild changes of the Chinese leaders. Challenging the Chinese claim to dispute the right of the Soviet Union to more than one and a half million square kilometres, the editorial says:

"... the present border has developed historically and was fixed by life itself, and the treaties on the border are a basis which cannot be disregarded... What would happen if all states would follow the Peking recipe and start presenting mutual claims to each other for a revision of historically formed borders".

The rottenness of Mao's anti-Sovietism helps only the imperialists and reactionaries,

who gloat with joy at the Chinese slanders against the Soviet Union, and give them the widest publicity.

Indian Communists have felt the full brunt of the Chinese leaders' expansionism and chauvinism. Only the imperialists and reactionaries gained from the Chinese adventurist aggression of 1962. Only the imperialists and reactionaries gain from the split in the Communist Party, which was openly called for and ordered by the Chinese leaders.

The truth, which may have remained blurred for many Communists and other democrats in different countries, is now crystal clear.

The ideological "line" which the Chinese leaders and their adherents in all countries including our own follow is a line, not based on the best interests of the working class of the world but solely on the narrow nationalistic interests of the Chinese leaders themselves.

Mao's pearls of wisdom are the best evidence of the last limits to which the Chinese leaders' ambitions and chauvinism have reached.

Petrov points out that today all Siberia and Soviet Far East is lighted up by the Communist construction sites. Hundreds of new cities and settlements have appeared. "Maybe according to Mao Tse-tung, Komsomolsk-on-Amur was built not by Soviet people, not Soviet youth but the Chinese emperor", Petrov says.

By the labour of Soviet people these areas have been transformed. In maritime area new industries have developed, industrial production has gone up fifty times and cultivated area has grown three times. While cynically declaring their claims over Soviet territory do the Chinese leaders realise how the Soviet people will react to these pretensions, people who have lived and worked there for generations? If we look at it from the viewpoint of principle we have to say that territorial disputes between socialist countries cannot be allowed at all. They are characteristic of bourgeois states, Petrov says. He calls Mao's statements serious violation of the principle of proletarian internationalism and new attempt to undermine the unity of the socialist countries.

Academician B. E. Bykovsky declares that last year he saw in the Peking historical museum maps which showed Soviet Far East as "Chinese lands from time immemorial".

A number of articles and letters point out that the nationalities and tribes inhabiting these areas of old—the Udegey, Tungus, Sushen, Mokhey, Iou and others—were never under Chinese rule. The Soviet borders came about as a result of the free expression of the people's will on the principle of the self-determination of nations and the Soviet people will never allow anyone to encroach upon their right to decide their destiny themselves, the letters declare.

The Amur basin was opened by the Russians in the seventeenth century, it is pointed out by A. I. Krushanov of the Siberian and Far East section of the Academy of Science in the RED STAR. He says, "no inventions of the Chinese falsifiers, liars and provocators can shake the opinion of all honest people in the world that the Soviet Far East was and will be Soviet territory. The Peking degenerates are playing a dangerous game and are trying to earn by provocative lies the favour of imperialist circles and all enemies of socialism".

Engineer Colonel E. Kuzanyan says in RED STAR, "having forgotten everything in the world—shame, conscience, history and elementary principles of international law, Chairman of the CPC, Mao Tse-tung along with his myrmidons has fallen so low as to set the imperialist powers against the socialist countries. This is the limit."

IT IS HAPPINESS TO BE A COMMUNIST

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN,
Chairman of the US Communist Party

Below is the summary of an interview with Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Chairman of the Communist Party of USA by a correspondent of Novosti Press Agency in Moscow immediately after Elizabeth had arrived in the Soviet Union. This is perhaps the last interview before her passing away.

MY coming to the USSR became possible thanks to the fact that as a result of the long struggle of the Communists and all democratic forces in the country, the US Supreme Court has cancelled those sections of the reactionary McCarran Act, which demand that the Communist Party be registered as a subversive organisation and that Communists not be allowed to travel abroad.

Under this law the very application for passport to the State Department would mean a five-year imprisonment to me or any other member of the Communist Party. Now it is plain to all that the Communists were right in refusing to obey the absurd demands of the McCarran Act.

We, American Communists, consider these decisions of the US Supreme Court as an important victory of the Communist Party and all the democratic forces in America.

But these are only the first successes. It is only the final victory over the anti-democratic McCarran Act that will ensure our Party conditions for its normal activity. We still have to fight for the cancellation of the sections of the Act under which Gus Hall, Benjamin Davis and 37 other comrades are persecuted.

Our Party resolutely opposes the harmful views and actions of the Chinese leaders. I read in the PRAVDA recently

that a high-ranking member of the Chinese government believes Goldwater would be good for the USA, for he would speed up the process of development.

What sort of development is meant and in what direction, one may ask. It is perfectly clear to us in the United States that the emergence of the arch-reactionary ultra-right forces would deal a heavy blow on the progressive democratic forces, on the working class, on the struggle of American Negroes for their rights and freedom.

These and other irresponsible statements and actions of the Chinese leaders go to show that they do not understand the problems of the American people. One can only wonder how can these people, steeped in sectarianism and dogmatism, cut off from real life, impose their views on problems of which they are completely ignorant.

Touching upon her purpose in coming to the Soviet Union Elizabeth Gurley Flynn said that she was going to have a vacation, to visit a number of Soviet cities.

"I want to continue work on a book which I conceived long ago," F. G. Flynn said. "This will be an autobiographical book about the life and struggle of the American Communist, about the happiness and pride of being a Communist."

IZVESTIA reproduced a map from the German revisionist newspaper NATIONAL ZEITUNG which showed the German claims on territories of socialist countries and the Chinese claims on thousands of kilometres of Soviet land. "The yellow peril is a chance for Germany," it headlined its article on August 21 and said "Why Not be Friends with China?" And to show this friendliness the map already showed Mongolian Republic as part of China. IZVESTIA comments, "To show the necessity of the formation of the Bonn-Peking axis the paper says without any constraint 'the enemy of our enemy is our friend!'" "It can't be denied that the Chinese splitters

have found worthy allies for themselves in the person of the most frantic West German militarists" IZVESTIA declares.

S. Chokin, president of the Academy of Sciences of Kazakhstan exposes the Chinese claims on Soviet Central Asia and Kazakhstan that Kazakhs and Chinese are the same and, "There is no difference between Kazakhstan and China." "No Marxist can ignore the will of millions of working people who have long ago chosen their destiny and do not at all intend to submit to the Chinese leaders," Chokin declares.

PUNJAB

*FROM PAGE 12

The executive also demanded that all-party committees be formed in flood-hit areas and entire relief work be carried out with their assistance and help of the panchayats.

It further demanded that the entire problem be tackled on a war footing and necessary drains and link drains be constructed without further delay. The executive appealed to the Government of India to ensure that people did not continue to suffer because of inter-state quarrels.

The executive called upon all Party members, especially in flood hit areas, to devote their entire time and energy to help the people in every possible way.

NEW AGE

Subscription Rates

Inland: Yearly	Rs. 12
Half-yearly	Rs. 6
Quarterly	Rs. 3
Foreign: Yearly	Rs. 20
Half-yearly	Rs. 10

All cheques, drafts etc. are to be made payable to T. Madhavan and not to New Age

Managerial Office

7/4 Asaf Ali Road, New Delhi

Phone: 271002 & 271794

As the imperialists of USA and their friends heave a sigh of relief over the results of Chile's presidential elections which have given an absolute majority to the Christian Democratic Party's candidate, Eduardo Frei, it is still too early to assess how far this rejoicing can be considered justified.

TILL the eve of the elections the most committed pro-US circles were openly declaring their fear of a landslide victory for the FRAP (Revolutionary Front of People's Action) candidate Salvador Allende. The US magazine VISION published for Latin America had to admit: "No matter who wins... everything indicates that Chile will turn to the left..."

Even after the votes had been polled with a record turnout of voters, the NEW YORK TIMES correspondent in Santiago de Chile opened his story on the poll by declaring that the election signified "a turn to the left in any case, the crucial question being just how far to the left..."

For eighteen months a bitter struggle had raged around this election. All the resources and influence of North American capital and of Latin American reaction were concentrated in order to avert the disaster for them that would have been the FRAP candidate's victory. No election ever in any Latin American country has caused the US imperialists so much anxiety and attracted so much attention from all over the world. Influential sections of US ruling circles advocated the engineering of a military coup well in advance of the situation getting completely out of hand.

The Peking ultra-revolutionaries too bestowed close attention on the Chilean election predicting the doom of democracy and imposition of fascist rule even before it came to the stage of polling.

But all those prophets and disaster plotters of doom and disaster were proved wrong. Irrespective of who occupies the presidential chair the forces of democracy which stand for transition to socialism have emerged stronger from this election.

Writing about six weeks before the polling the editor of EL

SIGLO the Chilean Communist Party's daily, wrote:

"Whether Dr. Allende will win the election or not, it is clear for everyone in Chile that the movement he represents is on the way up and will not stop whatever the result of the election." That position stands vindicated and nobody will be able to deny that.

Heroic Traditions

Perhaps it is timely to recall that Chile has strong traditions of militant Leftwing action. Her trade union movement had already developed a clear class consciousness in the 1890s through relentless battles and repeated violent clashes with the armed forces and the police.

In 1907 a meeting of striking nitrate miners in a square of the northern town of Iquique was attacked with machineguns by the Army leaving more than 2000 dead.

As a reaction to this crime workers' leader Recabarren urged in 1908 the organisation of a working class political party. This was founded in 1912 under the name of Socialist Workers' Party which became the Communist Party of Chile in 1920.

In 1948 following the wave of cold war reaction, the Chilean government outlawed the Communist Party, deprived more than 40,000 citizens of political rights and sent 2,000 Communists and trade unionists to a concentration camp.

After ten years of clandestine action the Chilean Communist Party won back its legal status in 1958 and together with the Socialist Party almost succeeded in getting Dr. Allende elected as president. In an election where only 1.8 million were registered as voters (as compared to 3 million registered in this 1964 elec-



By ZIAUL HAQ

CHILEAN ELECTIONS

Allende had lost by a margin of 30,000.

Peking's attempts to divide and disorientate the progressive forces in Chile met a resolute rebuff right from the beginning from the clear-headed leadership of the Chilean Communist Party.

Firm unity of Left forces was forged in the FRAP to which the Communist, Socialist, National Democratic Parties and the National Vanguard of the People and a number of other small parties belong. In addition the United Trade Union Centre, which embraces more than 400,000 industrial and office workers and professionals and the National Federation of Peasants and Indians created a real possibility of victory for the forces of progress.

The Communist Party of Chile has proceeded and continues to proceed from the possibility of bringing about important democratic reforms by peaceful means. The Party realised that the masses headed by the working class must be mobilised on the broadest possible scale and that is what it strove for and did achieve with splendid results in these elections. The FRAP's election campaign compelled the Christian Democrats to clothe themselves in only a "marginally less revolutionary programme than that of Dr. Allende."

KHANH IS BACK

UNDER pressure from the US Ambassador, General Maxwell Taylor, poor General Nguyen Khanh

has been hauled back to Saigon from his five-day "rest-cure" in the Vietnam highlands to resume his tenuous role of Prime Minister. He is said to have shaved off his seven month old goatee beard "to demonstrate his sincerity and resolution". At the same time cynics even in Saigon say that this is about the only action he could now safely take

without US direction and support. Security officials are reported to be alarmed at evidence of the presence of what they describe as "so many fearless Communist agents inside Saigon's disorderly elements."

The fact however is that the powerful storm that arose in Saigon and Hue is far from having subsided; it is spreading to other towns and cities and the latest restoration is doomed to be short-lived.

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN, Chairman of the CPUSA, who died in Moscow on September 5, was born in Concord, New Hampshire, the daughter of a Galway-born marble-cutter. Her parents were both Left-wing socialists, close associates of James Connolly.



She began her lifetime of militancy when at 15 she addressed a meeting of a Socialist Club in New York's Bronx on "Women under Socialism", and was only 16 when she was jailed for the first time for her political beliefs.

She was active in many big strikes—including those of lumber workers, miners and textile workers—and was the "Rebel Girl" of the poem of that title addressed to her by the legendary Joe Hill.

In 1938 she was elected to the national committee of the US Communist Party, and began writing for the American DAILY WORKER to which she contributed ever since.

She was elected vice-chairman of the Communist Party in 1959, and chairman in 1961. In her demise the CPUSA has lost a good leader. In their message of condolence, the National Council of the CP of India have described Gurley Flynn as "a veteran organiser, leader of the working people, Socialist and Communist movement in the USA."

SALME DUTT

NEW AGE sends its heartfelt condolences to Comrade Rajani Palme Dutt and the Communist Party of Great Britain on the sad death last week of Comrade Dutt's wife, Salme Dutt, his lifelong companion and helper, and herself a devoted Communist and revolutionary for the last 60 years.

SALME DUTT who played a considerable part in the development of the Communist Party of Great Britain, died at her home in Brent after a long illness.

Born a subject of the old Russian Empire in Estonia, Salme Merrett took an active part in the revolutionary movement that culminated in the 1905 revolution and suffered exile in Siberia.

Later she lived and worked for a time in Finland, where her sister, the dramatist Helena Volki, was afterwards to be a leader of the movement for Soviet-Finnish friendship.

One of the first representatives of the Communist International in Britain, Salme Merrett, made arrangements for a British delegation to go to the second congress of that organisation in the summer of 1920.

Her influence played a great part in bringing about unity among many of the sections that were to join in the formation of the British Communist Party, of which she was a founder member.

She married R. Palme Dutt in 1922. From then on she seldom appeared on a public platform, but her educational and propagandist activity was unceasing.

Shortly before the war she wrote "When England Arose", a succinct and almost classic account of the Chartist movement.

In the death of Salme Dutt, the Communist movement has lost a founder-pioneer, an indefatigable and zealous worker, who devoted her entire life to the cause. All Indian Communists send their deep sympathies to Comrade Palme Dutt in his great loss.

Farewell, My Brother Robeson's Homage To Benjamin Davis

WE are gathered here tonight to say farewell to a great son of our people.

To me has come deep grief at the loss of a precious friend, whose courage and dedication to the fight for freedom has always been a glowing inspiration.

Ben and I first met here in Harlem nearly 40 years ago. He had gone to college at Amherst and on to Harvard; I to Rutgers and on to Columbia.

We both played football, and often passers-by on the avenue would be startled and amused as Ben and I worked out some football tactics on the sidewalk.

Again, we would discuss our hopes as future lawyers, and where and how we would work.

Ben often talked of his home in Georgia, and of the conditions in the deep South. He went back to fight these conditions. He defended the early brave fighters for simple justice and equality.

Later he came back to New York to join the struggle on a different level. Still later, as a greatly respected member and leader of the Communist Party of the United States, he was elected by the people of Harlem to represent them on the City Council of New York.

In the Council, he had to fight for justice and equality for our people in Harlem, for other minorities in our city, and for all Americans.

In a swiftly changing world, Ben was a courageous and unbending fighter for the rights of all. With his colleagues, he worked and fought, suffered and sacrificed for the sacred cause of freedom and peace.

For me this has been a time of deep sorrow. For Ben Davis now goes to join another Ben I have lost — my beloved elder brother; he also joins his colleague Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, one of our very great Americans.

All my family extend deepest sympathy to his family. We share their loss and their sorrow.

I say goodbye to Ben in the words of a song he often heard:

Farewell beloved comrade,
We make this solemn vow:
The fight will go on;
The fight must still go on
Until we win,
Until we—the people—win.

—PAUL ROBESON: Speech at the Funeral Services to BENJAMIN DAVIS.



BENJAMIN DAVIS

Discussion Forum For Party Congress

In pursuance of the resolution of the National Council for making preparations for Party Congress, the Secretariat has taken the following decisions regarding FORUM:

Central FORUM will be run immediately as a four-page supplement to the NEW AGE weekly. All suggestions and criticisms not exceeding one page of the weekly will be published in the Forum. Longer documents will be published as separate booklets. This is the most convenient way under the present circumstances.

Comrades sending contributions have to keep the following suggestions in view:

★ The two draft documents—Ideological controversies in the international Communist movement and Party Programme—are under discussion at present. Hence comrades are requested to send their contributions on these two documents only.

★ Contributions must be sent in English as there is no arrangement for translations from state languages at the Central Office.

★ Comrades must remember that only contributions not exceeding one page of NEW AGE weekly will be printed in it and other longer documents will be printed and sent to party units separately. Comrades must also take note of the fact that it is not possible to print all the material that is sent because of lack of space. Hence the Secretariat would choose from among the contributions with a view to give effective representation to different points of view or shades of opinion. The contributions will also be shortened when necessary.

Party members must send their contributions to

The Central Secretariat,
Communist Party of India,
7/4 Asaf Ali Road,
New Delhi.

They must send their full name, address and the Party unit to which they belong along with their contributions.

★ The State Councils have to run FORUMS in their own organs immediately.

September 8, 1964
New Delhi.

CENTRAL SECRETARIAT
NATIONAL COUNCIL,
COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

TRIVANDRUM: Participating in the debate on the no-confidence motion against the Sankar Ministry, C. Achutha Menon, leader of the opposition in the Kerala Assembly, chargesheeted the Congress government for all its acts of omission and commission. He said:

WHILE the entire opposition and even a section of Congressmen are cremating the dead body of the Sankar Ministry, the Communist Party would like to emphasise the central point of our opposition to this regime.

It is not personal, communal or sectional consideration that has prompted us to oppose this government and the ruling party.

We are charging them with dismal failure to solve the acute food crisis that has gripped the people of our state over a period of months, anti-people and anti-labour policies that they are pursuing to pander to the vested interests (the 'kayal' kings, the plantation bosses and the big landlords), their total failure to give relief to the whitecollared government employees, teachers and the majority of the working people, their attack on the civil and democratic liberties of the press and political parties who expose their corruption, and finally, their foul attempts to divert popular discontent into communal channels and pit people into opposing camps based on community and religion.

Menon said the food crisis which has gripped the state was unprecedented in recent history. The rise in prices of essential commodities was phenomenal and had broken the back of the overwhelming majority of the people.

What have the ministers and the government done to face this

except to rush about to Madras and Delhi and come back with assurances of coming wagonloads of rice from Andhra and Madras or announcements of prices having been fixed, he asked.

The people, who had to pay Rs. 45 for a bag of rice five years ago during the Communist government's tenure, have to pay today, not Rs. 65, the price fixed by the government, but Rs. ten more over that so that they could get a bag of rice.

Menon recalled how Sankar and his ilk had gone round with the slogan 'where is rice? where is cloth? down with Communist raj' in 1959, but after five years of Congress rule the people had to celebrate Onam, the national festival of harvest, without a morsel of food.

The government announcement of supply of four measures of rice to cardholders went along with instructions to district officials, not to issue any new cards to needy families.

An honest official like the collector of Alleppey had to cancel the licence of a wholesale sugar dealer on the basis of reports of blackmarketing, but the collector's order was stayed by the Food Minister. Thus full freedom for the blackmarketers and hoarders to loot the people was guaranteed.

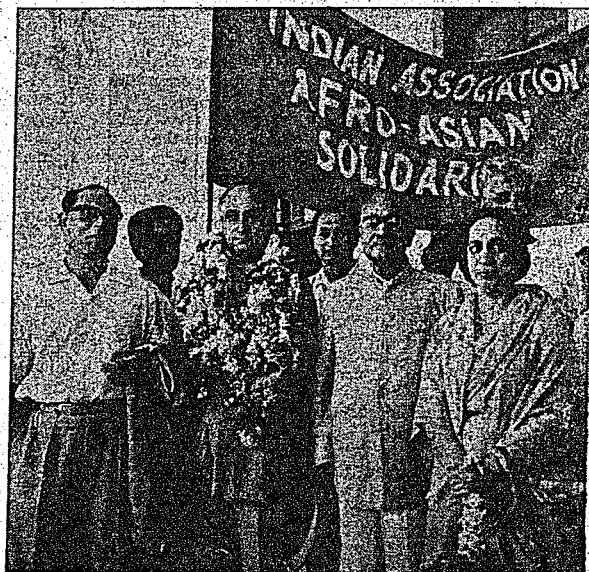
On the other hand, the government lost no time to put down even peaceful agitation of the people against price rise or strike struggles of workers with a heavy

SOLIDARITY WITH S. AFRICA

WITH the arrival in India of the famous leaders of the South African liberation struggle—J. B. Marks and Dr. Y. M. Dadoo—as guests of the Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity, the movement of solidarity with South Africa enters a new stage.

The South African leaders are visiting, besides Delhi, Rajasthan, Kashmir, U.P., Bihar, West Bengal, Orissa, Assam, Tamilnad, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Gujarat and Goa. Wherever they go, they will appeal for support at mass meetings and special discussions with leaders of parties and mass organisations. They have already met the Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister, Congress President Kamaraj, the Communist Party's Central Executive Committee and the Congress Parliamentary Party. They have been promised full support by all.

A Solidarity Fund has been opened, to collect the



necessary amount to open an office of the African National Congress in New Delhi, to be run in cooperation with the Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity. Wherever the South African leaders go in India, it is hoped they

will be presented with purses for the Solidarity Fund.

Picture above shows Dr. Dadoo being welcomed at Palam airport by Dr. Tara Chand M.P., President, and other members of the host organisation.

Communists Indict Kerala Government

hand, Menon said.

The latest of such acts was the misuse of the Defence of India Rules to arrest and detain as many as 40 Communist (left) leaders for organising peaceful picketing of government offices for a day to protest against high prices.

The government has failed to get adequate stocks of foodgrains from the centre for the state which is deficit in food production. And it has failed to press upon the central government to introduce state trading in foodgrains which alone could solve the present difficulties.

Even while it has failed in checking the prices, and ensuring adequate supplies, the government has also failed to provide relief to the thousands of civil service personnel employed by it and the workers in government-owned factories.

The nongazetted officers of the state, the teachers in private schools and workers in government owned factories were agitating for wage increase, grant of dearness allowance and interim relief.

Other state governments and the Union government have been forced to take up these issues, but here was a government that refused to respond to the just demands of the people.

Menon said the niggardly increase of Rs. 3 to Rs. 5 in the allowance of NGOs granted in the last budget was only one side of the picture; the other side showed that it did not hesitate to double the number of super time scale posts. Police, education and industries departments were expanded creating hundreds of new posts with high salaries. Economy did not weigh with the government in this.

Touching on the labour policy of the government, Menon said it was pro-capitalist and weak-kneed. The government was not strong enough to enforce the tri-

partite agreements on minimum wages etc. on the planters for whom all kinds of tax concessions were being made.

Where the government itself was the employer, as in the Water Transport Corporation, the principle of bonus, adequate DA, etc., could be enforced only on threat of direct action by the workers.

The standing monument of the failure of the labour policy of the government was such long-drawn out struggles of workers as in Feroke tile works and the Palapilli estate, he said.

Though four years have rolled on, the government has yet not found a way to implement the minimum wages for agricultural workers.

WHOSE INTERESTS ?

Menon charged the Sankar Ministry as responsible for the cold-blooded butchery of the Agrarian Relations Act which the Communist Ministry had got passed. This was done against the declared policies of the Congress and the Planning Commission to suit the landlord interests and also against the promise made by the Congress itself during the mid-term elections in 1960.

S. K. Patil had stated that the Congress dissidents were influenced by masters outside the Congress, he said and asked: whether it was in Churuli-Keerithode, Amaraathi or Kottiyoor, who dictated the largescale eviction of tenants that was put through with an iron hand by the government?

Menon also ridiculed the claim made by Sankar that his Ministry was being opposed because he belonged to a backward community. Sankar himself was the first to betray the interests of the backward communities by amend-

ing the Kerala Education Act wherein the rights of backward communities had been enshrined, he said.

Achutha Menon wound up by touching on the record of corruption that Sankar had created during the 23 months of his stewardship.

The Communist Party had levelled charges of corruption against him and his colleagues but he had escaped from an enquiry by securing an 'exparte' judgement from the late Prime Minister. But if an enquiry like the Das Commission was made into Sankar's case, he would be a close second to Karon of Punjab.

It was due to the blood stains of corruption on both his hands that Sankar was not able to take action against corrupt officials, blackmarketers and other antisocial elements, he said.

There was the classical case of the Kerala police chief against whom Communist legislators had brought charges of corruption, misconduct and political interference; but the Chief Minister dared not take action against the police chief and had gone about securing a transfer of the said police officer to the centre.

Thus, this Ministry based on anti-democratic, immoral foundation, and pursuing anti-people policies has become so isolated from the majority of the people, has incited the wrath of all the opposition parties and even a section of its own followers that its fall was historically necessary and called for in the interests of the people.

The unity of democratic and progressive forces that was emerging in Kerala will rout the attempts of the Congress and the reactionary groups to bring back a repetition of a corrupt regime and will usher in a good government of democratic unity pledged to serve the people, concluded the Communist leader.