

Will Basic Policies

Last week, Prime Minister Shastri lashed out right and left (mostly the Left!) in defence of the policies pursued by his government. These lashings-out, if one may call them that, have won for Shastriji the plaudits of the monopoly press; and the Congress hierarchy has united to give him a collective pat-onthe-back.

Shastriji's speech in the Lok Sabha, in reply to the no-confidence debate, and his many pronouncements during his Sunday jaunt in Calcutta are regarded by some of his admirers as akin to the initiation ceremonies of a tribal chief: the New Leader has "come into his own", say those who wishfully hope for a break in the continuity of the positive, basic policies associated with the name of Jawaharlal Nehru.

T HE Prime Minister's special venom was used against those who dared to suggest that he had "deviated" from the Nehru policies. He poured derision on the very word "deviated". There was no such word in a democratic set-up, where there was always "room for forming new policies".

This was an utterly meaningless attack, and quite out of place.

One is entitled to expect statesmanship from the head of a government; and one cannot be blamed for being disappointed when instead of such statesmanship, there is pettifogging verbal jugglery, which may appear to be smart, but does not answer the criticism made. As a matter of fact, millions wat have been shocked to

made. As a matter of fact, millions must have been shocked to learn that, in the course of answering the charge of straying away from some of the basic Nehru policies, Shastiji virtually justified such departures. And what was more unfortunate, the justification was in the worst possible faste.

According to the PTI report, published all over the coun-

Try: "The Prime Minister said in democracy, there was full freedom for independent thinking. He reminded the House of what happened when Gandhiji took over the leadership of the Congress. There was a complete change in philosophy, policy, technique and programme of the Congress. Gandhiji completely devlated from Aurobindo Ghosh, Laipat Rai and Tilak...

"What about Mr. Nehru? He did not entirely agree with Gandhiji in every matter, and yet there could be no one else more .loyal to Gandhiji than Mr. Nehru." As if this comparison of himself with Gandhiji and Pandit Nehru were not enough, Shastriji went on to describe the changes made (according to his version of history) by leaders in the Soviet Union in regard to policies pursued by their predecessors. This recital was so fantastic in the context in which it was made, that Ram Manohar Lohia could jump up and ask if the Prime Minister was comparing himself to Sthrushchov and Nehru to Stalin!

However, this was the least objectionable part of thesereferences to Indian and Soviet leaders. As a matter of fact, the whole of the Prime Minister's "argument" was bodily lifted from an editorial by Frank Moraes in the Indian Express, written two days before the Prime Minister spoke. This editorial titled "Is Nehrnism Immutable?" sought to answer Hiren Mukherjee's attack on government policies by saying precisely what Shastriji later developed in his speech.

What is of concern is the attempt made to justify a change in the basic policies. After quoting the cases of Indian and Soviet leaders as described above,

"The Prime Minister declared that a real leader did not tread the beaten track, because in political life situations changed, men changed, conditions changed and environments changed. A real leader must give a reply to the changing conditions". (PTI report)

No wonder, the doyen of the Right, Acharya Kripalani rose quickly to say that he "entirely agreed with the Prime Minister".

It is but natural that there should be anxiety at the Prime Minister's repeated references to possibilities of changing the basic policies. In Calcutta, the same theme ran through the speeches and statements.

But it must be stated also that the Prime Minister again and again denied any intention to depart from the Nehru policies and affirmed his loyalty to these policies.

The Prime Minister was actually saying two things at once. He was emphasising adherence to the basic Nehru policies and, at the same time, claiming the right to change them. On the face of it, there

SHASTRI AND NEHRI

On the face of it, there can be little objection to the suggestion that dogmatism is a bad thing, that one should be ready to be flexible, and all the rest of it. But in the present context of attacks on the basic policies by the Right reactionary forces, any suggestion that changes are being contemplated in the direction demanded by the Right leads to serious apprehensions among the vast mass of patriotic and democratic forces in the country

of patriotic and democratic forces in the country. It would be a mistake to believe that the meaning of these references to changes



made by Indian and Soviet leaders in policies agreed upon before they assumed the reins of office, imply that the basic policies have already been changed. They have NOT. And for the present, the Prime Minister has no intension of giving up these basic policies.

Therefore, any tendency to jump to the hasty conclusion that the Right has already won its victory and subverted the basic policies would be totally wrong and disastrous.

Nevertheless, it is clear that with the frame of mind revealed in the latest Shastri speeches, the pressure of the Right reactionary forces for a shift in policies will find fertile soil.

It should also not be forgotten that the main brunt of the Prime Minister's attack was against the Communist Party. He said liftle or nothing against the Swatantra Party or the Jan Sangh. This again was considered by many to be ominous.

Tricidentally, the repeated references to the failure (imagined by Shastriji) of the Communist Party to recognise Chinese aggression or expansionism, were totally unworthy of one, who should have known the facts better. Anyway, we hope Shastriji will find his way to ask for the facts, which every child knows in this country.

The Communist Party requires no lessons in patriotism. At the time of the Chinese aggression, the Communist stand was well known. As for Chinese expansionism, the Communist Vol. XII No. 39 New Delhi, September 27, 1964 25 Palse

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Hundred Years Since September 28, 1864

Throughout the world, Communists are celebrating the centenary of the birth of the First International. NEW AGE joins in sending warm, affectionate greetings on this historic occasion to Communists everywhere. Long Live the Unity of the World Communist

Movement ! Long Live the Undying Principles of Marxism-Leninism ! (Articles on page 4, 8, 10-11)

Party of India, in its resolution of November 1, 1962; had pointed out that at the root of the aggression was the Chinese leadership's expansionism and chauvinism. But' Shastriji conveniently forgot all that and accused the Communist Party of having "lost the power of thinking", having "ideas projected from outside on their minds" and so on

and so on. Shastriji aired his views on Indian and Soviet history. at least the more recent phases of it, connected with the names of outstanding leaders of this century. He therefore, must be aware of the historic fact that anti-communism is an outplayed theme.

an outplayed theme. One can understand the Prime Minister's anger, because the most effective speeches in the no-confidence debate were those by Communist Party spokesmen. But let it be understood, no one would be havpier than the Communist Party if the fears of a reversal of the basic national policies were really unfounded. In fact, the consistent campaign by the Communist Party against such a reversal has undoubtedly helped to keep the democratic forces, including those inside the Congress itself, vigilant and alert. It has been this vigilance and this alertness, which has halted any sliding away from the basic policies, thus far.

The Prime Minister's speeches are an indication both of the success of this public vigilance and, at the same time, the necessity to intensify it in the coming days, when the dangers to the basic policies may grow, in the name of "changed conditions" and the duties of "real leaders".

(September 23)



Double CPI Membership

What is your unit doing to implement the call of the Central Executive to launch the Seventh Party Congress Enrolment Drive?

Open the doors of the Party to the militants and active sympathisers, who have stood by the Party at moments when it needed them most, who have participated in the mighty campaigns of the Party, shoulder to shoulder with the Party Members. Send Reports to NEW AGE

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The last two months were very hectic days. The crisis of food and prices, the mighty bandh struggles of the working class, the great Satyagraha led by hte Communist Party, the arrests, prisons, clashes and so on-one hardly gets time to read when you are in the thick of it.

But a comrade came and thrust into my hands an article and said "This is the latest from Mao Tse-tung. This is Comment Number Nine on the CPSU Letter." I was going to put it aside into a file that lies on my table awaiting to be read at leisure. But my friend would not let me do it. He said that it was something absolutely new. So I read it.

OT much of the stuff was growth of better living conditions in the Soviet Union alongside good salaries and incomes for technicians, workers, writers and others being cited a sign of "bourgeois habits" and the discovery and punishment of a few thieves and embezzlers in the economic and state apparatus being cited as the "revival of capialism" was not a new thing for me to read.

I had read that even in the days of Stalin. But then, it was written by the imperial-ist hack-writers. Now it is being written by the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party. That is what is new. And what is surprising is that all this was said by Djilas, the Yugoslav writer, long ago.

And when you struggle to find out how such a thing uld be written by the leader of a Communist Party who speak in terms of Marxism-Leninism, you do not get an answer to that one question which thousands of Commu-nists ask: "Which of the two is correct Marxism? How can Mao Tse-tung, the great Marx-ist of the old days of the Chinese Revolution go so wrong?"

FIFTEEN VACHANAS

That question has been trouuntil I read this Ninth Com-ment. And two things in that article and particularly fifteen vachanas (sayings) Mao Tse-tung given th have solved the problem the of iere, for The two things that attracted my attention are the concept of virtue of poverty and the concept of the uugas of thousand of years required to create the perfect man.

If you try to understand all Mao is saying and doing in terms of Marxism-Leninism, you get nowhere

But, if you try to understand him as a profound metaphysicist and a subjective idealist (in the philosophical sense) then everything be comes clear. Take him as a as a mahant, sitting on the throne of a vast empire, the mahant of a sect, who has blossomed into an uncrowned emperor-

then everything fits in. Like a mahant, Mao lives in solitude. He is selfless as far as his own life is concerned. He does not want luxuries and b and worldly goods is no ideal for a

NO MATERIAL COMFORTS

Hence he does not like the people of the Soviet Union or China wearing good clothes, building big houses, asking for higher salaries and producing more goods asking for higher salaries and producing more goods and still more goods and still more goods and com-paring their living condi-tions with those of America or Enaland. or England.

Of course, once he himself talked of China outstripping England in steel production, But that was a remnant of the But that was a remnant of the old materialism and Marxism of the pre-liberation days of

PAGE TWO

China must build socialism— but not of the Khrushchov variety. It must build monastic socialism, where renunciaiton of property and family is the principle and not their growth. If in order to convert the world to monastic socialism, half the human population is wiped out by an atomic war, there is no worry because life is eternal though men are transient. I nt. Is not every pralaya (the deluge) its technological advance followed by a new reincarna tion?

If we put all of Mao's pre-sent line of thinking in terms of the monasticism of mediae-val Hinduism and its philoso-phy, his contradictions and quarrels with Marxism-Leninism in the new epoch can be more easily understood.

SUBJECTIVE IDEALISM

The subjective idealism of Mao Tse-tung took some time to break away from his older moorings of historical matemoorings of historical mate-rialism. First he agreed with

the great contribution of the twentieth Congress of the CPSU and the 1957 Mos-cow Declaration of the Communist Parties.

Later on, he slowly start-ed questioning its "interpretation." Then came the open quarrel and finally a violent break. Mao Tse-tung now has become a true philosopher-king in the old Hindu style or Confucian mode. It is now futile to argue with him in terms of Marxism-

One very new "saying" of his has given me this rude awakening. We have been used to thinking that the abolition of capitalism and classes and the building of socialism is a process that is going to place in our own life-time it is gathering speed and that the whole of humanity will why did we think so? nism,

We saw capitalism rise into full bloom in about a hundred and fifty years, say, beginning with the Battle of Plassey in 1751 till about the beginning of Twentieth Century. Then the imperialists drowned the world in war.

The Russian Revolution of 1917 began the epoch of social-ism. From 1917 to 1938 Soviet Russia abolished class society and established socialism. It showed how rapidly socialism and classless society develop develop once the bourgeoisie is overthrown and the means of production are socialised by the

day, when a thousand million people have come into social-ism, it is barely fifty years. Why then this new pe re of "several centuries"?

DURF METAPHYSICS

It is neither Marxism nor is From 1917, it took humait pessimism. It is pure meta-physics and is based on the nity only forty years to overthrow capitalism in twelve more countries and idealist or vedantic view of man and his evolution. It has put them on the road to sonothing to do with the objeccialism. And it took only ten years to liberate over fifty tive laws of historical matesince the end of the Second

Historical materialism views human life and activity in the environment of nature, the means of production, men in their relation to these means and all the social-economic and intellectual results that come out of these relations.

When private property ap-pears in the means of produc-tion, classes are born, one being the class of exploiters, another the class of the exploit-ed. Each such formation of so-ciety has its own ethics, morals, laws etc. For example, in primitive communism there was no concept of ownership, theft or murder.

But these concepts appear for the first time in society when private property, classes and slavery arise. The class in Marxism is not a

conalomeration

dition of individual but a body of men in definite rela-

tion to the means of produc-ton—such as the classes of slaves; and slave-owners,

classes of workers and capi-

When, after the revolu-

tion, the working-class so-cialises the means of produc-

tion, classes as such cease to

exist and socialist society de-

velops as class-less ociety.

means of production and abo-lition of classes, the basis of

violence of man against man.

covetousness of property and thirst for accumulation of

wealth and territroy, begin to

disappear. Hatred and jealousy based on inequality and pov-erty begin to give place to ge-

nuine brotherhood, non-viol-

wealth as a means of exploita-

Abundance of products, the

disappearance of ignorance and inequality based on vidya and avidya in Communist society

lead to the development of the

new man of which old philo.

is achieved not by mere prea-ching of individual morals but

by providing objective real so-cial base for social man in

Monastic socialism bases it-

sophers always dreamed.

communist society.

self on poverty and

to

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This

ence and non-attachment

tion or accumulation.

With the socialisation of the

talists.

and tries to negate its results by moral preaching on the soul of man. Scientific or Markist-Leninist socialism helps man to recreate himself through social environment, through objective laws of communism, and ideological and moral rebirth of man through it. Socialisation of the means of production, abolition of classes and abundance of production by utilising all the advances of technology are the necessary objective mate-rial means for the mora change of man, attainm happiness and spiritual exalta-True, this takes time but not

ten thousand years. It does not happen on the morrow of the revolution and the capture of state power by the proletariat and the socialisation of the means of production, but it happens quite rapidly. After the revolution and the

abolition of classes, remnants of the former society continue for some time. Thieves and embezzlers do remain for some time. But they do not multiply incessantly and they are not and cannot become classes bringing back exploitation and capitalism into a classless so-cialist society.

But according to Mao Tsetung, they are classes. Hence, according to his Vachana Number Two, classes and class-struggle continue to exist even in socialist society, which is contrary to Marxist thinking. According to him, socialist society is not classless so long as a class of thieves, murderers, and em bezzlers, a class of highly-paid people collecting and amassing wealth and good things of life continue to exist, and even grow, if you follow the Soviet Union's line of building socialism.

REJECTION OF MATERIALISM

D-OD-OD-

What is this approach? It is the approach of the metaphy-sical view of man and society. In this view until every man in society has given up thinking of property and has ceased to think of having it for enjoyment, until man has cea to think of the outer world altogether there is no socialism or communism; and if you establish it by means of socialisation, technical growth and abundance of products and all the morals of collective life and labour, leading to better and . still better things of life and intellectual and cultural education for every man, it will lead to nothing but degeneration and return to capitalism

So, socialism and the new society and man are developed not by the abolition of private property in the means of production but by means of m ral, ethical revolution of the human mind. Poverty and reproperty to the commune is the basis for it. That is the final. and only true basis of eternal

Till then, the question will remain—who wins—the sat or asat?—and that kind of "socialism" will never come in your life-time, if at all. So, it is best to leave the job to "several centuries". The ancient philosophers asked us to wait until the kali yuga van Mao asks us to wait only for ten thousand years for the birth of the perfect man.

This whole line of thinking rejects the dialectical materialist position that "being determines se" and replaces it by the metaphysical

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President Radhakrishnan's visit to the Soviet Union and the Indo-Soviet joint communique signed by him in Moscow have brought India's foreign policy once again to the centre of public attention. This once again to the centre of public attention. This visit was linked with that of Defence Minister Chavan and with the Indo-Soviet agreement for assistance in India's defence plans. Foreign Minister Swaran Singh has made visits to neighbouring countries. We are on the eve of the non-aligned conference in Cairo. Debates on foreign policy have begun in Parliament.

also.

to the Right in the foreign

policy as a whole? And it is here that it is necessary to examine certain other facts

First of all, the repeated

assertions of the basic principles of our foreign policy (the Foreign Minister

repeated these while opening the Foreign Policy Debate in

the Rajya Sabha on Tuesday)

by government spokesmen, including and specially the

ed as only lip-

Prime Minister himself

not be dismissed as only service to non-alignment.

Again, the joint commu-

during his Soviet visit, went

far beyond the requirements

of diplomatic courtesies, and

indicated a real desire for increased friendship with the

Similarly, the Indo-Soviet

defence: assistance agree-ment is further proof of the continuation of the policy of

non-alignment and friendship

with the socialist countries.

The statements and com-muniques issued by For-eign Minister Swaran Singh

during his visits to neighbour

Soviet Union.

S there a shift in foreign policy? And if so, in which direction? If one is in the habit of But the main question is:

choosing one's facts to suit Do all these dangerous failures one's own particular precon-listed above, amount to a shift ceived "theories", it is possible to come to a hasty conclusion, by turning a blind eye to facts which do not fit in with one's "theorie

ns of a shift to the Right, away from the positive policies of non-align-ment and peaceful co-existence can be seen in the performance of T. T. Krishnamachari at the Common-wealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London and more recently, at the Com-monwealth Finance Ministers' Conference in Kuala Lumpur. Such signs can also be seen

in the boost being given to so-called negotiators between India and Pakistan, who openly propose surrender of Kashmir in one form or the other. One can also point out the failure of the government to take a sharp stand against the US aggression against the 'bu on in Indo-China, against the 'building of US-British military bases in the Indian Ocean and so on.

It is essential at every stage, on every issue, to criticise strongly each failure of the government in the sphere of eign policy, each turn away

IMPERIALISM'S TAR-GET: The imperialists look upon the Indian Ocean as a "vacuum to fill"... and they are rushing in to fill it with their nuclear bases and nuclear-armed navies This picture is taken from the front page of the London ECONO-MIST, dated September

ing countries have also been generally consistent with the policy of non-alignment. Al this is to the good. But again, despite these welcome indications that the policy of non-alignment The support extended by him to the proposal for a nuclear free Indián Ocean and his reiteration of India's opposition to the and peaceful co-existence is to remain—it would be to-tally wrong to come to the setting up of foreign mili-Asia tary bases anywhere, in the context of the US-British conclu on that there is no possibility of any shift to the Right in the coming The Government of India's plans to set up such bases in the Indian Ocean-are The Government of munas wrong policy in regard to Malaysia arises precisely from its refusal to see British neo-colonialism particularly when Chinese expansionism appears to loom large. AVARIUM T. T. Krishnamacharl during his recent visit to Kuala Lumpur went so far as to attack Indonesia in his effort to defend Malaysia. The Prime Minister, when questioned in Parliament this week denied that the Finance Minister had said anything aganst Indonesia, and came out strongly for a peaceful settle-Indonesia and ment hetwee Malaysia. This amounted to a repudiation of what Krishnamachari had said—but the blind spot remains, with all the disastrous consequences which may follow. ATTITUDE TOWARDS



SEPTEMBER 27 1964



countries from imperialism

With the development of the

might of the Soviet Union and

well as the struggles and la-bour of the new socialist states

and the newly liberated coun-

tries, millions of people in the world are stepping towards so-cialism at a faster rate than it

took capitalism to get out of feudalism or for feudalism to liberate itself from slavery.

That is why Marx as well as

Lenin visualised that the period of humanity's struggle

against capitalism and its step

World War.

Once Mao Tse-tung also Once Mao Tse-tung also thought the same way. In fact he "improved" on it. In talking of the Big Leap and the com-munes, he thought he would bring socialism and commun-

ism by the new Chinese way in less than a decade, than the Russ That in fact was the beginning of the revelation of Mao Tse-tung's metaphysics and monastic socialism. The com-

munes were conceived very much like the monasteries ancient days, idealising pover-ty, renunciation and celibacy.

COMMUNES AS MONASTERIES

But even the most disciplined sect degenerates, and the biggest mahant cannot save it. The hungry old men ate away all the rice in the commune and the young men ceased to labour and dreamt poetry and love. The Chinese communes failed and the Party degenerated. The fail-ure brought new enlighten-ment to Mao. What was it? Vachage Number Tore even BASED ON POVERTY

Vachana Number Two says: "Here a long period of time needed to decide, 'who will win', in the struggle between socialism and canitalism: seve ral decades won't do it. success requires anywhere from one to several centuries"

Why this change in the perspective? Marx and Lenin spoke of fifty or a hundred years long before the Russian Revolution of 1917. From that time till to-



The efforts being made to build closer relations of solidarity with the African countries are also positive. Solidarity, it is hoped, will now take more material form

-both in terms of assistance to the freedom movements in South Africa, the Portuguese colonies and Southern Rhodesia and in terms of cooperation in their economic deve-lopment with the independent African countries.

In the Disarmament Com. mittee in Geneva, India

welcome indications of a desire to adhere to India's peace policy. The efforts being made to "responding to changed cir-cumstances"—there are those who would, given the chance. push us away from non-align ment and into the US net, directly or indirectly

Is There A Shift In

Foreign Policy?

The failure to disown cate-gorically the statements of T. T. Krishnamachari in London and Kuala Lumpur can be costly in the future.

Again, the dependence which Government food policies seem to have created on food imports from the USA is



is once more taking a lead, together with other non-ali-gned countries, in putting forard concrete proposals which may help progress towards disarmament.

S The general brief on which the Indian delega-tion to the non-aligned con-ference in Cairo will act, is broadly anti-imperialist and aimed at lending support to all peoples fighting for inde-



NEW AGE

being used already to blackmail India, particularly on the issue of Kashmir. Can Indian foreign policy be fully anti-imperialist as long as this blackmail is allowed to conti-

The main hurdle, in fact, in the pursuit of a complex fely consistent peace policy has been in recent years, the refusal of the Government of India to take on all occasions a sharp stand against US and British aggressive moves and neo-colonialist efforts. This faicoloniaust enorts. This lat-lure has become more mar-ked following the Chinese aggression and open Chi-nese expansionist moves in

SOCIALIST CUBA

It is necessary also to point out how singularly unfortu-nate is the fact that in an otherwise excellent joint Indo-, the refer-Soviet communique Cuba makes it appear ence to Cuba makes it appear that India does not support the heroic people of that country in their efforts to maintain their sovereignty

ter committed a error, which in a way, un-did at least part of the good that the communique did to brighten India's image, in the world.

There is yet another warn-ing which should be given. While it is good that the Government of India has at last decided to give high priority to the question of economic assistance to the developing countries of Africa, and a delegation is already in Africa for this purpose...vigilance must be exercised at the highest level that the business firms associated with the pro-jects do not misuse the opjects do not misuse the op-portunity provided for profiteering and otherwise exploit-ing the African countries with

which we are cooperating. It should not be forgotten how disastrons for India's relations with the newly independent countries of Africa has been the fact, that in some of these coun-tries, certain persons of Indian origin have a dirty record of profiteering and exploitati

Care should also be exercised in selecting the personnel we send out to Africa in pursuance of our plans for eco-nomic assistance in African development plans. What are required are men with a mission, men prepared to sacri-fice, to identify themselves with the African people in every way. Unfortunately, it must be admitted that so far a large number of the technical men sent out have done India little good, for they have been merely time-servers at the best, and money-grabbers. nose-in-the-air crats and brown sahibs at the

ANTI-IMPERIALIST ARMOUR

All this applies equally our diplomatic personnel. Golf-playing burra sahibs just will not do. So far the worst of our dimplomats are often selected for hot Africa (there-ARE exceptions), on the groand that the prize posts are in the excellent conditions of the West. All this must end.

There are numerous probincre are numerous prop-lems concerned with exter-nal publicity which have often been raised. The es-sential point is that publicity directed towards the anti-imperialist world cannot be run by men to whom imperialism is only a word, which they do not like to

And that goes for foreign policy as a whole. President Radhakrishnan cut fresh ground when he described our foreign policy as being based on anti-imperialism. One would like to hear this more often, hear it and see the en-tire policy being oriented with this understanding.

Similarly, the Foreign Micountry in their efforts to Similarly, the Foreign Mi-maintain their sovereignty nister has been talking re-and independence. The com-munique refers only to the Again this is welcome. But it Soviet side's views on Cuba, must mean more than a and there is complete silence phrase. Then our policy will regarding India's viewpoint. Whoever advised Presi-imperialists to destroy it, will dent Radhakrishnan and not be able to pierce. (September 23)

PAGE THREE

1864-1964: TEMPESTUOUS GROWTH OF COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

By KUNHANANDAN NAIR

The founding of the First International by Marx and Engels in September 1864 marked the great turning point in the history of classes and class wars. This enabled the international proletariat, which had been trying to find an independent path of emancipation since the bourgeois revolutions in Europe, to fulfil its historic role in the development of society.

Mago, Marx and Engels be-gan the Communist Manifesto with the words "A spectre is haunting Europe, the spectre of Communism". Today this spectre has become the strongest power of our time.

In these hundred years communism has had the most spectacular success on the lobe compared to any other contemporary ideology, philo-sophy or creed. For our genecommunism is no longer a dream of the exploited and oppressed but a goal that can be realised in life time. when the world celebrate RECORD

the centenary we are wit-nessing not only the triumph of socialism and com-munism which has already embraced one-third of hu manity. The Party former by Mary and Engels with a handful of secret members now rule the destinies of nowerful socialist countries.

In capitalist countries the Party is getting steeled in class battles, working class and democratic movement having grown tremendously strong National liberation movements in colonies of Asia, Africa and Latin Am colonies of rica have achieved great vic-

Almost 2,000 million people slavery and colonial oppres-sion, won national independence Imperialism and other oppressive forces have been weakened continuously push-

ed to the grave. Organised activities of 43 million Communists have become the main decisive factor in world developments. Hundreds of millions of working people are led by the Commu-nists in their struggles. The dreams of Marx and Engels have triumphed.

COMMUNIST LEAGUE

The history's first Commu-nist Party, the Communist League—a small secret organisation-was founded Marx and Engels in Germany. It contained only a handful of advanced thinkers and workers. These advanced workers spread the gospel in the continent and across the Channel and even the Atlan-

When the first international conference met in St. Martin's Hall, London, on September 28, 1864 many continents were yet unre-presented. But the main main task was realised in the nding of the internation_ al. It consisted of making the working class aware of the historic mission and of enabling it to fulfil its historic tasks.

This conference amalgamated the working class movecountries creed. ments of various

PAGE FOUR

MORE than hundred years into the First International spread the ideas of scientific socialism against all non-proletarian petty-bourgeois sec and schools of thought and worked out the strategy and tactics for the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed

This created the pre-conditions for the founding of DFO letarian revolutionary parties in various countries, as distinct from nationalist and bourgeois parties.

GLORIOUS

The minutes book of the London conference of the In-ternational gives us a glorious record of the development of proletarian ideology. The long deliberations of the Inter-national gave rise to a new type of democracy, the proletarian democracy, a new type of brotherhood, the proleta-rian internationalism, a new type of discipline, the prole-tarian discipline.

These are the greatest contributions to social sciences which enabled the oppressed people to struggle unitedly to end exploitation and class The International inscribed on its banner, "Work-ers Of All Countries, Unite!"

When a substantial ammunt of this unity was achieved in France, M and Engels tested soundness of their revo Marx tionary theory in the Paris ariat for the first time held political power for two whole months after over throwing the bourgeois rule. The revolutionary traditions of the First International wa carried on by its successor, the Second International. Democratic movement and trade unions all over the world began to grow and socialism was accepted by the majority of the people. Working class in advanced capitalist countries gained many political econo-mic and democratic rights from the bourgeoisie. The liberal movement spread colonies However after the death of Engels, the Second International leaders began to gravitate towards opportu nism. With the first imperialist war it degenerated and collapsed.

But Lenin and Russian Bolsheviks rescued Marxism, ruthlessly struggling against opportunism, pick-ed up the banner of prole-tarian revolution discarded by social democrats and led to victory the revolution in Ru the proletarian ia, in 1917. After the establishment of first proletarian dictatorship and Soviet power. Lenin greatenriched Marxist theory ʻly and enhanced revolutionary

He saw the historical inevitability of world revolution and founded the Third International in 1919-the Commuwhich International nist played a big role in building volutionary par-

Dogmatism as well as revim had threatened the international movement many a time Trotskyltes and oppor tunists in the working class movement tried to wreck the Communist International. Communist International. They founded the Fourth International to disrupt the struggles.

But nothing would halt the advance of revolutionary pro-cess. Socialist ideology spread rapidly and Communist mo-vement grew greatly after the October Revolution. By 1928 were 46 Communist with 1.680.000 memthere Dortieg bers. At the time of the Se-venth Congress of the Comintern, there were 61 Commu-nist Parties with three million members. Out of this 800,000 were in the capitalist coun-

When the international Communist movement became a mighty force that cannot be directed or guided from a centre, when the national Parties were matured and could find their own way, the Comintern was disbanded in

India had their day of

initial hesitation. His

aides have now scuttled

the proposal for a Rus-

No deviation here, we have

been told. Only a matter of adjusting the radio frequency! INSIDER understands that

ATSILLER understands that the scuttle is a cooperative venture of Secretary General M. J. Desat (going but not yet gone from the External Affairs Ministry) and L. K. Jha, the economic genus who

the

sian

place.

culty

revenge. Nehru scuttled the

1943. But proletarian interwas never given up.

> In 1957 at the time of the 40th anniversary of the October Revolution there were 75 Communist Parties with 33 million members of which five million were in non-socialist countries

The movement was grow-ing after the dissolution of the Third International and today there are 90 Commu-nist and Workers Parties with 43 million members 0 whom six million are in non-socialist countries.

SMASHING NAZIS-FASCISTS

The greatest power of the working class was expressed in the smashing up of the ugliest form of imperialist state power-fascism-in the second world war by the USSR and world democratic forces.

Following the war victory, proletarian revolution trium-phed in many countries of Europe (Albania, Bulgaria, Europe (Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Ru-mania, Yugoslavia, Hungary East Germany), in Asia (China, Mongolia, Vietnam. Korea) and in Cuba, which created the great world socia-

VOA MEN UP AGAIN Whispage allery

was spurned early this year? Did M. J. Desat, who was

THE VOA men in the Government of the voice of America was sourced early this year?

rialism in every sphere of de-

Side by side with the world socialist system the working class and democratic movement in capitalist countrie began to play an important In many countries the Party could prevent imperia list advances.

More than 34 million peo ple voted the Communist Party under bourgeois parliamentary elections ountries Party is permitted to take part in elections But in 40 capitalist countries Communist Party is outlawed and cannot take part in elections. Therefore their popular votes not

The victory of national libe. ration movement delivered the mightiest blow to imperialism in the postwar era. Anti-imperialist national states came into being in most of the former colonial possessions. Humanity has reached a point where socialism in kno cking literally on every door.

Today the combined streng. th of world socialist system working class movement in capitalist countries and the ational liberation movements in colonies have greatly outstripped the power of in national imperialism. War can be therefore prevented and peace preserved and socialist transformation made possible with much less bloodshed and acrifices

portend of the shape of

The Great Satyagraha took place in 37 districts of Uttar Pradesh and nearly 5000 satyagrahis were arrested. Over 1500 of the arrested satyagrahis were were released by the police after some time either at the place of arrest or at a distance from the place More than 3200 were sent to jail.

> ed themselves for arrest in UP during the five days.

> In seven districts namely

graha was offered on various

In thirty districts where

arrests took place the picture differs from district to dis-

trict. In the places where the

Party is strong in rural areas

as in Ghazipur, Azamgarh,

Muzaffarnagar, Jhansi and Ballia, a very large number of

non-Party kisans came for-

ward to offer themselves for

In the 1958 food satvagraha

when the Party was united and the satyagraha was simul-

taneously launched by all opposition parties, our Party

the satyagraha was solely led

days no arrests took place.

hahr where satva

AT some places the satyagrahis were released later on without any prosecution being launched against them, Unnao, Barabaki, Elawatia, Pratapgarh, Gonda, Sitapur and Bulandshahr where struwhile in many cases they were tried and sentenced to variterms of imprisonment and fines ranging from one day simple imprisonment to three months rigorous impri-sonment and fine of Rs. 25 to Rs 200

About a thousand are still awaiting their trial under various sections of IPC and Cr. P. C. and Criminal Law

Still

In Jail

quite

the

In all, there must be about a thousand satyagrahis still (September 15) in various jails. was able to send less than 3000 persons to jail. This time

by the Party and the split-ters at many places tried to sabotage it and yet the num-About 15,000 along with five thousand arrested, offered satyagraha but were not arrested. It would be ber of persons arrested was greater in spite of the that the police refused t correct to say that some thousand people offer-

A PATRIOT'S NOTEBOOK

than

fact

experienced man. That is why his advice is always interesting-advice on all sorts of subjects, unconnected with portfolio he holds in Government of India. Recently he visited the recently he visited the Woo the hoarders, woo the Land of the Dollar and pronounced himself on is the way to disaster for the foreign policy issues, on food and PL 480, and a host of other matters (oh,

bers this interesting fact !). cipal bers this interesting fact i). And now, Sadoba has don-ned the robes of the Finance Minister, and told him publicly how to grab BLACK MONEY. A friend has sent me a fairly detailed report of. Sadoba's words of wisdom at a seminar on Bombay's traffic problems, held on Sentember 19 "amnesty". Not so long ago, Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri gave a fifteen day "amn to the food hoarders on plea that this would en

them to bring out their hoards. NOTHING HAPPENED. Patil wants an "amnesty" for fue

held on September 19. Can you guess what was the "brilliant" suggestion made by Sadoba? Very simple. True to the interests he represents, dear SKP called for an AM-NESTY for tax evaders, for the next two or three years! Even without any formal amnesty, the money-bags have it all their own way. Give them a free run, in the enemie "amnesty" mies of the nation

READER has sent A me cuttings from the Punjab press, which tell an amazing story. An important organiser of the Punjab Subordinate Services Federation was charge-

SEPTEMBER 27, 1964

Please

Give

held on September 19

them a free run, in dance with Patil's dik

listen carefully to

tat, and the loot of the loot-ers will grow... that's all.... But Sadoba Patil is an expe-

rienced man. And one wants to know WHY he pleads for this "amnesty"... Did I hear something rude about Sadoba?

THE GENTLE ART OF WOOING S ADOBA PATIL is an

Sadoba's own explanation for his proposal to give the money-makers a free run: MONEY, SAID THE HONOURABLE MINISTER, IS 'LIKE A BEAUTIFUL WOMAN TO BE WOOED A N D WON ... FORCIBLE METHODS MICHT MAKE HER RUN AWAY." Woo the hoarders, woo the

Another "statement of allega-Another statement of tions" against the same sumionist included the follow apart from "charges" ving apart from "charges" holding a union meet 'organising a union', etc.: meeting Sadoba is an experienced

host of other matters (oh, yes! he DID have a little time also to put in a word about railways—he is Rail-ways Minister, you see and sometimes he remem-bers this interesting fact!). Sadoba is an experienced man. That is why we cannot dismiss bis plea for an "am-nesty" for the tax-evaders as the innocent gibberish of an ignoramus: it is a calculated demand made on behalf of those who would be the prin-cipal beneficiaries of the "... you also delivered a speech in which you urged upon the Government to in-crease the pay of the em-ployees, as they could not make both ends meet due to prevalent dearner

"... you are also alleged busy in getting signatures of Government servants on a memorandum which is to be presented to the Chief Miniscontaining domands ...

The men who want to give never seem to

ARE THESE CRIMES?

The whole thing came up before the Central Vigilance Com but he scotfree. Soi is going to be one of the Indian exhibits at the forth-

-INSIDER

coming Cairo confe

SEPTEMBER 27, 1964

tish. They played a decisive role even during Nehru's time. But on crucial issues, as on the VOA tie-up, Nehru had step-ped in, and the ICS guys had to crawl back into their holes the embassy!

Affairs Ministry) and L. K. Jha, the economic genius who is the principal adviser to the Prime Minister. Both of them have producthe two on some aspects the proposal to drop ed learned arguments against having a high power medium wave transmitter. Argument Number One is that this parti-hument is mentiople for * cular wave is unsuitab transistors. It is the short wave that is heard on the battery sets. Argument Number Two is T has been one of India's misfortune that the administration rests solely on bureau-

we will run into diffi-with the international that we crats trained by the Brinication organisation . tish. with regard to with regard to obtaining a frequency for the medium wave broadcasts. No such difficulty in regard to short wave, we are told.

wave, we are told. Awkard questions such as whether these technical hit-ches have arisen only when the "Reds" have agreed to give us a medium wave trans-mitter, can be asked But who will answer them? Have these ICS chappies discovered that transistor sets



There are many such bril-liant men still serving in Shastri's government. Recently difficulty in there would be difficulty in getting a frequency? All these and similar ques-tions may be addressed to the new Information and Broadcasting Minister, Indira Gandhi. Having failed to lead Nehru up the garden path, they are trying their hand at his daughter. one of them, occupying a top position in the External Affairs position in the External American Ministry, after an inaugural flight of a foreign air service, landed at Palam with a nice

packet of contraband goods. The Customs asked him to declare. The brilliant man said he had nothing to de-clare. Who the hell did the his daughter. She cannot turn for advice to her father's successor. In fact, there is a tiff between Customs chappies think he was? A chaprasi in the E.A.

Ministryi The Customs opened the packet. The brilliant man was in a soup. He ran to the Ambassador of the country who had come to the airport irport The

to receive the flight. diplomat helped him out. And it was so manipulated that the embassy took deli-very of the goods from the Customs. The plea was that plea was that the stuff FOR was carrying

Later th bassy restored it to our chap.

vigilance this! This brilliant officer, I hear,



rest large number of satvagrahis.

This success is primarily This success is primarily due to the mood of the masses. The food crisis in UP is particularly acute. Be-cause of lack of winter rains last year and cold wave the crop was poor and our Party had raised the issue at the beginning of the year.

As a matter of fact we were planning a statewide satya-graha and March 9 demonstration at Lucknow was the first step towards it. graha forms to enroll volun teers had been distributed in March.

Because of the split the whole plan had to be post-

By June the acuteness of the crisis began to show its face. Fair price shops in the

sheeted a short while ago. says one report. The main charge reads as follows:

"You are indulging i propaganda amongst the employees against the atti-tude of the Government in not acceding to the demand of the employees in regard to raising their pay, etc."

Take a careful look at all these "charges", which I am quoting verbatim. So it has become a CRIME under Congress-raj to "urge upon" the government to increase wages. government to increase wages. It has become a CRIME to collect signatures on a petition to the Chief Minister.

What about the fundamental rights embodied in the Consti-tution of the Republic of India? These chargesheets must be vithdrawn: they are a disgrace o any independent country.

to any independent country. The British rulers certainly used such chargesheets, but they had to quit. Those who follow the British rulers ways should learn the learn of history.

lesson of history...

-Romesh Chandra

NEW AGE

rural areas were virtually closed by the government and in the cities queues before the shops multiplied because full rations were not available.

Crisis in the eastern districts was still more acute. It is in this situation that

our state executive which in the first week July decided to launch the satyagraha sometime in August. It also decided to observe July 20 as People's Food Day. July 20 was successfully observed in most of the districts

The Tenall splitters had given the call of observing July 27. Jan Sangh and SSP also began to talk of launching struggles on the issue of food

Successful Randh

There were talks of UP Bandh and SSP showed an xiety to have accommodation with us. SSP, CPI, Republican Party and Independents agreed to have UP Bandh on ugust 18.

August 18 UP Bandh was a great success. There was 90 per cent strike in textile mills in Kanpur. Engineering and leather workers also joined.

Jan Sangh and a section of Congress had tried their best to confuse the workers. They propagated that the strik was being organised by the Communists and 18th was the Communists and 18th was the "birthday of Chou En-lai"; but this did not cut much ice In Lucknow, Gorakhpur and some other places too Jan Sangh came in open opposi-

More than 50 lakh peo-ple, even according to most conservative estimates, were affected by the bandh orga-nised by the Left Parties jointly.

It is in this situation that we finalised the programme and made it public by holding a press conference. The satya-graha was to take place in mandis, before the banks and the centres of state power. Dates were fixed but the dis tricts were given libe make changes to suit rty to their convenience

Legislators In Forefront

As was expected the satyagraha before the Assembly led by Z. A. Ahmed and two other Communist legislators namely Chandrajit Yaday and Raghubir Ram, received good publicity and was effective. It helped to create the tempo.

All the legislators except one offered satyagraha and S. S. Yusuf is still in jail. All the members of the state exe ere not exempted offered satyagraha.

All the opposition parties except Jan Sangh and Swa-tantra Party staged a walk out from the Assembly aga-inst the lathicharge by police on satyagrahis. The general attitude of SSP, Republican Party and Independents in the Assembly was that of sympathy and support.

By KALI SHANKAR SHUKLA

The Tenali splitters held a meeting of their state execu-tive to consider the position created by our satyagraha. They decided for mook sama-They decided for mook sama-rthan (slient support). Actu-ally ranks at many places joined the crowd supporting satyagraha by shouting slo-

At Kanpur, Varanasi Gorakhpur, a number of their leaders actively worked aga-inst the satyagraha. However the support from the people was so voluminous that oppo-sition was virtually impossible for the splitters.

As a result of satyagraha the Party has improved its the Party has improved its position vis-a-vis the masses. There was a feeling among many Party members, sym-pathisers and even Party masses that after the split the masses that after the split the Party would not be able to lead any movement. Satya-graha has gone a long way in restoring confidence.

The satyagraha in front of banks and specially in the mandis brought Jan opposition to the satyagraha which lowered its prestige in the eyes of the people. Even in towns like Lucknow and Gorakhpur where Jan Sangh is quite strong it got isolated.

Sangh's Tactics

Jan Sangh tried later on to regain its lost prestige and also to sidetrack the attention also to succrack the attention of masses by deciding to launch an agitation against the bill empowering govern-ment to amend old laws in English

The satyagraha before the banks and in the mandls also greatly helped educating masses as regards the role banks and hoarders in creating the food crisis.

The satyagraha also helped to blow up the fantas-tic claim of the splitters that they have the majority of UP Party behind them. It also blunted the edge of their cri-ticism that the Party is not fighting against the Congress ind satyagraha form struggle is reformist in day's situation.

One of the MLAs who had joined the splitters revolted against the decision of their state leadership and joined the satyagraha Moradabad. At with us at At Bahraich, Gorakhpur and Lalitpur their units have already started a satyagraha

A large number of party people have come nearer to the Party during the satyagraha and the Party has to consolidate their support for the Party. Many of them will join the Party.

Kerala CPI Plenum Calls For

UNITY BASED ON COMMON **MINIMUM PROGRAMME**

A resolution on the political situation in Kerala and the tasks of the Communist Party was adopted by the extended plenary meeting of the Kerala state council of the Communist Party of India held on September 13 at Ernakulam. The resolution, says:

Collowing the passing of introduction ag-anst the Sankar Ministry, the Ministry has resigned and Presi-dential Rule has been proclaimed again in Kerala. Elections are due to take place in February Base Scher Scher

what we witness today in Kerala's politics is the tragic denouement in the collapse and crack up of the immoral alliance that was forged for the coup d'etat against the Communist Ministry, otherwise known as the "liberation struggle".

The basis of the coalition ministry of 1960 was the alli-ance forged by the Congress with all the reactionary and communal vested interests of the state. It was only negative anti-communism that united all these forces and parties.

arces and parties. Naturally the very touch of social realities brought about internal contradictions and fissures within the alliance. Thus the Muslim League was thrown out of it and then the PSP. But the contradic-tions did not disappear even after this. They got heighten-ed. Finally when a section from within the Congress itself broke away, the very existence of the Ministry was not practi-cable. The Ministry fell.

commodities foodgrains.

The governments, both at the centre and in the state have failed in taking effective steps to meet the situation. Peoples wrath was turning against government for this very reason. It is now sent moment

During the last few months we witnessed growing struggles and waves of agitation against price rise, organised by left par-tices in the state and trade unions, separately and general strike and together. The and hartal the The general strike and hartal mar took place all over Kerala on July 31 under the united leadership of the three trade union centre -AITUC. HMS and UTUCwere unprecedented in the his-tory of the state.

Similarly the group of Con-gress legislators who coted against the Congress Ministry and have come out as rebels have no opposition whatsoever, to the government policies on the food question and price rise. Not only that, their spokesmen went out of their way to make this point clear during the debate in the legis-lature and congratulate the Food Minister in this regard. In spite of all this the popular

Food Minister in this regard. In spite of all this, the popular unity that is taking shape as des-cribed earlier has to be streng-thened and led on to higger popular struggles and movements. The unity that is being built up in the course of these struggles will be of considerable help to us and other democratic forces in the fulfilment of our tasks in the electoral battle.

with matting and interference of the second product of the seco

SAME FEATHER

It is now and at the pre-sent moment that one is con-strained to recall how trea-cherously harmful have been the activities of those amongst us who have split the Commu-nist Party into two. Today the relationary torsee in Kerel nist Party into two. Today the reactionary forces in Kerala are rejoicing and the progres-sive forces are sad at the developments in Kerala parti-cularly. Had there not been a split in the Communist Party of India, the aim of ensuring a progressive non-Congress democratic government could have enable hear realized

were unprecedented in the his-tory of the state. The unity of the working class created a new sense of confidence and inspiration among the -people. INTUC alone which happened to be under the leadership of the ruling Congress party kept acouy from this struggle but in a few centres workers belong-ing to INTUC affiliation joined in the strike. The demonstration and meet-of various trade unions in Erna-kulam witnessed the local wity is easy of achievement.

Those who have split away t from the Communist Party have part have led to revolutionary demo ment of our countr ing the miseries and the common people. A strong trend in today's situatio to an understand actionary, communa terestring the right and freedom to open criticism of these ideo-logical position, this party should also be brought into the united front along with other parties. The attitude of the SSP has not yet become clear. Leaders of the SSP have proclaimed their intention that the Congress should be defeated, but, that by itself is a negative posture for it is not valenwise if the Contraction of the forefrom

tic forces in the state to come reactionary interests. That will there is no question of our allying with the Congress or supporting the elector. The that they are prepared to fair name of integrity and fidelity stand by a minimum common to principles by which the Party programmer, fight the elections has stood all along. Instead, and ensure a stable government together. Any postime that will impede or block and results contrary to what was this development would amount to defeating the very aim that will afford justification for *ON PAGE 19

conference at Panmana.

proclaimed earlier. The ple-num hopes that the SSP, tak-ing into consideration the situation in Kerala will not take a negative approach to this question. We should strive to bring in Kisan a structure to bructure

situation in Kerala will not take a negative approach to this question. We should strive to bring in the Kisan Labour Party who has not come to the front. We hope that they will agree to join the front.

that they will agree to join the front. During periods of elections, the tendency will raise its heads for deviating from principles and taking up opportunistic positions in an anxiety to secure votes and a few more seats. Succumb-ing to such tendencies in the past have led to weakening the revolutionary. democratic move-ment of our country and increas-ing the miseries and sufferings of

ment of our country and increas-ing the miseries and sufferings of the common people. A strong trend has come up in today's situation of coming to an understanding with re-actionary, communal, vested in-terests under the banner of "anticongressism." The Commu-nist Party opposes this trend resolutely.

OPPORTUNISM

The best course for that is for all the progressive democra-tic forces in the state to come the that they are precared to adequate if the Congress is de-among the people that an alter-native stable government can be formed in the state. The best course for that is to gether and assure the electo-to the that they are precared to and the progressive democra-tic forces in the state to come the that they are precared to and the progressive democra-tic for the the state to come to prove the the the state to come the control the state the state to come the control the s

ism and opposed to communal. ism.

We should not forget that the Muslim community in Kerala is backward in matters of edu-cation and employment oppor-tunities. It has to be admitted that even as a religious mino-rity, they suffer from several dis-abilities:

The front, therefore, will be pledged to implement a pro-gramme of adequate safeguards for the rights of this religious minorities and guarantees for the protection of the just de-mands of this minority community.

This is true not only of Muslim but other backward com-munities. The front is pledged to accept the principle that certain communities who for historical

accept the principle that certain communities who for historical reasons have not been able to come up to the level of certain others in matters of education and employment should be pro-vided with safeguards for and reservation for some time more. The Communist Party, how-ever, is of the view that it is wrong to have any alliance with the Muslim League. But there is no question of our allying with the Congress or supporting the Congress with a ciew to defeating the Mus-lim League.

PATNA: Warring groups inside the state Congress have again plunged into a bitter fight for power. Though various factors—admission of some PSP legis lators in the Congress, dissatisfaction among the erst-while Jharkhand men and realignment of forces inside the Congress Legislature Party have contributed to. the deepening the crisis. The decision of the Congress Parliamentary Board to open the door for the mem-bers of the Swatantra Party has precipitated the crisis.

It was a move on the part of Chief Minister Sahay to

strengthen his group by ad-mitting the Swatantra mem-bers, who were dissatisfied

bers, who were dissatisfied with the treatment meted out

to them by their chief, the Raja Bahadur. He ignored the opposition of the dissidents

including former Chief Minis-ter B. N. Jha.

The BPCC Executive recom-

mended their names to the

Central Parliamentary Board

with a strong note of dissent from Pandit Jha and Reve-nue Minister B. C. Patel.

held the opinion that admis

NOTE OF

unds" the admission of the first batch of 12 Swatantra Milas who applied for Conof the ruling party in the legislature and considerably reduce the combined strength gress membership a few weeks back. f the opposition.

At the same time it will wipe out the Swatantra Party from the political map of Bihar. On the other hand it will radically alter the balance inside the rul-ing party and might lead to ing party and might lead to the fall of the Sahay minis-

Because of the awareness of the consequences, the minis-terialists as well as the dissidents are treating the admission of Swatantra legislators DISSENT while the dissidents have hailed the move with jubilation, the ministerialists opposing the admission tooth and nail. o re

The dissident leaders have no reason to accept that it was they who persuaded the Congress leaders to permit Rajabahadur Kamakhya Na-Jha had written a separate letter to the Congress Presi-dent explaining the reasons for his opposition. Then he rayan Singh to enter into the Congress with all his Swatan-tra followers. It was a losing sion of Swatantra men, who had been opposed to socialism as well as all progressive polibattle for the ministerialist Despite frantic efforts made by Chief Minister Sahay, they failed to stall the Swatantra ites' entry. Was there any principle in-

volved in support or op-position to the move? Not at all. Neither ministerialists nor the dissidents have any face

cies of the Congress, would prove to be fatal to the Con-It will be interesting to recall that Sahay, who now con-siders the Jharkhand merger gress organisation. This opposition was responsible for the delay in their admission. Now it sounds strange posed to the move, when the that Jha and his dissident then Chief Minister B. N. Jha followers do not apprehend initiated the move for the

OPTIMISM OVER NAGA PEACE PARLEYS

🔆 From Madhusudan Bhattacharva

SHILLONG: As this is being written the stage is rule, found to their distress their accustomed way of life giving way to serious disorder. Everyone the Government of India (who will include, besides others, the Chief Minister of Nagaland) and the representatives of haunted by fear and insecurity. others, the Chief Minister of Nagaland) and the represen-tatives of those who have been known all these years as hostile Nagas, and who have been living underground for nearly half a decade. Political circles here are quite opti-mistic about the outcome of the peace parleys. **I**T is pointed out that ever tween a section of Nagas and since the enforcement by the government started, about the vard incident took place any-bere in Nagaland or its sur-a good augury. **ber** is by itself is taken a good augury. **ber** is description of the peace parleys, the desire of the peace parleys. **c** a code augury. **ber** is taken and clashes marked life in that territory. This of late assumed **ber** lifted; travel regulations

It is pointed out that ever since the enforcement by both sides of a ceasefire, no un-toward incident took place any-where in Nagaland or its sur-roundings. This by itself is taken

factors, in addition to the current atmosphere of peace, that is said to be dominating the politi-cal scene in Nagaland. *First*, it is pointed out that for too long a period the Nagas have known little peace. As a matter of fact, the growing generation of Nagas who are be-tween one and twentyfive years of age can hardly recall a period of peace in their territory. Peace-bal tife of the Nagas was seriousof peace in their territory. Peace-ful life of the Nagas was serious-ly disturbed in the forties when the Eastern theatre of the last war shifted to Naga territory. Following that there has hardly

roundings. This by itself is taken and clashes marked life in that as a good augury. This of late assumed The optimism in political cir- the nature of a civil war, both cles is based on a number of sides in the clash taking an ir-factors, in addition to the current reconcilably firm stand.

reconcilably firm stand. The consequence has been broken homes, fratricidal cla-shes, bloodshed, distrust and a perpetual tension. The new generation of youth who normally should have been settled in life by now and en-gaged in different fruitful activi-ties, could, in this atmosphere, learn but one trade and that was training the gun against a fellow citizen. citizen

SEPTEMBER 27, 1984.

nist Party of India, the Re-volutionary Socialist Party and the Communist Party ("Marxist-Leninist") - this is how the left splitters are calling themselves now-in-dependent leaders like V. R. Krishna Iyer, K. Sanku Pillai and Thazhava Kesavan attended the meeting. A welcome feature of

United Front Takes

TRIVANDRUM: Another step forward was taken

this meeting was that re-presentatives of both he Samyukta Socialist Party and the Kisan-Labour Party were present and. took part in the discus-sions of the front, for the first time. The SSP leaders h made it clear that their

association with the front was subject to the ap-proval of the national executive of the SSP. Two issues came up for

discussion at this meeting, the significant one being the attitude towards the Muslim League.

NEW AGE

BESIDES the represenhave any opportunistic anproach or understanding with Muslim League or disatives of the Commusident Congressmen just on the basis of their "anti-Congressism" and with a view to win few seats as against the Congress.

🛧 From S. SHARMA

They argued that the success of the democratic front was based on the winning of a majority of seats by candidates of the front pledged to work out the common minimum pro-

The Communists ("Marx-The Communists ("Marx-ist-Leninist") took a differ-ent position and pleaded for an understanding with the Muslim league, which they characterised as a commu-nal party but of a minority Community and different (community as different from Hindu Maha Sabha or Jan Sangh which and were

ommunal parties of majority community! These arguments did not

was communalism whether Leaders of the Communist Party, the Revolutionary Socialist Party and some of the progressive independ-ents were categorical that the democratic front cannot

and with a gramme.

One Step Forward

find favour with the other delegates. Communalism it was of the minority comCongress compromise with these forces. The democratic front was

by the united democratic front in Kerala when representatives of the left parties in the state met in a two-day secular and non-communal and as such was as much opposed to the reactionary Congress here as to communal reactionaries; this was the general approach.

The second topic that was discussed was the common Election Manifesto with the outline of the minimum pro-

A drafting committee consisting of T. V. Thomas, S. Kumaran, T. C. Narayan Nambiar (Communist Party of India), E. M. St Namboodiripad, C. H. Kanaran Azheekodan Baghaya "Marxist-Le-(Communist unists") T. K. Diwakaran Baby John, G. Gopinathan Nair (RSP) and V. Gangadharan, (Independent) was

The sub-committee will meet on October 5 at Erna-kulam with leaders of SSP and KLP attending the

As a first step towards the united effort of the parties and an earnest of the sincerity involved in the endeavour, the decided to send conferenc a united delegation to the Governor to impress upon him the urgent need to tackle the deteriorating food situation in the state.

set up to prepare and final-ise a draft manifesto.

same as observers.

SEPTEMBER 27, 1964



Swatantra Entry Upsets IMPACT of the admission of the 50 Swatantra Party legislators will be far reaching on the political set-up of the state. It will undoubtedly im-prove the numerical strength of the admission of

any danger to socialism and the progressive policies of the Congress, when the Sahay is still accused of vio-"It will be ridiculous for the progressive policies of the Congress, when the Baja of Ramgarh, who stub-bornly fought against all progressive measures, along with 50 MLAs and 7 MPs offered to join the Congress. Chief Minister Sahay, who

earlier sponsored the admis-sion of 12 Swatantra MLAs, has now suddenly developed a love for "socialism". He is op-posing the entry of Swatantra members in the interests of "socialism." While elaborating his point, Sahay contrasted the merger of the Jharkhand Party with the offer of the Swatantra Party. Sahay said:

"The merger of the Jhar-khand Party with the Congress was in consonance with the latter's ideologies and concept of socialism and therefore the merger was fruitful. But the Swatantra Party is diametrical-ly opposed to the Congress programmes and ideologies, and it would be in the larger interest of the · Cong-ress if the merger issue was considerd dispassionately". (INDIAN NATION, September 12).

lating the merger agreement with the Jharkhand Party. Jaipal Singh MP, leader of the Jharkhand Party has threa-tened to quit the Congress along with all supporters, if the agreement is not pro-perly implemented.

This background is enough to draw the conclusion that neither the ministerialists nor the dissidents are guided by any ideology. Both are strictly guided by practical considerations. The Raja of Ramgarh is considered be a born enemy of Sahay. He will throw his weight with the dissidents to throw Sahay out of office. Hence Sahay out of office. Hence, the dissidents are support-ing the admission of Swa-tantra legislators en bloc. Similarly the ministerialists are opposing the entry for the same reasons.

This naked opportunism on the part of the two power groups inside the Congress has been sharply criticised by political circles and the press. Even the lower ranks of Congressmen have sharply re-acted to the move.

The SEARCHLIGHT, a Birla group daily, in course of a lengthy leading article, des-cribed the admission of Swatantra members as mere "op-



feature of life there, has since been lifted; travel regulations have heen relaxed and withal the nightmarish life that the Nagas have heen used to living all these years would appear to have come to an end. It is in this background that the process produce any gainer that

It is in this background that the peace parleys are going to begin. Few entertain any illu-sion that the way to peace will be an easy one. It is quite rea-sonable that the representatives of the underground will hargain hard. There have already been many indications that they will do so. many indications that they will do so. Moreover, there are forces at

future of Nagaland, as well as of the country. The statesmanship of the national leadership will be put to a severe test. Even a slight slip might find-the situa-tion drifting to the peril of the country. country.

However, it is believed here However, it is believed here that with an understanding ap-proach, with required flexibility, while never compromising the basic constitutional position, it is the quite possible to overcome the obstacles and arrive at an oppromet that will be never in the agreement that will be rewarding to the whole country. The all-pervading current hankering for pervacing current hankering for peace among the masses of Nagas, it is believed, will be able to assert itself against any attempt to negate the possibility of peace. No doubt the success of the peace orders do not do not

No doubt the success of the peace parleys does not depend on one side alone, though the government representatives will have to bear the greater share of responsibility. The peace parleys may still be abortioe if the Naga underground maintains any rigid stand. The grim prospect of Hoing over again under all the stresses and strains of a civil strife if the peace parleys fail to achieve the desired result, it is believed, will restrain both sides to a considerable extent.. It will be too rash and pre-mature to attempt any forecast about the concrete proposals on

mature to attempt any fore about the concrete proposals which an agreement may which an agreement may be arrived at. Various proposals are likely to crop up in course of the search for an acceptable forwar shifted to Naga territory. Solowing that bere are and nor-malcy in that border area. Ever since the dispute be-bar and nor-Ever since the dispute be-bar and territory. The older generation that bad a modestly easy the bas and tran-tor the bas and tran-

From K. Gopalan

either the ministerialists or the dissidents to raise the issue of ideology as far as issue of incology as lar as the entry of Swatantrites into the Congress Party is concerned. Nothing is invol-ved here except the high flown opportunism of modern politics. Those who seek admission into the Congress and those who support or oppose the move are all engaged in the same sordid game." (September 11, 1964).

Those who entertained the nope that the Congress would be a forum for the "consolidation of the socialist forces" in the country, have also been shocked by this move.

Among them are pro-Mehta PSP members of Bihar who PSP memoers of Binar who joined the Congress only a month back. They hold the opinion that "the image of the Congress organisation will doubtless be distorted, if members of the Swatantra Party join the Congress". In a joint statement the erstwhile PSP legislators said:

"We of the PSP joined the Congress in belief that the Congress organisation had moved on to the great noble objective of democratic so-cialism for which we also laboured as members of the PSP. We do believe that de-mocratic socialists should now be in the Congress... Surely the members of the Swatantra Party who hold Swatantra Party who hold views diametrically opposed to those of the Congress, cannot be expected to have changed views overnight and become socialist..." (The SKARCHLIGHT, September 11).

IDEALS FORGOTTEN

While considering the admission of the Swatantras en New Delhi also have not bo-thered about these high ideals. They appear to be guided by the idea of increasing the Congress' numerical strength, even at the cost of political integrity and moral standards So far as the Raja Bahadu is concerned, he was forced to knock at the door of the Congress. Dissolution of the Bihar unit of the Swatantra Party, and central leaders' refusal to reopen the question of dissolution, has posed a high problem before hin , a problem f survival. The dissidents in bis survival. The dissidents in-side the state Congress helped him to solve the problem, by paving the way for his entry into the Congress. No-body here thinks that the Raja has turned a "socialist" overnight!

Defection of the entire legislature party has not only wived out the Swatantra Party from Bihar, but has dealt a severe blow to the political prestige of the party. This has shattered the ambition of the party to capture power in Bihar the next general elections

PAGE SEVEN



The organised working class and the Communist arrest the growth in geome-trical progression of mono-the centenary of the founding of the First Internamovement all over the world celebrate on September 28 the centenary of the founding of the First International-the International Working Men's Association, (TWMA). as it was properly called.

= by =

ZIAUL HAO

platform

TS predecessor, the Com-munist League, which had he immortal Communist the immortal Communist Manifesto as its platform, had been described by Engels as "a workingmen's association, first exclusively German, later on international, and under the political conditions of the continent before 1848, unavoidably a secret society" In face of failure of the revolu-tions of 1848 and the bloody repression and persistent persecution all over Europe, the League had found no alternative but to disband itself after the infamous Cologne trial and sentences against the Central Committee in 1852.

Twelve years were to elapse before the workers' movement was again strong enough to

constitute itself into an inter-

national organisation. The

initiative was now taken by

the French and British work-ers, but the task of providing ideological-political leadership

to the organisation fell to the lot of Marx.

The International,

TWMA, was the product of a

different epoch and the first open and really mass orga-nisation of the international

proletariat. Through the First International, in the

battles waged day in and day out for eight most sig-

nificant and eventful years

against petty-bourgeois re-formists and "revolution-ists" of various brands, Marxism established its lea-

dership in the theory and practice of the international

Never before had the world

seen such a broad interna-

tional emancipatory move-ment of the organised work-ing class, and yet it was only the beginning. In the words of

Lenin, the First International

orking class.

Broad And

Organised

PAGE EIGHT

Odger (shoemaker, President of the Council here of all London Trade Unions and also especially of the Trades Unions Suffrage Agitation So ciety, which is in contact with Bright) and Cremer, mason and Secretary of the Masons Union. (These two organised the big meeting of the Trade Unions in St. James' Hall for North America, under Bright, ditto the Garibaldi demonstrations).

"A certain Le Lubez was sent to ask me if I would take part on behalf of the German workers, and especially if I would supply a German work-er to speak at the meeting I provided them with Eccarius who came off splendidly. and was likewise present my

self as a mute figure on the

"I knew that this time

real 'powers' were involved both on the London and

even to perceptibly lighten the burden of their miserie

"To conquer political power has therefore become the great duty of the working classes. They seem to have comprehended this, for in England, Germany, Italy and France there have taken place simultaneous revivals, and simultaneous efforts are being made at the political rorganisation of the working men's party.

Numbers Alone Not Enough

"One element of success they possess-numbers; but numbers weigh only in the balance, if united by combi-nation and led by knowledge. Past experience has sho how disregard of that bond of brotherhood which ought to exist between the workmen of different countries, and incite them to stand firmly by each other in all their struggles for emancipation, will be chastised by the common discom-fiture of their incoherent efforts. This thought prompted the working men of different. countries assembled on Sep-tember 23, 1864 in public meet-ing at St. Martin's Hall, to found the International Association.

"Another conviction swaved that meeting.

rking class requires their

Lincoln's friendly and courteous reply to the International which contrasted sharply with his snub to the "Bourgeois Emancipation Society" brought chuckles

Fascimile of the First Inter-national's "Address to Working Men"

of international politics: to

watch the diplomatic acts of their respective governments;

to counteract them, if neces-

sary, by all means in their power; when unable to pre-vent, to combine in simulta-

neous denunciations and to vindicate the simple laws of morals and justice, which

ought to govern the relations

of private individuals as the rules paramount of the inter-course of nations.

"The fight for such a foreign policy forms part of the general struggle for the emancipation of the work-

ing classes

from Marx. He wrote to "The difference between Lincoln's reply to us and to the bourgeois has been such a stir here that the "Clubs" in the West End are shak-

ing their heads over it."

his re-election as President

of the United States. This let ter too like most other impor-tant documents of the Inter-

national was drafted by Marx.

And when Lincoln was assa ssinated Marx through the International again addressed the President of US, Andrew Johnson, conveying the sor-row and anger of the world's working class at that ghastly orime

"The International was founded," wrote Marx in No-vember 1871, "in order to replace the socialist and semi-socialist sects by a real organisation of the working class for struggle".

Dream Realised

That job the International splendidly achieved. So much so that writing on the May Day of 1890 when Mary was

more, Engels said: "Working men of all countries, unite!

"But few were the voices to respond when we launched these words into the world forty-two years ago on the eve of the first Revolution in Paris in which the proletariat came out with demands of its own.

"On September 28, 1864. however, proletarians of most countries of Western Europe joined hands in the International Men's Association of glori

Marx, Engels Write On Early Work Of IWMA

"Proletarians of all coun-tries, Unite!"

The years of the formation of the International were the years of the Civil War in the United States and the working class of Europe had ranged tiself solidly against the Sou-thern upholders of slavery while the rulers were shamelessly siding with them

The continuous struggle of the International for restora-tion of Poland's statehood and independence, the running campaign of solidarity with the North in the US Civil War and finally the mighty cam-paign in defence of the Paris Commune—these were some of the most important foreign policy actions of the working class led by the International

Letter To Lincoln

It is interesting to recall here the letter addressed by the Central Council of the International to Abraham Lining classes the duty to mas- International to Abraham Lin- If only Marx were with me ter themselves the mysteries coln congratulating him on to behold with his own eyes!"

ous memory. True, the In-ternational itself lived for ternational itself lived for only nine years. But that the eternal union of the proletarians of all countries created by it is still alive and lives stronger than ever, there is no better witness than this day.

"Because today, as I write these lines, the proletariat of Europe and of America is reviewing its fighting forces mobilised for the first time, mobilised as one army, under one flag, for one immediate aim; an eight-hour working day to be established by legal enactment, as procla the Geneva Congress of the International in 1866, and again by the Paris Workers' Congress in 1889.

"And the spectacle we are witnessing today will open the eyes of the capitalists and landlords of all lands to the fact that today the working men of all countries are indeed united

If only Marx were with me SEPTEMBER 27, 1964

Congo is like a wounded antelope tossing in agony on the stiff grass of the veldt, blood spurting from its side. Its limpid eyes, which burn like two fiery coals, look into the boundless horizons of liberty.

randishes his fists at his neigh-

him and French monopolies. In the past Brazzaville sent to Katanga armaments delivered from Europe.

Welensky, former head of

CHANGED

TIMES

boundless horizons of liberty. A T times it seems beyond the limits of human mentality to comprehend the kaleidoscope of developments in the Congo. The scene continually changes; today is absolutely different from yes-terday; tomorrow will surely be different from today. This is indeed a very Tower of Babel, with slavish genuflec-

scene cy-is absolutely dimen-terday; tomorrow will surely different from today. This is indeed a very Tower of Babel, with slavish genuflec-tion before wooden idols alter nating with shrewd staking on the Pentagon, with the burning hatred of some for the colonial-ists and the servile kowtowing "thers to their oppressors, "the servile kowtowing "there and the servile kowtowing "there and the servile contained to the capital in Brazzaville, who reside in Leopoldville. Thousands of Brazzyille and Usumbura sub-iects are being forcibly evicted. "Tehombe's Congo.mercene due and hr of Brazaville and Usumbura sub-jects are being forcibly evicted. In Tshombe's Congo mercena-naries of every dye and hue are putting up; but people from the fratemal African countries are proclaimed non-grata fore-igners! The thugs in the retinue of the new-fangled "Saviour of the .Congo" have ransacked the diplomatic legation of Burundi. The Leopoldville Premier primitive fathers. uitive life of one's

FIFTY MONTHS

Fifty months have elapsed since the Congo proclaimed its inde-pendence. In this period nearly every day contributed a new drop of bitterness to the ocean that is the Congo's tragedy. One would have thought the arsenal of colo-nial intrigue was exhausted; how-ever, Congolese developments still take new twists and turns. Today we see US air force planes llanding in this African republic which formally ranks among the sovereign states of the world; foreign troops are arriving as the upshot of back-stage deals in Leopoldville. One recollects the times of break-away Katanga, when Elizabethville, capital of this pro-vince, swarmed with international adventurers. It was in this town, of the treat remuted after t concold Fifty months have elapsed since brandishes his fists at his neigh-bours. Why did the Congo Republic (Brazzaville) and the Kingdom of Burundi become targets of at-tacks? During Tshombe's pre-sidency of Katanga, Brazzaville was ruled by Youlou who fayour-ably treated the Katanga separat-ists. At critical moments Tshombe repeatedly flew to Youlou who acted like a liaison man between him and French monopolies. In

vince, swarmed with international adventurers. It was in this town, on the street named after Leopold II, that the officers of the Katanga gendarmerie congregated in the mucky Adam restaurant and the night dives "Black and White" and , the "Lasco" Strutting average TIMES However, the times have changed. The revolutionary gov-erament who overthrew Fulbert Youlou closed the country's gates before the imperialists and does not allow its territory to be used for provocations against fraternal African nations. The cargo of a plane which landed near Brazza-ville carrying Belgian and Ameri-can atms for Leopoldville was confiscated. "Lasso." Strutting around in eatrical costume, these land the "Lasso." Strutting around in theatrical costume, these land pirates, the scum of imperialist armies, gave themselves such highfalutin names as Bob the Avenger, Richard the Lion Heart and even the Javelin of Moise Tshombe.

Connscarca. The same can be said about Burundi which was a Belgian trusteeship territory when Tshom-be played with independence. Now it is an independent country. The Northern Rhodesia, border-Today this colonial nightmare Today this cotonial ngnimure has spread to all of the Congo. Mercenaries from among West Germans, Italians, Britons, Greeks, Israelis and ubite set. Greeks, Israeus and tonite set-tlers from South Africa and ing on Katanga, has got African Southern Rhodesia are being government and will receive in-brought to Leopoldville. dependence in coming October. Weapons for the authorities And now Tshombe cannot rush Weapons for the authorities And n ere are supplied by the Portu- to Roy

OAU Turns Down Tshombe's Demand

THE military intervention of the United States in the internal affairs of the Congo and the use of the racialist regimes of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia for suppressing the patriotic forces there have caused legitimate concern among African states.

This concern found ample expression at the recent session of the Organisation of African Unity at Addis Ababa. President Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, in his message to the heads of African states, said that deve-lopments in the Congo created a threat to the entire

African continent. The resolution worked out by the editorial commission of the OAU demanded a ceasefire in the Congo, removal of all hirelings from the country and termination of Main interference. Moise Tshombe did not accept this resolution. He

wanted his "African brothers' to render him military aid "to suppress the rebels". But the OAU and the Congo Reconciliation Commis-

But the OAD and the Congo Reconculation Commis-sion it has constituted are not prepared to accept this proposition. Prime Minister Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, who heads the commission, has made it clear that "a spirit of compromise and give and take should prevail to the Congo?" n the Congo". Tshombe decided to walk out of the meeting of the

Reconciliation Commission in a huff and go home". But, according to Ajit Gopal of the HINDUSTAN TIMES, he has postponed his departure from Nairobi reportedly on American embassy pressure".

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playing upon national prejudices, and squandering in piratical wars the people's blood and treasure? It was not the wisdom of the rulin

Europe from plunging head-long into an infamous crusade for the perpetuation and pro-Dagation of slavery on the other side of the Atlantic.

"The shameless approval, mock sympathy, or idiotic indifference, with which the upper classes of Europe have witnessed the mountain for-tress of the Caucasus falling a prey to, and heroic Poland being assassinated by Russia; the immense and unresisted encroachments of that barbarous power, whose head is at St. Petersburg and whose St. Petersburg and whose hands are in every cabinet of Europe, have taught the work-

Paris sides and therefor decided to waive my usual standing rule of declining any such invitations." "If the emancipation of the Marx further reported to Engels that the meeting was "packed to suffocation". Finally, it decided to found the

International Working Men's Association. A sub-committee was appointed to draft its declaration of principles and provisional statutes. Marx was a member of this sub-committee and the burden of preparing the documents ultimately fell upon him.

The International's Address to Working Men is one of the basic documents, enunciating the principles of scientific communism; and this in terms understandable to the com-mon man. It deals with the conditions of the working class as they had worsened between 1848 and 1864, and the rampant political reaction of those years. And yet these years too, said Marx, were not without victories gained by workers, like the ten-hour day in England and the successes of their cooperative move-

be formed Marx wrote to Engels in a letter dated Nov-ember 4, 1864:

"laid the foundation of the international organisation of the workers, preparing their revolutionary attack on capi-tal, the foundations of the ment. international proletarian stru-ggle for socialism". It was to bear fruit within less than Conquer Power! fifty years of the dissolution of the First International. "At the same time", said Narrating the circumstances Marx "the experience of the n which the IWMA came to period from 1848 to 1864 has formed Mary Work

proved beyond doubt that however excellent in principle ember 4, 1864: "A public meeting in St. Martin's Hall was summoned for September 28, 1864, by workmen, will never be able to



classes, but the heroic resist-ance to their criminal folly, by the working classes of England that saved the West of



US INTRIGUES TAKE NEW FORM IN CONGO By N. KHOKHLOV

the former Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Developments in the countries neighbouring the Congo, thus hinders the activities of colo-nialist toadies, making them mad. Leopoldville rulers are trying to silence, by their hys-teric cries of alleged danger from neighbours and anti-com-munist lies, the humming of US planes bringing death to Congo-lese patriots. Back from his Madrid hideout, Tshombe pressed all the keys of his demagogy machine. "Give me three weeks and I'll make a new i Congo," he swaggered.

Belgian officers and mercenaries will not help to suppress the patriots, Tshombe undertook ac-tions against several African states. The Leopoldville cabinet is putting stakes of a split among the independent African countries whose representatives at the Cairo conference spoke against Tshom-be's participation in this important

forum. This time the "Palace of

NEW AGE

of some African country is a difficult situation in Leopoldyille, greater danger of a still deeper US Antoine Gizenga, at a press con-penetration into the Congo and other African regions. The in-exorable course of the Congo
events shows that by interfering in one or another African country, the United States endanger the peace and security of entire Africa.
Aft the recent extraordinary session of the Foreign Ministers of the Organisation of African

munist lies, the humming of US planes bringing death to Congolese patriots.
 Back from his Madrid hideout, Tshombe pressed all the keys of his demagogy machine. "Give me three weeks and I'll make a new three weeks and I'll make a new three weeks and mercenaries will, not help to the the total to substitute the adjustment of the Congo's domestic affairs in the total to substitute the adjustment of the US interference it in the Congo's domestic affairs in some African countries.

FAILS

The trick did not work: the session adopted a resolution which states plainly that the complication of the situation in the Congo is caused by foreign

interference. The former activities of the present head of the Congolese government gives no grounds to think that the recommendations of Addis-Ababa will be carried out

advancés to some of the members of the National Liberation Council and the people standing close to it in an attempt to draw them to his side and make them stop

his suce and make them stop fighting. The surrender of towns by the rebels is not a source of joy to the authorities in Leopold-ville. The fact is that the gooernment troops, led by merce-naries, lose one town as soon as they take another. It all really looks like a hopeless seesaw.

Once a vendor of the local famous masks from the Congolese province of Kasai told me the following, as he showed me his wares that could adom any

forum. This time the "Palace of Bakongo King," as the Congolese call the residence of head of state, made itself heard. A powerful pro-Western rocket, skillully camou-flaged, swang into action. The palace is the main driving belt, connecting the Congo with the colonialist machinery. The pro-colonialist course of the Leopoldville circles is self-revident. In their attempts to impair the unity of African states and to weaken their single front of anti-imperialist strug-gle, they lodged a complaint about the Brazzaoille Republic Unity Organisation. Having gone too far in their internal conflict, which had pre-viously been "americanized." Behind the Leopoldville's insist-ent attempts to secure the "aid" NEW AGE

PAGE NINE

HUNDRED YEARS SINCE FOUNDING **OF FIRST INTERNATIONAT**



SEPTEMBER 28, 1964 is the centenary of the foundation of the first mass international revolutionary organisation of the working class, the First International (the International Working Men's Association), the founders of which were the great leaders and teachers of the world proletariat, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, who founded scientific communism.

Having elaborated the revolutionary theory and having defined the principles of the strategy and tactics of the revolutionary working class movement Marx and Engels gave the proletariat a powerful ideological and political weapon in the struggle for its emancipation. The establishment of the First International armed the proletariat also organisationally.

Today, one-hundred years after, the basic ideas of the First International advanced by Marx and Engels are living in the world Communist movement, they are being successfully carried into life by the selfless efforts of the people of the socialist countries.

volutionary theory which would arm the working class movement ideologically, would clearly define the aims of the

struggle and the ways and

The lessons of the 1848 re-

quent political evolution had

shown that the theories of

cialism, prevailing in the working class movement at

society, condemned, cursed it, dreamed of its abolition, in-

dulged in fantasies about a

hetter social system and tried

to convince the rich of the immorality of exploitation.

"Rut Iltonian socialism

could not show the real way out. It could neither lay bare the essence of the

wage slavery under capita-lism, nor discover the laws of its development and find

the social force which could

society".

ome the creator of a new

means of attaining them

volution and of the sub

T HE foundation of the gle against the exploiters. First International met Simultaneously, there was a the urgent requirements of growing need in a genuine re-First International met the urgent requirements of the development of the international working class move-

In the first half of the 19th century there was a rapid growth of the numerical strength of the proletariat and the class contradictions between labour and capital were growing and becoming ever more acute. The Chartis movement in Britain, the armed risings of the Lyons workers in France in 1831 and 1834 and the rising of Silesian weavers in Germany in 1844 showed that a new social force—the proletariat—had joined in the political strugele. Marx called the heroic rising of Paris workers in the June of 1848 "the first great battle between the two classes into which the present-day iety is breaking up'

The revolutionary struggle of the working class, assuming ever more diverse forms. was on the upgrade also in other

In the first battles against the bourgeoisie , there aros and was growing class consci-ousness of the proletariat, it felt an ever greater need to nite its ranks for the strug-

urgent questions of the working class struggle, was accomplished by Marx and Engels.

Marx considered it the most important task of the First International to unite the working class movement in different countries for joint revolutionary action to ensure the ideological victory of sci-entific communism, to educate professional proletarian leaders

The establishment of the International and its guidance crowned the organisational activities of Marx, who, in V. I. Lenin's words, "was the soul of that association.".

The entire history of the First International is the his-tory of the struggle for the organisation of the proleta-riat and its unity, for advancing its socialist consciouness The International Working Men's Association united thousands of the foremos united fighters for the cause of the working class, is made first important steps toward com-bining the spontaneous workfirst ing class movement with scitific socialism

The First International in V. I. Lenin's words, "laid the foundation of the inter-national organisation of workers to prepare their revolutionary attack on revolutionary attack on capital . . . laid the founda-tion of the proletarian international struggle for so-cialism". It left to the international Communist mo-vement tremendous, invaluable experience of scientific elaboration of the strategy and tactics of revolutionary struggle and played a m important role in ensuring the victory of the ideas of the petty bourgeois socialis

In striving for the solidarity and unity of the different detachments of the international working class, Marx and Engels considered as a peramount task for the First International that of surmounting the influence of the various petty-bourgeois trends impeding the devlopment of the working class movement. "The International," Marx pointed out, "was founded to replace socialist and semi-so-cialist sects with a true working class organisation for purposes of struggle".

Fight on **Two Fronts** that time, could not accom-plish that task. "...Socialism at its initial stage," V. I. Lenin wrote, "was Utopian so-cialism. It criticised capitalist

In the First International Marx and Engels waged a tire-less struggle on two fronts, against Rightist and "Leftist" opportunism. They vehement-ly condemned Rightwing op-portunistic substitution of the principle of the revolutionary class struggle with ideas of cooperation between the an-tagonistic classes. They exnosed the reformist illu of the British trade-unionists and Lassalleans as to the pos-sibility of capitalism's growth into socialism, as to the pos-sibility of achieving a radical "improvement" of capitalism, while keeping its soci -economic foundations intact.

Society". At the same time the fathers The task of creating a sci- of scientific communism ruth-entific revolutionary theory, lessly censured the adventu-

which gave the answer to the ristic tactics and pseudo-revo-urgent questions of the work- lutionist phrasemongering of petty bourgeois Leftwing op-portunistic trends, revealing their inherent voluntarism and dogmatism. Of all these petty bourgeols trends the most furious enemy of the International Working Men's Association was Bakuninism, with its characteristic subjec-tivism and "Leftist" adventurism. Bakunin had no faith in the strength of the working class. He refuted every type of state, including the proleta-rian state, standing forth as ideologist of anarchism.

> Characterising Bakunin's views, Marx wrote: "He under-stands absolutely not a thing about a social revolution knowing only its political phrases. For him its economic conditions are non-existent."

Like all petty bourgeois revolutionaries, Bakunin exaggerated the role of violence elevating it to the rank of absolute, and attached no im-portance to the objective con-ditions for revolution.

In his opinion the question of to be or not to be for a revolution depended in the long run on the will and wish of human beings. "It is the will, not the economic conditions, that are the basis of his social revolution," Marx noted. Bakuninism refuted all and every need for organising the mass revolutionary struggle of the workers, offering in opposition anarchistic revolts and plots, and tried to skip the necessary stages of revolution. ary struggle

Against **Ultra-Leftism**

In the final analysis, the adventurism of the Bakunini-sts degenerated into capitulation to the bourgeoisie. Under cover of ultra-Leftist pseudo-revolutionist bombast, Baku-nin and his supporters sought to bring about a split in the International and carried on subversive activity against it. Marx and Engels waged a tireless struggle against the subversive activities the Bakunists carried on with the aim of splitting the working class vement

The First International, Lenin pointed out, "ended its historic role having ceded its place to the epoch of immeasurably greater growth of the working class movement in all the countries of the world. namely, an epoch of its grow-th in breadth, establishment of mass socialist workers parties on the basis of separate national states".

But the revolutionary traditions of the First Internatio-nal greatly influenced the enof tire further development the international revolutionary working class movement These traditions affected also the activities of the . Second International in the period chiefly connected with the name of Frederick Engels.

It was precisely in this pe-riod that the Socialist Demo-cratic Parties, led by out-standing leaders of the working class movement, accumu-lated extensive experience in organising the mass and nolitical struggles, and using

legal possibilities. The working people wrested from the proprietors and bourgeois gov. eroments quite a number of political and economic con-cessions. The successes in the class struggle increased the faith of the workers in their strength

At the same time the bearers of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois views in the ranks of the working cla ment on the basis of the concessions wrested from the proprietors, began to feverish-ly implant reformist illusions about the possibility of the ation" of the exploiting capitalist system.

After the death of Frederick Engels the leadership of the Second International was gradually seized by Right opportunist elements. They began remove the revolutionary co tent from the programme documents of the Internatiowo fronts-Right opportu-nism and "Left" petty bournal. Reviving the theories of petty-bourgeois socialism, the geois revolutionism. Com-munist Parties that had brorevisionists and reformists attacked Marxism from the Right and the "Left".

Lenin and **Great October**

The revolutionary for Social Democracy in Russia and other countries defended the cause of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels in the inter national Communist move

The Great October Socialist Revolution ushered in a new era in the history of mankind -the era of the collapse of capitalism and the triumph of socialism and communism. Accomplished by the workin class, by the working masses of Russia under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party head-ed by V. I Lenin, the October fective tactic of struggle of the working class against fascism and war, and advanced a pra-ctical programme of uniting Revolution has become th Revolution has become the example of realisation of the theory of scientific commu-nism, of the ideals of the First International.

For the first time in histor the power of the bourgeoisi was overthrown and the dicta torship of the proletariat, in the form of Soviet power, es-tablished on the territory of a vast country. The socialis volution in Russia has SD the formerly single capitalist world into two worlds-the world of capitalism and the world of socialism—thus ini-tiating the rise of a world socialist system.

The October Revolution has exerted tremendous influence on the development of the world working class nal lidemocratic and natio beration movements. A rad cal change has taken in the history of mankind, in its emancipation mov ment and in the consciou ness and ideology of broad masses of working people. The Third, Communist International, the fou which is indissolubly conne ed with Lenin's name, was a successor and continuer of the glorious revolutionary traditions of the First Internatio nal. At the time the Comin-tern was founded many Comt bemunist Parties were just ing formed. Its outsta service lies in the fact that it united the advanced, most reof the volutionary, elements of the working class of different working

Workers of all countries. unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains; you have a world to win!

arxism-Leninism. The Com tern was a genuinely world de organisation: for the st time in the history of the decisions of the Seventh Con-gress, the Communist Parties took the initiative in launchinternational working class movement its activities exeded the bounds of Europe ing a movement for a united proletarian front, for a united anti-fascist people's front, for d America having spread to Asia and Africa. Comintern's

untries under the banner of

Historic Role

The Comintern elaborated many important theoretical

estions of the working class

wement in new historic nditions, seriously helped to

sm among the masses, and lucated a large number of ew workers' leaders, staunch

nin's leadership the Comin-

rn continued the relentless

pread the ideas of commu-

Marxists and Leninists. Under

ken with opportunism came

nto being and grew in the

The activities of the Co-

mintern after Lenin's death were not devoid of serious shortcomings and at times even mistakes of a sectarian

nature. The Stalin perso-nality cult also had a nega-tive effect. But these mis-

takes and weaknesses can-

not nullify the historic ser-vices of the Comintern in mobilising the forces of the

international proletariat in

the struggle for socialism

At the time when the clouds

the Second World War be-

gan to gather over the world. the Comintern at its Seventh Congress (1935) defined the ef-

all the democratic, peacelov-

and neace.

urse of this struggle.

struggle of the Marxists

increased support to the na-tional-liberation movement of the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries. The Comintern line was vividly expressed in the struggle against imperialist aggression against the peoples of Ethio-pia, Spain, China, Austria, Albania, and Czechoslovakia.

The crushing of fascism in the Second World War, the triumph of the socialist revolutions in a number of countries, the mighty growth of the national liberation movement and the upsurge of the working class struggle led to a radical change in the world situation. Socialism spread be-yond the bounaries of a single state and turned into a mighty world system-such is the main result of the progressive development of society in our

era. Another result, second in historical importance of the world development, is the collapse of the colonial system.

Working Class Leads

In the time of the First International the working class was oppressed and de-prived of all rights universally. In these past one hundered years it has developed into an Herculean force, which today

plays the leading role in the popular movement for socia-lism and communism, in the world revolutionary process.

The working class stands at the focus of the present epoch as the class, which is the fore-



ment

ing forces. Relving upon the most economic, political and ideological force, as the only class in modern society that has its own integral, truly scientific theory for funda mentally remaking the world along Communist lines, that has its own scientifically developed strategy and tactics of the socialist revolution.

Marx and Engels formulated the precept that the working class may bring about a socialist revolution by both non-peaceful and peaceful means. "The Association," Marx pointed out, "does not pres-cribe any definite form for political movements; it merely quires that these be directed towards one common aim... An uprising would be madness where neaceful agitation would achieve the goal sooner and surer.

The founders of Marxis theory of the armed uprising, did not at the same time ar Leninism, who elaborated the did not at the same time dis-card the possibility of em-ploying parliamentary forms of struggle; on the contrary they emphasised the great im-portance of these forms of struggle for the working class. "One should not think," Marx said, "that the presence of workers in parliaments is a matter of small importance. The governments are hostile to us; we must resist them with every possible means that we have at our disposal. Every worker elected to par-liament is a victory won over them, but the proper sort of people must be elected."

The founders of scientific moreover em phasised that working-class struggles through parlie could be successful only if combined with the broadest mass struggles outside parlia-

Democracy Integral to Socialism

Marxism-Leninism teaches us that struggle for democracy is an integral part of the struggle for socialism. In the First International the "Left" opportunists asserted that the struggle for democracy, for the social rights and freedoms of the working people, consti-tuted 'betrayal' of the revolution and a 'compact' with the bourgeoisie. Ridiculing such "revolutionaries" who advo-cated 'abstinence' from the struggle for democracy on the pretext that this was "tantamount to recognition of the existing order," Engels said: But if we utilise the means given us by the existing for fighting against it, is this recognition?

"Political freedoms, the right to meetings and unions, freedom of the press-here are our weapons; can we sit



with arms folded and abstain from politics if they want to take away these weapons from us? it is said that any poli-tical action is tantamount to recognition of the existing order. But if this order gives us the means for struggle against it, employment of these means does not signify recognition of the existing order."

It is not at all of indiffer-ence to the working class in what conditions it wages its class struggle: in conditions of reaction or definite politi-cal freedoms, domination of the monopolies or their restri-ction, national oppression or independence. It is for this reason that the Communist Parties are working for democracy, against the grip of the monopolies, for political free-doms and national independence.

Solidarity of the workers of all countries in the name of victory over capitalism is the main behest of the First In-ternational. "Let us recall", Marx wrote, "the basis princi-ple of the International: solidarity. We will achieve the great goal for which we are great goal for which we are striving if we firmly root this life-giving principle amon all workers in all countries." amone

Marx and Engels, elaborat-ing the organisational princi-ples of proletarian internationalism, displayed models of resolute defence of these prin-ciples against splitting actions by petty bourgeois trends alien proletarian discipline. Fighting against Bakunin's fol-lowers and exposing their methods of splitting activity, they at the same time revealne common features in the tactics of splitters.

For Solidarity **Against Splittism**

Characterising the Alliance of Socialist Democracy, set up by the splitters, Marx and Engels wrote: "Before us is a society...which directs its

blows not against existing governments, but against revolutionaries who do not accept its dogmas and leader-ship...it worms its way into the ranks of the international organisation of the working class and tries at first to cap-ture leadership in it, and when this plan does not succeed: seeks to disorganise it. ceed, seeks to disorganise it. This society insolently subs-titutes its sectarian program-me and its narrow ideas for the broad programme and great aspirations of our As-sociation: It organises within the openly functioning sec-tions of the Intermentional the tions of the International its small clandestine which obey single sections directives ...; in its newspapers it open-ly attacks all who refuse to obey its will; and, according to its own words, it fans open war in our ranks.

At present the Chinese leaders act as the main ene-mies of the unity of the world revolutionary movement. They in many respects reproduce the tactical prin-ciples and splitting methods of the enemies of Marxism who operated within the First International. On encountering insurmountable obstacles to their desire to subordinate the world Comnunist movement to their influence, the Peking lea-ders have openly taken the road of splitting it.

Under the cover of bombas tic anti-imperialist phrases they are directing their main blow not against imperialism but against the CPSU and the other fraternal Communist Parties which disagree with them and have declared an open ideological and political war on them.

The modern splitters are putting their own factional platform against the conclu-sions and appraisals of the Marxist-Leninist Parties on the prime fundamental questions of our age. Renouncing

* ON PAGE 14





The no-confidence motion was defeated in the Lok Sabha by 307 votes to 50. Nobody had expected the makes of the mind a fossil." voting to be otherwise, and the Shastri government can take no solace from the "brute majority" it enjoys in voting to be otherwise, and the Shastri government can take no solace from the "brute majority" it enjoys in the house.

A S one paper commented, benches at one time during during the debate (the entire opposi-tion had walked out over the Speaker's ruling on the issue Speaker's ruling on the issue of expunction of Nath Pai's remarks against the government in the debate on the Murud incident), it was a moral defeat, for the ruling party.

indeed, the government had no convincing reply to make to the charges made by the left opposition, parti-cularly the charge made by Hiren Mukherjee, leader of the Communist Group, that the Shastri government was the Shastri government was sliding away from the Nehru path.

Prime Minister Lal Bahadur allav thened. The speech was like manna from the heavens to

GDR Presents

THE first Hindi type-

cially approved keyboards,

manufactured in GDR,

Minister V. P. Naik.

Scouts

Visit

USSR

The typewriter is a product of collaboration between God-

rej of our country and Optima of GDR. These typewriters would soon be produced in India.

recently visited the Soviet

Union at the invitation

of the Committee of

and Maharashtra Chief visit our

writers with

Typewriters

Hindi

Bridges Of Amity

offi-

have been presented to President Radhakrishnan batch of Soviet Pioneers to

soon, Mr. Lal Bahadur Shas-tri has staked his claim to be himself. He told the Lok Sabha on Friday in no un-certain terms but with ut-most respect for Mr. Nehru, that he would like his poli-cies to be judged on their own, not by the degree of their conformity with Mr. Nehru's."

However, the paper knows Indeed, the government that this volte face from his ad no convincing reply to earlier stand that he would carry forward the Nehru legacy and policies faithfully, if taken far, might land Shas-tri in real trouble. And so came the soothing words: "Mr. Shastri is rightly

regarded as the best custodian of the Nehru tradition. This path. The marathon speech of was a strong point in his fa-trime Minister Lal Bahadur vour when he was chosen to shastri did nothing to lead Mr. Nehru's party. From lay the fears expressed, the sincerity of his praise for the denoted header on Friday the departed leader on Friday it is obvious that it is right to regard him so." Again, the paper expressed

manna from the heavens to the capitalists, who were all glee over the "right to chan-ge", as THE STATESMAN captioned its editorial. The paper said on Sep-tember 19: "Not a day too

ten members. After their re-

have enthusiastically narrated their wonderful experience of fraternal meetings and the days of stay together with the Pioners and children from

The visit resulted in estab-

lishing intimate contacts be-tween the Indian and foreign children and an idea has been

iastically narrated

turn, the scouts and

enth

various countries

carried beyond that, it only concerned. THE STATESMAN

had this much to say: "His endeavour will be to take the government closer to the people, and not on the rainbow of a resplen-dent personality but by dutiful attention to detail. The applause that greeted his few suggestions for action showed that he will carry the House with him in whatever he does for this Durpose.

"He promised no daring in-The promised no daring in-novation, no new scheme or plan—and rightly, for these, unless implemented, will only add to the dead weight of popular cynicism. But he pro-mised better use of the tools which are rusting in the forwhich are rusting in the forgotten lumber rooms of the. government.

government," The editorial concluded on the optimistic note: "If Mr. Shastri's government should succeed in living up to at least some of the impression of government might otherwise

honest purpose that he creat- find itself hamstrung in deal-

the press

the same day was more direct in its approach to the prob-lem of "deviation". In an editorial headlined "a note of confidence", it said:

"One of the principal counts in the charge-sheet against him (on which, oddly enough, the Communists had laid the the Communists had laid heaviest emphasis). was that was deviating from Mr. Nehru's policies. Deviationi the Prime Minister pointed out, was not to be found in "The basic policies of the

late Prime Minister in both the domestic and interna-tional fields remained the policies of the governm today. But they could not be today. But they could hot be imprisoned in rigid dogma; they had to be applied to situations which were con-

stantly changing." the whole field of adm tion, the Prime Minister The paper did not, explain what situation had changed so much now from what it Jawaharlal Nehru was alive, not seek to play dow

their waiting will win some reward." Inthe inseri namstrung in deal-ing with new problems which could not have been foreseen in Mr. Nehru's days and which would have to be dealty not would have to be dealt not according to a set form but to the exigencies of particular situations

But like its colleague, THE HINDUSTAN TIMES also does not want to make the "deviation" quite so pronounced as to bring forth the people's protest. So it added:

"... the point needed to be made together with a firm affirmation that the guidelines laid down by the late Prime Minister continue to inform the government's decisions in all spheres". The rest of Lal Bahadur

Shastri's performance the editorial torial summed up in the words: "on the various other points during a five-day de-bate, which had ranged over the whole field of administra-tion, the Prime Minister struck

And the conclusion: "On the whole it projected a re-assuring attitude which did the whole IL Part assuring attitude which and not seek to play down diffi-"Hies but was confident at "being able to find a realistic solution,"

-Parakal

B. Marks addresses the Central Executive Committee of the mmunist Party of India. On his right are S. A. Dange and Y. M. Dadoo. MARKS-DADOO TOUR CONTINUES The South African X In PATNA; the leaders eaders J. B. Marks and had meetings with releaders J. B. Marks and Y. M. Dadoo are conti- presentatives of the Congress the Cou

nuing their all-India tour, receiving a warm welcome and concrete proofs of Indian solida-rity wherever they go. a collection of Rs. 2,00 rity wherever they go. After their successful visits to Jaipur and Srinagar (where murses of Rs. 5000 and 10,000 respective-ly were promised), the South African leaders have already visited Kanpur, Patna, Calcutta, Bhubanes-

Examples of the wide and all-embracing character of their reception can be had from just a few facts, culld from brief reports re-

nicipal Corporation it-self gave a Civic Reception to the leaders and announ-ced a donation of Rs. 5.000 to the Solidarity Fund, which is to be used to help open an office of the African National Congress in Delhi.

nist Party he Bihar

newspapers, outstanding cultural figures like Satya jit Ray and others. * Calcutta trade unions are in the forefront of

the mass collections for the Solidarity Fund. It is expected that a purse of Rs. 1000 will be donated by the trade unions immediately to the Solidarity Fund, with a promise of

Basutoland : Greedy Eyes of Verwoerd

Basutoland is the first of the three British Protectorates in South Africa to advance towards independence. Future maps will show this country as Lesotho. This year elections are due to be held in this tiny state which is entirely surrounded by racist South African territory.

Apart from the hydroelectrical potential of the mountain rivers, practically the only export com-modity of the Basutos is their labour power, which is sold very cheaply to owners of South African mines and farms. Nearly a quarter of the popu-lation-and if men between 17 to 23 wears are counted a much N a year's time, after the elec-tions, the sixty member National Assembly together with the Senate composed of the tradithe Senate composed of the tradi-tional tribal chiefs and persons nominated by the Paramount Chief, can ask the British governto Minister Sandys, British govern-ment for independence. According to Minister Sandys, British govern-ment would seek to give effect to -their wishes as soon as possible. From this formulation it is already 23 years are counted, a much larger fraction—seeks its living larger fraction—seeks its livin abroad. Quite a large percentag of workers in the gold, coal, an clear that Basutoland's way to freedom will not be a smooth or

clear that Basutoland's way to freedom will not be a smooth or asy one. Basutoland has an area about ten times smaller than Chana, and it is about half the size of Sierra Leone or Togo. Only one eight almost the entire population— calculated to be just under one million—lives on a narrow stretch of lowland in what is mainly mountainous country. Economically, Basutoland is a low definition and and stream the others—in million—lives on a narrow stretch of lowland in what is mainly mountainous country. Economically, Basutoland is a low definition and and stream the others—in mailion—lives on a narrow stretch of lowland in what is mainly mountainous country. Economically, Basutoland is a low definition and and stream the others—in the mainty mountainous country. Economically, Basutoland is a low definition and and for ally demanding independence from

in invitation in what is many mointainous country. Economically, Basutoland is a very backward country, and for more than eighty years of colonial domination no industry whatsoever ally demanding independence from Britain. At the same time the Basutos fully appreciate the danger was built there.

SEPTEMBER 27, 1964



Teachers Demonstration in Calcutta

W. Bengal Teachers Astir

CALCUTTA: Teachers belonging to all sections- marked for primary education primary, secondary and college-are astir all over West they claim Bengal.

September 19. The primary teachers are ob-serving a fortnight by wearing badges and holding meetings from September 13 to 26. They propose to offer satyagraha during the winter session of the West Bengal Assembly, and a day's token strike during the budget session next vear.

This spate of actions by teachers f all categories has highlighted

NEW AGE

THE secondary teachers abs- the inadequate attention which tained from work for a day the state government is paying on September 15. The college to the teachers problems and teachers followed suit on education in general.

The primary teachers are de-manding introduction of free and compulsory primary education throughout the state by the end of the Third Five Year Plan.

Among the demands for better-ment of their living conditions are Rs. 130 basic pay, Rs. 25 dearness allowance, pension, life insurance, free medical treatment and house inst for winner, treatment

SEPTEMBER 27, 1964

tree medical treatment and house rent for primary teachers. The secondary teachers are primarily aggrieved at the dis-criminatory nature of the dear-ness allowance sanctioned by the government which gives more to some sections and less to others.

They also demand constitution of democratic primary education board, a comprehensive primary education legislation and more budgetary allocation for education. As much as 60 per cent of the education budget should be ear.

Sariot Books Exhibition A N exhibition of So-viet books was opened by D. S. Kothari, chair-

man of the University Grants Commission in New Delhi on September Addelegation of Indian No Scouts and Guides 7.

Speaking on this occasion, the Soviet Ambassador I. A. Benediktov expressed satis-faction for the fact that Soviet testbook on control of the satisfield of the social sector.

ot the Committee ot Soviet Youth Organisa-tions. Our boy scouts spent a month with the Soviet pioners and children from other coun-tries at the Pioneers' Camp at Artek. P. K. Das, state organising commissioner of the Bharat Scouts and Guides (Eastern Scouts and Guides (Eastern

Artek. P. K. Das, state organising commissioner of the Bharat Scouts and Guides (Eastern Railway) led this delegation of

PAGE TWEF.VE

war and Cuttack.

ceived so far.

and the SSP. The Biha branch of the Indian Asso ciation for Afro-Asian Solifor the Solidarity Fund. X In CALCUTTA (the visit is still not over, as we write), the sponsors of the reception include the

Chairman of the Legisla-tive Council, the Speaker of the Assembly, the Mayor, the Sheriff; the President of the Provincial Congress Committee, the Secretary of the State Council of the CPI, editors of leading



From Kunhanandan Nair

BERLIN: The fascist and racist Verwoerd regime agreement was signed. From of South Africa has established close links with the Angola and other Portuguese revanchist and militarist Erhard government in West Colonies West Germans . hop Germany in atomic and military spheres.

D OCUMENTS about secret agreements between the two in a criminal plot were exposed in a memorandum, published by the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee in Ber-

Journalists from all over the world, many Africans and West Germans inclu-ded, were stunned to learn at a press conference that the West German cooperation with South Africa covers also production of atomic weapons.

The memorandum proved beyond any doubt that the beyond any doubt that the West German government is making South Africa a military centre capable of bringing pressure on and military threats against large areas of Africa with the help of mobile army units and moder weapons and long range rock modern ets. Every charge is support-ed by photostats and documents in the memorane

Guided Missiles Too

The most alarming part of GDR memo is that West German Republic and South African government are cooperating to produce in South Africa atom bombs, chemical weapons and guided missiles so that both states may have the unlimited and unsupervised use of these weapons.

The pilot plant for the experimental production of sionable uranium and nu-

threatening them from the Republic of South Africa. Basu-toland is an island in the heart of the racist Republic, surround-ed on all sides by South African police patrols, and economically to a great extent dependent on them

Prime Minister Verwoerd of the Republic of South Africa in no way conceals his intention of turn-

way conceals his intention of turn-ing Basutoland into a Bantustan-a reservation for natives; set up under the policy of apartheid. The Basutos, however, regard-less of political conviction, reject the proposal of linking Basutoland to the Republic of South Africa and they make no secret of their resistance to apartheid. They open-ly proclaim their feelings for their brothers across the South African border. border.

For the time being, Basuto-land has become a protectorate with a wider autonomy, with its head of state, Paramount Chief Moshoeshoe II exercising his constitutional powers on behalf of the British Queen. The British Governor will re-ain decisive authority in questions

The British Governor will re-tain decisive authority in questions of defence, foreign affairs, internal security and in most important financial matters. The future development and speed with which Basutoland changes from protectorate to in-dependent. Lesotho will to a considerable degree depend upon considerable degree depend upon the political status the progressive liberation forces might acquire in the country.

clear fuel has already been set up in South Africa. The first atomic reactor erec-ted with West German collaboration will soon be ready. Preparations been completed for large scale production of nuclear fuel. These are camouflaged in the harmless name, "47th Nuclear Power Pro-

gramme". It is well known that leading members of South African government are old collaborationists of German imperialism and trusted followers of Hitler fascism. The West German government is only re-newing the old links and expanding them to their aggre sive purposes in economicultural and military fields.

The Frhard-Verwoerd com-bine with their long range rockets now produced in West Germany and the nuclear warheads and missiles proposed to be produced in Africa are potential dangers threatening a number of Afro-Asian countries. South African Defence Min-

ister J. Fouche had told South African Parliament in June, 1963 that "our government in-tended to produce our own guided missiles". Against whom are these missiles to be guided?

The GDR memo said that the treaty of military cooperation between the two aggressive powers was contain-ed in a secret agreement concluded in Bonn in July 1961 signed by representatives of two governments.

Defence Ministr Fouche, his State Secretary de Villiers and Commander-in-Chief of South African Army P. H. Grobbelhaar negotiated this secret deal in Bonn from July 11 to 14 with State Secretary of the West German Ministry. of Defence Volkmar Hopf.

Gun-Running in Goa

(Hopf, who successfully concluded this deal, is particu-larly wellknown for his part in the arms contract scandals in West Germany gun running in Goa and his close ose re-Spain lations with Franco's Spain and Salazar's Portugal. Among the arms captured in Goa by the Indian army after libe-ration, many were West Ger-man make supplied by Hopf's department.)

Fearing the dangerous consequences of sharp reac-tion in independent African states, the Bonn agreement was kept a secret. However Associated Press as early as July 7, 1961 had reported about the planned negotiations. West German papers also had reported the talks and "persistent rumours" of an arms deal.

West German military ad-visers, instructors, atom scienwere found killed in battle are active in South Africa iron cross, uniform and pass-under camouflage since this, port.

to South Africa.

The memorandum said that one D.R.N. Diederich, who continues to hold from 1958 responsibility for the "Atomic Energy Board of the Republic of South Africa", is of German origin and is the oldest and most reliable South Afri-can liaison man of German monopoly capital and German fascism

His board has the exclusive control over all uranium, thorium and other radioproduced in active materials South Africa and described as "prescribed materials" in the Atomic Energy Act of 1948. This Board has the exclusive right to conduct atomic research in South Africa.

Strictly Secret

The activities of this board and all South African ura-nium work are strictly secret.

Diederich therefore could ap-point a large number of West German scientists and workers in these vital institutions. The memo said that in

the autumn of 1963, influential West German pérso-nalities went to South Afri-ce the largescale producsures necessary to commence the large scale produc-tion of fissionable material for nuclear bombs, followfor nuclear bombs, follow-ing the successful comple-tion of tests on the produc-tion of nuclear grade ura-nium metal" in the pilot plant at Pelindaba near Johannesburg.

It was however decided to camouflage this criminal plot against humanity by launching a widely publicised programme for "nuclear power plant" to be run by ESKOM, the stateowned electric trust

Apart from this lust for the bomb, deadly polson gases are now being produced in South Africa by West German firms. In the closing stage of Second World War the Ig Farben monopoly was engaged in developing deadly polson gases such as 'Tabun,' 'Soman' and 'Safrin', but was too late to be used by Hitler. Further development work is now be ing done in poison gases in the plant near Sasolburg, the memo disclosed.

At the press conference, GDR Deputy Foreign Minister Wolfgang Kiesewetter made a statement in which the memorandum was fully endorsed on behalf of the GDR govern ment. The Minister said it is an atrocious plot of two worst militarist, fascist governments of post war era, a plot laid against peace and dom of African peoples.

Kiesewetter also disclosed that among the white mercenaries sent from South Africa to fight to defend colonialism in the Congo, there were West German soldiers. Two of them

PAGE THIRTEEN

USSR WantsNo War KHRUSHCHOV TELLS JAPANESE PARLIAMENTARIANS

MOSCOW: Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchov has reiterated in his talk with the members of the Japanese parliamentary delegation that the USSR wanted no war. The talk, which took place in Moscow on September 15, has been published here.

war, Khrushchov said, "will greatly endanger the life of millions of people and the fruits of the work and endeavours of many generations."

"War is not necessary for the welfare and happy life of the peoples", he said. "I have in mind not wars of luberation here the same the same the but wars of aggression be-tween states, world wars."

"A modern world war cannot bring victory or wealth to those who unleash it. The aggressor will suffer terrible calamities and devastation. It is simply ma to unleash a modern the thermonuclear war.

nuclear war. "Of course, if a war is impos-ed upon us, we shall fight with all the forces and means at our disposal. And we have suffi-ciently powerful, I may say, un-limited means of warfare. If the aggressors start a war they will perish in it.

"Terrible

Weapon"

"I had to spend yesterday ins-pecting new types of weapons. I stayed all day long with the military, with the scientists and engineers who work in this field. I had to do this because there are yet wolves in the world and one is compelled to have means to protect oneself from them. This is why we are developing the most up-to-date means for the defence of our state, our people, means for defending international peace. the point is not the size of the territory nor so-called 'lebens-raum'. "Now, given up-to-date means of annihilation, it is particularly dangerous, and, I would say, criminal to search for wealth through expanding 'lebensraum'", he added. people, means international peace.

"We are well aware of the estructive power of these terri-le weapons and we should ever like to use it."

Never like to use it." Khrushchoo pointed out that the words that the atomic bomb was a paper tiger sound-ed as a sacrilege to people who took part in wars. Those who speak thus "are playing tresponsibly with the destinies of the peoples." The Chairman of the Council

of Ministers of the USSR criti-cised Mao Tse-tung's statements made in his talk with a group of Japanese socialists. Mao Tsecalls himself a Comm he philosophy he pro-in the talk is alien to the usposal. The frontiers of the Soviet Union are sacred and one who dares to violate them will be given the most resolute rebuff by the peoples of the Soviet Union." the working people, and cannot be the philosophy of a represen-tative of the most progressive revolutionary teaching — com-

ing." Historically "Mao Tse-tung's reason Khrushchov said, "is not con-ducive to the establishment of Shaped Borders correct, good relations between the peoples and cannot bring any good to them."

shape historically.

Khrushchov recalled that the territory of the Soviet Union, like that of other states, had taken Griticizing the "theory" of hortage of living space, Khrushchov pointed out that he density of population in her density of population in shortage Khrushcho West Germany was now higher than before the war. However, the Federal Republic of Gerwas now higher the Federal Republic of Ger-many has become one of the richest countries in Europe and even in the world. "This just goes to show that having even a comparatively small territory, but a high level of production, a developed indus-try, science and education, one can develop the produc-tive forces and attain a high

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enough potential and living standards."

standards." Of course, the size of territory, Khrushchov said, has certain but not paramount significance. As borne out by the situation in another economically highly developed country — Japan —

engage in incitement, but let the peoples themselves settle their destinies. This is precisely how disputed issues must be settled. One must respect the frontiers which exist. We are in favour of self-determination of the peo-nles"

"The German question is not a national question but a socio-political one," Khrushchov said.

Soviet Union does not want war. But there are others who do like wars. This is how Danish cartoonist Herluf Bidstrup views the stand of the Chinese leadership on war.

Do not worry about your future. I have figured it out. Only half of you will be killed in an atomic World War.

Many are the distorted versions circulated by western news agencies about the interview given by Premier N. S. Khrushchov to the Japanese parby Premier N. S. Khruishchov to the Japanese par-liamentary delegation visiting the Soviet Union. Despite denials these agencies continue with their game of distortion. PRAVDA published a correct report of the interview, a summary of which is given here—EDITOR

united German state to this question? The Germans capitalist basis. The themselves must do it."

have a capitalist basis. The German Democratic Republic and her people want the united Germany to be a socialist state. Apparently this situation will "The Soviet Union would like to co-operate with the Japanese people still closer," Khrushchov declared. "Our social and politi-

cal systems are different. But this is an internal matter of every nation.

"It is necessary to respect every nation and not interfere in its internal affairs, enabling it to settle the question of the socio-political system of the state independently. Such are the principles of nearestil conthe principles of peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems."

Khrushchov declared that the USSR would hand over the islands of Habomai and Shikotan to Japan after a peace treaty is signed.

"However, there is no peace treaty so far," he said. "Besides, the United States regards Oki-nawa and Japan proper as a strategic base in the struggle ag-ainst the Soviet Union and ag-ainst China."

"We do not want to streng-"We do not want to sures, then American imperialism through our concessions to Japan," the Chairman of the Japan," the Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers stressed. "If Americans withstressed. If Americans with-drew from Japan now and freed Okinawa and a peace treaty is signed, we would immediately send you a tele-gram; please come and get Habomai and Shikotan in accordance with the accement accordance with the agreement reached between us. But this is not the case so far."

Khrushchov pointed out that these islands were of great strategic, defensive importance for the Soviet Union and said "We take care of our security. We are not afraid of Japan and if America withdrew from the Japanese islands, other possibili-ties would then open model. then open up and would be better

mary struggle

e solida-parties

the added: Kbrushchov repeated that the only acceptable way of revising frontiers was by negotiations. This truth is not my discovery. It has been confirmed by his-tory. I do not lay claim, in gene-ral, to the role of a prophet, solemnly uttering the truth, as some people do. The first function of the role of a prophet, solemnly uttering the truth, as FIRST INTERNATIONAL

The head of the Soviet govern-ment emphasised that "if we are attacked we will defend our frontiers by all means at our disposal. The frontiers of the *FROM CENTRE PAGES

the forms of comradely discussion and exchange of opinion, customary among Com-munists, the Chinese leaders are trying to "excommunicate" one Communist Party after another from Marxism-Leninism, hurling turbid streams of lies and slander on the of lies and slander on the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The Chinese leaders inspire

the establishment of antiparty, splitting groups in many countries. These groups many countries. These groups consist of apostates, renegades, and degenerates, unstable

elements expelled from the Communist - Parties for the propaganda of anti-Marxist views and factional activity. Thus, the Chinese leaders not only in their separate political concept but also in methods of applying it and in

shape historically. "Territorial and national problems in the Soviet Union," he pointed out, "have been solved in conformity with the expression of the will of the peoples. We are speaking only for ourselves and are not going to interfere in the affairs of other states. In other words, the issues which arise between states with regard to frontiers can be settled only on the basis of mutual agreement be-tween these states." Khrushchov said: "Let us not the desire to create factional blocs are following in the footsteps of all the enemies of the unity of the working class movement, from the splitters of last century to the Trotsk-"Let us not yites.

NEW AGE

argency. In the present con-ditions an International Meeting is the most expedient form of collectively discussing and settling urgent problems of the rev and the most effective way for strengthening the solid rity of the fraternal part and successfully overcoming the difficulties confronting them.

A hundred years ago scien-tific communism was only making its first steps in the working class movement. At that time it was, as Lenin put it, only one of the "trends of socialism." In less than half a century Marxism already pre-valid in the working class movement Lenin prophetical-ly said in those days that "the coming bictorical and casting aside splitters, refecting the philosophy of split and raising aloft the coming historical epoch will bring Marxism as the teach-ing of the proletariat still nner of unity on the basis greater triumph" of the principles of revolu-This prediction tionary Marxism. The question of calling an International Meeting of the

is coming

This prediction is coming true in our days. (The above are extracts, from theses prepared by the Institute of Marxism-Lenin+ ism, Moscow)

SEPTEMBER 27, 1964

GENERAL STRIKE IN W. BENGAL

CALCUTTA: The ATTUC and UTUC units in West Bengal have given a joint call for a one-day toke can for a one-day token general strike in the state on September 25 to coin-cide with the All-India Hartal planned by left par-ties: and central trade union organisations.

In a joint statemen Monoranjan Roy, general secretary of the BPTUC, and Jatin Chakravartty, general secretary of the West Bengal UTUC, have called on the workers to register their massive pro-test against the modification of the Bonus Commis recommendations and unchecked rise in price

The statement demanded rectification of the con-sumer price index for West Bengal: Manipulation of the ndex has cost the jute workers Rs. 1.5 lakhs a onth. Textile workers als suffered loss in their DA for three months ending July 1964 because of alleged fall in the indices, the statement said.

RAIGARH JUTE WORKERS LAUNCH STRUGGLE

decisions

RAIGARH: The workers of the Raigarh jute mill have launch a struggle to achieve their decided to launch a struggle to achieve the implemen-* At least 85 per cent of the tation of the jute wage board recommendations.

be reviewed.

timised workers

SHAKIR Ali Khan and the

two victimised leaders of the Heavy Electricals Servants

Trade Union (HESTU) had gone on hunger-strike in Bho-pal on September 13, demand-

ing the settlement of the long-outstanding demands of revi-

sion of wages and DA, release of the detained trade unionists

and reinstatement of all vic-

All the leading office-hearers

f the HESTU are in jail since

March last when the workers after months of waiting for a

settlement of the outstanding grievances decided on a pro-

gramme of agitation. Thirty-

eight workers have been de-

ned under DIR. Three of the detained trade

unionists have been on a hunger-strike inside jail from the beginning of this month. The Madhya Pradesh

government has non allow-

HE first stage of the strug-gle will consist of a hunger-strike by R. S. Tiwari, general of the award thereby evalue secretary of the Raigarh Jute settlement. Mill Labour Union, from Sep-tember 23. The recommendations of the Madhya Pradesh government is

ember 23. The recommendations of the jute wage board were to have been implemented by October 1963, but the management of the Raigarh Jute Mills did not

Some portions of the award some portions of the award were implemented in Decem-ber 1963, but that too after misinterpreting the recommen-dations of the wage board ag-ainst the interests of the interests of the Innelione





at Faridabad held a demonstration on August 31 in support of their demands. These 25 per cent wage increase and recognition of All India Bata Employees Federation SEPTEMBER 27 1984



國

2

ing and, consequently, the split of the Communist movement leads to its growth. This is a gross distortion of materialist dialectics. The world Communist movement developed not through incessant "beneficial" splits, as the Chines leaders assert. It advanced by rallying all the genuine Marxist-Leninists, isolating

Communist and Workers' Par-

ties has now acquired great

HIGHER DA FOR HEL WORKERS SHAKIR ALI KHAN ENDS FAST

From OUR CORRESPONDENT

BHOPAL: The nine-day fast by the President of the Madhya Pradesh Trade Union Con-gress, Shakir Ali Khan MLA, and two victimised workers of the Heavy Electricals plant in Bhopal was terminated on September 21, following the official announcement about the revision of pay and dearness allowance for the 11,000 workers, and an assurance by the Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh that the cases of the detained trade unionists would be reviewed

The Madhya Pradesh Chief Minister in a letter to Shakir Ali Khan had requested him to end the fast and had assured that government would take steps to restore normalcy in the HEL plant.

Shakir Ali Khan was also informed that the cases of detention of the trade union leaders would be reviewed. The Chief Minister also in-

dicated that the management



Madhya Pradesh government is convinced of the workers' case, but no effective step has been taken to compel the manage-ment of the Raigarh Jute Mills to implement the wage board desitions ep has been proper grades; contract lab-the manage- our should be paid minimum in Jute Mills wages; clerical staff should be wage board given due increments.

Production bonus as it exist-At the conclution meeting on August 29 last, the union agreed to submit the dispute to coluntary arbitration, but the management was not prepared to accept such arbitration. Production bonus as it exist-ed prior to the recommen-dations of the jute wage board should be restored. The Union is also demanding that the bonus due to workers on monthly salaries for the year

rpreting the recommen-to of the wage board ag-the interests of the s. bipartite and tripartite have been held, every that the workers decided to bipartite and tripartite in the source of the the the tripartite in the the tripartite in the the tripartite in the the tripartite in the tripartite in the the tripartite in the tripartite

NEW AGE

ed Shakir Ali Khan and of the HEL plant has agreed other leaders to meet the detained trade unionists. of the workers and that this revision would be with retrospective effect from July 1962.

tive enect from July 1902. The management made a formal announcement on Sept-ember 20 that "it was decided, in principle,...that the pay and DA of the employees of Heavy Electricals (India) Ltd. Bhopal Unit shall be in line with those of the Central Government tral Government employees. This decision will be given effect from July 1, 1962 and will be imple ed as soon as the details of the decision are worked out."

'It is estimated that the 11,000 employees would get arrears to the tune of nearly Rs. 18 lakhs. The rise in emoluments would vary from Rs. 5 to Rs. 25.

now amply clear that the management of the Heavy Electricals Project has been deliberately delaying the set-tlement of the wage and DA disputes and this has had its impact in industrial relations in the plant. The rates of DA lost irrationally fixed and no arrangement for a slid-

ing scale of DA was provided. In comparable units of heavy industry, as in Bhilai steel plant, there were three revisions of emoluments since 1962 and recently a second instalment of interim relief has been awarded by the Steel Wage Board.

But no such revision was done in HEL and the just nature of the workers' demand has been fully borne out now by the backdating of the present wage revision f o July 1962.

The industrial relations in the Bhopal plant were wholly vitiated by the narrow and partisan policies pursued by the public sector ment to boost up the INTUC union and deny recognition to the HESTU which has the majority backing.

Even the stooge INTUC union had to threaten direct action, of late, for settlement of demands and former Labour Minister Dravid had also plans for a hunger-strike on this

In a statement issued on the conclusion of the fast, Shakir Ali Khan said that he is doing All Khan sala that he is doing so in order "to create a proper atmosphere for enabling the government to release leaders and create normal situation in the factory."

Addressing a proce ence, Homi F. Daji MP, gene-ral secretary of the MPTUC, stated later that Shakir Ali Khan had gone on fast as a protest against the continued suppression of civil liberties in the city of Bhopal and the sup-pression of trade union rights.

Daji said that the agitation would be intensified if the demands were not conceded. He said leaders of the Communist Party would come from all over India to join in the battle for civil liber-ties in Bhopal.

The SSP leaders have also supported the demand for re-lease of the HESTU leaders and they represented this issue in an interview with Home Mi-nister G. L. Nanda during his recent with the Bhanal recent visit to Bhopal

Sixteen Members of Parliament, belonging to various po-litical parties, have also issued a statement demanding the release of the HESTII leaders

The central secretariat of the Communist Party of India, in a statement issued on September 20 expressing solidarity with Shakir Ali Khan's hunger-strike, had condemned the repression on Bhonal morks

The secretariat statement demanded immediate steps to re-store normalcy in Bhopal and the release of all the detained trade union leaders.

Implement Steel Wage Board Award

KULTI: Over 2,000 workers of the Kulti works of the Indian Iron and Steel Co. staged a demonstration on September 6, led by the United Iron and Steel Workers' Union to demand implementation of the interim relief awarded by the steel wage board.

HIS was the biggest demonin recent times. It was a mili-tant and colourful demonstration with many placards and festoons.

with many placards and testoons. The steel wage board has awarded an interim relief of Rs. 21 for all workers employ-ed in the steel industry, but the management of the IISCO has been refusing to pay the same to the workers in the Kult unit on one pretext or the other.

Besides the interim relief, the workers demand also Rs. 62 as dearness allowance, linking of ucarness allowance, linking of DA with the consumer price index, six months' wages as bonus and supply of cheap food-grains.

The September 6 demonstra-tion had been preceded by a series of mass meetings. Squads of workers went round the town holding gate and street meetings, explaining the mands. their

A signature campaign ag-ainst the surrender of the INTUC-led union to the management by their decision to suspend the agitation for

to suspend the agutation for interim relief was also con-ducted successfully. The United Iron and Steel Workers Union had also approa-ched the Asansol Iron and Steel Workers Union (INTUC) through a letter to join it in the Septem-ber 6 demonstration, but the INTUC leadership refused to do

so. However, the AITUC-led demonstration attracted large num-ber of INTUC followers who joined in to voice the common demands of workers. The colliery workers in adjacent areas organised under

lemands of workers. The colliery workers in adjacent areas organised under the Red. Flag also supported the Kulti workers' just de-mands. The workers were addressed

by Tahir Hussain, general secre-tary of the union, at the end of

PACE FIFTEEN



From MASOOD ALI KHAN

MOSCOW: The Joint Indo-Soviet communique on President Radhakrishnan's visit was simultaneously published in Delhi and Moscow on Sunday morning. The visit of the late President Rajendra Prasad was more a goodwill visit and no com-munique was issued. The present visit reflected further closeness of relations bet-ween the two countries and significantly much time was devoted to serious ex-change of views over a wide range of interactional problems. The communication change of views over a wide range of international problems. The communique in-dicated the common approach of India and Soviet Union on a number of important

ployed by Chinese leaders are much the same as used hy them in their dispute with India. Mao Tse-tung's recent pronouncements have contri-buted to clearer understanding of India's case among Soviet people.

unique declared: "The Communique declared: "Ine Indian side welcomed Khrushchov's proposal of December 31, 1963 for conclus international agreement that states should refrain from use of force in solution of their territorial and border disputes and should pay due regard to historically formed bonndaries'

Thus the positions of So-viet Union and India coincide in regard to principles to be followed for solution of border disputes. India's case against China also rests on the principle that borders historically formed and established by life must be respected. Besides, one thing seems clear: Soviet Union does not consider India to

be aggressor. Another point to be noted that this is first time these principles have been confirmed in a joint Indo-Soviet do ent and thus imply, apart from support for general principles, greater support for India

The text of Premier Khru-shchov's talk with Japanese parliamentary delegation pub-

A Swe know China has been lished in PRAVDA, also on after Nehru's passing away, A persistently advancing her Sunday, brings convincing expansionist claims over large Soviet arguments against areas of Soviet Union and China's territorial claims, methods and arguments em- Khrushchov demolished continue to follow Nehru's Khrushchoy demolished China's case by historical and ethnographical factual evicontinue to follow Nehru's policy of nonalignment, and China's case by historical and ethnographical factual evi-dence and said that the Soviet support for this dence and said that the Soviet support for this dence and said that the Soviet support for this policy as the correct policy union, if attacked, would de-fend her frontiers with all means at her disposal. "Soviet borders are sacred and any-means at her disposal there are sacred and anyshall meet the most decisive rebuff from the people of Soviet Union."

Defence Minister Chavan's visit and agreement on supply of defence equipment to India on the eve of the Indian President's state visit also speaks volumes and indicates the scope of Soviet support for India for de-fence of her integrity and independence.

Of course, the communique did not mention all topics discussed. Soviet Union's at-titude towards Malaysia and in support of Indonesia, for example, is more consistently anti-imperialist than that of

the Government of India. The two sides reaffirmed their "unshakable conviction" that the policy of peaceful coexistence of states with different political and social systems is the sole alternative to devastating thermonuclear war. Soviet side expressed its "high appreciation" for In-dia's policy of peaceful co-existence and nonalignment formulate by Jawaharlal Nehru.

Dr. Radhakrishnan's visit,

MOSCOW: Premier Khrushchov met Indian pressmen covering President Radhakrishnan's visit to the Soviet Union on two occasions: first at Ambassador Kaul's reception in Sovietskaya Hotel on September 17 and second time the following day at the Kremlin reception given by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and Government of USSR.

Government of USSR. F OLLOWING is text of ques-tions and answers on Sep-tember 17: PATRIOT: Would you like be opile? KHRUSHCHOV: Only fortune tellers and gypsies can tell that. Fersonally I hope the year 1965 will be as good as 1964 for working to create the basis for communism and they are enjoy-ing peaceful conditions: INDIAN EXPRESS: You have said only about Soviet people.

Liss and unism and they are enjoy ing peaceful conditions: INDIAN EXPRESS: You have said only about Soviet people. What about the rest of the world? What about the rest of the world? KHRUSHCHOV: I mean So-dic. age. Super to strengthen them. The main thing, is to develop wir economy, culture and ence. This is the main thing une these factors form the for supplying people with vaterial needs. People of religions and vd in the international sphere. PATRIOT: When are you KHRUSHCHOV: F-sies cannot tell The second tell the

PAGE SIXTEEN.

sons, the Indian side failed to support the struggle of Cuban people for strengthening in dependence and sovereignty of their motherland. encouragement and strength-en all those forces which fight for preservation and conti-nuation of India's traditional foreign policy. But there was agreement that foreign interference in Congo should end. The two sides called for fuller sentation of Afro-Asian coun-Although the Soviet side tries in organs of the UNO. released the fact that the India and Soviet Union welcomed the fact that the new Government of India con-tinues to pursue Nehru's po-lley, this of course does not

ces"

call for complacency on the part of democratic forces de-fending it from attacks and colonies without delay The President of India emintrigues of all reactionary

ce of the comprehensive co-operation of Soviet Union in the development of national economy and building of new India. The communique con-firmed Soviet readiness for construction of the Bokaro metallurgical works.

The Soviet side, it is pnderstood, is also prepared to give largescale aid for In-dia's Fourth Five Year Plan. But delays and hesitations on the Indian side in this matter and lack of concrete matter and lack of concrete requirements make. Soriet commitments difficult. As Soviet economy is planned far in advance there is danger that delays in fina-lisation of India's plan might reduce possible scope of Soviet aid. That there is no lack of Soviet goodwill for India has been amply demonstrated by

been amply demonstrated by the present visit of the Indian President. In a chat with Indian journalists, Dr. Radhakrishnan described Premier Khrushchov as "essentially a human being very much at-tached to peace and true friend of India." Soviet Union would continue to help India in every possible way, he said,

"but ultimately we have to depend on our own efforts to build our country". In a TV broadcast, the In-dian President declared that the 1917 Revolution in retrospect seemed to have had an inevitability about it. He quovolced full support for peo-ples' struggles for freedom in port the idea of disarmament all parts of the world and de-and called colonialism and taand called colonialism and ramanded independence for cialism two main obstacles to peace. Soviet Union and India, he said, were united in the phasised the great significan- pursuit of peace.

1981 June 12

KHRUSHCHOV MEETS INDIAN PRESSMEN

From MASOOD ALI KHAN

which Soviet people have with Indian people are very true and very correct relations and we must spare no effort to strengthen them. The main thing, is to develop your economy, culture and science. This is the main thing because these factors form the basis for supplying people with all material needs. People of all creeds, religions and races are interested in these. PRESS TRUST OF INDIA: This year is coming to close. In the light of experience of the year what are the prospects for peace in 1965? DACE SIVITEEN

NEW AGE

He proposed to have the full correct version of his conversation published soon. This contradiction by Khrush-chov was promptly distorted by the Western news agencies with the same facility with which they had carried out the previous distortion. And the subject pro-vided the opening for the next meeting that Indian correspon-dents had with Khrushchov in the Kremlin on the following day. Khrushchov said that possi-bly the conversation he had with Japanese parliamentarians had got distorted in process of translation. He had mentioned that mankind was capable of making terrible weapons. Scien-tists had told him that. He had trapected some weapons near Moscow. They were not the type of weapons agencies had inspected some weapons dents had near Moscow. They were not the type of weapons agencies day. were talking about. It was obvious that if they were that angerous weapons they would not be kept near Moscow. He added emphatically that he had not threatened any one. day. Here are the questions and

NEW AGE: Western agencies

* ON PAGE 18

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OTTO GROTEWOHL

OTTO Grotewohl, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the German Democratic Republic, passed away on September 21. He was seventy. He had been ailing for some time.

Grotewohl's is the story of a man who rose from the position of an ordinary work-er to that of the foremost leader of a socialist state. er to that of the foremost leader of a socialist state. Born in a worker's family in Brunswick, he learned typo-graphy after attending ele-mentary school. He started bis political career at the his political career at the age of 14 when he joined the Democratic Young Workers Association.

When the sailors of Kiel revolted in 1918 and workers and soldiers councils took over power in several German towns, Grotewohl joined the utionary for He was revolutionary the chairman of the workers and soldiers council on the German-Dutch frontier from from German-Dutch frontier from November 1918 to January 1919, when he became a member of the workers and soldiers council in Brunswick. From 1920 to 1925 he was a member of the Brunswick provincial diet.

In 1923 Grotewohl became Minister of the Interior, Edu-cation and Justice of the province of Brunswick.

After the fascist seizure of power in Germany he was dismissed and had to go

members and the rest, namely, 17, belong to the Congress. In the Lok Sabha both the two represen-tatives from Tripura belong to the

As soon as the Defence of India Act was in the hands of

India Act was in the hands of the government, the Congress, in the name of fighting the aggressor, started. suppressing the political opponents, particu-larly the Communist Party in Tripura. Not a single Communist MP or MLA was spared there; all of them were detained.

Communist Party.

STOP USE OF DIR AGAINST DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT Biren Dutta Demands In Lok Sabha

The Lok Sabha discussed Communist MP, Biren Dutta's government has locked up the press, and still there are police-resolution on the non-official day, September 18, which said that "this house is of opinion that pending the lifting of emergency which is long overdue, the repressive provisions of the Defence of India Act and the Rules thereunder should not be used against political, trade union and other workers of the democratic movement or for suppression of people's agitation for food and against high prices."

OVING the resolution, Com-munist MP from Tripura Legislative Assembly of Tripura, the Communists have 13

The continuance of the emergency these days is not at all warranted by the situation existing in the country. The emergency should have been withdrawn long back by the government as continuation of it for nearly two years without any reason whatever only exhibits the growing author-itarian tendencies in the ruling circles today.

For the stock exchanges there s no emergency. The industrialists have earned fabulous profits, but there is no emergency against them. Administrative inefficiency them. Administrative memciency has gone beyond limits, particu-larly during this emergency.

all of them were detained. I may tell you that when our case was heard in the Supreme Court, it was the late Shri H. N. Sanyal, the Solicitor-General, who pleaded with the court for ad-journing the proceedings for two days in order to give him time as he was going to suggest to the Tripura government to release us and you to contest the case. The Supreme Court had given him one larly during this emergency. Two no-confidence motions against the government during the emergency prove that the objec-tive conditions for emergency do not exist. Then why is it imposed on the people? There can only be one 'reply to that question. The ruling party knowing fully well of its growing isolation from the people wants to utilise this emergency for its own purpose. Supreme Court had given him one day's time for facilitating the Solicitor-General to contact the Government of Tripura.

Among the Communists who were arrested immediately after the promulgation of the emer-gency were a large number of trade unionists who fought for the national defence. These arrests only indicate the intentions of the authorities to suppress the democase. Perhaps the Inpura govern-ment might have thought of keep-ing us in detention till the next general election! The Government of Tripura did not stop there. They proceeded authorities to suppress the demo-cratic trade union struggles.

authorities to suppress the demo-cratic trade union struggles. Now I shall show you how this emergency power had been used in Tripura by the government. On November 20, 1962, the Commu-nists were arrested wholesale. As many as 67 persons were detained till July 23, 1964 when the Supreme Court of India gave a verdict in their favour. The House should note the fact that the Communist Party is the only opposition party in Tripura which has its representatives in the State Legislature and in the

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quarters in India and abroad

The communique express-

ed concern over recent de-velopments in Southeast Asia and called for peaceful solution of the problems in

the interest of peoples of

The Indian side reiterated

of two Ger-

repre

Nehru's statement of Septem-ber 11, 1961 in Moscow that

man states could not be ignor-

ed and "any attempt to change the frontiers would

have dangerous consequen-

For incomprehensible mo

this area.

the existence

Premier Khrushchov with President Radhakrishnan in the Kremlin. Some of the Indian Pressmen are standing behind Dr. Radhakrishnan.

and radio keep harping on the

emergency for its own purpose.

underground. He worked as a merchant in Hamburg and Berlin. In 1938 and in 1939 the Gestapo.

When the fascist regime Germany was defeated 1945, Otto Grotewohl be 1945, Otto Grotewohl became chairman of the Central Com-mission of the Social Demo-cratic Party (SPD). The Com-munist Party of Germany (KPD) and the SPD merged in April 1946, when he ame the joint chairman of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED) along with Wilhelm Pieck.

Grotewohl was a member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the SED since its founding. Since October 1949 he was a mem-

ber of the People's Chamber and he became Prime Minister when the GDR was proclaim-ed in October 1949.

In 1959 Grotewohl headed GDR government delegation to India.

His death is a great loss to the working class move-ment of Germany and to the movement for peaceful uni-fication of Germany.

The National Council of the Communist Party of India, in a condolence message to the Central Committee of the SED, has said:

"National Council Comm nist Party of India, joins with German people and Commu-nists of Germany in mourn-ing the death of Comrade

strengthen the defence of India? Now, take the example of work-ers employed in Barauni refineries. For several months the workers are agitating for a normal 48-hour For several months the workers are agitating for a normal 48-hour working a week as per the Fac-tories Act. The public sector man-agement arbitrarily imposed a 54-hour week, though the government conciliation officer accepted that the Factory Act was applicable to Barauni refinerv. to Barauni refinery.

to Barauni refinery. When the workers resisted the attempt, the management victimised some workers. This provoked a strike of ten thou-sand workers which continued for 20 days. I am narrating all this history only to point out that the government which was delaying settlement of this ordi-nary grievance was extremely prompt in arresting 26 leaders on the second day of the strike. In the case of Goa dock workers inde the ising of perpe-tuating the emergency and use of DIR. Was used in a reckless manner, and prominent leaders were put behind the bars. The arrested workers were brutally beaten up inside the jails and some of them were sent to far away jails. It is indeed surprising that the government is thinking of perpe-tuating the emergency and use of DIR. The Home Minister has al-ready given his indication to com-



Grotewohl, outstanding Otto leader of German and world working class, stalwart fighter against fascism and war, for peace and socialism, architect of Socialist-Communist unity and Prime Minister of the first socialist state in Ger-

guarding the press.

About 1,500 tribal people who supported us in the last general election have been put in prison under the shadow of this Defence of India Act.

In Bengal in the early days of in Bengai in the early days of emergency, in a small factory which employed only 150 workers there was a dispute and all the 150 workers were arrested under DIR. Later on they were released. winch employed only 150 workers there was a dispute and all the 150 workers were arrested under DIR was glaringly observed by DIR Later on they were released. everybody. How can the government explain that these arrests really helped to

forced to go on strike in Bombay during August last year. Though the strike was peaceful, 900 work-ers were arrested.

Perhaps the most glaring mis-use of DIR in a trade union dispute was the case of Bhopal Heavy Electricals workers' struggle.

The government gave full protection to the nasty behaviour of the officials who provoked a strike in the plant. However, when the workers downed their tools, DIR was used in a reckless manner and prominent leaders were put

GDR SPECIAL ENVOY MEETS INDIAN LEADERS headed by key diplomatic personnel.

DDRESSING a press con-ference on September 23, she said that she had had useful meetings with various ministers of the Government of India. While in Delhi she saw Vice-President Dr. Zakir Hussain, Home Minister Gulzarilal Nanda, Information Minister Indira Coardhi Returned Affeirs Minister

Information Minister Indira Gandhi, External Affairs Minister Swaran Singh, Education Minis-ter Chagla and Commerce Minis-ter Manubhai Shah.

But the Government of Tripura. But the Government of Tripura did not even hear the advice of the Solicitor-General and they ordered for proceeding with the case. Perhaps the Tripura govern-ment might have thought of keep-ing us in detention till the next ter Chagia and Commerce Minis-ter Manubhai Shah. Grete Wittkowski said that in her talks with Indian leaders she case and peaceful co-existence.

She discussed with them the forthcoming Cairo Conference of Non-Aligned Powers and ex-pressed satisfaction over the Indo-Soviet communique issued after President Radhakrishnan's Soviet visit, particularly over the Soviet visit, particularly over the reiteration on India's behalf of the late Prime Minister Jawahar-lal Nehru's stand on the German question

The GDR Deputy Premier tisualised, further facourable development of economic rela-tions between the two counfavourable nomic relations between the two coun-tries as a result of talks she had had in New Delhi. She

NEW AGE

interest. The offer was still outstanding. She declared that the notorious Hallstein doctrine was increasing-ly becoming impossible to en-force, drawing attention to the fact that West Germany had opened trade offices in most in recent months and these were

Questioned about the recent

Dr. Grete Wittkowski, Deputy Chairman of GDR Council of Ministers, visited India from September 19 to 23 as special envoy of the Chairman of the State Council of the GDR from whom she brought a special message for the Indian Head of State. DDRESSING a press con-ference on September 23, said that she had had useful etings with various ministers the Government of India. While in Delhi she saw Vice-ident Dr. Zakir Hussain, ne Minister Gulzarilal Nanda, mation Minister in, External Affairs Minister an Singh, Education Minis-the for a singh, Education Minis-

PAGE SEVENTEEN



Maoism and Metaphysics quartel with them in terms of Marxism-Leninism. Then why do they them-selves quote Marxism-Lenin-

*FROM PAGE 2

position of "consci sness deermines heing "

The CPSU's idea that it is taking the Soviet people to communism by 1980 according to their. Programme of the Twenty-second Party Congress, on the basis of new technology and abundance of production is in fact negation of true comsm since it negates poverty. It is a restoration of capi-

To think of doing things in twenty years, what in fact should require several centuries is pure revisionism. Can the dark chambers of human soul be cured of it bourgeois evils so easily? Hence the new CPSU Programme is a programme of restoring capitalism and betrayal. And its author is Khrushchov and the product is his phoney

China has to be saved from this evil. How long will the menace last? Here once agai raditional concept of or metaphysical yugas the traditional

Commenting on it Vachana Number Fifteen says that the question whether China will be successful in prevent. China ing Khrushchovs being born re will remain a question of lamental importance" "for a hundred, a thousand, 1 thousand years".

While capitalism took two hundred years to grow out of feudalism feudalism, communism in China will take ten thousand years of vigilance to negate Capitalism That is Man Tao tung's new concept of the New Man and the time required to bring him up.

Obviously, this is a simple straightforward negation of all the laws and experience of history and historical materi The Chinese leadership The Chinese leadership has gone over to idealism of the old church and monastic

ROOTS OF REVISIONISM

The reading of these Fifteen hanas and the commentary has now made clear to me the roots of Chinese revis that has appeared in the world Communist movement. But it is not new. It raised its head in the Russian Party in 1906 and



Managerial Office 7/4 Asaf Ali Road, New Delhi Phone: 271002 & 271794

PAGE EIGHTEEN

Lenin had to write his philoso-phical work on Empirio-Criti-s de- cism to fight it out. try to expand the empire? Why

In societies and parties like those of China and India or for that matter, in most of the ancient communities of Asia, this cient communities of Asia, this kind of recoil from Marxism-Leninism and its historical ma-terialism is extremely natural because not only ancient think-ing of monastic socialism but even some remaants of it in social customs, morals and some property forms and rela-tions continue to provide the to provide the tions continue to provide the basis for it, as for example, by the caste-system and caste-thinking in India.

Then, we in the East have always prided ourselves as being the monopolists of wisdom. Wise men come from the East, is an old say-ing. Hence, the pontifical tone in which Mao Tsetung and the Chinese led ship speak to the whole world is an ancient inheritance, not to be subdued by Leninist humility. He also pronounces the final judge-ment by saying "East Wind Prevails Over West Wind."

PERPETUAL CONTRADICTION

***FROM PAGE 14**

One last question. If that is so, if the morals of the mahant and the ethics of monastic socialism are the roots of the beour of the Chinese Party, why do they covet so much

theme of "the terrible weapon"

and they have misreported your contradiction to suggest that a new weapon existed and that it was not nuclear bomb. Would

KHRUSHCHOV: I have not seen talking about bombs with

been talking about bombs with the Japanese. I did not mention any new terrible weapon. It was a general talk about armaments.

you like to comment on it?

unprecedented capacity.

say such a foolish th

comments?

NEW AGE: But radio and

news agencies have said that you mentioned a non-nuclear homb

KHRUSHCHOV: I did not

say such a foolish thing. Western agencies may be lying. More foolish their lies, more accept-

able they may be. They are pripared to say anything but truth

PATRIOT: Soviet govern-ment's statement on Afro-Asian conference has been interpreted

in many quarters as a virtual Soviet withdrawal from Afro-

Asian community. Have you any

KHRUSHCHOV: We are

not withdrawing nor are we imposing ourselves. We con-sider the Afro-Asian confer-

sider the Afro-Asian confer-ence a useful thing, that is getting together of countries that are fighting against colo-nialism, imperialism and stand for friendshin among action

friendship among nations.

terpre

That again has to be explained by the theory of perpetual contradictions which is stated in his book of that name and in his Vachana Number One.

Everything is governed by the law of contradictions. So when a man preaches renunciation in a commune, he has contradiction of that idea with in himself. So, renuncia the same time attended by its opposite, possession-ex-pansion. The moral desire to be s attended by its conumble i radiction or opposite to be arrogant and to domineer

KING AND MAHANT

ancient days, the mahant and the king or the prophet and the conqueror used to be combined in one. King Janaka was asked that if he believed, in renunciation, why was he a king and lived like one? He replied that outwardly be that outwardly he appeared to be so, but actually he was not. Though he looked to be possessing the empire, he did not possess it because his soul as such was unattached to anasakta. Something like that is happening to the Chi-nese leadership. At least they say so. And you cannot dis believe a great mahant

Hence, no one can succeed

We are not insisting that either we come in or the whole thing goes to pieces. It is a mat-ter to be solved and settled by

Arto-Asian countries memserves. So far as this country is con-cerned it is the biggest Eurasian power. It has liquidated capital-ism and landlordism and built socialism. It is advancing towards

Therefore our participation in

this that India had proposed that Soviet Union should participate in the conference.

we are grateful for correct under-standing of our attitude shown

KHRUSHCHOV: It is too early at this stage. We have sign-ed a communique today (Sep-

ed a communique today (Se tember 18) and we have accer

NEW AGE

the invitation

United Nations. Is this

KHRUSHCHOV: I must

Afro-Asian countries the

communism.

colonialists.

a general talk about armaments. NEW AGE: You said yesternations which stand on positions day that you had inspected new of unity and are building their weapons near Moscow. This has alliances against imperialists and been misquoted.

been misquoted. KHRUSHCHOV: We inspect-ed rockets, tanks and infantry are forces which are against weapons. There were new tacti-cal weapons and not bombs. We have been having bombs for many years. Every fool knows it. I can tell you a secret. These are atomic and hydrogen bombs of unprecedented capacity.

in convincing them that they are wrong, because the premi-ses of Marxist argument are completely different from their platform of Maoist Metaphy sics, which is quite an ancient system of thought. Mao Tsetung has picked up particularly

one aspect of it and that is h very involved theory of contra-

IAINA PHILOSOPHY

This theory of his is not the Marxist theory of dialec-tical and historical materialism. It is something like the Jainist theory of contradic-tions, which keeps on evolving a perpetual series of Dairs of contradictions with no stable positive results.

In the Jaina theory, it, at least, ends in seven steps (sap-tabhanga). In the Chinese edition, it is unending, so much so that not only classes have con-tradictions, but people, parties, eaders, committees and individuals within themselves volve in perpetual contradic-tions, and since they are all in one unity there is no solution but to wait for a thousand years, nay, ten thousand years, for them to separate and move forward.

What can a world conference of Communist Parties do to such eternal contradictions?

Hence, it is better not to

That being now the growing

and most dominant system of thought they consider it a bet-ter guerilla tactic to wear the enemy's uniform and to use his opponent's own arsenal to fight im and the evil he represents Peaceful coexistence worn as mask suddenly can become ag-gression as a reality. And the metaphysics of love and friendship can become its opposite, hatred and enmity—all in one unity. The Hindu philo calls it virodha-bhakti, that is unity of opposites. It is diale tics but not Marxian.

BEST AND WORST

I have tried to look at Maoism at its best. But the hest carries its contradiction worst, Hence, as one who knows a little about the Indian systems of metanhysical thought I have tried to look behind the Marxist facade of Maoism. Though metaphysical, it cannot be treated light-heartedly cause subjective idealism also becomes a force for a time, in the shaping of objective world when the masses are seized by it

No doubt, Mao Tse-tung loves his people and his coun-try, and also loves humanity. But unfortunately his love humanity is rather all too devouring. It is a love that kills not heals. If you fall into its embrace, you are dead-for the next ten thousand years! But it love-Metaphysical

MOSCOW: The World Forum of Solidarity of Youth and Students in the Fight for National Independence and Liberation, For Peace opened amidst great enthusiasm in the Kremlin Hall of Congresses on September 16.

44

the Forum remained cordial

throughout, despite the eff-orts of the Chinese delegates

and their stooges to vitiate

On Sentember 20 Purar

Singh Azad, leader of the Indian delegation, placed a re-

nort on national reconstruction

port at one place contained

putes India had with Chin

It was stated that India

wants peaceful settlement of the border problems and as far as the Snio-Indian border was

concerned India had already

accept the same and settle the

No sooner was the Indian

directed against the Soviet

Union though the Chinese delegate asserted that it was India which had attacked

China. The Chinese delegate

went on to describe "what all

Those who are with the defeated Chief Minister are coming forward with the argument that the Minis-try was thrown out because it was headed by an Ezhava Chief Minister; those who have brou-ght the downfall of the Ministry

campaign that Sankar is the most

In the fever heat of these

In the fever heat of these passions and fights, the problems facing the common people are likely to be drowned and eclipsed. Communal hatred is likely to seep into the political life of the people.

campaign

specifically mentioned ier Nikita Khrushchov's

delegate utilised that

up in the

attack

reference to the border

and Pakistan.

border problem.

berately whipped

anti-China cu going on here". He

The main

Chin

Forum.

and the tasks of youth. His re-

FOR the first four days the Forum participants met in plenary sessions and then com-mission meetings were held. During plenary sessions, re-ports on behalf of various

ountries were submitted outlining the tasks of youth and students regarding the programme of the Forum. During the first day's ple-

nary session, a work report placed before the Forum on be-half of the permanent secreta-riat contained reference to the Chinese non-cooperation in the Forum work.

nediately after the report. the Chinese delegate stood up on point of order and demand-ed the floor. The Chinese delegate de-

accepted the Colombo propo sals. Now it was for China t nied their non-cooperation in the Forum work and de-manded deletion of such redelegate's speech over, the Chinese delegate demanded the ferences in the report. Homever, the demand was out-voted and the report was adfloor on point of order. The opted without any change. China is not placing any re for denouncing India and the Soviet Union saying that anti-70ports before the plenary ses-sions since it did not take part China feelings were heing deliin the preparatory work and its tive did not attend representative the secretariat.

Earlier they had planned to boycott the Forum and had planned to hold their own forum in Peking. But since they did not receive much rese, the alternate forum idea was abandoned. All their ces were then concentrated for this Forum. More than one thousand de-

Kremlin speech, where he had welcomed the Forum delegates legates from 123 countries are participating in the Forum. More than 650 journalists are ring it. The general atmosphere in

and made a policy statement about the Soviet positions on the national liberaion move

KERALA : Forward United Democratic

* FROM PAGE SIX

they reflect the interests of the they reflect the interests of the most reactionary trends and for-ces. From their own statements and declarations, it is clear that their differences from the ruling party are not based on policies. On the floor of the legislature ey praised the way the Food inister handled the food crisis! They have no opposition to the way the Agrarian Relations Act was radically amended in a re-actionary direction or the remoreservatio clauses from hand, those in the group had pleaded vehemently for these reactionary changes

pleaded vehemently for these reactionary changes. It has become wellknown that it is the reactionary forces in-terested in spreading communal and religious rancour that communal that are terested in spreading community and religious rancour that are working behind the dissidents. The Communist Party cannot have any truck with those forces. ment against communalism of all variety and bues, for unity of all toiling classes and sections of people and for a genuine demo-cratic programme.

The control of these. The control of these in the food situation of the communial hatred and weakers. The actionary politics and communial hatred and weakers of reactionary politics and communial hatred and weakers. These two parties in the food situation the forces of reactionary politics and communial hatred and weakers. These two parties in the food situation the forces of reactionary politics and communial hatred and weakers. These two parties in the food situation the forces of democracy and progress. Those who are interested in the nation's well being can never dream of any electoral alliance or adjustments with them. These two parties and the president has the working class all over India to the in-terests of the working class. The communist Party will the communist Party will the the the to a change for the better in the food situation the forces of democracy and pro-gress. Those who are interested in the nation's well being can the correst of the government of India on the Bonus Commission report, which are detrimental to the in-terests of the working class. The communist Party will the communist Party will the the communist Party will the communist Part

alliance or adjustments with terests of the working class. them. All political parties and forces continue to lead and help all the have come out in the electoral hattle following the fall of the Ministry. There is a serious dan-ger of communal passions being wages, for increase in dearness roused to fever height as elec-allowance and for correction of

g class. Party will help all the

blished by him from 7/4 Asaf Ali Road, New Delhi. Phone: 54659 Phone: 52879 Telegraphic Address. MADURATION Printed by D. P. Sinha at the New Age Printing Press, Rani / Jhansi Road, New Delhi, and pu Editor: Romesh Chandra. Editorial Office: Rani Jhansi Road, New Delhi;

NEW AGE: There is appre-NEW AGE: There is appro-hension in India over reports that the Soviet Union will give up its co-chairmanship of the Geneva Conference on Laos. What is the position? KHRUSHCHOV: We have been saying that. But the ques-tion has not been decided. Pro-

tion has not been decided. rro-bably we might refuse co-chair-manship because the basis on which it was instituted is no longer, there. We do not want to be the proverbial hook on which dead dogs are hung. standing of our attitude shown by the Indian public—our atti-tude to Afro-Asian conference and Afro-Asian nations. ARYAVARTA: To go back to your next visit to India, do you have any dates in mind?

Still More Distortions

pay.

to visit India. Indian correspondents thanked Premier Khrushchov for the privilege of meeting him and obtaining an exclusive interview which, they told him, will be regarded as a gesture of friend-this and resolutil for India HINDUSTAN TIMES: In view of the controversy over peace-keeping force, it is said that Soviet Union might leave regarded as a gesture of fri ship and goodwill for India. correct?

KHRUSHCHOV: We are not After Khrushchov's clarification going to withdraw. We have no to Indian journalists on the ques-intention of withdrawing from tion of the "new terrible weapon United Nations. Some people which can destroy all mankind",

Khrushchov Meets Indian Pressmen are trying to frighten us hy say-ing we will be expelled if we do not pay costs of military operations undertaken in com-plete violation of United Nations Charter. We are not going to nav the Western press and radios persisted in their distortions.

Although Indian journalists shared their notes fully with all Moscow correspondents the same evening, the BBC and other agencies now said that Khrushchov had told Indian journalists that the new terr ble weapon "was not a bomb

So, first the new terrible weapon was to destroy all humani After Khrushchoy's first clarific After Knrusnenovs may tion to the American correspondent at the Indian reception it became "non-nuclear terrible weapon" After Khrushchov's second clari-fication in reply to NEW AGE correspondent's question, Westcorrespondent's question, West-ern correspondents again distort-ed the truth to say that the new terrible weapon was "not a homb"!

Forum in the Kremlin the Soviet Premier had to clarify again. of small range, emier said that he

troy everyone I did not say this. After all, the weapons which have already been created—are they not suffi-ciently terrible?"

dent", it seems, has provided the best example of how the bour-geois press manufactures world-wide sensations by distortions.

The question of sending be dethe question of sending troops anywhere can be de-cided only by the Security Council. If the Security Coun-cil decides to send troops here or there we will pay. Steps which are in contracention of the Security Council and the Security Council United Nations Charter,

we will not recognise and we are not responsible for any ex-penditure incurred that way.

Speaking next day at a recep-

near Moscow not nuclear weapons but ordinary weapons and rockets of small range the told the Japanese delegation that humanity had created terrible weapons of destruction

"I repeat even now that these are terrible weapons. When Western correspondents hear it, they begin to write as if I had spoken of some new weapon which could des-

This "terrible weapon

SEPTEMBER 97 1084

Courtesy: MAINSTREAM



From SADHAN MUKHERIEE

ments and concrete forms of assistance to them as well as the stand on peaceful coexist-

ence. The Chinese delegate descrihed that "this reception was specially used to denounce China".

After the Chinese delegate's speech, a very tense situatio prevailed for a few seconds.

Meanwhile, a delegate from Tanganyika rushed to the mike and began speaking supporting the Chinese, without the permission of the presidium. Pan demonium broke o Forum and order cou could be restored only after about ten minutes.

It was clear that the Forum delegates were not prepared to listen to any vilifications and it was made clear on behalf o the presidium that if there were any points to counter, that can be done in the commission meetings.

The united delegation from India has made a good im pression in the Forum. On September 20 Soviet Komsomol gave a special reception to the Indian delegation



tions come near. Stage is being faulty cost of living index and set for the same. other demands. The Party wil Those who are with the defeated organise agitation and struggle Chief Minister are coming forward of the kisans and agricultura labourers for their den

The unity that will be forged through these struggles of differ-ent sections of our people for their day to day demands will form a firm foundation for the unity of the progressive cratic forces in the comit coming electoral battle.

At the time of filing this despatch five commissions are Forum received with stormy meeting for the finalisation of applause the message of greetthe documents and resolutions for adoption by the Forum.

After Forum hours, solidarity meetings for Cuba, South Ari-ca, South Vietnam and other ntries are being held.

countries are being held. TASS adds: The opening ceremony was attended by Nikita Khrushchov, Anastas Mikoyan and other leaders of the Soviet government and the Communist Party. The envoys of the world youth were warmly greeted by about 5,000 Muscovites, who filled the balconies and boxes of the hall

The Forum was opened by Aldo Alvarez member the National Leadership of the League of Young Communists of Cuba. He congratulated the delegates on the opening of "the biggest event of the youth and students of the world."

"The ideas of the Forum", he said "are now supported by thousands upon thousands of young patriots in all countries. They are all united in the struggle for national independence and peace, against imperialism and colonialism against the forces of reaction and war'

Enoko Opili, the representative of Kenya in the Perma-nent Secretariat of the Inter-national Preparatory Commi-ttee, said that "the ideas of the Forum have covered the planet in a solemn and victorious procession".

He said that the Permanent Secretariat had received thou-sands of letters wishing the forum success. "We must justify this lofty confidence", Opili said. "The future is in our hands and we must fight stubbornly, stinting no efforts. to bring it closer.

The participants, in the of the Nikita ings from the head Soviet government, Khrushchov. Nikita Khrush-chov wished the World Forum big successes "in rallying the forces of the youth in the decisive struggle against impe-rialism, for the final destrucin all its

Khrushchov's Message

The message expressed con-fidence that "the Forum will revitalise the ranks of the youth and students who are actively fighting for freedo and the social progress of all peoples, for peace.

"International imperialism is our common e Khrushchov pointed out. "The struggle against this "The struggle against malicious and still very powerful enemy" requires ""he allout consolidation the all-out con of international solidarity. the rallying together of all the revolutionary, all the peace-loving and progressive people, regardless of colour of their skin, natio-nal origin, political and re-ligious views."

The message expressed confidence that the tasks of the struggle for peace will hold an important place in the proceedings of the Forum. It pointed out that the problems of peace "can be solved not by kind wishes and talks but only by courageous, selfless struggle of the peoples against imperialism and militarism, against the nuclear maniacs." Khrushchov emphasised that "the youth is called upon to make a tremendous contribution to this struggle

Pravda Hails Growing Indo-Soviet Ties

MOSCOW: PRAVDA published an editorial on its front page on September 21 under a bold headline, "Soviet-Indian Friendship Grows And Strengthens". HE editorial said: "Thou-and strengthens the front ag-ment and switching over resour-ment and switching over resourfront page on September 21 under a bold headline, "Soviet-Indian Friendship Grows And Strengthens".

HE editorial said: B saids of kilometres divide the two great rivers—Russian Volga and Indian Ganga—but they like our two great powers, Soviet Union and India, are united not only by fast airliners which cover distance from Mos-cow to Delhi in a few hours; peoples of our countries are united by an ever growing and strong brotherly relationship." The recent visit of the Indian President, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Pravda said, further strengthened our friendly relations. The tour of the Indian guests opened hefore them the full depth of sincere feelings which Soviet sands of kilometres divide

sincere feelings which Soviet people have for India. Soviet-Indian friendship has become a significant factor of contemporary international life

and strengthens the front ag-ainst. the dark designs of imperialism in Asia and Africa, strengthens the struggle for - peace all over the world. "One of the great achieve-ments of India and her coura-recours and June herd Nober is

ments of India and her coura-geous son Jawaharlal Nehru is the policy of nonalignment. This policy which the Soviet people understand and warmly support is being actively followed by the present Government of India headed by L. B. Shastri", PRAVDA said.

ces for peaceful, creative including development of tasks libe opment of It is full rated countries. It is full dation of colonialism and colonialism, the paper said. In 1965 economic and to

and techni ic and between the ''n will be cal cal cooperation Soviet Union an ten years old and all this period it has been through fruitful.

understand and warmly support is being actively followed by the present Government of India headed by L. B. Shastri", Ganga", the paper concluded. PRAVDA said. The main content of non-alignment, as Mikoyan declar-led at the meeting of Soviet-indian Friendship, is elimina-usually used when referring to socialist countries. It is an india the practice of conquest, co-ercion and interference in the internal affairs of other coun-



BY OUR PARLIAMENTARY CORRESPONDENT

While the lobbies still buzzed with the upshot of the marathon no-confidence debate, and more particu-larly of the varied implications of Prime Minister Shastri's contribution, Defence Minister Chavan's re-port of his mission to the Soviet Union acted as a steadying factor.

SHASTRI'S participation in the debate on no-confi-dence was no doubt his most important speech in Parlia-ment since assumption of office as Prime Minister.

But his frowning of the "beaten track" in relation to the policies which the Shastri

government proposes to fol-low caused misgivings. As an effort to draw on the legacy of India's freedom movement, and for that matter on the legacy of the revo-lutionary movement of the Soviet Union, his straying into these fields appeared to be an interesting means of under-standing the current tasks of the Shastri government and the nation. But when the Prime Min-

But when the Prime Min-ister saw similarities in his own mission with the man-ner in which Nehru modified Gandhiji's precepts, and Gandhiji's own complete overhaul of the legacy left behind by the liberals in the Congress, there arose doubts and confusion and confusion. Was it that the Shastri ver-

Was it that the Shastri ver-sion of Nehru's policies, to which the government paid homage, will be as different. and as far removed as Jawa-harlal Nehru's were from Gandhiji's precepts? This question was sharply posed by the Prime Minister's projections but it largely re-mained unanswered. The tenor of some of his

of his The tenor of some observations contrasted with the great tributes paid to Jawaharlal Nehru and the

PRICES MAKE

ANOTHER

SPURT

T HE official figure of the

T HE official figure of the All-India Consumer Price Index for July this year has shot up by 14 points since January to 154 (Base: 1949–100). The jump from June itself was

by four points.

The Cuttack index

by nine points, the Ajmer and Gauhati indices by

seven points and the Dehri-

on-Sone one by four points. The Kanpur index (on the 1939 base) rose by 25 points during August this year to 675.

In Delhi, the August in-dex rose by two points to 126 (1960-100).

The index figures, as are well-known, do not reflect the real extent of the price rise. This was revealed in the reports of the Expert Committees on the Bombay

and Ahmedabad indices. Probe into indices for Delhi, Madras and Rajas-

beim, maaras and rajas-than is currently on and the state governments, of Andhra Pradesh, Bihar and Punjab have decided to set

up expert committees on the index, as demanded by

the trade unions.

proclamation of loyalty to Nehru's ideals and policies.

Equally out of place seemed the comparison of post-Nenru India with the situation faced in the Soviet Union after the Stalin era.

What was the purpose of these comparisons? Was the Nehrn policy of nonalign-ment and peace to be altered, or was the drive for planned industrial develop-ment to be watered down? These were some of the logical questions flowing from Shastriji's historical analogies. But perhaps the Prime Minis-ter did not mean all that.

ter did not mean all that. Perhaps his comparisons with the past were meant to illustrate the bigness of the nation's tasks, and of Shas-tri's keen sense of history. That would be a guessing game which the Prime Minis-ter himself will have to settle by his future pronouncements and actions.

by his future pronouncements and actions. A part of these misgivings were however removed soon when Defence Minister Cha-van presented his report of the defence mission to the So-viet Union, and of his earlier visit to the United States.

The Defence Minister, apart from bringing to light the valuable results he had achie-ed, did indirectly underline the continued devotion of the government to the nonalign-

government we may ment policy. More, the results of his mission brought to light the strong ties which now bind this country and the Soviet Union—the peoples and the governments. This was a fact to be reckoned with in any evaluation of the gov-ernment's policies. The Chavan report disclosed

Soviet Union's response to In-

Soviet Union's response to in-dia's defence needs. It brought to light another fact. There were no strings attached to the Soviet offerunlike the Western military assistance which has conti-nued to be hedged with ifs and buts, and with the con-ditions which tally with their military arrangements with Pakistan.

The report quite naturally did not divulge all the details of the hardware contracted in the Soviet Union and the United States or their full terms

But it was apparent that the Soviet terms with re-gard to payment of the military equipment suited India's economy.

There was also another im-portant fact which many noted. While the United States noted. While the United States (a la Bokaro!) had still to complete its examination of Tradia's requirement of the complete its examination of India's requirement of the supersonics, the Soviet MIGs have already been assured. India still hoped that the US supersonics will come-but that was a different story. Defence Minister Chavan had some revealing replies to give about the full Soviet readiness to step up constru-ction of the MIG factories in India.

India.

To questions about the delay in construction of the MIG factories the Defence Mig factories the Defence Minister gave candid replies —that it was our responsi-bility to expedite the build-ing of these factories and the Soviet Union stood by all along to fulfil its obliga-tions.

tions. The Defence Minister's re-forth some of port brought forth some of the new fields of Indo-Soviet collaboration—in the sphere of defence. vital

The implication was clear: the friendship between the two countries had not only been further consolidated but entered a new phase of nership for a world of had partnership for peace and freedom.

KERALA: RICE Rs. 100 A BAG From S. SHARMA

TRIVANDRUM: Despite Governor V. V. Giri's blackmarketeers, rice has become scarce in Kerala.

R ICE is available now only at Rs. 90 to Rs. 100 a bag against the fixed price of Rs. 55. The entire gang of wholesale traders is making hay while the sun is chining. sun is shining. Cardholders, whose quota has

Cardholders, whose quota has already been reduced from four measures to two a week, have to stand in long queues, many times in vain. Instead of rice, they get the bland state-ment that stocks have not come. Governor Giri was recently asked by press correspondents whether he could send the Civil Supplies Commissioner incognito Supplies Commissioner incognito and get a bag of rice from the market in the state capital at any price less than double the fixed

Barring brave words against blackmarketeers, the Governor had nothing to offer. Of course,

tall claims and brave declarations against hoarders and

he offered counsel of patience while the bureaucratic officials spoke complacently of a panic being worked up by the press. Popular intervention has come in centres like Quilon where a truck carrying bags of rice of wholesale black-marketeers was stopped by the people.

marketeers was stopped by an people. They got the municipal chair-man and police officials to be present when they distributed 25 bags of rice at six kilos a person. At Trichur popular indignation and fear of rioting have com-pelled the officials to seize 15,000 bags of paddy from rice mills and arrange milling and diversion of the rice to the go-vernment's godowns. The state capital witnessed a millitant demonstration organised by the Trivandrum taluq com-

BAKSHI'S ARREST WELCOME SURPRISE **CPI** Demands Early Trial

T HE arrest of Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed, the for-mer Premier of Kashmir state, has come as a surprise but it is a welcome surprise, says a statement issued by the Central Secretariat of the Communist Party of India.

The statement continues:

The activities of the Bakshi family since they were installed in power have been subject of a constant talk in the country and particularly in Kashmir, which, as people said, had been converted into a family property of the Bakshis.

The crores of subsidies that the Government of India gave to the Kashmir government and the various licenses of transport, forest, etc. have a story to tell.

The astounding incident of the removal of Hazrathal relic and the role that the Bakshi family is reported to have played in it should have been inquired into long ago as that incident took a toll of several lives and was on the point of providing fertile ground for Pakistan's manoeuvres against the security of the Kashmir state.

But powerful vested interests in Delhi seem to have hushed up the affair and Bakshi Saheb continued in retirement, with a halo of self-sacrifice, under the Kamraj scheme.

The statement of the Sadiq government, however, states that the activities of Bakshi Saheb "posed a danger to the internal security of the state"

His recent hobnobbing with Sheikh Abdullah and others, coupled with the schemes of some self-appointed mediators between Pakistan and India to share out Jammu and Kashmir between the two and thus buy Pakistan's and its supporters' friendship show that sinister schemes have been afoot.

Mr. Sadiq has also said that there were various cases of corruption and criminal offences against. Bakshi Saheb and that they would be placed before a tribunal.

If that is so, this is the first case where a government has dared to arrest a highly-placed person and expremier on charges of corruption.

In India, we have had charges against high personages but they have never been arrested. They are only honourably retired with all the gains of corruption left to them as a formidable pension. The Kashmir govern-ment's action is a good example to other governments in India.

It would have been better if the arrests had been done on the basis of ordinary law and a proper statement of the case. The use of the DIR raises prejudices. But let us not be sidetracked by that alone. For once at least, the DIR is used, not against fighting workers but against alleged corruption and serious charges of anti-social and anti-state activities.

The Sadiq government will be criticised for pro-roguing the Assembly on the eve of a move of no-confidence motion that Bakshi Saheb was organising. The Sadiq government is expected to explain its position on this question.

But it is more important to smash corruption and such an active and well-known centre of it and its anti-State moves and then face the criticism of the legislature and make amends for it than allow the culprits to stop the nemesis overtaking them by some clever moves in the legislature.

The Communist Party of India is of the opinion that the Bakshi group should be brought to a speedy and open trial, which must not be allowed to drag on and no intervention from whatever sources be allowed to stop the exposure of all the facts and persons involved.

mittee of the Communist Party

mittee of the Communist Party, when Communists marched to the Raj Bhayan. T. A. Majeed, K. V. Surendra-nath and K. Sadanandan met the Governor on behalf of the demonstrators and presented a memorandum demanding increase in the cardholders' quota and more fair price shops in villages. The memorandum also de-monded guarantee of stern measures against blackmar-keteers and urged on the go-

vernment to seek popular co-operation through non-official food advisory committees. The Governor promised imme-diate increase in the cardholders vernment to seek

diate increase in the cardholders' quota from two measures a week to three, and directed the depu-tationists to meet the Civil Snp-plies Commissioner for detailed discussion in this regard. The Trivandrum Corporation has set up a deputation to meet the Covernor and a appraise him of the alarming situation.