

ROUT THE DEMON OF COMMUNALISM

NEW AGE

* COMMUNIST PARTY WEEKLY *

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THIS is not the time to stand and watch on the side lines and murmur one's abhorrence at the devil's game of the communal gangsters. If it is human blood which flows in one's veins, if it is an Indian heart which beats in tune with our heritage, today is the time to move into action against the demon of communalism.

It was right and proper that the first message to the people made by Prime Minister Nehru after his illness was one appealing for communal amity.

"Whatever happens elsewhere," said the Prime Minister, "citizens of India should prove themselves worthy of their heritage and discharge their sacred duty to live in amity and goodwill with their fellow citizens, whatever be their religion or faith."

President Radhakrishnan's Republic Day message again emphasised the same urgent task:

"In our democracy, men of all faiths have the right to live in honour and harmony under the rule of law; the life and liberty of every citizen irrespective of caste or creed ought to be sacred to every other."

"Any departure from this is not only morally indefensible, but politically dangerous; it weakens our internal unity at a time when the danger to our country from without is undiminished."

All right-thinking Indians will endorse these words of the Rashtrapati and echo the Prime Minister's message.

But this is not enough.

The fact must be faced that following the news of events in East Pakistan, a number of Indian citizens were misled into either taking part in the anti-social acts of arson and looting in Calcutta and in other parts of West Bengal or into virtual acquiescence in them. The communal gangs had their way in

area after area, and many a citizen appeared to be helpless against the violence and frenzy of hate.

There were notable exceptions who stood up and gave protection to the minorities. It was they who prevented the situation from growing worse in the days before the army moved in.

The Communist Party can be proud of the fact that so many of its members gave shelter and protection to the minority community in West Bengal. And in this discharge of elementary duty, the Communists were not alone: there were innumerable ordinary men and women of all shades of political opinion, who acted in their own way against the monster of barbarism which stalked the streets of Calcutta.

But the shame of Calcutta cannot be wiped

out by quoting the examples of those who proved worthy of their heritage and barred the way of the hooligans.

It is clear that unless public opinion asserts itself through concrete action against communalism, the demon will not be annihilated. Already reports are appearing of provocative meetings being organised by communal parties, of plans to observe "Save Hindus" days and so on.

The horror of the events in East Pakistan is known to all. The Government of India is continuing to make efforts to ensure protection for the minorities by the Pakistan government.

But no atrocity committed in East Pakistan can justify any act, however slight, directed against a single member

of the minority community in India.

It is the duty and responsibility of every Indian, wherever he may be, to give his life, if need be, to defend and protect the minorities against communal attacks of any sort, whatever the provocation may be.

It is this understanding which must permeate the consciousness of every son and daughter of our soil.

This understanding, this action by the people is in full conformity with the tenets of ordinary human conduct. It is in conformity with the entire tradition of our national movement —where Hindu-Muslim unity was always our watchword.

In today's context, any

outburst of communalism is a blow at India's honour and name, and provide the imperialist enemies of our country with fuel for their conspiracies against our basic policies, against our sovereignty and independence.

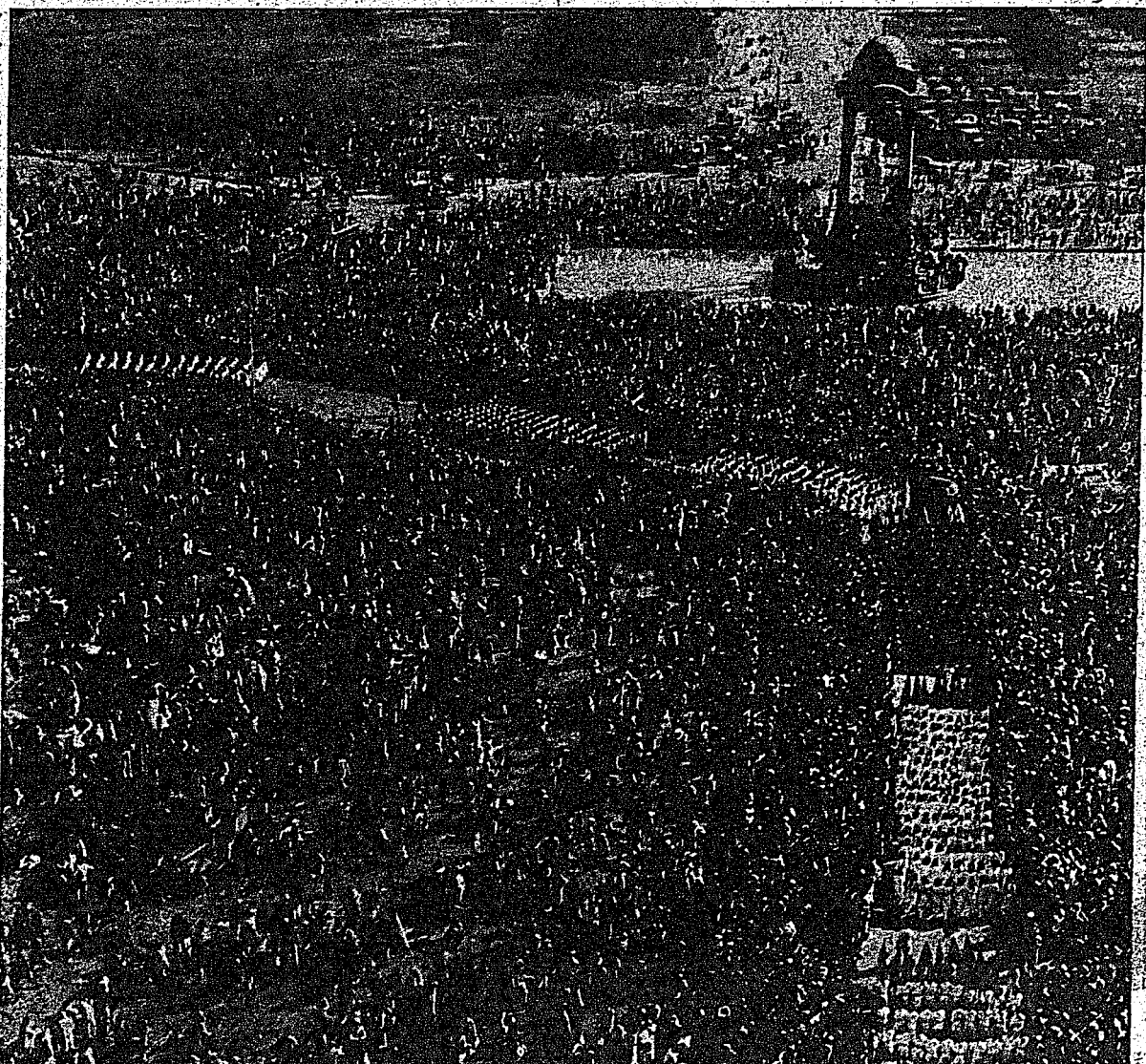
The struggle against communal reaction is the common struggle of all Indian democrats. It can be won only through their united action. Already numerous initiatives are being taken to set up organisations pledged to maintain communal peace and fight communalism in all its shapes and forms. These are welcome developments.

India's face must never be tarnished again as it was during the Calcutta events.

(January 29)

(PHOTO: VIRENDRA KUMAR)

A view of the Republic Day Parade in New Delhi.



REPUBLIC DAY REFLECTIONS

A NOTE of anxiety crept into the voice of many while viewing the situation as the Nation entered its fifteenth year of the Republic this January 26. Rededication to the ideals of our sovereign democratic republic and its constitutional guarantees to all its citizens had become even more meaningful after the inglorious happenings in Calcutta.

In terms of progress and welfare of the common people, the comments continued to call attention to the recent redefinition of objectives by the ruling party at Bhubaneswar.

The monopoly press, however, did not have much to say on the urgent issues. Two of the top-most in the category, THE TIMES OF INDIA and THE INDIAN EXPRESS in fact did not have anything to say on the Republic's anniversary.

The PATRIOT sounded a warning against complacency and resting on our oars. It wrote:

"Modern states that have not set their destiny in terms of concrete political and economic aims are entitled to little world sympathy. Such states as have not been able to do this are doomed to instability and continuing despair. It is a significant achievement of the last fourteen years that, despite setbacks, we have retained a degree of national cohesion and strength. But the rate of future advance, in the context of the peculiar problems we face, has to be much greater for us to remain effective as a nation."

The goal of the nation has been defined at Bhubaneswar as the establishment of a socialist State. The acceptance of this definition in true faith requires on the part of the Congress the creation of the political instrument which will make the realization of socialist objectives possible.

In a post-Republic Day editorial, the PATRIOT wrote on January 28:

The customary exhortations to discipline and unity were brought into perspective by some significant speeches on Republic Day this year. They emphasised that republicanism is devoid of meaning if social change is not made its core. There is clear danger in regarding unity as an abstraction

without injuring both. Both should function in harmony but not perform the same function; the Congress Party cannot obviously take over the function of executing the Five-Year Plan in the sense in which the government machine should do it."

THE BHARAT JYOTI said that there is both joy and disappointment on this year's Republic Day. There is joy because despite all the stresses and strains, the nation has held together and stands united in the resolve to protect the edifice of freedom and democracy it has been building

growing independently of the conditions necessary to sustain it. Emotional ties produce the nation's identity. Abiding unity requires a feeling of solidarity which develops only on a soil of economic equality. Economic privileges and distinctions based on ownership of wealth undermine unity and prove the undoing of democracy.

"The removal of concentration of economic power which has already taken place is recognized today as the most important problem of socialism facing India."

The paper also commended V. K. Krishna Menon's statement in Bombay on the Republic Day that democracy cannot survive in India without socialism.

The NATIONAL HERALD writing under the caption 'Republic Day Reflections' said on Tuesday: "A spirit of consecration and national purpose is even more urgently needed this year when the Republic Day is shadowed by two events. These events are the Prime Minister's illness and the communal troubles that took place in Calcutta."

But the paper takes satisfaction in the thought that fewer people this year have tried to reduce the Republic Day "a day of barren fault finding". In this connection it says: "Even economists, who generally have few good words to say about our Plans or our progress, are inclined to desist from exaggerating shortcomings."

The paper thinks the Congress did the right thing at Bhubaneswar in redefining its objectives. The Bhubaneswar session was "concerned with the problem of preparing the country to make economic and political progress. It is difficult to see how the Congress could go beyond this."

The dividing line between the party machine and the government machine cannot be blurred

TYPES

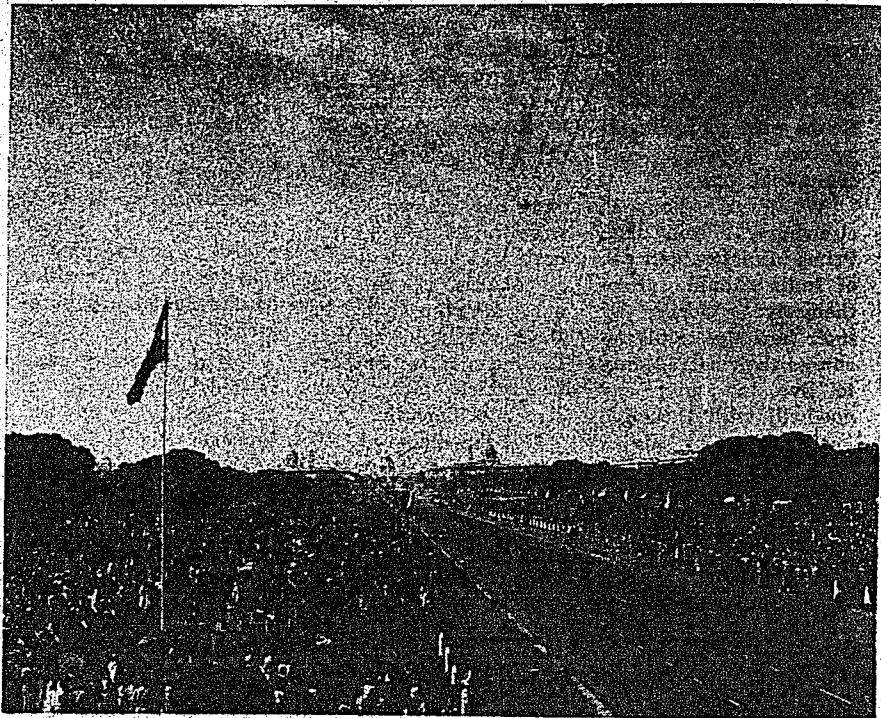
millions of our people who continue to wallow in the slough of poverty and want.

In this sense, the solemn pledge that the people of this country took while giving themselves the Constitution remains unredeemed. This is not a happy thought on Republic Day. The paper points out that the past year has been one of "terrible strain and trial" for the people. "Run-away inflation sent the prices of all essential commodities soaring while the purchasing power of the bulk of our people either remained stationary or declined."

The paper points to the need for urgency to find answers to

secure to pursue life in peace, that opportunities shall be denied to no citizen of India. Without this minimum guarantee of secularism, all talk of socialism becomes hollow and dishonest."

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES gave a dissertation on democracy and said that "democracy can only be guaranteed by personal discipline and no political institution however ingeniously devised can provide that." Democracy has the defects of its qualities and these defects can break out of corrective checks and balances if there is lack of popular vigilance. As for the prospects, the paper



Toofanis flying past the saluting base at the end of the Republic Day Parade in New Delhi.

during the last thirteen years.

"The feeling of disappointment arises out of the painful realization that all the efforts that have gone into planned development during the last thirteen years have not helped to wipe off the tears from the face of

meet the new challenge in the situation and to redeem the pledge of thirteen years ago.

The weekly, MAINSTREAM wrote under the heading 'Gandhiji's Behest':

"Let us remember that we are pledged to build our Republic on the foundations of secularism, that in our country there must be no majority or minority community, that every Indian has equal rights and privileges as well as duties. Let us pledge ourselves anew to safeguard every single life in this country, to ensuring that every man, woman and child, of whatever community, is

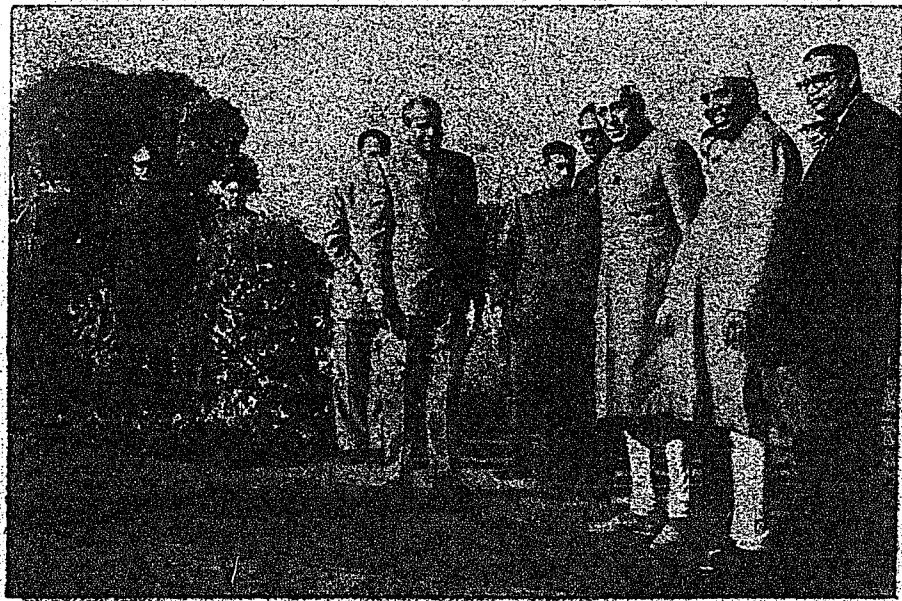
advised to look 'westward' where the 'land is bright'.

THE SUNDAY STATESMAN said: "The progress of the Republic so far provides the guarantees of its stability and advance when the rising expectations of its expanding numbers for social change and economic growth have to be fulfilled. There have been setbacks, some serious; but the manner in which they have been faced or overcome offers guidelines for the future in a world grown more complex since the Republic was born."

—SANJAYA

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Prime Minister Nehru on arrival to watch the parade is being received by Defence Minister Chavan.

The Central Secretariat of the Communist Party of India issued the following statement on January 28 about the recent happenings in Jammu and Kashmir:

THE recent happenings in Jammu and Kashmir cannot but cause the gravest anxiety and concern. The theft of the sacred hair from the Hazratbal Shrine was an act of sacrilege and there are strong reasons to believe that it was also an act of provocation by some designing persons.

The crime shocked the conscience of all our people, Muslims, Hindus, Sikhs and others, and the whole nation was naturally engulfed in deep sorrow and anger. Now that this holy relic has been discovered, our Party shares the sense of relief as well as the rejoicings of the people of Jammu and Kashmir and of other parts of the country.

What is now expected by all is that the mystery surrounding the disappearance of the holy relic will be unravelled and those directly or indirectly involved in this sacrilege and provocation called to book and given the most exemplary punishment.

The Communist Party demands that investigation into the incident be pursued with vigour and unsparing thoroughness. The probe report must be published and there must be no hush-hush or secretiveness in exposing the crime and the criminals.

Public must be fully taken into confidence.

Beginning with the theft of the holy relic, the events in Jammu and Kashmir brought into the forefront the utter incompetence and unpopularity of the present state government headed by SHAMS-UD DIN and controlled by the BAKSHI brothers. It is futile to attempt to make out that the popular discontent is all the handiwork of some Pakistani agents and nothing but an outburst of pro-Pakistani sentiments.

Not that the Pakistan authorities and their agents in the state are not out to exploit this situation. But what we see in Jammu and Kashmir is a spontaneous expression of popular discontent with the local regime whose records of both commission and omission there seem to have brought the people to the limit of their endurance.

It will do no good on the part of the Bakshi brothers or their protege Shams-ud Din to try to attribute this development to pro-Pakistani sentiments. It is time they owned up their own responsibilities in landing the state into the present situation.

The situation, which has erupted, has really been created over the past years of undemocratic and corrupt

CPI SECRETARIAT DEMANDS Clean-Up J & K Administration Present Ministry Must Resign

rule in which nepotism, graft, money-grabbing and all other malpractices went almost unchecked. The people of Jammu and Kashmir today want an end to this state of affairs and this exactly is what lies at the root of the manifestation of the present popular discontent.

To defame the people of Jammu and Kashmir as pro-Pakistan is nothing but adding insult to injury. Pro-Pakistani saboteurs have got to be fought and completely disarmed. But the most effective way to do so will be to offer a clean democratic administration to the people of Jammu and Kashmir which indeed they have been hungering for all these years. The present administration, especially its highest echelons, needs to be thoroughly overhauled. This task brooks no delay.

As a first step in this direction, the Communist Party

demands that the present Shams-ud Din ministry should immediately resign so that a broadly acceptable government manned by people who enjoy the confidence of the masses and free from any taint of corruption may take its place. The rule of the Bakshi family, whatever the cover, must end.

In the special circumstances of Jammu and Kashmir, leaders of the Union Government have to take the necessary initiative in bringing about such a change. To try to meet the critical situation merely by sending a few officers or by police measures will, we are afraid, only go to further aggravate the situation.

The situation in Jammu and Kashmir is one that needs to be handled at the highest political level and by inspiring and activating the healthy and democratic forces

Dange Writes To Prime Minister

S. A. DANGE, Chairman of the Communist Party of India, has addressed a letter in regard to the Kashmir question to Prime Minister JAWAHARLAL NEHRU.

A copy of the letter was personally handed over to Home Minister GULZARILAL NANDA by BHUPESH GUPTA, M.P.

SPOTLIGHT

Patronising Communalism

But surely SATYANARAIN SINHA is not a somebody like the secretary of the Congress Parliamentary Party. He is a veteran of the national movement and an old disciple of Mahatma Gandhi. He at least knows who and what is what in the communal hierarchy. It was, therefore, something of a surprise for me to read the following message flashed across the front page of the PANCHAJANYA, the notorious mouthpiece of the RSS:

"Journals which kindle the nationalist feeling among the people are of particular importance today. It is particularly more important to place our problems from the national angle before Indians overseas. I am glad to know that the PANCHAJANYA has been making efforts in this regard. I am happy to send it my good wishes."

Many questions at once rose in my mind. Since when have awedly communal organisations and their journals become the vehicles of nationalist propaganda? Can Satyanarain Babu be unaware of the fact that it is communalism which the RSS defines as nationalism and on that very basis, calls Congress and other secular parties as "communal" and itself "genuinely nationalist"?

Perhaps Raghunath Singh belongs to that hard-core inside the Congress which subscribes to the most reactionary causes and which is not averse to allying itself with such rabid reactionary forces as Swatantra and the Jan Sangh.

Last year H. K. MAHATAB had inaugurated a Vidyarthi Parishad convention. This year it seems to be Raghunath Singh's turn. After all the names of important Congressmen which figure in the honours list of the reactionary parties is quite well known.

informed as not to know these facts?

To none of these questions I have been able to find a satisfactory explanation. There is only one big change that has taken place in the situation. RSS, which had derived its chief patronage in the past from feudalism and imperialism, is now being increasingly patronised by reactionary big business men as a handy weapon of possible use in their hands. That may be responsible for the metamorphosis in the mental outlook of many old fighters under Gandhiji's leadership against the communal forces.

Be it what it may, what completely floored me was to see the name of our Vice-President among the well-wishers of the PANCHAJANYA. Dr. ZAKIR HUSSAIN also sent a message to this journal saying: "I send my best wishes for the success of your journal."

As was expected the communalist rag promptly utilised the message as a testimonial in order to acquire much-needed respectability for itself as well as business pull.

Again the question arises: How could those responsible for sending the Vice-President's message be unaware of the true character and worth (rather the lack of it) of the recipient? Is it not a grave indiscretion that has been committed, one which can only help in achieving a lower moral tone and depravity?

Does he not know that the RSS has not changed one whit its basic stand which it has been propagating ever since its birth? Can he be unaware of the fact that the PANCHAJANYA is a mouthpiece of notorious communalism spear-headed by the RSS? Can the Information Minister be so un-

The message of Dr. Zakir Hussain and Satyanarain Sinha appeared in the PANCHAJANYA on January 13 and 20 respectively.

The latter issue also contained a write-up on "Khulna and Calcutta" which again is a clear re-avowal of the communalist credo. In this write-up the Home Minister's statement at Calcutta that the life and honour of the minorities in India will be defended at all costs, has been assailed as "showing concern for the Muslim community and disregard for the others".

About the murders, arson and looting perpetrated in Calcutta, the write-up has pleaded that those were acts of the "common people who had been plunged into desperation by India government's inactivity."

The journal has argued: "How can it be that atrocities should be committed in Khulna against Hindus and the blood of their flesh of flesh, the Hindus of the world, should not boil?"

Argument is hardly needed to show that it is far from a patriotic stand which justifies the killing of compatriots because they belong to a different community for the misdeeds of their fellow-religionists in the neighbouring country? This is not nationalism but rank communalism, Satyanarain Babu's testimonial notwithstanding.

It is not surprising at all that PANCHAJANYA has not reported any of those incidents, either from India or Pakistan, in which the common folk

rose to heights of human nobility and bravely fought the dastardly acts of the communal miscreants.

No, it is not the common people who indulged in the carnage. It is selfish politicians and property-owners who incited the hooliganism, and it is the communally educated elements on both sides of the Indo-Pak border who revelled in the orgy.

Congress President KAMARAJ has already referred to the role of some RSS elements in the outrage committed on our side of the border. Congressmen who fraternise with the RSS may at least note that. These diseased minds need treatment, not messages of encouragement.

Gentlemen whose soul and mind have been corroded by the communal canker are evidently much disturbed by what I have been saying in this column. The following question and answer has appeared in their Delhi weekly:

Q: "Who is this Garuda in the NEW AGE?"

A: "A jack-daw pretending to be the king of birds, but clucking pitifully."

This betrays an angry frame of mind, the same in which the angry character in KNIBB's "Joshua Tree" exclaims:

I reckon I'm a ding-dang fool
For gettin' het up when I
might stay cool.
If you are a hoss—then I'm
a mule.

But why should they be so angry? I only hold the mirror to them.

—GARUDA

KAMARAJ and SOCIALIST UNITY

Congress President KAMARAJ's call to socialist elements to come together and cooperate with the Congress has led to a number of interesting developments.

JAYA PRAKASH NARAYAN appears to be one of the most interested in Kamaraj's "socialist unity" call. He has visited the Congress President and rumours are afloat regarding his future: it is said he has already been appointed chief of the Bihar unit of Home Minister NANDA's proposed popular organisation to help fight bribery and corruption; but J. P. aims a higher place at the top at the centre.

Meanwhile, the Praja Socialist Party is being cajoled by both J. P. and ASOKA MEHTA to join the Congress in the name of "socialist unity". PSP Chairman S. M. JOSHI is said to be opposing this move strongly.

The Socialist Party is reported to have been advised by DR. LOHIA to merge with the PSP unconditionally, with a view to evolving jointly an attitude towards the Congress. The Socialist Party leader is understood to be determined to keep the "United" Socialist Party, if formed, out of the Congress and pur-

suing a policy of relentless opposition to the ruling party and seeking adjustments and alliances with the Rightwing opposition parties.

The frenzied hurry with which J. P. and Asoka Mehta are acting must be seen in the background of the scramble by all Rightwing elements, following the illness of the Prime Minister. The three vacant seats in the Congress Working Committee are also considered to be a tempting target, as a step towards the Cabinet and filling the "vacuum" which the imperialist and Rightwing press have invented, in the wake of the medical decision that the Prime Minister should lessen his far too heavy burden.

The J.P.-Asoka rush to jump in the Congress bandwagon has nothing to do with "socialist unity". It has everything to do with the Right reaction's conspiracy to secure as strong a position at the centre as possible. J. P. is the fountainhead of

all anti-Soviet, anti-Communist moves made in the country. He has been at the helm of every committee for "Cultural Freedom", for aid to counter-revolutionary forces in the socialist world, for imperialist penetration in Afro-Asia. Sarvodaya and Peace Brigade notwithstanding, JP's "socialism" is too obviously of the Washington brand.

Asoka Mehta has already shown his "mettle" in the

notes OF THE Week

* By Romesh Chandra

short period he has been the head of the Planning Commission: he has begun to be looked upon with favour by the monopolists. As for his connection with the U. S. imperialists, his record as PSP Chairman is enough to leave one in little doubt.

Kamaraj's call for socialist unity has been somewhat distorted by the much publicised intervention of J.P. and Asoka Mehta. But

if the call itself is a sincere wish for cooperation of all who sincerely desire an order in which the power of the monopolists is curbed and a turn is made away from the evils of the capitalist path—then it is bound to find general support despite the attempts by interested quarters to give it their own colour.

Certain questions need to be clarified by Kamaraj himself.

● First, is his call to join the Congress or to cooperate with it? If Kamaraj is interested only in those who are prepared to join Congress, then it is a strange "unity" which he proposes. It is quite obvious that large sections of the Indian masses, who seek today a non-capitalist path of development, do not owe allegiance to the Congress; and the manner in which the High Command turned down positive Left proposals at Bhubaneswar will not give even the most gullible the slightest confidence in Congress' proclamations of "socialism".

Kamaraj is right in taking initiative in the matter. For there are vast masses who support the Congress, who seek an end to the present monopoly stranglehold and a more equitable order. It was their voice which was heard through the Left spokesmen at Bhubaneswar.

Cooperation and unity of all democratic forces in the country is a vital need at this moment, and any step in

that direction would have the support of all who want progress of India. But such cooperation and unity must at this time allow for differences in party outlook and opinions, and not seek to achieve "unity" through the merging of all into one Party.

● Again, Kamaraj must make clear whether his concept of "unity" of forces which declare their faith in socialism extends only as far as the PSP. Does the anti-communism of the Right inside the Congress keep the Communist Party and its supporters and friends out of the scope of his unity efforts? ● And above all, one must know what is the aim of this "unity". Unless there is a concrete programme of measures, round which democratic forces may rally—"unity" can have no meaning. If unity is meant to provide a cover for the anti-people measures of the Congress ministries, no genuine believer in socialism will have anything to do with Kamaraj's call.

SECURITY COUNCIL DEBATE

AS the Indian delegation headed by Education Minister CHAGLA flies to attend the Security Council meeting on Pakistan's complaint, news is pouring in of imperialist intrigues against India.

The US is taking the lead in supporting Pakistan's insistence that the question be discussed this week, even before our delegation reaches New York.

It is understood that Pakistan will propose United Nations "enquiries" into her complaints both in regard to the Hazarathal theft and the treatment of Muslims in India.

India will oppose any discussion by the UN, and point out how Pakistan's complaint is intended to avoid solving the issues by mutual discussions. Our delegation will bring to the world's attention the refusal by Pakistan of the Indian proposals for a joint appeal against communal violence and for discussions between the two Home Ministers, for concrete steps to prevent a repetition of the East Pakistan and West Bengal events.

The imperialist powers will undoubtedly seek to fish in the troubled waters and use the Pakistan complaint to pressurise India.

A PTI report from Moscow indicates that the Soviet Union has already reiterated the position it has always taken in regard to Kashmir—that it regards it as an integral part of India. A just cause, one which is based on the defence of national independence and peace can always count on the Soviet Union's support.

There is profound regret that the old Right reactionary pressures continue to prevent the participation once again of V. K. KRISHNA MENON in the United Nations. At a moment like this, there will be few Indians other than the most pretentious, who will not remember Krishna Menon's magnificent and marathon speeches made so often in the UN on the issue of Kashmir.

There are hardly any persons who know our case better. And there is no one in government or in the

* ON PAGE 6

SPOTLIGHT ON COAL INDUSTRY

Miners' Struggles And Achievements

* By KALYAN ROY

In the last week's NEW AGE, Kalyan Roy discussed the financial aspects of the coal industry. In this article, he discusses the living and working conditions of the miners in the coal fields and the state of trade union movement in those areas.

The whole of the coal mining area till recently was something like a vast concentration camp. The colliery owners, organised in four associations—the Indian Mining Association, the Indian Colliery Owners' Association, the Indian Mining Federation and the Madhya Pradesh and Vidarbha Mining Association—have their own organisation of agent-provocateurs, armed hoodlums and puppet unions with the active connivance of the state apparatus.

Normal trade union functioning was becoming increasingly difficult and the attempts of the Indian Mine Workers Federation and the All-India Trade Union Congress to improve the living and working conditions of miners, and to organise the unorganised belt, spread over a vast area far from the cities met with ruthless and violent opposition. The mineowners used all means, legal and illegal, to crush the militant trade union organisations.

Thousands of experienced and skilled workers were victimised for trade union activities and forcibly evicted from their quarters owned by the mineowners. Hundreds of workers and their leaders, including the top office-bearers of the federation, were implicated in criminal cases which are still dragging on from one court to the other.

Certain mining areas were practically out of bounds to trade unions and no trade-unionist dared to go there without risking his life. The workers were compelled to join unions set up by the managements and the basic democratic right to choose one's own union was denied. Unions were imposed from the top with the backing of the government machinery and open gangsterism was followed to liquidate majority-backed unions. The situation has, of course, slightly improved now.

But even today there is no profit sharing or production bonus in the coal mines and whatever bonus is there is linked with attendance and other conditions, as a result of which a large number of the miners do not get any bonus at all. The link-up of bonus with attendance has been rendered unworkable by the spurious system of making and computing attendance. Although a miner is supposed to work for only eight hours, in practice, because of difficult conditions, shortage of tubs, bad supervision and defective mining methods, many cases miners are even now forced to remain underground for 12 to 14 hours a day. Underground transport system is virtually non-existent.

The housing condition in the mining area is horrible and the mineowners have totally neglected to build quarters for the workmen. A recent sample survey by the government, in the Jharia-Raniganj coal belts which employ nearly two-thirds of the labour force in the coal industry, brought out the horrible fact that only 20 per cent of the total workers were housed and even out of the 20 per cent as much as 84 per cent lived in one room tenements.

It also spotlighted the overcrowding prevalent in whatever accommodation available, and established that on an average 5.8 persons lived in one room tenements, and in some of the tenements of dormitory type as many as 19 to 20 persons lived according to the shifts they had to work.

Slave Labour

One of the most hated institutions in the mining region is the system of recruitment of Gorakhpur workers through the Coalfield Recruiting Organisation, managed and run by the mine bosses. The CRO recruits thousands of landless peasants every year, make them sign a bond for a year, and then they are deployed to various collieries as per requirements. Wages are paid after a year. They are put up in barracks and remain under constant supervision and control under a chain of commanders who are virtually their masters.

The survey also revealed that not only the housing accommodation was terrible, but also that most of the houses were bereft of the basic requirements like water supply, drainage, latrines etc.

The mineowners are flagrantly violating the safety laws and regulations and constantly trying to reduce the cost of production at the expense of miners, seriously endangering safety. The Mines Department is understaffed and neither the mineowners nor the government have agreed to allow elected working inspectors to inspect the mines, demanded by the trade unions and unanimously recommended by various Courts of Enquiry into mining accidents.

The result is that mining accidents in the coal belt are sharply rising. Even the reports of the Chief Inspector of Mines support it. The following table gives details of the accidents.

Year	FATAL ACCIDENTS		SERIOUS ACCIDENTS	
	No. of accidents	No. of Persons killed	No. of serious accidents	No. of persons seriously injured
1959	191	249	3,052	3,094
1960	198	233	3,258	3,308
1961	222	281	3,515	3,369

In spite of all the primitive methods of exploitation, and attack on the basic trade union rights of miners, the workers are carrying on heroic struggles against the combined opposition of mineowners and government machinery and have been able to win major concessions.

The condition of miners has undergone a great change. From a depressed wage condition in 1954 today the miners in the coal belt are among the higher-groups of wage earners in the country.

Present Earnings

The present earnings etc. of the coal miners may be briefly summarised as below:

1 Since 1956, money wages have gone up by nearly 50 per cent.

2 For the first time a uniform wage structure has been established all over the country and workers in mines have been divided into 10 categories with job descriptions. This is the most significant gain of the coal miners and brought them closer. It has helped to forge a united movement behind common all-India slogans. Prior to 1956, wages etc. differed from pit to pit, from mine to mine and from region to region which enabled the mine owners to divide the workers and prevent the emergence of a strong union covering a large area.

3 The dearness allowance has been linked up with the cost of living index

and for every ten points rise in the index, Rs. 4.87 per month are paid to all miners.

4 Underground workers are paid 12 per cent more of their basic rate than the surface workers.

5 Workload has been defined for each type of work in a mine in an all-India agreement between all the central trade unions and mineowners' representatives. While in the past piece-rated workers, who comprise nearly 80 per cent of the total working forces, were paid practically nothing for the failure of the managements to provide them with work, now they are paid 75 per cent of their wages as minimum guaranteed wage in such cases.

6 Time scale and gradation has been introduced for all time-rated workers since 1960.

15 The over time rate has been doubled.

A Coal Miners Labour Welfare Organisation has been set up which is financed by a cess per ton of coal or coke despatched by collieries by rail or road and managed and administered by a tripartite body, consisting of representatives of Indian Mine Workers Federation, AITUC, INTUC and HMS. Owners associations and government nominees are pressed to take measures concerning medical facilities, housing, water supply, educational and recreational facilities etc. through this organisation.

All these have been achieved through bitter struggles against the powerful, organised opposition of mineowners and government machinery. There have been struggles in pits, in regions and in wide areas. There has been police firings on miners in 1956 and 1960. All over the coal fields, the police in aid of mineowners have repeatedly resorted to lathi charges and tear-gassing.

Strike Actions

Over sixty thousand miners struck for over a month in 1956 in the Asansol belt in defiance of terrorisation by mineowners and government. Three workers were killed by police firings in that strike. The strike resulted in victory of the workers and the tribunal was compelled to increase the wages. In 1960, the police opened fire on the workers of the Modern Satgram Colliery in Asansol belt who were protesting against the recruitment of black-legs.

7 While there was no paid festival holidays prior to 1956, the miners now get seven paid festival holidays in a year. Underground workers get approximately 21 days and surface workers 16 days leave with full wages a year.

8 Full train and bus fares are paid to workers proceeding on leave for their homes and return fare also in some cases.

9 Shoes are supplied at 50 per cent of their costs and directions have been issued by the Mines Department to issue safety helmet free of cost. However in both these cases the mineowners are deliberately adopting delaying tactics.

10 Compensation for all kinds of accidents has been increased.

11 All-India Safety Councils consisting of representatives of all central trade union organisations, owners' associations and government have been set up. Safety and Mining Regulations are being improved.

12 Bonus Cards are being issued which contain actual attendances of a worker in order to avoid manipulation of attendance records by mineowners.

13 Maternity benefits have been increased.

14 Regional hospitals have been set up with modern equipment in mining regions and workers get free medical treatment. While sick allowance varies, under law a worker is entitled to get half of his full wages for 14 days.

But the workers successfully foiled these attempts and discharged their responsibilities towards national defence by contributing their mite both in cash and kind and by producing more coal. Simultaneously they fought for safeguarding their rights and resisted the attacks on their living conditions. They have already secured an interim wage-increase of Rs. 9.75 per month through the second Wage Board for coal industry. The final recommendations of the Wage Board are expected shortly, although these have some what been delayed. The employers have now started another offensive against the miners by laying them off in large numbers on the plea of accumulation of stocks. The trade unions have already taken up this issue and alongwith it are taking part in the national campaign of toilers which is now on throughout the country.

PAGE FIVE

INDIA and DISARMAMENT

Editorial

PRIME MINISTER JAWAHARLAL NEHRU has sent an official reply, welcoming Soviet Premier NIKITA KHRUSHCHOV's appeal to all governments to enter into an agreement renouncing the use of force for settling all boundary, territorial or other disputes between nations.

What is more, the Indian Prime Minister has called for "purposeful discussions" on the Soviet proposal, "with a view to arriving at an acceptable formula as in the case of the discussions undertaken by the Big Powers in arriving at agreements on the nuclear test ban and the demilitarisation of outer space."

The Indian reply emphasises the vital necessity for peace for underdeveloped countries like ours. The letter says:

"You (Khrushchov) have referred in your letter to such disputes in Asia and rightly emphasised that we, in Asia and other parts of the underdeveloped world, have gigantic problems of economic development which can be effectively tackled only by peaceful utilisation of the skills of science and technology for the betterment of our teeming millions. Tensions resulting from actual or threatened aggression inevitably lead to diversion, inescapable under the circumstances but nevertheless unproductive and wasteful, of scarce resources of these poor countries in building up of adequate defences and retard the achievement of the main objective, namely concentration of all efforts and resources in securing the betterment of the people of these countries."

The Khrushchov proposal has been widely hailed by peace-loving peoples all over the world. It constitutes a major practical effort to move forward in 1954 towards the goal of general and complete disarmament. It is a continuation of the peace initiative, for which the Soviet Union and Premier Khrushchov personally have won the gratitude of all mankind.

Meanwhile, the work of the Disarmament Committee is proceeding in Geneva, while in our own country, in Udaipur, the influential Pugwash movement is meeting to throw its weight behind concrete steps towards disarmament.

New disarmament proposals have been presented at Geneva by the Soviet Union this week through a

nine-point plan, which includes such necessary steps as:

- Withdrawal of all military forces from foreign territory;
- General reduction of armed forces of all nations;
- General reduction of military budgets;
- A non-aggression pact between the NATO and Warsaw Pact Powers;
- The establishment of nuclear-free zones in Europe and elsewhere;
- Agreement to stop the spread of nuclear weapons, including a ban on such international arrangements as the NATO multilateral force;
- Agreement to prevent surprise attacks, including observer posts, reduction of forces and demilitarisation in Central Europe;
- Destruction of bombing aircraft;
- Ban on underground nuclear tests.

The present meetings of the 18-Nation Disarmament Committee must make resolute efforts to bring about agreements which can lead to general and complete disarmament.

A number of proposals for possible compromise plans which could reconcile the draft treaties for general and complete disarmament submitted by the USA and the USSR have been made.

Among such compromise plans are those made at the last Pugwash Conference and more recently, by the British Labour Party.

Specially welcome is the latest news that India and other nonaligned countries represented in the Geneva disarmament negotiations are meeting together, with a view to putting forward a compromise plan of their own.

On the nonaligned countries, and specially on India, rests a great responsibility at this juncture in international relations. The recent relaxation in tension following the Test-Ban Treaty, the establishment of the Washington-Moscow "hot-line" and other steps—must be followed up rapidly. And the nonaligned countries are in the best position to take initiatives which can yield fruitful results.

The burden of defence expenditure on India, following the Chinese aggression, has made every Indian realise more deeply than ever before, how vital and necessary is an agreement for general and complete disarmament, which could help to lift the heavy burden of defence expenditure.

(January 29)

ANDHRA STATE COUNCIL ENDORSES SATYAGRAHA PLAN

★ From MOHIT SEN

The Andhra State Council of the CPI has unanimously endorsed the decision of the All-Parties Action Committee to commence satyagraha by February 3, if the government does not concede its two demands of scrapping the Additional Levy Bill and distribution of waste lands by January 31.

EXPLAINING this decision Y. V. Krishna Rao, convener of the All-Parties Action Committee and member of the secretariat of the Andhra State Council of the CPI, stated that this was the only item taken up by the state council this time. This would underline the serious nature of the contemplated struggle and the urgency the Andhra Communists attach to it.

The state council has congratulated all the parties, leaders and the common people who have carried the message of the Action Committee to accept these just demands

and warned it that the responsibility of the satyagraha struggle would be placed squarely on the government's adamant attitude.

It has called upon all Party members and sympathisers to concentrate all their energies on making the struggle a success. It has pointed out that this struggle is a militant part of the struggle of the toilers in the city and countryside throughout India to raise production, grow more food, engage in nation-building and resist the anti-people policies of the government.

It has, therefore, appealed to the workers, middle class employees, artisans and urban toilers to take this struggle as their own and to extend full support to the satyagraha. It has in conclusion appealed to all parties to sink their differences and make the satyagraha a success.

Y. V. Krishna Rao stated that as the convener of the Action Committee he has already instructed the district and taluq action committees to serve notice on the appropriate authorities. The satyagraha will take the shape of a squad picketing in front of revenue offices in 13 or 14 centres by February.

Among the first to offer satyagraha will be KAMALA DEVI, deputy leader of the opposition, who will lead a squad of women satyagrahis at Bhongir and BADAM YELLA REDDY who will lead the squad at Karimnagar.

GOA PROTESTS AGAINST SEVENTH FLEET

PANJIM: The Frente Popular in Goa has protested against the intrusion of the US Seventh Fleet into the Indian Ocean which has brought cold war into the otherwise neutral waters.

AT a mass rally held at Vasco da Gama on January 26 under the auspices of the Frente Popular, speaker after speaker denounced the US move and urged the Government of India to immediately demand that the US government drop the proposal.

A resolution passed by the meeting termed the US move as "an affront, challenge and threat to the territorial integrity and sovereignty of our country."

It said: "The US government in order to serve the interests of its billionaire monopolies is planning to establish war bases in the Asian-African countries wherever it can force its entry. This threatens not only the policy of non-alignment pursued by several Afro-Asian countries but also their very independence."

Through another resolution the rally called upon the

Government of Goa "to take fast measures for the rapid allround development of Goa."

The resolution said: "Goa has already lost the benefit of two five-year plans and it is but natural and logical to have to leap forward in order to make up for the loss and economically be on par with the rest of the country."

"The masses of our people will not feel the real impact and significance of independence and the Republic unless and until we win economic independence and freedom from hunger, poverty, disease and want."

The resolution pledged the support and active cooperation of the people for national reconstruction and the forward march to socialism.

The rally also suggested measures to develop the Murma-goa port and surrounding areas.

CALCUTTA, January 26: While life in Calcutta is back to normal and the city goes about its daily work freed from the restrictions of curfew and riots, ever so, beneath this outward calm one could still sense a continuing anxiety of those nightmarish days that have only too recently gone by. Tension is still there and confidence and a feeling of security are yet to come back in full measure.

ABOVE all are a number of problems which have come up in the wake of the riots, which concern the re-settlement and reemployment of the refugees and others affected and which call for expeditious and sympathetic handling by the authorities.

But the way the state government has acted has not helped the solution of these problems nor created harmony among the communities. It is again the same old story of human suffering and official muddle.

The turning down by President Ayub Khan of President Radhakrishnan's call for a joint appeal to the peoples of both India and Pakistan to keep communal amity has also increased the bitterness of the people here who have much to worry about the safety of their relatives and if the fate of the Hindu minority community living in East Pakistan.

MINORITY WORRIED

This mood of the Hindus in turn creates a sense of insecurity in the minds of the Muslims here. A solution has therefore to be found to this basic problem of minorities in India and Pakistan and of enabling them to live together in amity, in honour and dignity and with equal rights.

Then also the recent incidents in Calcutta and elsewhere in West Bengal have called attention to the need to tackle firmly by both the government and the ruling party in this country the problem of organised gangs taking advantage of communal commotion and communal canker corroding a part of the police force and administrative machinery as

well as a section of the ruling party.

While there are these dark clouds and they seem too menacing sometimes, the example set by many who displayed real humanism and courage to protect innocent people during the recent disturbances also provides a silver lining.

MISHRI MANDAL, a factory worker at Serampore and an active militant of the Communist Party lost his life in defending brothers of the other community and became a martyr.

In the first days of riots from Dum Dum in the North to Tollygunge in the South, joint peace committees including members of all communities were formed and peace processions and squads paraded the streets and held meetings in mohallas. In Tollygunge a corporation councillor, who is the local Congress leader came out to join a procession along with Communist workers of the locality.

GLORIOUS EXAMPLES

Working class in general gave a creditable account of themselves. While in Batanagar area frenzy developed into gun battle and attacks on Muslims, the Jute Workers' Union at nearby Chitragunge took lead in organising a Peace Committee and from January 11 more than 700 volunteers coming from all communities kept 24 hours vigil during the days of disturbance under the leadership of the local worker leader BANSEJO PROSAD.

The Jay Engineering workers on strike gave shelter to Muslims in their barracks and defended them against attacks of organised goonda gangs and rescued them to safety. These are but a few examples of many acts of courage and sanity.

The glorious examples of students and intellectuals of East Pakistan have also come as a gust of fresh breeze and beacon light. The West Bengal government sources revealed that many Muslims, not less than thirty in number, laid their lives in saving the Hindu minority in Dacca and Narayanganje areas.

Three daily newspapers—ITTEFAK, SAMBAD and PAKISTAN OBSERVER raised their voices against riots and as a result were attacked by hooligans. Peace processions comprising of writers, artists, singers, and students came out on the streets, even when attacked by goonda gangs and saved Hindus.

Peace Committees have been formed at the call of leaders like MAULANA BHASANI and others and those are at work. But now the Pakistan government has come out with an order banning publication of news of the activities of the peace committees.

With normalcy returning, the question of relief and rehabilitation has come to the forefront. At different places where refugees took shelter local non-official relief committees sprang up and began working. Khilafat Committee, Communist Party, Congress, Peoples Relief Committee, Indian Medical Association, Marwari Relief Society and others came forward to do relief work.

Government also then set up Relief Centres in those places and gave dry dole and cooked food and also distributed medicine through the IMA. But the government is

Post-Riot Calcutta: Problems & Politics

★ From AJOY DASGUPTA

acting in a partisan way in the matter of relief. All government relief materials are being routed through Congress and other parties and organisations are sought to be kept out of relief work, though it is clear that Congress is incapable of rendering proper and adequate assistance at all places.

Moreover, the government is now trying to close down the relief centres and insisting that the refugees go back to their homes. But the fact remains that large number of huts have been gutted completely or damaged severely and all household utensils destroyed.

According to a survey conducted by the military 5,125 huts have been damaged, either totally or partially and according to government spokesmen more than 83,000 people took shelter in the relief centres and only about 30,000 of them have so far returned to their homes. Unless the burnt down huts are rebuilt and the damaged huts are repaired either by the government or by the persons themselves, whom the government will have to pay subsidy, since many of them have lost all their possessions, a large number of refugees would be unable to leave the relief centres.

GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBILITY

As the days go by this problem will increase in volume and enormity and unless the government is prepared from now on to tackle it properly it will create further tension and trouble.

Another act of the government which is causing great resentment and has evoked universal demand for revocation is the imposition of punitive tax in some areas in Nadia and 24 Parganas districts. The government cannot penalise the people for its failure to nip the riots in the bud, it is contended.

It is also being pointed out that such action will not help to generate the feeling of goodwill in the minds of the majority community which is the ultimate guarantee of security and safety of the minority community. All the opposition parties and even Congressmen have raised the demand for revocation of these orders.

JAY ENG. WORKERS' STRIKE CONTINUES

CALCUTTA: The strike of the seven thousand workers of the Jay Engineering Works has entered the seventh week. The workers are standing firm, warding off the communal riots and the intrigues of the employers.

To confuse the workers and break their morale, the management published big advertisements in the daily papers claiming that many workers have indicated their willingness to join duty and warning giving it as deserted a look as that all workers who did not join duty by January 25 would be deemed to have left the job and therefore be dismissed.

The management also recruited some new hands and brought them inside the factory under police escort. The police has now become active otherwise too. Many of the workers have been arrested under various pretexts.

With such intimidation and trickery the management had hoped to break the strike, but their game has been foiled. When the new recruits learnt that they had been brought as blacklegs they left the factory giving it as deserted a look as that all workers who did not join duty by January 25 would be deemed to have left the job and therefore be dismissed.

A.I.K.S. CENTRAL COUNCIL MEETS

A meeting of the central council of the All-India Kisan Sabha was held on January 18 at the Kisan Sabha Office with A. K. GOPALAN MP, president, presiding. Members from Kerala, Tamilnad, Andhra, Bengal, Bihar, U.P., Rajasthan and Punjab attended it.

THE secretary's report submitted to the council briefly dealt with the campaigns conducted during the last few months.

In Kerala, the report says, a huge movement in defence of the Kerala Agrarian Relations Act was launched. Satyagraha was offered against the Land Reforms Bill introduced by the Congress ministry which seeks to cancel the rights of the tenants conferred by the Agrarian Relations Act. The Bill has received the President's assent in spite of the vehement opposition of kisan organisations in the state.

The Kerala Kisan Sabha, in alliance with other kisan organisations is going to launch a statewide struggle against the new Act.

In Andhra Pradesh, the report says, the eighth provincial agricultural labour conference gave a call for a campaign for higher wages and for distribution of waste lands. In response to this call, in hundreds of villages wage struggles were conducted as a result of which wages were increased in those places.

In Andhra, the programme of distribution of waste lands was suspended by the government and several thousands of cultivators of these waste lands are being threatened with eviction. Besides, the government has terribly hit the peasants by increasing the rates of land revenue by 50 per cent to 400 per cent.

Against this reactionary move of the government, satyagraha is going to be offered, beginning from the first week of February, by the action committee formed by the Kisan Sabha, Agricultural Labour Association, Communist Party, Socialist Party, Praja Party and progressives.

In Rajasthan, a wide campaign is going on in four districts against the surcharge levied by the government.

In Bihar, statewide agitation is going on for the cancellation of surcharge on land revenue.

In West Bengal, resistance is being organised against malprac-

From Page 4—Notes Of The Week

Congress who can fight our case better. The darkness of October-November 1962 seems still to hang over government policies—cripping it at moments which call for bold and decisive action.

CALCUTTA CALLING

IMPORTANT discussions are taking place in Calcutta between representatives of the central and state governments in regard to measures to be taken following the communal disturbances.

The demand made by large sections of public opinion for the removal of the present restrictions on the migration from East Pakistan will, it is hoped, be conceded by the government without further delay.

Together with it must go the question of effective assistance and rehabilitation to the refugees. The failure of government to solve this problem over the years has led to widespread discontent—a discontent which is wholly justified.

Unfortunately this discontent has also been the inflammable material in many cases, on which the reports of atrocities in East Pakistan poured oil, leading to a considerable portion of the communal violence in West Bengal.

Unless a determined effort is made by government to tackle this question, and ensure liberal help to the refugees, the sore will remain open and is bound to fester. It is our duty to go to the succour of the unfortunate victims of the riots in East Pakistan. And the central government

must discharge its responsibility, with generosity.

The news that large numbers of those who had to leave their homes in Calcutta and other parts of West Bengal, following the communal disturbances, have now returned, is reassuring. The fact that the army has been withdrawn is an indication of the improvement in the climate.

The first task is to provide adequate compensation and relief to the victims of the disturbances. And here again the Government of India must take its share.

(Jan. 29)

ALL-INDIA WORKING WOMEN'S DAY

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India welcomes the decision taken by a number of women's organisations and trade unions to observe March 9, 1964 as All-India Working Women's Day.

IT directs all state units, specially of those states where there are women employed in sufficient numbers in organised industries, to pay special attention and to help the organisers in making this Day a success.

The Central Executive Committee also appeals to all trade union comrades to cooperate in this programme, help organise meetings and conferences of working women and women in various professions in their areas, help call upon the respective trade unions to support the demands of women workers such as:

★ Implement principle of equal pay for equal work and a fair minimum wage for women,

★ Provide for women workers higher paid and supervisory jobs,

★ Reinstate women in jute and textile industry from where they have been evicted in large numbers.

★ No discrimination against married women and no bar on marriage for women workers,

★ Provision of proper creches in suitable places convenient for working mothers and in all establishments and industries employing women,

★ Extension of these provisions and other legislations to contract labourers and agricultural labourers,

The CEC calls upon all comrades, specially women Party members, to contribute in making the Working Women's Day a success by organising collection of signatures to demands, holding demonstrations, marches to the Assemblies and Parliament, by propaganda through newspapers, Party papers and women's journals etc. and by collection of funds through sale of badges, door to door collection and so on.

The CEC fully endorses the suggestion of the organisers regarding the setting up of joint committees of trade unions and women's organisations at various levels, wherever feasible.

The CEC also directs that the state committees, and wherever necessary district committees, should appoint one or two comrades from amongst their members specially to pay attention to this work.

IDEOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES AND DISCIPLINARY STEPS

When there are political differences inside the CPI, why should the leadership insist on settling these by organisational means, by recourse to disciplinary methods? (AJIT SINGH, Chandigarh).

It is perfectly true that ideological-political differences cannot be solved by adopting disciplinary decisions. It is perfectly true that such differences can only be settled by study, discussion, and above all, by the drawing of lessons from the experience of the mass movements and struggles. Nobody in the CPI, least of all the present leadership, will deny these patent truths.

The question, however, is what the Party is to do until these differences are settled. Should it turn itself into a debating club and do nothing but study and discuss? Or should it function as the vanguard of the workers, leading their struggles and those of other sections of the democratic movement, while not avoiding discussions?

This is not a new question. It first came up for sharp and heated discussion in 1903 during the celebrated controversy between Lenin, leading the Bolsheviks and Martov, leading the Mensheviks on clause One of the Party Rules, dealing with Party membership.

Martov wanted Party membership to be open to anybody who accepted the Party Programme, supported the Party financially and rendered it "regular personal assistance under the guidance of one of its organisations."

Lenin proposed that "A Party Member is one who recognises the Party Programme and supports the Party financially as well as by personal participation in one of its organisations."

At that time there were some people who thought that the quarrel was just a difference over words. Why not, they said, accept "guidance" in place of "personal participation"? Yet it was precisely this "small verbal difference" that was the difference between a revolutionary stand and opportunism.

As the History of the CPSU puts it: "The Leninists fought for a monolithic, militant and disciplined revolutionary party with a clearly defined organisational structure, whereas the Martovites wanted an amorphous and heterogeneous, loose, petty-bourgeois, opportunist party. Lenin fought for such internal Party structure as would ensure its consistent revolutionary character."

As is well-known the basic prin-

iples of this structure are summed up in the phrase—democratic centralism. This means that the individual obeys the organisation, the minority obeys the majority, the lower units obey the higher units and that all Party organs and leading committees are based on the elective principle.

Subsequent experience since that time have fully confirmed the validity of these principles. These principles are part of the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism.

"Left" Mask

It is a noteworthy fact that some "Left" critics of the CPI leadership, who claim that it is their life's mission to combat revisionism, now challenge these very fundamental principles. They claim to be "defending Leninism" and yet insist that they have the right to flout the decisions of the majority, to publicly violate Party "policy," to start rival journals, mass organisations and the like.

We have here another example of "left" phrases masking out-right Right, revisionist practices. We have here another example of "revolutionary" proclamations screening attempts to rob the vanguard of the workers of its revolutionary organisational soul.

Every worker who has attained even trade union consciousness holds sacred the unity of his class organisation, its combat efficiency and its discipline. What are we to say of those who claim to be "revolutionaries", "Leninists" and who refuse to obey Party discipline?

Lenin used a pregnant phrase once—"organisation is the only weapon of the proletariat." It is this "only weapon" that some "Left" critics would like to rob the proletariat of.

Thus, the fundamental question to be asked of these "Left" critics is—should the CPI abandon democratic centralism? Is it your demand that in the CPI proletarian discipline should be abandoned? Should the rule of majority decisions be replaced by unanimity, giving veto powers to the minority or even to an individual? Should lower committees have the right to flout the decisions of higher committees?

There is no alternative between democratic centralism, and orga-

isational anarchy and chaos. Once its principles are abandoned every unit and every individual in the Party has the right to go its own way.

Discussions

What about discussions? Certainly differences have to be discussed. But in an organised way and in a planned manner. Certainly it would be flouting the rights of Party members, violating democratic centralism, if any disciplinary action is taken against members for holding and speaking out views in the appropriate Party unit which are against those of the majority.

What about resolving differences? Discussion will play a very big part but even more important will be revolutionary practice. The correctness or otherwise of the line of the Party or any of its decisions can only be checked ultimately by implementation. And for revolutionary practice a disciplined revolutionary organisation is essential. Decisions and the Party line must be binding on all precisely to resolve the question of their correctness.

Again we have to ask the "Left" critics of the CPI leadership—what alternative method of discussions do you propose? Does anybody, anywhere and at any time have the right to insist on dis-

YOUR QUESTIONS ANSWERED

ussions in cafes, streets and public forums? What other criterion of truth do you propose in the place of revolutionary practice? And can there be revolutionary practice without a disciplined organisation?

The logical result of the views of some of these "Left" critics is the formation first of a Party within the Party and then the formation of another Party.

One can legitimately wonder whether in the "second Party", if ever it comes to be formed, all these anarchic, anti-democratic centralist demands will be tolerated and made into a "system" of organisation. One wonders if the unanimity rule will replace the majority rule, if discussions will go on for ever and without action!

The experience of the Trotskyites is quite instructive. Having broken away from the international Communist movement, they insisted on "iron discipline" and are busily engaged in expelling one another for "deviations." Hardly any movement is so splintered and fragmented as the Trotskyite disruptors of the 1930s. Cliques and groups and parties abound in enormous profusion.

The CPI leadership has not taken disciplinary action against

a single Party member, from the Branch upwards to the National Council, for holding views opposed to its own, i.e., to those of the majority. We challenge our "Left" critics to give a single such example.

No Suppression

The CPI leadership has never prevented discussion of ideological-political issues but has made available all the relevant documents and material, even such that go entirely contrary to the views and decisions. We challenge our "Left" critics to give a single example of suppression of documents and discussion.

Mao Tse-tung once gave us Communists a very fine guiding principle on how to conduct ourselves when we are in a minority—as he once was for many years. He said one should, "uphold the truth and obey the organisation." It is a pity that in all its propaganda of the "thought of Mao Tse-tung" the CPC leadership omits the popularisation of this sensible dictum. It is the best answer to the question posed, to the "Left" critics of the CPI leadership.

—MOHIT SEN



Paramount necessity for the formation of health

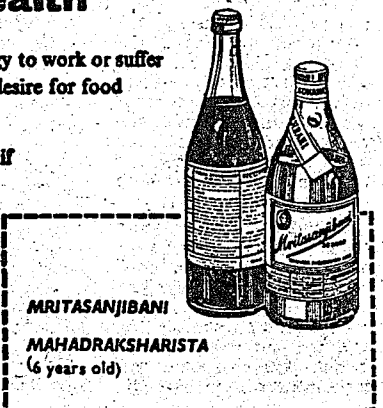
You feel tired to work... do not get energy to work or suffer from colds... or perhaps you have not a desire for food or what you take does not digest even.

Then it would rapidly improve your health if you take two spoonful of Mritasanjibani mixed with four spoonful of Mahadraksharista (6 years old).

SADHANA AUSADHALAYA—DACCA
36, Sadhana Ausadhalaya Road
Sadhana Nagar, Calcutta 48



Ashvaka Dr. Jagesh Chandra Ghose,
M.A., Ayurved-Sastr, F.C.S. (London)
M.C.S. (America) Formerly Professor
of Chemistry, Bhagalpur College.



MRTISANJIBANI
MAHADRAKSHARISTA
(6 years old)

Calcutta Centre: Dr. Naras Chandra Ghose,
M.B.B.S. (Cal) Ayurvedacharya.

U.S. SEVENTH FLEET

Bihar Peace Council's Protest

★ From OUR CORRESPONDENT

PATNA: The Bihar State Peace Council has protested against the proposed entry of the American Seventh Fleet into the Indian Ocean.

The council, at a meeting on January 16 at the Indian Medical Association Hall in Patna, termed it as violation of our non-alignment policy and demanded that the Government of India should resolutely oppose the move.

The United States government was asked to keep its hands off the Indian Ocean. The entry of the Seventh Fleet into the Indian Ocean is a threat to the independence of the Asian-African countries around it, the council said.

The council decided to hold the Bihar State Peace Conference at Gaya in April next. Prior to the

WORKING WOMEN IN INDIA

According to the 1961 census figures, India has a female labour force of 5.94 crores. Of this, as much as 81 per cent are employed along with their menfolk as helpers in the field, in village industries and handicrafts. About 435,000 women are employed in the plantations, 373,195 in factories and 106,300 in mines. The rest are educated women employed in government and other private establishments.

WORKING women have common problems and common demands with male workers concerning working and living conditions, but they have also special problems of their own, some general and some peculiar to each of the above categories of working women.

The percentage of women gainfully employed in this country is lower than in most of the advanced countries. Working women constitute only 27.96 per cent of the total female population in India. In Soviet Union the percentage of working women to the total female population is 41.5, in Japan 42.2.

Decline in Employment

Not only is ratio of working women lower, in India the number of women workers in organised industries is on the decline in the last few years.

For example, in the cotton textile industry, the percentage of women employed has come down from 8.7 to 6.8; in jute from 12.4 to 7.8; and in silk from 12.3 to 6.3.

In 1952, the coal mines had in their employment 51,500 women; in 1961 the figure was only 38,110. In the mica-mines the number of women employees came down from five thousand in 1950 to three thousand in 1960.

In the tea plantations in Assam, there were 247,000 women working in 1950. In 1960 this number had come down as low as 146,000.

Not only in the industrial sector, but even in the rural sector the employment ratio of women has been showing a decline.

When the first enquiry into women's employment was made in 1950-51, women constituted 40.4 per cent of the total agricultural labour force, but in 1957 it was only 36.5 per cent. The number of women employed in agriculture was 14 million in 1950 which came down to 12 million in 1957.

The second point to be noted is that in almost all industries the wages paid to women are far less than those paid to men. Though India has ratified in principle the International Labour Organisation (ILO) convention of equal wage for equal work, even in some of the awards given by the various government-appointed wage boards, the disparity in wages of men and women is maintained.

For example in the Minimum Wages Act for plantation labour in Assam the wage rates fixed are as follows: Zone A—for men Rs. 1.89; for women Rs. 1.76; Zone B—for men Rs. 1.82, for women Rs. 1.70.

In Madras the minimum wages for plantation labour are: Garden—for men Rs. 1.59, for women Rs. 1.20; Factory—for men Rs. 1.81, for women Rs. 1.37.

In the coal mines in Andhra Pradesh, basic weekly wage for above-ground workers has been fixed at Rs. 8.46 for men but it is only Rs. 6.87 for women. In Madhya Pra-

des, it is Rs. 9.40 for men and Rs. 7.90 for women.

The annual average wage of men workers in rice milling industry is Rs. 292 while it is only Rs. 163 for women. Again, in the glass industry men workers get an annual average wage of Rs. 549 while women get only Rs. 313. (all figures from Working Women in Changing India)

The principle of equal wages for equal work is being implemented more and more as a result of agitation by trade unions, but the employers have sought to counter it by employing men instead of women where equal wages have been awarded and by employing women only in the lowest paid categories of unskilled work which men do not consider worthwhile to do.

As a result of a persistent and long-drawn-out campaign a uniform code for granting maternity benefits to women workers has now been accepted in the organised industries and in government and commercial establishments.

However, maternity benefits are not available to large number of women engaged in piece-rate and contract labour such as beedi and construction work and in the cottage industries. Of course, it does not apply at all to agricultural labour, which is seasonal.

A disturbing trend is that with the adoption of the Maternity Benefit Act employers have resorted to all kinds of tactics to avoid the

responsibility of granting the benefits.

Among them are keeping down the number of women employed in a given industry than was the case before, discharging pregnant women before they become eligible for maternity benefit, and above all laying down 'no marriage' clauses in the conditions of employment. Provision of unsuitable creches for the benefit of working

mands which have to be taken up by trade unions along with the common demands such as increase in wages and dearness allowance, minimum bonus, better housing etc. for which the entire working class is conducting an agitation. Working women themselves should campaign actively for these demands.

For this more and more working women should be

by HAJRAH BEGUM

mothers is also not uncommon in some establishments.

Then, there is the question of confining women to unskilled or semi-skilled jobs. Women are not provided with the necessary education and technical know-how to enable them to undertake higher-paid, administrative and technical jobs.

enrolled in the trade unions. The number of women in trade unions has not grown consistent with the increase in the total number of working women. According to the Indian Labour Year Book, it has gone up from 1.2 per cent in 1928 to 10.8 per cent in 1959. This is hardly satisfactory when seen against the increase in



VESTED INTERESTS TRY TO SCUTTLE BONUS REPORT

Note Of Dissent By Employers' Representative

The statement of the Chairman of the Bonus Commission after the report was signed on January 18, that the report was unanimous "except for minutes of dissent by one member on certain limited questions" has led to considerable speculation over the likely moves the government might initiate to give effect to the Commission's recommendations, reports IPA.

ACCORDING to one view, since the government is formally committed to enforce by statute the Commission's recommendations if they are unanimous, early steps will be taken to enforce the recommendations.

The extent of unanimity in the Commission over certain crucial points of the bonus formula recommended, it is however learnt, is circumscribed by the dissenting note submitted by N. Dandekar, the representative of private sector employers.

Dandekar is reported to have disagreed mainly over three points: First, the return on paid up capital for the purpose of the formula should be 8.5 per cent, as against seven per cent accepted by the Commission; second, the return on reserves should be six per cent instead of the four per cent; third, super tax too should figure as a prior charge. The Commission's recommendation provide

for deduction of income-tax only.

The private sector employers' representative, does not agree with the Commission's recommendations over the formula for computing bonus for bank employees also.

The dissenting view of Dandekar, it is apprehended, may be construed as substantial reservations on the key recommendations of the Commission by private sector employers and therefore, the formal unanimity in the Commission may not be accepted as fact by the government.

Alternative

If the report is not accepted as "unanimous" by government, because of the dissenting note, two courses of action are open for official action.

One is to lay down in the proposed statute a compromise formula, parti-

cularly on the rate of return on paid up capital and reserves. This would inevitably lead to adverse reactions from the workers and trade unions, and government would then be acting against the expressed views of the largest trade union bodies in the country

—the INTUC and the AITUC, both of which were represented by their top executives on the Bonus Commission.

The alternative course would be to enforce the majority recommendations of the Commission by statute, clearly ignoring the reservations made by Dandekar—a move which private sector industry would not obviously relish.

It is felt, however, that immediate positive action is called for on the part of the government. Delay would cause tension and give rise to a grave threat to industrial peace. The bonus issue has always been quite volatile and it is feared that what was so far confined to individual unit of industry or a region, would become a national issue and the deadlock over the Commission's recommendations may bring about the biggest ever protest action by the workers.

The main demands of the working women follow from the above problems. They are:

★ No retrenchment of women from factories and mines; increase the rate of employment of women in those industries where women can be employed.

★ Strict implementation of the ILO convention on equal wage for equal work so that women are not discriminated against in the payment of wages.

★ Widening of the scope of the Maternity Benefit Act to all categories of women workers including contract labour; extension of the same to rural areas in some form or other.

★ Abolition of the 'no marriage' clause in conditions of work of women employees wherever it exists; establishment of a large network of creches and kindergartens in places of work and assembly for the benefit of working mothers.

★ Broadening of the scope of girls' education both in urban and rural areas; opening of more polytechnics and technical training institutions for women.

the total number of working women.

It is heartening to note that some women's organisations have taken up the above issues. Working women's committees have been formed in many places and they are campaigning for the above demands. They are organising conferences, demonstrations and deputations to achieve them.

Observe March 9

The time is propitious for such a campaign too. Already the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India has called for observing March 9 as Working Women's Day so as to spotlight the problems facing working women in this country.

The International Labour Organisation has decided to pay special attention to the problems of working women in 1964. And the World Federation of Trade Unions is holding a World Congress of Working Women in May 1964 to discuss their problems and suggest remedies.

25 per cent Reduction in Prices

MORE REPORTS ON ALL-INDIA DEMANDS DAY

MOBILISATION IN ANDHRA PRADESH

★ From MOHIT SEN

HYDERABAD: "Andhra has gone through one of the largest statewide mobilisation campaigns ever in the recent weeks, with planned work and wide participation of the workers and people" said N. SATYANARAYANA REDDY, general secretary of the APTUC, in an interview on the follow-up mobilisation in the first two weeks of January according to the decision of the Bombay conference of trade unions in December.

THE tours of the leaders of the state trade union movement had been centrally planned and covered the major working class concentrations. The leaders found the workers and the people in a state of high enthusiasm and battle-preparedness.

In Rajahmundry a most impressive meeting was addressed by K. L. NARASIMHAM, president of the APTUC, BALAJI DAS and PRABHAKAR CHAUDHURI.

In the coal mining areas of Kothagudem, Bellampally and Yellandu meetings and processions were held, including a joint rally of workers and peasants in Bellampally, which was addressed by RAJ BAHADUR GOUR.

In addition, he was specially invited to address a meeting in Warangal called by the independent union of the Azamjahi mill workers, whose president is Congress MLA NAGABHUSHANA RAO.

The Guntur mass meeting was addressed by MAKHDOOM MOHIUDDIN. He went on to greet the big mass demonstration and meeting in

Vijayawada, which was also addressed by POTTARAJU MLA.

Nagarjunasagar saw mass rallies on three successive days, in which the workers raised both general and local demands. The chief speakers were YELLAMANDA REDDY MP, LAXMI DASS MP, M. NAGI REDDY and PARAMDHAMAYYA.

In Gudiwada and Vayur large meetings of the workers and other sections of the tolling people were addressed by T. F. SATYANARAYANA, secretary of the APTUC.

In Tadepalligudem, a demonstration and meeting were organised, where M. B. V. M. KAPARDE was the chief speaker.

In Kurnool, Guntakal and Adoni impressive meetings and demonstrations were held with N. Satyanarayana Reddy as the chief speaker.

The successful campaign included the activities in Vishakapatnam and the twin cities of Hyderabad and Secunderabad, which have been reported in the two previous issues of NEW AGE. In the

industrial area of Hyderabad on January 5 a mass meeting of the various unions was addressed by Satyanarayana Reddy and MERRAJ SOOFI, while on the same day, a meeting of the Praga Tools workers was addressed by Satyanarayana Reddy and RAZAK.

"It should be noted", said Reddy, "that other sections of the people are also on the move in this very period which both helps and is helped by the APTUC-initiated campaign."

"The NGOs have been holding big rallies in various places demanding the reduction of prices, for increase in DA and for the correction of the cost of living index. An action committee has been set up to carry forward the movement to the plane of direct action if the government remains unmoved."

"The secondary school teachers, the state's class IV employees, the bank employees and the P&T workers have also gone in for meetings and rallies on issues that are largely similar during the past few weeks."

"Above all, there is the impact of the big peasants' movement against the additional land levy and for distribution of banjar lands."

A feature of the campaign was the participation of independent unions, not affiliated to the AITUC. Foremost among these is the Road Transport Corporation Employees' Union which has played a very impressive role in the campaign throughout the state. In Vishakapatnam and Warangal also independent unions have moved in a big way.

The stir among the workers has compelled the state INTUC leadership also to give a call for a statewide observance of a day of demonstration for increased DA and for linking it with the cost of living index.

Bent on disruption, it has however also asked the workers to observe it as an anti-APTUC day! This indeed shows the tremendous response of the workers to the



Trade Unions contingent in the Republic Day Parade in New Delhi.

DEMONSTRATIONS THROUGHOUT ORISSA

★ From Our Correspondent

CUTTACK: The All-India Demands Day on January 12-13 was observed throughout Orissa. Meetings and demonstrations were organised in all the important industrial centres in the state.

IN Babil a round of group, mine and factory meetings since the third week of December culminated in a central rally on January 13, which was presided over by H. BEHRA. Colourful processions came from different

parts of the state. A public meeting was held at Bourkela on January 13, which was presided over by NITYANAND PONDA. The speakers demanded immediate grant of three months

the cost of living index and stop illegal retrenchment. The meeting warned that unless the demands were met, the workers would be forced to go on strike.

The Indian Aluminium workers at Hirakud also observed the Demands Day by organising a procession and meeting.

A meeting of the leading workers of the Rourkela steel plant was held on January 18 under the auspices of the Mazdoor Union (AITUC). A

committee has been constituted to prepare for the state convention of trade unions.

Not only organised workers are preparing for the coming battle for the realisation of the minimum demands. Other sections of the tolling people are also on the move to realise their demands.

The Class IV employees of the state government held a special conference on January 11. The conference demanded a minimum wage of Rs. 100 a month, linking of the DA with the cost of living index and other facilities.

The meeting was presided over by SRIHARSHA MISRA, joint editor of SAMAJ daily, and D. C. Mohanty, general secretary of the Orissa State Trade Union Congress, was the chief guest.

From the preparations now going on, it can be safely said that the workers of Orissa will not be lagging behind others in the coming weeks in the struggle for the realisation of the minimum demands put forward by the Bombay conference.

ings of the conference while K. G. SRIWASTAVA, secretary of the AITUC, inaugurated it.

The report submitted to the conference by PRAKASH ROY, secretary of the Madhya Pradesh Trade Union Congress drew attention to the importance which the Chhattisgarh area has secured as a result of the rapid growth of an industrial complex. Steel, engineering, mining, thermal power, hydro-electrical, cement and fertiliser units have come up in the area.

He said the AITUC was a major force in the area today and has been able to push back

award was not implemented by February 1. The award had fixed Rs. 1.81 as the minimum wage for beedi workers in the area.

The conference noted that despite rapid industrialisation of the area, the employment of local people in the plants is very low. In the Bhilai steel plant, the present percentage of employment of local people is only seven. The conference demanded more employment opportunities for the local people and opening of junior technical schools in every district so that people might get training.

The conference expressed grave concern over the attitude of the Union Labour Ministry in not granting recognition to the Samyukt Khadan Mazdoor Sangh at the Rajhara iron ore mines. After verification of membership it was found that 95 per cent of the workers were members of the SKMS.

The conference said non-recognition of the SKMS was a violation of the code of discipline and warned the government that unless recognition was granted to the workers, they would refrain from accepting the commitments under the code of discipline too.

Resolutions were also passed demanding immediate publication of the interim awards of the iron

Chattisgarh Conference On 11-Point Demand Charter

★ From OUR CORRESPONDENT

RAIPUR: The Chhattisgarh area is astir with workers' preparations to realise the eleven-point demands charter adopted by the Bombay conference of trade unions. With the regional trade union conference at Raipur on January 19, the stage is set for the coming struggle.

THE Raipur conference was the most widely represented TU meet in the history of Chhattisgarh region. Delegates from steel, iron ore, limestone, dolomite, manganese, flourite and coal mines, jute, beedi, textile, transport and rice and oil mill industries came to the conference.

Altogether 109 delegates attended the conference and took active part in the discussions. A presidium consisting of S. K. SANYAL, P. K. THAKUR and MUSTAQUE AHAMED controlled the proceed-

ure and limestone and dolomite wage boards and their implementation, setting up of a steel factory at Bailadila and an aluminium plant at Korba in the Fourth Plan and abolition of contract labour in mining, beedi and such other industries.

The conference elected a 21-member council of action to carry forward the tasks decided upon by the conference. All industries and areas are represented on the council.

An open session of the conference was held on January 19 at the Ravishankar Town Hall in Raipur. It was presided over by SRISTIDHAR MUKHERJEE and K. G. Sriwastava addressed the meeting.

After the conference K. G. Sri-

wastava and S. K. Sanyal visited the Rajhara iron ore mines on January 21, Nandini limestone mines on 22 and Rajnandgaon on 23. In all places, the workers welcomed the release of Sanyal and gave an ovation to the TU leaders.

At Rajhara a general body meeting of sectional representatives was held, presided over by BACHAN SINGH THAKUR. It was attended by 379 TU activists. At Nandini a public meeting was held.

In both the places resolutions were passed listing the workers' demands. It was announced that if the management did not accede to the demands of the Bhilai Steel Project mine workers by February 8, workers would be compelled to serve strike notice on the management.

The Rajhara meeting also condoned the death of five workers in a truck accident on Jan. 30 and of two children who were burnt alive in the Aridongri mines. It demanded that adequate safety measures be taken in the mines to prevent accidents and immediate relief to the families of the workers affected by the accident and the fire.

25 PER CENT INCREASE IN WAGES

CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE MEETS ON FEB. 3-4

THE National Campaign Committee set up by the Bombay conference of trade unions to conduct the struggle for increased wages and dearness allowance, minimum bonus and nationalisation will meet in Hyderabad on February 3 and 4. The Committee will review the progress of the national campaign which culminated in the observance of the All-India Demands Day on January 12/13 all over the country and preparations for the all-India general strike.

PLAN FOR ALL-ASSAM T. U. CONVENTION

★ From SUREN BHATTA

GAUHATI: Efforts are being made here to hold an all-Assam trade union convention to plan for united action on the eleven-point demands charter adopted at the Bombay conference of trade unions.

A meeting of the Trade Union Coordination Committee at Gauhati discussed the possibility of holding such a convention. The committee decided to organise a demonstration and rally at Gauhati on February 8.

The coordination committee, which has been organised on the initiative of 19 trade unions in Gauhati, has already placed the minimum demands before the authorities through a deputation. A memorandum is to be submitted to the state government soon.

The Gauhati workers' committee forms only part of the growing movement in Assam against high prices and increased cost of living. In the upper Assam industrial belt the AITUC unions had observed January 12 as Demands

Day. Elsewhere also the movement for holding the price line and increase in wages is growing day by day.

On a call from the Assam state council of the Communist Party of India, a People's Demands Day was observed all over the state on January 21. Meetings and demonstrations took place in Nalbari, Sarbhog, Barpeta, Goalpara, Gauhati and other places.

The Communist Party has stressed that considerable pressure would have to be brought on the government to achieve some relief to the common people from the spiralling prices and the falling real income of the wage-earning people.

At the time of the paddy

★ OVERLEAF

Protest Against Increased Bus Fares & Power Rates

DELHI: A demonstration was organised by the Delhi state council of the Communist Party on January 25 to protest against the proposed increase in bus fares and electric power rates.

THE proposal to increase the bus fares and power rates has been made by the transport and electricity committees of the Delhi Corporation. The proposal will now come up before the corporation for consideration.

In a memorandum submitted to the mayor the council has said:

"It seems, in the name of rationalisation, the minimum bus fare will be increased from 7 nP. to 10 nP. This will be the second increase in the course of one year. Thus, the minimum fare would have increased by 100 per cent, from 5 nP. to 10 nP."

"Electricity and domestic power rates were increased in last year's budget. Now another increase in electricity and domestic power rates is being proposed."

"The Delhi state council of the Communist Party of India strongly protests against these proposals and urges upon

members of the corporation to reject them.

"The Communist Party demands that the minimum bus fare should be fixed at 5 nP. and not to 10 nP. as proposed by the transport committee."

"Now that there is enough power at the disposal of the DESU, it should encourage greater use of electricity and domestic power for the common citizen. And to do that it should be made cheaper."

"At a time when cost of living is going up higher and higher and the government is unable to hold the price line, even the so-called 'marginal increases' in bus fares and power rates will further depress the standard of living of the common man."

"The corporation will be well-advised not to think in terms of increasing bus fares and power rates but how to effect economies in its administration, fight corruption and to offer better services, particularly in the spheres of transport and electricity."

Unite For All-India Action on DA & Bonus

mines and the Kalinga iron works to the rally.

A resolution passed at the meeting said that unless the government and the employers accepted immediately the eleven-point demands the charter adopted at the Bombay conference of trade unions, the workers would be

forced to resort to direct action.

A public meeting was held at Bourkela on January 13, which was presided over by NITYANAND PONDA. The speakers demanded immediate grant of three months

annual bonus and 25 per cent increase in wages. Local demands like promotions, extension of incentive bonus to all workers were also discussed at the meeting. Group meetings are being held now in preparation for the one day token strike.

At the Joda iron ore mines the Demands Day was observed on January 12. Processions from different mines came to the public meeting presided over by H. Behra.

In Chandwar a rally was held on January 12 under the presidency of D. C. MOHANTY. It passed a resolution calling on the government and the employers to accept the eleven-point demands charter.

The day was celebrated in Cuttack on January 13 with a rally presided over by R. C. RAM MLA.

BARODA : SUCCESSFUL EXPLANATORY CAMPAIGN

BARODA: Baroda observed the all-India Demands Day on January 20 with a big procession and rally.

More than a thousand workers joined the procession with red flags, banners and placards. The rally was addressed by BALACHANDRA TRIVEDI,

DINKAR MEHTA and CHANDUBHAI PATEL.

A 20-day explanatory campaign has also been carried out in Baroda. During this period 30 meetings at mill gates and various localities were held, 10 thousand handbills distributed and five thousand booklets of the Bombay conference resolution sold.

LINK DA WITH PRICE INDEX

TOWARDS ALL-INDIA CONFERENCE OF COMMUNIST WRITERS & JOURNALISTS

Statement of the Preparatory Meeting

The National Council of the Communist Party of India in its meeting in October 1963, decided to hold a Conference of Communist Writers and Journalists. A preparatory meeting for organising this conference was held in Delhi at the end of December.

The meeting was attended by writers' and journalists' representatives from Kerala, Punjab, Bengal, Tamilnad, UP, Bihar, Delhi as well as by four members of the Central Secretariat of the Party—S. A. DANGE, P. C. JOSHI, YOGINDRA SHARMA and ROMESH CHANDRA.

The work of the meeting was divided into two parts—the first in regard to the work of Party writers and the second regarding Party journalists. We give below a statement adopted in regard to the preparations for the Party Writers' Conference.

AFTER a general discussion in which various State representatives reported briefly on the present state of literature and literary movements, the work of Party writers in their particular linguistic zones and on the General Report presented by SAJJAD ZAHEER, it was decided to hold the meeting of Party Writers in March next (1964). The venue of the Conference will be announced later.

It was decided that the preparation for this Conference should start immediately. A Committee of writers to conduct the preparation of the Conference was decided to be set up at Delhi. It will consist of representatives of writers from the States.

It was also decided to instruct the various State Executive Committees of the Party to set up similar committees of writers in their States in order to carry on the preparatory work of the forthcoming Conference. In States where Party Writers' Committee already exist this work is to be entrusted to them.

As far as the scope of the Party Writers' Conference is concerned it was felt that the attention of Communist writers should be focussed on the great need of an organised attempt on their part to integrate their literature and cultural work.

ASSAM T.U. CONVENTION

* FROM OVERLEAF

harvest, the state council of the CPI, meeting in Nowgong, had demanded a minimum price of Rs. 12 a maund for paddy to the cultivators.

There is no justification at all for the Assam government for not fixing the minimum price to the peasant at Rs. 12, as demanded by the CPI, when the West Bengal government has fixed the purchase price of paddy at Rs. 13 a maund and the retail selling price of rice at Rs. 23.60. This means that in West Bengal the difference between the purchase price of paddy and the selling price of rice is only Rs. 10.60 while in Assam it is Rs. 14.60.

In sugar a flourishing black market is going on in the state. An artificial scarcity

was created on the eve of the national festival Magh Bihu sending the price of sugar up to Rs. three a kilogram. The government also yielded to the clamour of traders by increasing the price of sugar from Rs. 1.24 to Rs. 1.31 a kilogram.

Not only in sugar and rice, but in the case of every item of food and article of daily necessity, the same situation prevails. Prices have soared high and despite this being the harvest season, they have refused to come down. It is against this background that the Communist Party gave the call for observing the People's Demands Day. The response has been enthusiastic, which shows that the people are ready to go on the path of struggle to realise at least some relief from the burdens heaped on them.

No writer to whom the cause of human freedom and human civilization and culture is dear can ignore these realities and can fail to use all this moral and spiritual resources to fight against the imperialist threat of nuclear war, against the survival of colonialism and imperialism as a menace for entire humanity.

rialism and imperialism and for world peace and freedom.

New Social Outlook

The old feudal and semi-feudal order has broken down; a new industrial era has begun—and capitalism is arising in our country with all its implications. The face of our country is changing—man and his social outlook is being transformed and there is a clash of ideologies—the new and the old are in conflict and struggle with each other. In such a situation Communist writers, with their scientific Marxist outlook of the working class can play a big role.

If in their works, their poems, songs, short stories, novels, plays and criticism—is reflected the face of changing India, the new social reality, class relationships and class struggle in our towns and our countryside; and if through their artistic and literary creations they help in a better understanding and a truthful appreciation of the noble urges and aspirations of our people, their desire to free themselves from their present material miseries and their cultural and aesthetic deprivations and to build a new democratic life of happiness and plenty, leading forward to Socialism, then they can inspire them to unite, to struggle and to move forward to victory with greater force, conviction and determination.

★ The forthcoming Conference of Communist writers should therefore, taking account of the present literary and cultural situation in each of our languages and on an all-India scale, decide upon what concrete steps our writers should take to help this process.

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Communist Writers' Creation

The Communist writers, during the last forty years have emerged as a powerful ideological force in our country. Today by their creative and fruitful activity closely linked and integrated with the present struggle of our masses, by their work among the various existing cultural and literary organisations and institutions in and among the main body of patriotic and democratically minded Indian writers, of whom they are a part, Communist writers can bring about a vital change in the ideological field.

They can hurl back the offensive of reaction fed by American imperialist agencies like the USIS and Congress of Cultural Freedom; the nihilist pessimistic and unscientific ideas imported from the decadent capitalist societies of the West, and re-

vivalism and obscurantism preached by Indian reactionaries and their agencies. The purpose of our Conference is to mobilise all our forces to this end and to take such concrete and practical steps as would help the development of our activities in this direction.

It is therefore requested that:

1 Reports are prepared immediately from each State or linguistic zone about the existing state of literature and literary trends and developments there; the work and force of Party writers, the publications of progressive periodicals and literature; and suggestions regarding the development of our work in that particular state.

2 There is a large body of worker and peasant poets, and singers in our country. Suggestions should be made as to how we can help and organise them, keeping in view our above stated aims.

3 Suggestions should be made regarding the development of work in existing literary and cultural organisations.

4 Suggestions should be made regarding the method and form of central co-ordination of our literary activities on an all-India plane.

5 Suggestions regarding facilities for publication of Communist and progressive literature.

6 Report on the anti-democratic and anti-Communist ideological activities of Indian and foreign reactionaries in our country and suggestions regarding countering of these.

As soon as these reports are ready they would be circulated among all Party writers so that they come prepared with their suggestions and proposals to the Conference.

APALLING CONDITION OF TRIPURA DETENUS

* FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

AGARTALA: The Judicial Commissioner of Tripura delivered judgement on January 18 dismissing the Habeas Corpus petitions of 12 Communist detenus of Tripura who had sought their release under Section 491 Cr. P. C.

The contention of the petitioners was that their detention had not been reviewed in due time. The petitioners, detained under D. I. Act and Rules, were BIREN DUTTA MP, SAROJ CHANDRA, PROMODE DASGUPTA M.L.A., MOHAN CHAUDHURI, PULIN DEB BARMA, SUSHIL DEY, PRABHAT DEB BARMA, BINOY DEB BARMA, NAGENDRA DEB BARMA, ARJUN DEB BURMA and JOGABRATA SENGUPTA. It is learnt that the petitioners might seek leave of appeal to the Supreme Court. Meanwhile, they have been transferred back to the Hazaribag Central Jail in Bihar.

A deputation consisting of A. DEB BARMA, acting secretary of the state Communist Party, B. SEN GUPTA, Mrs. S. CHAKRABORTY and C. CHANDA met the Chief Minister on January 15 with a petition signed by 41,718 people demanding immediate release of the detenus of Tripura. The Chief Minister would only say that he was "reviewing" the cases. The deputation also demanded immediate release of Janashiksha Co-operative Printing Works.

The number of Tripura detenus still remains 29 which is the biggest figure for any state in India at present. They include the two members of Lok Sabha from Tripura. As a result, Tripura has no member to represent her in the Lok

Sabha. Eight MLAs including the leader and the deputy leader of the Opposition bloc of 12 in a legislative assembly of 32 are under detention. In fact, practically the entire leadership of Tripura Communist Party is kept behind bars only with the purpose of paralysing the Communist Party here. The vindictive attitude of the government towards the Communist Party has strengthened only the reactionary forces in Tripura.

Most of the detenus of Tripura have been seriously ailing for long. Biren Dutta and NRIPEN CHAKRABORTY have not yet recovered their health. KARUNA ROY, seriously ailing, was some time back taken from Hazaribag Central Jail to Patna but there he was kept in a cell without sufficient air or light. Later on he was transferred to a hospital in Patna where in complete disregard of his ailing condition and against all norms of civilised behaviour he was hand-cuffed.

The Nehru Plan with certain modifications on the earlier Scottish pattern offered as a panacea to the solution of the Hills problem of Assam has been widely discussed and has evoked keen interest both in the Hills districts as well as in the plains of Assam.

AN interesting feature of these discussions is that while those who are even now basically opposed to it have shown readiness to give it a trial, others who would like its essence accepted and implemented have come out with criticism and have expressed their opposition to the Plan. The opposition to the Nehru Plan has also been with different angari from various quarters.

When in the first week of October 1963, the delegation of the APHLC (All Parties' Hills Leaders' Conference) was offered this new Nehru Plan and they had talks with the Prime Minister on it, they expressed themselves in favour of giving it a trial although they maintained that they would have to elicit the opinion of their respective people of the Hills districts. Thereafter, in the last week of October itself, the APHLC leadership called for support to this plan in the Hills Peoples' Conference.

But when the APHLC leaders have expressed in favour of the Plan and agreed to give it a trial in spite of their reiteration on the floor of the Assembly that they still stood for a separate Hills state, the Congress in the Hills districts and the APCC have not hesitated to come forth with criticism of the Plan.

The APCC in its last meeting held at Gauhati in the first week of December criticised it as militating against some Constitutional provisions and also as discriminatory. The complaint of the Congress leaders of the Hills is that the Plan has been advanced to appease the APHLC leaders when the APHLC had been losing their hold amongst the Hills people.

The facts do bear out the truth of the statement that the APHLC has lost a lot of its influence and the demand for a separate Hills state is no longer having the powerful appeal it once had for the Hills people.

The APHLC which swept the polls in the Third general elections on the demand for a separate Hills state and got eleven of their leaders elected to the state legislature could secure only five seats in the bye-elections held following the resignation en bloc of the APHLC members of the state assembly on the separate Hills State demand.

Of the six seats lost by them, four went to Congress and Mizo Union and two to the extreme MINE (Mizo National Front of the Mizo Hills) which demands a sovereign Mizo state.

All the same, it will be bad political judgement to ignore the APHLC influence in the Hills dis-

NEHRU PLAN FOR ASSAM Hills People Demand Important Changes

★ By SUREN BHATTA

It still happens to be the biggest organisation of the Hills peoples, while the Congress cannot claim similar organised following amongst them.

Meanwhile, though Chief Minister CHALHA has expressed his agreement with the Nehru Plan on principle, the fact that the plan will create a lot of administrative complications as well as politically adverse reactions has become clear from the criticisms appearing in the press.

The provisions for a regional committee consisting of the MLAs from the Hills and giving wide powers to it, for creating a separate secretariat for the Hills districts, giving equal powers to the regional committee in many spheres like finance, development and official language to be used in the Hills and also in appointments to services in the Hills, are matters that have roused much criticism, almost from all quarters, official and non-official.

These provisions have been characterised by some as efforts to make a state within a state while others have assailed it as being designed to make a fake show of integration at the cost of Assam's plains people.

The complications that might arise from the administrative measures envisaged in the plan are worth pondering. The aim of giving more autonomy to the people of the Hills district has generally been welcomed by all sections of democratic people in the state, although caution in this regard is needed to ensure that the various minority sections of non-Hills-tribe people are not subjected to arbitrary and discriminatory treatment by the District Councils as is being complained at present.

Complaints voiced in the legislature about such treatment being meted out to Jaintia people of Jowai sub-division of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills (Jaintias are also a Hills tribe people, minority in Khasi and Jaintia Hills district) by the APHLC-run K&J Hills District Council administration only gives further strength and weight to the plea of ensuring checks and balances against misuse of powers.

The District Councils of the Hills districts have been criticised for misuse of their powers to the

detriment of the interests of minorities in the matter of levying taxes, in allotment of land and eviction etc.

From all this it is clear that while the new Nehru Plan has not been able to displace the APHLC from its position of separate Hills state, it has neither been able to satisfy the majority of the people of Assam as is evident from the criticism from all quarters includ-

ing the state unit of the Congress. Hence it is hardly possible that this plan will be acceptable and workable without some important changes in it to remove the chances of possible administrative complications, misgivings or apprehensions of the plains people of their just and legitimate interests being jeopardised and to ensure necessary safeguards to the minority sections of the Hills districts.

Bhilai Workers To Go On Pay Strike

★ From OUR CORRESPONDENT

BHILAI: The workers of the Bhilai steel plant have decided to observe pay strike on February 1; it was announced at a public meeting here by SUDHIR MUKHERJEE, working president of the Bhilai Steel Mazdoor Sabha (AITUC).

THE pay strike is in protest against the management's refusal to give production bonus to non-operation categories of workers and the decision of the Hindustan Steel Ltd. to exclude ministerial, drawing, stores, construction and township staff from the purview of the wage board.

The staff working in operation garage, construction, equipment zone, railway division and pre-factory store have already refused to accept their pay. The pay day of these workers fall on odd days.

Speaking at the meeting Mukherjee warned the management that if nothing is done to redress the grievances of the workers even after the pay strike, other measures including stoppage of work will be adopted.

Mukherjee deprecated the anti-labour practices of the recognised INTUC union at Bhilai and called for a common platform in the interest of the workers' welfare and solidarity. He asked the INTUC to refrain from adopting unilateral measures which obstructed expeditious implementation of agreements with the management.

A special appeal was also made to the management to ensure permanency of jobs to the thousands of workers on work-charged staff. There was no justification in throwing out of jobs workers who have completed five or six years of service, he said.

The meeting was also addressed by SAMBAL CHAKRAVARTY, general secretary of the BSMS who was recently released from jail. M. L. CHATTERJEE, HAMID KHAN, MRIDUL SENGUPTA, M. N. K. PILLAI, BUTCHALAH and A. L. KHAN.

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Democratic Rights Curtailed In Punjab

READER GOBIND LAL from Patiala has sent a copy of a circular issued by the director of public instruction in Punjab. The circular is self-explanatory as to how normal democratic rights of people in general and teachers in particular are sought to be curbed through threats of punishment and hence is reproduced without comment.

Extract copy of Memo No.

Readers' Letters

12/115-63-Z1 dated 2/9/63 from the S.P.I. Chandigarh to the D.E.O.'s in the State.

Sub: Complaints.

2. You may as well prepare secret lists of such officials who indulge in making anonymous and pseudo-anonymous complaints so that such officials are transferred to far off places under phased programme, during annual transfers. These lists may be sent to the Deputy Director Schools (Administration). You may as well draw secret list of non-officials who indulge in the pastime and keep headquarters informed. You may in individual cases bring the matter to the notice of the

Deputy Commissioner for what ever action that may be possible. Office of the D.E.O. Patiala.

Endst. No. E.III(141)/63/1578/383

Dated, Patiala the 21st Nov. 63. An extract copy is forwarded to all the B.E.O.'s in the Patiala Distt. Headmasters/Headmistresses of the Govt. High/Hr. Sec. Schools, Middle schools in the Patiala Distt. for sending the lists of this type persons per return of post. In case no information is reached Nil report will be considered and responsibility of non submission will be thereby yours.

Sd/- D. R. Sharma, Dy. D.E.O. Patiala.

Nationalise: Banks, Export-Import, Oil, Sugar

Indian Republic Day Celebrated In USSR

FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN PEOPLES STRESSED

★ From MASOOD ALI KHAN

MOSCOW: India's Republic Day was celebrated in the Soviet Union on a big scale. Functions were organised in Moscow and a number of major cities. Factories, schools, institutes, museums, universities and friendship societies took an active part in demonstrating the deep Soviet feeling of amity and goodwill for India.

IN Moscow it was not easy to attend all functions held to mark our national holiday as only last week, fifteen such meetings, lectures, exhibitions and get-togethers were organised.

We rushed from place to place and, like all Indians, were overwhelmed by the attention and affection shown for India and Indians. Even strangers congratulated our countrymen on the streets as nearly all newspapers came out with articles on India and everyone was aware of the significance of January 26.

An article in IZVESTIA stated: "The past years were not only years of the birth of India's new economy, her international authority has grown immensely in these years. India is a great power. She promotes a policy of nonalignment with military blocs, a policy of peaceful coexistence and comes out for the final abolition of colonialism."

The author, CONSTANTIN PEREVOSHCHIKOV, further said that the Soviet Union "highly appreciates India's peaceful foreign policy. Identical views on the most important international problems has helped to consolidate mutual understanding and co-operation between the two countries. This character of our relations is becoming increasingly pronounced."

An important part in this has been played between KHRUSHCHEV and NEHRU, said the article.

MESSAGES PUBLISHED

The Indian economy cannot be said to have changed completely in the course of 14 years. Many difficulties remain to be overcome. But this is not the characteristic feature of the Republic. "In the past few years Indians have done more for developing many branches of their economy than the colonial authorities had done in one hundred years," said the IZVESTIA article.

All the papers here published the messages of President BREZHNEV and Premier Khrushchov to President RADHAKRISHNAN and Prime Minister Nehru.

TASS carried detailed reports of Indian Republic Day celebrations in Leningrad, Baku, Ashkhabad and many other places.

Indian Ambassador T. N. KAUL spoke at meetings at the Moscow University and the Lumumba Friendship University. He also addressed an audience of millions on the central television network at a peak hour.

At a gala Indian reception held at the Sovetskaya Hotel and attended by many celebrities and prominent guests Kaul declared

tion of independence and rise of India's international influence.

He spoke of the outstanding role of Prime Minister Nehru. "We sincerely wish Nehru earliest recovery and new strength in his work for the good of the Indian state."

India since independence had been busy in peaceful labour he said. There were great opportunities for developing all-round co-operation between India and the USSR based on the vital interest of both sides in preserving and strengthening peace.

Polyansky expressed satisfaction at the fact that India had been one of the first to join the Moscow test ban treaty.

He described the active development of relations in all fields between the two countries "as a graphic example of the noble principles of peaceful coexistence in action."

Polyansky proposed a toast to the achievements and well being of the Indian people and drank to the health of President Radhakrishnan and Prime Minister Nehru and toasted to the "invaluable friendship between the Soviet Union and India."

At a big meeting at the Friendship University the Indian writer KHWAJA AHMAD ABBAS recalled that Indo-Soviet friendship had stood the test of difficult times. It started when it was difficult to be friends. In 1919 when Indian revolutionaries would not find refuge anywhere else they came to the Soviet Union.

And in spite of the fact that once membership of the Friends of Soviet Union Society was tantamount to going to jail or being

charged with sedition against British rule our people worked for this friendship.

Abbas also held a special showing of his new film SHAHRAUR SAPNA which was attended by film celebrities, the Indian Ambassador, journalists and critics. The powerful, humane and moving film about the difficult life of the Bombay homeless and their struggle for a better life was much appreciated by the audience.

Celebrations In Berlin

FROM P. KUNHANANDAN

INDIANS living in Berlin and other GDR cities celebrated the Republic Day with a sense of relief that Prime Minister Nehru is recovering rapidly from his recent illness.

The Consul General of India in West Berlin and Mrs. KAMTEKAR held a reception on the occasion. Large number of Indians and foreign guests participated in the reception.

Indian residents in GDR assembled in public gatherings in Berlin and Leipzig to celebrate the Republic Day. Guests were feted to Indian songs and a variety of cultural programmes.

The German-South East Asia Society, GDR youth organisations and associations of foreign students greeted the Indian Republic in these two public functions organised by Indians.

for all the assistance and cooperation India has received since her independence.

Earlier in an interview published here Ambassador Kaul declared that India had doubled her industrial output since independence, increased agricultural production by more than 50 per cent and per capita income by 40 per cent. The Indian people had achieved much during these years but much remained to be done.

"To achieve our aims we need peace in India and throughout the world," he said.

On the Soviet side the reception was attended by DIMITRI POLYANSKI, member of the presidium of CPSU central committee and vice-chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

GOOD WISHES FOR NEHRU

Polyansky congratulated the government and people of India on behalf of the Soviet government and people and expressed satisfaction that the years since the proclamation of the Republic it had been a time of consolida-

Italian Monopoly Responsible For Vajont Tragedy

★ From DINO PELLICIA

ROME: Today all Italians know that the tragedy of Vajont with its 2,500 victims, the destruction of Longarone and of other areas in the valley could have been avoided.

THIS dramatic news announced more than three months after the tragic event, has provoked a new state of alarm among the public because it officially confirms that the life and security of the Italian people depend on the thirst for profit of the great monopolies and that the public bodies, the authorities entrusted with the protective and guaranteeing of life and security of people are too often subordinated to the powers of big business.

This damning indictment forms the main substance of a long report submitted by the government enquiry commission on the catastrophe of Vajont after its investigations.

ENQUIRY REPORT

The report shows that various steps taken by the SOCIETE SADE, the electricity monopoly to which the dam in question belongs, were all irregular and illegal. But what is more serious, these steps had never been checked by the authorities who gave a free hand to the SADE and favoured them quite openly.

The initial permit which granted to this monopoly group the

right to exploit the waters of the Vajont was itself illegal: that was in October 1943 when Italy did not even have a really functioning government and was subjected to Nazi occupation.

The High Council of the Public Works had favoured the demands made by the SADE and the permission was granted. Since then all the public acts by the relevant local bodies regarding the building and the development of a series of Vajont consisted of a series of extraordinary decisions taken in favour of the projects of this monopoly and never taking account of the dangers to which they exposed the local population and without any adequate geological survey of the rock structure and the possibility of the break up of the terrain.

"Some geological survey," said the commission report, were carried out by the SADE but no report was submitted to the local body which was to approve of the project. This irregular and irresponsible practice continued till the very moment when the danger of the coming down of millions of cubic meters of earth and rock from the mountain side into the artificial lake was becoming imminent.

At that time L'UNITA, the

organ of the Communist Party of Italy had given serious warnings of the danger ahead and demanded prompt action. As a result of this pressure the SADE secretly submitted to the Hydrological Department of University of Padua a model of the dam at Vajont to gauge the extent of the impending danger in case of an eventual landslide and the falling into the basin of a large part of the mountains.

But these calculations were made on the basis of a landslide of 50 million cubic meters of earth and rock and the water level was consequently fixed at 600-650 meters. But the SADE knew all the time that the landslide could be very much larger, according to the information now released by the commission.

M. MUELLER, an Austrian geologist appointed by SADE made the observation that the danger of the collapse should be estimated at 200 million cubic meters.

CONCESSIONS GIVEN

In spite of this the monopoly group demanded and obtained from the Department of Civil Engineering of Belluno permission to raise the water level of the basin to 700 meters: This way the margin of safety for the inhabitants of the area was lowered without even their knowledge. What is most serious is that in 1963 the level of the basin was further raised to 715 meters.

What in fact was essential at that time was to reduce the level of water in view of all the above and the fact that precisely during this period the most dangerous sliding of the soil had begun to take place.

From this period till after the report of the enquiry commission the inhabitants of Longarone and Erto have been taking popular action to put pressure on the authorities of Udine and Belluno in order to force them to take the necessary measures against the impending catastrophe. These measures were never taken.

"The Prefect of Belluno," says the commission report "ought to have known the antecedents: the other trial of some relevance to the case (the one against L'UNITA) which began in 1960, the previous landslide in 1960, the protests and other popular actions: by the inhabitants and the public organisations (communes and interested provinces) etc."

This brief resume of this long story is enough to fix the criminal responsibility of the public authorities and of the monopolies. Moreover it has already been announced that severe measures will be taken against the prefects of the two provinces but the survivors of Vajont have declared that this will not be enough.

Even an enquiry into the responsibilities on the part of the judiciary will not be enough: what must be done is the Communist Party of Italy has declared while demanding the formation of a parliamentary enquiry commission is to draw from this tragic episode of Vajont the necessary conclusions on the political and social plane.

A wind of change is blowing over Latin America. The Panama incident has shown that Latin Americans are now not in a mood to accept US domination over their economic and political life any more.

A WAVE of protest has swept over the continent demanding that Panama Canal treaty be annulled. A new unity of Latin nations is being clearly forged, against their common enemy—the US imperialism.

The Argentinian General Confederation of Labour—a three million strong organisation—in a resolution has described the attack on Panama as a "brutal aggression" and the Panamanian people as "victims of Yankee imperialism."

The Brazilian nationalist papers CORREIO DA MANHA and EL TEMPO have, in strong words condemned the US action. DA MANHA editorial says:

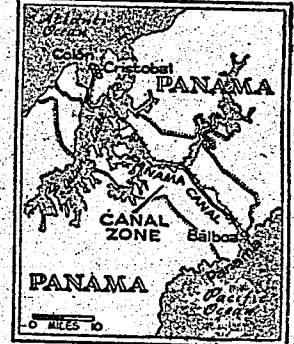
"The United States is seizing Latin America with their dollar diplomacy and when it fails with force of arms, Panama is the proof of this. The sooner we realise this fact the better for our future."

In Chile, 200 organisations, student bodies, trade unions, political and cultural organisations in a joint appeal to their govern-

ment, a turning point and new political and economic patterns are becoming discernible, which are going to have important bearing on the future of Latin America.

These new patterns began to take shape with the success of the Cuban Revolution in 1959.

HALCRO FERGUSON taking



Women Demonstrate at Santiago-De Chile against American action in Panama.

ment have demanded opposition to US plans in the OAS and the United Nations. "We stand by the people of Panama, let this be known to the whole world and to our government," so ends the appeal.

In Cuba, to show solidarity with Panama, the Panamanian flag was hoisted on the monument to the victims of the US battleship "Maine" around which the students chanted "Yankees quit Panama."

In Mexico, says the PRENSA LATINA report dated January 11, "Mexican university students condemned US attack on Panama. After congratulating the government and people of Panama for their patriotic stand, the Federation of Student Societies called upon all Latin American nations to stand by Panama."

On January 14, the senate of Peru approved a resolution of solidarity with the Panamanian people and government.

Similarly, the people in other countries of Latin America, notably Bolivia, Paraguay, Costa Rica, Colombia, Uruguay and Ecuador have demonstrated their sympathy and solidarity with Panama.

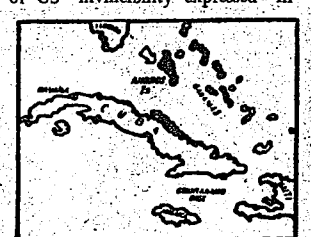
Mexican newspaper EL UNITA described these demonstrations as "unprecedented in the recent history of Latin America."

This wave of Latin American nationalism and unity has so frightened the US administration that there is already a talk of "a new approach" to Latin America in Washington. The relations between USA and Latin America are now reaching

note of this wrote the following in his book "The Resolutions of Latin America."

"The Cuban Revolution has achieved a continental projection. It inspires people in other countries as it stands for curbing the local vested interests, anti-yankeism, social equality and political honesty which few Latin American countries ever had" (p. 145).

Cuba also exploded the myth of US invincibility expressed in



the so called theory of "geographical fatality" writes JOHN DENOVAN.

"FIDEL CASTRO has made the yankee eagle scream as he has disdainfully pulled out its tail feathers in view of the whole Latin America and the world."

"If little Cuba could do it, why cannot we," is the reasoning of people all over the continent.

Not only that, by bringing about sweeping reforms such as nationalisation of US capital, breaking up of the century old latifundia and declaring Cuba a socialist state, in defiance of the United States ruling circles, Cuba has positively demonstrated that

LATIN AMERICA IS ASTIR TODAY

Growing Resistance to U. S. Domination

By Lajpat Rai

given the will and unity of the people, all Latin American nations can change their social structures and eliminate foreign dominations.

It is this continental projection which frightens the US imperialism the most.

Brazil the largest country of Latin America made the first move. In 1960, a big demonstration in Rio-de-Janeiro organised in defence of Cuba demanded the nationalisation of foreign assets in Brazil. Since that time, this movement has been expanding and gaining ground in the country.

In May 1963 at a big rally in the Central Plaza in Rio, Senator BRIZOLA asked for a legislation

assets particularly in the nitrate mines. The US vested interests are quite strong in Chile, but it is not long before the US capital will have to get out from this Pacific country.

Not only in the case of relations with US imperialism but also in relation to the local reactionary circles headed by the landed aristocracy, a new pattern is emerging throughout Latin America.

The demand for land reform, and the breaking up of the land monopoly in the hands of the latifundis, is becoming irresistible. According to UN Commission for Latin America in 1959, sixty per cent of land held in Latin America was encompassed in estates that constituted 1.5 per cent of the total estates. Nowhere else in the world land has been monopolised in the manner as here in Latin America. In fact there is a close tie up between the foreign capitalists and the local latifundis.

In September 1963, Brazil rebelled with the news of an armed clash between the 2000 "squatters" of a US-owned sugar estate and the police. The squatters "captured" 20 newsmen as hostages and demanded that company lands be distributed among them. This action led to a chain of strikes in the big coffee and sugar estates in northern and southern Brazil till President Goulart had to declare that a "land bill" will be introduced soon in Parliament.

Already land reform laws have been passed in Mexico, Bolivia, Guatemala and Venezuela, all under great pressure from the landless workers and progressive parties. They are limited in nature and extent and promise fat compensation to the land owners.

Some of the other countries which are preparing for similar reforms are Peru, El Salvador, Nicaragua and Uruguay. They however, are faced with the difficult question of "compensation", which the constitutions of practically all countries guarantee the landowners. However the demand for land distribution is gaining ground and becoming more and more irresistible with the passage of time.

It is not long before the people of Latin America will say good-bye to latifundia which has held up the progress of their economy and produced only abysmal poverty in lands of plenty.

Another trend which is becoming marked in the recent years in Latin America is the failure of dollar diplomacy. This is indicated in the fiasco of the so-called Alliance For Progress which was initiated in 1961 by the United States President. This plan which promised 20 billion dollars to Latin American countries for economic development was actually aimed at "containing the Cuban influence" and to isolate Cuba from other Latin American nations.

Within three years of its announcement, it is admitted that the Plan has misfired because of the new situation and conditions prevailing in Latin America.

According to NEW YORK TIMES editorial (June 10, 1963), "All signs point to the honeymoon being over for Alliance For Progress. Many members of the ruling classes in Latin America,

who never wanted the marriage would just as soon see it break up now."

This is because in a new mood, the people of Latin America are not prepared to accept the US conditions for aid.

Costa Rican Deputy NECTOR LOREZ declared in Parliament of his country:

"The terms of Alliance for Progress are humiliating and encourage plunder by North American bankers. No self-respecting people could accept this Alliance."

In Cuba itself new trends have appeared recently. It is now widely accepted that Cuba can best help the Latin American revolutionary movements by building a prosperous economy on the basis of socialism. Cuba has actually become the test for socialism in the western hemisphere.

It is now believed that the Cuban way of "armed struggle" is not the inevitable way for all Latin American countries. In larger countries with a sizeable middle class and functioning democratic institutions, much can be achieved through the parliamentary method. The recent nationalisation of oil companies is a pointer to this.

There is however, one disturbing factor in the present situation in Latin America. With the failure of the dollar diplomacy and increase in the influence of the Cuban revolution the diehard United States reactionary circles have become desperate. They want a direct military intervention in owners.



Cuba and are pleading for the old policy of "Big Stick" initiated by THEODORE ROOSEVELT, by which the United States had openly carried out its imperialist policies in the Caribbean.

CHICAGO TRIBUNE's leaderette says:

"Time is fast approaching when we shall have to revive the good old policy of the good old Teddy Roosevelt in relation to the Latin American nations."

But the nostalgia of Teddy Roosevelt's times cannot now help these aggressive sections of US political life. The inexorable march of the Latin American people cannot be halted by threats and intrigue. With the shining example of Cuba to inspire them and the progressive peoples all over the world to support them, the people of Latin America will soon attain their objectives of national independence, peace and finally socialism.

LEIPZIG PREPARES FOR THE FAIR

India to be Biggest Overseas Exhibitor

★ From P. K. KUNHANANDAN

BERLIN: Leipzig, the centre of East-West trade, is getting dressed up again. Hundreds of engineers and technicians from both socialist and capitalist countries are working round the clock to get ready the technical exhibition in time for its opening in the first week of March.

THE Moscow test-ban treaty and lessening of tension in East-West relations have boosted trade between capitalist and socialist markets. The British bus sales to Cuba disregarding American blockade, the Japanese decision to increase trade with China ignoring Formosa's protest and the dismal failure of Nato pipe embargo against the Soviet union are only some of the examples of flourishing East-West trade apart from the example of the US wheat sales to USSR, part of which will be shipped to Cuba.

This year more than sixty countries are participating in the Leipzig fair and buyers from 90 countries have already booked their seats. This is the 79th year of the world's first international fair.

Answering a question from the NEW AGE correspondent at a press conference on January 21, the Director-General of the fair, KURT SCHMEISSER said that India will again be the biggest overseas exhibitor in this year's fair.

Our country will be represented with a large collective exhibition organised by the industrial concerns, and business firms will be participating in the Indian pavilion.

This year India is concentrating on machines, industrial goods and finished consumer products. The Director-General said that GDR's trade with India would increase 30 to 35 per cent this year compared with last year's turnover.

The scope for further increasing our trade and market possibilities in GDR is immense.

A leading spokesman of GDR Foreign Trade Ministry told this correspondent that GDR is exporting complete factories and setting up big industrial units in foreign countries particularly in newly emerging states. "This continues to be foremost task of GDR export agencies in the coming years too", he said.

GDR thinks that it is of supreme importance for young independent states which have broken off colonialism and imperialism to instal modern industrial plants in their countries.

One of the GDR foreign trade agencies "Invest-Export" has exported 440 complete factories

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ing, beverages, glass and mirror manufacturing and welding electros.

Among the countries to which the plants were exported are

besides the socialist countries, Burma, Colombia, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Syria, Spain and the United Arab Republic.

GDR has supplied to UAR equipments for a complete electrification programme. Other UAR purchases from GDR include ten textile factories, a cement factory and many plants for machine building industry.

A sugar factory which GDR erected in Indonesia processes daily 1,200 tons of sugar cane. This factory is described as one of the most modern in South East Asia.

It is for Minister of Foreign Trade MANUBHAI SHAH to answer this question.

A question frequently asked here is: "Will India hoist the country's national flag in the Indian pavilion in Leipzig this year or fold it and put in the director's pocket as was done in previous years because of our fear of the West Germans?"

It is for Minister of Foreign Trade MANUBHAI SHAH to answer this question.



Berliners March for an East-West Detente.

NO KISS, ONLY KICKS

It seems that Uncle Sam is currently having a lean time. Many of his excellent plans are falling through. Even his close associates are betraying him and little credence is attributed to his 'sound' plans. His 'profound' analysis is being dubbed as 'childish' Tough time no doubt!

Take, for example, the most unkind comment of London TIMES about the Uncle's ace agency report discovering the decline of Soviet economy. Instead of appreciating the wonderful work done by the CIA in the interest of Free World, the London TIMES has curiously stated: "It would probably be more beneficial for this agency's reputations to keep its reckonings to itself." Very unfair remark indeed.

Britain is making herself more and more a nuisance for the Uncle. She has annoyed the Uncle not merely by denouncing his 'magnum opus' but also by openly acting contrary to instructions!

Uncle Sam had ordered for a complete trade blockade against Cuba seeking to strangle her resurgent economy. But look what Britain has done? In direct defiance of Uncle's wishes she has entered into a trade agreement with Cuba for the supply of motor buses worth \$10 million (about Rs. five crores)! Not only that. She has permitted Cuba to pay the amount spread over a period of five years. In addition to that a forward trade understanding has been arrived at for a further sale of buses to the tune of \$20 million any time between 1965 and 1968.

A far more unpardonable offence than the sale of motor buses committed by Britain was the import from Cuba goods, particularly sugar, worth about \$1.35 crores (about Rs. 17.5 crores).

London TIMES has comment

ed with unconcealed glee that the news of this new agreement between Britain and Cuba has been greeted with some dismay in Washington, where it was emphasised that it would not help the United States government in its policy of economically isolating Cuba from the free world.

And a British Board of Trade official has tersely added to that: "Manufacturers are at liberty to sell as and when they find the opportunity." Obviously, in the face of such intransigence, the Uncle was left with no other choice but to pipe down his grievance for the time being.

Uncle Sam has been jilted not by Britain alone. His 'good' neighbour Canada is also showing signs of desperation trying to move away from the Uncle's dormitory.

A "Buy Back Canada From the Americans" slogan is today stirring the financial market and the capitalists of Canada are trying to curb the stranglehold of American capital on Canadian economy. There have been demands already to impose 'restrictions' on the domination of U.S. monopolies and for removal of U.S. control over the country's industry. All this has made the Uncle worried.

For a long time now, it was a wonderful haven for the Uncle in Canada. It has been a wonderful market for U.S. goods and a backyard dump for throwing the garbage. Despite being a well-developed industrial-agrarian country, its economy was stagnant, thanks to the Uncle's patronisation. Even the American READERS DIGEST had the following to say about Canadian economy: "Canada's chief trouble is that its economy is that of the branches of foreign firms."

U.S. monopolies have grabbed the basic branches of Canadian industry and invested some 20,000 million dollars. They control nearly the whole of the Canadian

under Uncle Sam's umbrella

motor car industry, 69 per cent of the oil and gas industry, more than half of the mining industry, and 44 per cent of the manufacturing industry.

Besides, Canada is a close source of raw material for U.S. industries. The American magazine COMMERCIAL AND FINANCIAL CHRONICLE boasted not for nothing that "we don't have to look far, as in Canada we have the cheapest producer of most of the raw materials that our modern industry needs."

This has naturally led to economic contradictions between the USA and Canada, much to the dislike of Uncle Sam. THE UNITED STATES NEWS AND WORLD REPORT has therefore complained that the new Canadian government "is trying

to resist increasing Canadian economic dependence on American investors."

Canada is compelled to buy more than what she sells to the USA and the new government is trying to reduce the balance-of-trade deficit. Finance Minister WALTER GORDON said recently in the Canadian Parliament that "unless we do these things, one fine morning—and this might happen earlier than some people think—Canadians will wake up to find that they have lost control not only of their economic lot, but also of their political lot."

This plain-speaking has made the Uncle all the more furious and his games are becoming more and more exposed.

—CHARVAK



Forty years ago, on January 21, 1924, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin died in Gorki, a country place outside Moscow. With the lasting grief that sad event brought to many millions of people, there came a keen awareness of the immortality of his work, a heightened recognition of the genius of Lenin, the revolutionary and scholar who did more for mankind's happiness than any other man who ever lived. Here we publish the reminiscences of a Soviet scientist, Professor Vasily Emelyanov, about the January days of 1924.

ON JANUARY 22, 1924 I was busy in the laboratory of electrometallurgy at the Moscow Mining Academy from a very early hour in the morning. We were experimenting in the production of aluminium from Russian-mined bauxites. Never had we obtained even a drop of aluminium; in the alloy of cryolite and aluminium oxide there were a few glints suggesting metal but nothing more. But this time, amidst the fragile mass extracted from the furnace we saw a shapeless lump of grey metal.

Our first success! At last we were on the right path. We were so excited our hands trembled as we passed each other the first lump of aluminium produced from Soviet raw materials. Our joy was unbounded.

It was at that moment that one of our students entered the laboratory and said softly: "Lenin is dead, I've just heard it."

The words stuck in his throat. We were all dumbfounded. Our joy evaporated. The news was so overwhelming that all else faded into insignificance beside it. The silence that fell over us was broken only by the sound of the precious lump of aluminium striking the brick floor. Nobody troubled to pick it up.

I had never met Lenin personally. When I arrived in Moscow he was already ill. But I had read his articles and speeches, spoken to people who had met and known him.

Memories came crowding in upon me. Before the revolution, my family had lived in Baku. My father worked at

★ LENIN ★ REMINISCENCES

By Prof. VASILY EMELYANOV

port. He is about your age. Your passport is unmarred, lend it to him."

I did, and thought of how many reports were probably going to Lenin from all parts of the world, delivered by all kinds of people, with and without passports.

When a group of young people of whom I was one were leaving Baku in 1921, to enter various higher educational institutions, we were asked to assist a foreigner who had come to Baku from Turkey. He was a Turkish Communist on his way to Lenin. He knew no more than a few words of Russian and it was hard for him to travel to Moscow alone. Our railways were in a chaotic state then and we still had no air-planes. When we met the Turkish comrade and asked him how he had managed to reach Baku he said with a smile:

The Name Helped

"The name 'Lenin' was my passport. I'm on my way to Lenin and that has been enough—everybody helped me."

We too helped him as well as we could, sharing our meagre rations with him, for he was on his way to Lenin.

And now Lenin was gone. What would be?

On January 23 Lenin's coffin was to be carried from the Pavletsk railway station to the House of Trade Unions. I went to the station. It was cold and snowing. People plunged in grief lined the streets all along the route. Bowed shoulders and heads—we all seemed to have shrunk in the past two days.

It was amazingly quiet. Even the children were hushed. Lenin's heart had stopped beating and all movement had ceased. The silence was heavy. It was the silence of deep grief and despair. Behind the people marching behind the coffin and lining the streets were openly weeping. All along the route there were weeping people.

Never had I seen such universal grief, never had I read or heard of anything remotely like it.

That day the Hall of Columns in the House of Trade Unions, where the coffin was placed, was thrown open to the public to take leave of Lenin. All the streets and squares round about were thronged with slow-moving columns of mourners. The human stream seemed to have no end.

The weather got colder and colder. The thermometer fell to 30°C below zero. As Vera Inber later wrote in her poem, the sun grew colder with his death.

Bonfires were lit on the streets. People left the queues to warm themselves at them for a few moments. Caps and collars were white with their frozen breath. Cry-

stals of ice formed on their eyebrows. Tears left frozen paths, like wounds, on numb cheeks.

I was very cold and I too stepped out of line several times to warm myself at the fires. At about midnight I filed past Lenin's coffin for the first time, my eyes boring into the features familiar from photographs, always so mobile but now inanimate.

At once I queued up anew and at four o'clock in the morning again looked upon Lenin's still face.

On January 27, the day of the funeral, all the factories and power houses, locomotives and motorcars blew their sirens, producing a wail that seared our hearts. The entire country wept.

That was a wail of inexpressible grief, a grief too deep for words or the human voice. All movement stopped. Even people stopped still in their tracks.

Lenin died, but at once there arose a mass movement to help the Party fill up its ranks, to recommend to it the country's finest sons and daughters. The Lenin enrolment began and the Party's ranks swelled rapidly.

And when trouble came it was again Lenin's name that was recalled. Especially so by those who, during the years of the Stalin personality cult, could not understand or accept what was happening.

From 1937 through 1939 I was with the People's Commissariat of the Defence Industry. That was the period when Party organisations had often to deal with 'personal cases.' People were being arrested. There were arrests in our commissariat as well. If any of our commissariat were arrested Party members notified the organisation of the fact and then their 'personal cases' were taken up at meetings.

On one occasion the case of Professor DUKELSKY came up. Briefly, restraining his grief, Dukelsky reported to the meeting that his son had been arrested. The younger man had been working in another town and the father had not seen him for a long time. As he was speaking, someone called out: "Better tell us what you wrote to Lenin."

Query To Lenin

Dukelsky turned towards the voice and said quietly: "What I wrote to Lenin is published in Volume 24 of his Collected Works. You will find Lenin's reply to me there too."

And then, lowering his voice still more, he added: "I joined the Party."

We all listened with bated breath. Think of it, we had in our organisation a man who had written to Lenin and received an answer from him, and we hadn't known!

When I got home late that night I looked up the 24th volume of Lenin's Works. Yes, the letter was there. It was titled "Open Letter of a Specialist to Comrade Lenin." And the reply was titled "Reply to the Open Letter of a Specialist."

Prof. Dukelsky wrote: "I have read your report on specialists in Izvestia and cannot restrain a cry of indignation. Don't you understand that no honest specialist who has preserved at least one iota of self-respect can agree to work just for the sake of the animal well-being you mean to assure him? Are you so completely isolated in the Kremlin that you

do not see the life around you, have not observed how many genuine hard workers, though true, not government Communists, there are among our Russian specialists who obtained their specialised knowledge at the cost of an extreme effort of will, not at the hands of the capitalists and not to serve the aims of capital but by persistent struggle against the deadly conditions of student and academic life under the former regime?" From there Dukelsky went on to explain why he felt so bitterly offended.

Lenin's reply begins with these words:

"The letter is a sharp one and, I think, a sincere one. One wants to answer it. I feel that the author is moved above all by personal irritation which prevents him from judging of events from the point of view of the masses and the point of their true sequence."

Changed Epochs

"To the author it appears that we Communists have repulsed the specialists by 'sticking' all kinds of bad labels on them. That is not how it was."

And Lenin further patiently explains to the professor that a world-wide change-over of two world-historic epochs has begun: "the epoch of the bourgeoisie and the epoch of socialism, the epoch of capitalist parliamentarism and the epoch of the Soviet state institutions of the proletariat."

While I listened to Dukelsky and, later, when I read his letter and Lenin's reply, the thought came to me: What would have happened to Dukelsky if he had written such a letter now, under Stalin. Would anybody have taken the trouble to explain things to him, to bother with him? Of course, not! I tried to brush the thought aside, but it kept coming back. And deep inside me something moaned: what a pity Lenin is no longer with us; under him all would be different.

Forty years have passed since Lenin's death. Our country is steadily growing ever stronger. Science and technology have developed to such a degree that all things are possible to us now, there is no problem we cannot tackle. On land, at sea, in the air and in space Soviet people bear witness to the triumph of Lenin's teachings.

"Communism accomplishes the historic mission of delivering all men from social inequality, from every form of oppression and exploitation, from the horrors of war, and proclaims Peace, Labour, Freedom, Equality, Fraternity and Happiness for all peoples of the earth." Reading these words from the Party Programme, one again recalls Lenin, the great humanist of our epoch and again one thinks:

"What a pity Lenin is no longer with us. How happy he would be!"

Castro's Visit To USSR Concluded Fraternal Bonds Strengthened

★ From MASOOD ALI KHAN

MOSCOW: Soviet papers continue to devote considerable space to FIDEL CASTRO's recent ten-day visit to the Soviet Union and its far-reaching results of great significance.

THE communique published after the discussions, Fidel's long television broadcast from Moscow, PRAVDA editorial and the Cuban leader's report to his people after his return home—all make it quite clear that the visit had great importance not only for international relations and the prospects of peace and an assured future of prosperity for Cuba, but that it revealed unanimity and unity on important questions of ideology.

It has further cemented the bonds of fraternal solidarity between Cuba and the Soviet Union and strengthened the unity of the socialist camp on correct Marxist Leninist positions.

PraVda on January 27 published the full text of Castro's television broadcast in Havana in which he declares: "About my visit to the Soviet Union I would like to say that never earlier at any other moment the friendship between the Cuban and Soviet people, between the Cuban government and the Soviet government, between the Cuban Party and the Soviet Party was more firm, more lasting and more bright as it is.

KHRUSHCHOV also thanked the Cubans for the support they give to the Soviet government and to the Soviet Party at his speech in the Kremlin.

The communique published on January 23 brings out in greater detail this further strengthening and deepening of relations as a result of the frank and comprehensive exchange of views. (See excerpts from the communique below.)

The long-term trade agreement between Cuba and Soviet Union and the guaranteed purchase of Cuban sugar have been dealt in general detail by Fidel in his broadcast to the Cuban people. He called it good example of the international division of labour, free trade between all countries and the economic integration of countries on the basis of specialisation.

moting the further strengthening of peace. In this connection Fidel Castro has declared that the Revolutionary Government of Cuba supports the latest Soviet proposal on concluding an international treaty (or agreement) on renunciation of the use of force by states in settling territorial disputes and frontier questions, the communique pointed out.

It further stated that noting certain success in the struggle of the peace-loving forces for the relaxation of international tension both parties have pointed out at the same time that the aggressive imperialist circles strive to oppose this process with every means at their disposal, strive to turn the course of the developments back to the aggravation of tension, to provoking new international conflicts, they are building up tension now in one and now in another region of the world.

The Caribbean remains one of these areas. The US bellicose circles stubbornly cling to their aggressive policy with regard to Cuba, try to offer economic pressure to bear on her, to interfere in the home affairs of the Republic of Cuba and knock together a united anti-Cuban front of the forces of reaction on the American continent.

The two parties, the communique stated, again stressed the need for an early solution of the problem of restoring the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

Liberation Movements
The Soviet and Cuban parties expressed their full solidarity and support for the national liberation movements in the colonies, and firm confidence in their victory over the forces of imperialism. The Soviet Union and the Republic of Cuba back up the Asian, African and Latin American countries fighting for the consolidation of their independence and for the final abolition of colonialism and neo-colonialism in all its forms and manifestations.

Both governments condemn the bloodshed committed by the US troops occupying the Canal Zone over the people of Panama and the trampling down of the country's sovereignty. They support the people of Panama in their just demand to establish their sovereignty over the above-mentioned zone, support their right to revision or



the demand to cancel the inequitable agreements imposed by US imperialism on the country, by virtue of which the latter deprived the country of jurisdiction over part of its territory.

The communique added that both sides exchanged opinions on actual questions of the world Communist and working-class movement. Fidel Castro, First Secretary of the National Leadership of the United Party of the Socialist Revolution (PURS), told of the PURS achievements in increasing and strengthening its membership, in enhancing its leading role in the construction of socialist society and the defence of the revolutionary gains of the heroic Cuban people.

Plaudits To Cuba

NIKITA KHRUSHCHOV greeted the PURS achievements on behalf of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. He described the success achieved in the construction of Communist society in the USSR, the successful fulfilment of the Seven-Year Plan, the CPSU experience in improving the Party guidance of the national economy and especially in the organisation of a steep ascent of the chemical industry and agricultural production, as well as the work of the Party to educate the working people in the Communist way.

Fidel Castro and Nikita Khrushchov have pointed out that the unity of outlooks on actual issues of the world revolutionary process and the international Communist movement, based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, the Declaration and Statement of the Moscow meetings, expressed in the joint Soviet-Cuban statement of May 23, 1963, has still more increased, contributing to further development and consolidation of fraternal relations between the CPSU and the PURS.

The communique emphasized that the CPSU Central Committee and the PURS National Leadership once again confirm their loyalty to the decisions of the international Moscow meetings of the Communist and Workers' Parties in 1957 and 1960. The world developments and the internal situation in the socialist and capitalist countries testify to the correctness of the analysis and conclusions of the Declaration and the Statement.

The evaluation of the present epoch as one of transition from capitalism to socialism, the characterisation of today as being between the forces of capitalism and the forces of socialism, recognition of the need to rally all revolutionary

forces together to fight imperialism, the consolidation of the principle of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems as the general line of the foreign policy pursued by the socialist countries, the conclusion made as to the use by the revolutionary movement of both peaceful and non-peaceful means in the effort to abolish the capitalist system, the condemnation of factional and sectarian activity in general Communist and Workers' Parties and in the international Communist movement, full-scale support for the national liberation movement and the working-class struggle in the capitalist countries, and also other points of principle contained in the 1957 Declaration and 1960 Statement—are all valid today and serve as a beacon lighting up the road of struggle for all the detachments of the international revolutionary movement that are waging the great crusade for peace, national independence and socialism.

The CPSU Central Committee and PURS National Leadership emphasize that today unity and cohesion in the ranks of the international Communist movement on the basis of the general line charted in the Declaration and Statement of the Moscow Meetings of the Communist and Workers' Parties is more imperative than ever before, the communique stated.

Support To CPSU Stand

Fidel Castro has approved the steps taken by the CPSU Central Committee to eliminate the obtaining differences and to consolidate unity and cohesion in the ranks of the international Communist movement.

Proceeding from the bedrock principles of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism, fraternal solidarity and the equality of all the Communist and Workers' Parties, the CPSU and PURS will continue consistently to work for the cohesion of all the countries of the socialist community and for stronger unity in the world Communist movement.

The two sides have been gratified to note that the interchange since May 1963 of delegations and groups of CPSU and PURS functionaries and also the extensive reciprocal exchange of information have largely tended to forge stronger fraternal friendship and comradeship between the two Parties and countries. The common desire was voiced to extend every possible link and contact between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the United Party of the Socialist Revolution.

General DE GAULLE is not reputed for his "progressive" views. The French would-be dictator is no anti-imperialist champion. And yet, the government of the reactionary general has recognised the People's Republic of China—in the face, it is said, of the U. S. government's opposition.

LET us say straight away that whatever the reasons and the motives of the French government, the recognition of China is a welcome step and in the long run, bound to be in the interests of peace.

The government and people of this country have always maintained that China must be given its rightful place in the UN and other councils of the world. India was among the first countries to recognise the People's Republic of China. Despite the Chinese aggression, India has rightly continued to vote for China's entry into the UN and has firmly insisted on the maintenance of our own diplomatic relations with China throughout this period, despite the worst provocations.

The US imperialists have continued to oppose China's entry into the UN, and have kept the Seventh Fleet in the seas near China to prop up the rotten and hated gang of Chiang Kai-shek.

China And Disarmament

The results of the refusal to accept the rightful government of China as a member of the UN have been disastrous for peace. Not only does this keep out such a large portion of humanity from the rights of UN membership, but equally, the exclusion of China results in making China free of agreed international obligations and codes of conduct. Disarmament negotiations, in the absence of China, appear to be unreal, for the decisions cannot be made binding on the vast masses of China.

Thus all right-thinking people everywhere will support any step which brings the People's Republic of China more fully into the comity of nations. France's recognition is such a step and, therefore, deserves universal support.

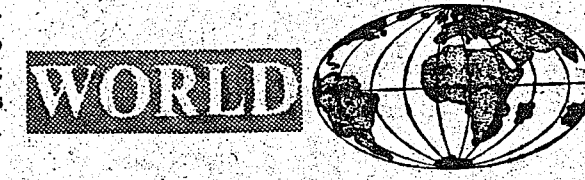
Having said this much, it is also necessary to note the context in which this new friendship appears to have blossomed between the reactionary imperialist general and the Chinese government. There is no doubt whatsoever that one of the major issues which binds together what may appear to be strange bed-fellows is their common opposition to the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty and all that goes with it.

At this very moment, France is preparing to carry out nuclear tests in the Pacific Ocean. All the countries of the region have protested against this dangerous and hostile move—all, with the exception of China.

As far as de Gaulle is concerned, he intends his recognition of China to be used to ensure Chinese support (or at least neutrality) also in regard to French neo-colonial activities in the African countries and elsewhere.

Ominous And Shameful

Whether this hope is fulfilled or not—the fact remains that the Chinese press and radio have maintained an absolute silence in regard to French imperialism and neo-colonialism in the last three months since the Moscow Test Ban Treaty was signed. This is, to say the least, an ominous and shameful development.



★ By OBSERVER

DE GAULLE & CHINA

The news that the US government is "persuading" (instructing) the Kuomintang not to break off its relations with France, makes it clear that the US imperialists seek to strengthen their "two Chinas" stand.

The imperialist powers make little secret of their desire to use the Chinese leadership's anti-Soviet positions for their own ends.

British Troops In East Africa

DEMOCRATS all over the world deeply regret the decision of the governments of Tanganyika, Kenya and Uganda to summon British troops to suppress their own soldiers.

The actions taken by the soldiers, in almost all cases appear only to be directed against insolent British officers and to be centred round demands for better wages and conditions.

There is no doubt that the imperialists will use the positions they have secured through the presence of British troops in large numbers, to weaken the sovereignty and independence of the three East African nations.

It is too early to be clear regarding the actual state of affairs which resulted in the decision to permit British troops to intervene in the three countries. But it is clear enough that pro-imperialist sections in the countries concerned conspired to bring about this regrettable decision with all its dangers for Africa.

One can only hope that the three governments will take the earliest steps to see that the British troops are sent home without further delay.

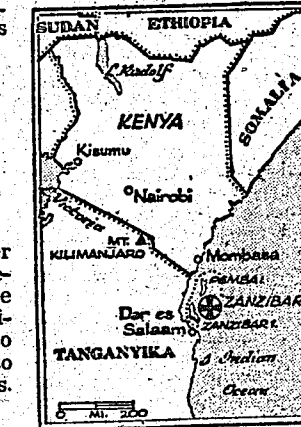
Red Bogey In Zanzibar

SIR ALEC DOUGLASS-HOME has proved to be more of a COLONEL BLIMP than was suspected till now. He has proclaimed for all to hear and tremble that the recent events in East Africa are in all probability the work of "Communists."

The White Sahibs of today see red wherever they go. It is good that the Tanganyika government at least has been quick to say that quite definitely there is nothing to

connect "Communists" with the revolts of armed personnel in East Africa.

Sir Alec knows this perfectly well. But he has to talk of "Communists" to justify the sending of British troops to East Africa and to prepare the way for



draw, the same Soviet Union which defends Cuban independence, today helps to preserve Zanzibar's independence.

Victory In Northern Rhodesia

THE success of the United National Independence Party (UNIP) in the recent elections to the legislative assembly in Northern Rhodesia are a victory for the forces of progress and freedom. KENNETH KAUNDA has become the first Premier of the country, his Party having won a clear majority of the 75 seats in the assembly.

Zambia, as the country has been renamed by the nationalist forces, is on the way to full independence.

By October this year, the UNIP is determined to secure complete independence.

Zambia is famous for its "copper belt", which yields annual profits of 200 million dollars to Anglo-American companies. No wonder it has been a long struggle. And it is not over yet by any means. As elsewhere, the imperialists will strive to delay independence as long as they can. And when they are forced to part with it, they will conspire to retain their economic grip through one means or the other.

The world will watch the people of Zambia's struggle with pride and affection. They can count on India's solidarity at all times.

(January 28)



Dr. Livingstone, I presume!—Courtesy: DAILY WORKER

foreign policy the Soviet Union and the Republic of Cuba proceed from the Leninist principle of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, which is the only reasonable and realistic policy aimed at guarding general peace.

The two parties come out for general and complete disarmament, for practical measures on the relaxation of international tension, for the speediest solution of the problem of the peaceful settlement in Germany and the normalisation of the situation in West Berlin on this basis, for the utmost develop-

ment of an increasingly active implementation of the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence a certain relaxation of international tension has been attained of late.

The Government of the Republic of Cuba regards the success scored by the Soviet Union in the struggle for ending nuclear tests and an agreement on non-launching nuclear-charged objects into space as a step forward towards peace and disarmament.

The Soviet Union and the Republic of Cuba are fully determined to do everything for pro-

END CONGRESS MONOPOLY OF POWER BROAD DEMOCRATIC UNITY FOR CLEAN ADMINISTRATION

Kerala Poll Strategy Outlined

★ From S. SHARMA

TRIVANDRUM: The Kerala State Council of the Communist Party of India which met at Trichur last week has called for replacing the present discredited Congress government in the state in the general elections due to take place early in 1965 by a government which is responsive to the wishes of the people and which can give them relief and ensure a clean administration.

Towards this end the Party will strive to unite with all parties, groups and individuals who are willing to join in this task, the council said.

THE council has authorised its executive to contact other parties and groups and enter into discussions with them for the above purpose.

The resolution of the state council on the subject noted that all the political parties in Kerala have begun their moves keeping in view the elections to take place in 1965. The ruling Congress Party is engaged in manoeuvres to hide all its rotteness and to retain its monopoly of power with the help of all vested interests and communal forces in the state.

As for the common people, the resolution said, there is no doubt that they see in the 1965 poll a way out of this Congress misrule. This government has created so much discontent and bitterness.

The resolution recalled:

When the coalition government which came to power in the 1960 elections destroyed step by step the expectations it had aroused in a section of the people, the Congress used to describe all that as due to the failure of other parties in the coalition. But since the Congress threw aside all those parties and took over the government itself, the administration has only become more and more anti-people.

This government imposed more and more tax burdens on the common people. The Agrarian Relations Act was redesigned to suit the interests of a handful of landlords. Corruption, nepotism, waste and inefficiency have become universal.

Morass Of Negligence

Nobody is interested in the execution of development schemes. Education has become a matter of trading in schools. Police verification has become a means for political vindictiveness and nepotism. This government has not been able to do a thing to relieve unemployment, or to check the rise in prices of essential commodities.

No citizen today feels that there is impartial rule of law in this state. The police department has been degraded into an instrument to carry

out the personal interests of lackeys of Congress ministers and of vested interests. As a result of this, this government has had to face the opposition and criticism of a section in the ruling party.

The resolution further said:

This administration has become so much of a curse for the people and the problem facing the people of Kerala is to change this administration and in its place establish in the next elections a clean administration which will bring relief to the people and will be responsive to their wishes.

The Communist Party believes that it is possible today to build broad popular unity for this.

What is needed here today is a new government which can ensure a clean administration, strive for the industrial development of Kerala, bring relief to unemployment, show interest and efficiency in the execution of development schemes, render the minorities and backward communities the protection they deserve, bring relief to the sufferings of the workers, kisans and other sections of the toiling people and which will make a break with the anti-people practices of the present government.

Unity Is Possible

The Communist Party is confident that for this, on the basis of a detailed programme, it is possible to unite all parties, groups and individuals against the present regime.

As far as the Communist Party is concerned it will strive utmost to bring about such a unity. The council authorises the executive to contact and enter into discussions with other parties and groups for this purpose.

Explaining the resolution, **ACHUTHA MENON**, secretary of the state council told pressmen that the Party will endeavour to unite all parties and groups in Kerala who are prepared to raise their voice against the present regime and who are prepared to agree on a minimum de-

mocratic programme to serve the people.

Menon made it clear that apart from such parties as the Revolutionary Socialist Party, the Praja Socialist Party and the Kerala Toilers Party, all democrats, independents and Congressmen who hold similar views on this question could and would find a place in the democratic front.

The basis on which the Communist Party will strive for such a democratic front has been laid down by the Vijayawada Party Congress. The guiding lines of the Vijayawada resolution are: break the monopoly of power of the Congress, advance the independent strength of the Communist Party and prevent the growth of communal forces and parties of Right reaction. While the Communist Party would be prepared to follow a policy of 'give and take' in

the matter of building the broadest, democratic front possible, it would only be on the basis of the above directions of the Party Congress.

Achutha Menon said that while on the political front the above was the aim and programme of action of the Kerala unit of the Party for the coming months, on the economic front, the Party would support and strengthen the national campaign of the working class decided upon by the special convention of the AITUC at Bombay. The Party units would be in the forefront in helping the trade unions at all levels to make the campaign and the special state convention of the Kerala State TUC to be held in February a mighty success.

Menon also stated that the state council had adopted separate resolution offering support to the working class struggles taking place in Cannanore, Alleppey and other districts. He referred to the resolution adopted by the Kerala Karshaka Sangham and the All India Kisan Sabha on the campaign and agitation to be organised by the

peasantry for the defence of their rights and said that the Party would lend its all-out support to these.

To pressmen who questioned him about the differences inside the Communist Party on ideological political questions, Achutha Menon admitted that there were differences inside the Party at the state and all-India levels on ideological questions and with regard to the appraisal of national political developments. He said the Communist Party at various levels was discussing these differences in great detail and coming to certain conclusions and striving to implement them.

As preparations to the VII Party Congress due to take place in October next, the entire Party membership will participate in these discussions and iron out differences and evolve a policy and programme for the Party. Achutha Menon expressed full confidence that through such discussions of issues dividing the Party and through participation in the struggles in defence of the rights of the common people, the unity and ideological cohesion of the Party would be strengthened.

HERE COMES THE FLEET!

WHISPERING Gallery

LIKE the proverbial monkeys, officers of the External Affairs Ministry would not like to speak any evil nor even hear it. The Johnnies never heard of the US decision to send a "sight-seeing" mission to the Indian Ocean.

Pakistan's DAWN has reported that it's coming in March next. An aircraft carrier with about hundred aircraft on board loaded with nuclear warheads, two to four destroyers and 3,000 picked Yankee air-men and mariners.

Plague on DAWN! But **ESWAR SAGAR**, the Washington correspondent of the sedate HINDU, has reported the same. Sagar said that the visitors would like to call at Vishakapatnam or Madras on its downward journey.

Poor chaps, all the time in the sea, some even down under it! Wouldn't MEHDI, our Madras governor, care to have a cup of tea with them, and show them our Mahabalipuram on the seal. Don't the defenders of the "free world" at least deserve such small courtesies!

Any truth in all these reports? The external chappies never heard of it; no information, please! They pretended ignorance in November last, too, when the whole world knew about the American decision to indulge in gunboat diplomacy in the Indian Ocean.

General TAYLOR mentioned it casually when he was taking leave of NEHRU after half-an-hour talk with him. He imbibed it casually and went and told the Lok Sabha that he would not protest against the

nuclear blackmail because it was not detrimental to India.

When opposition developed in the country and even inside the Congress Party. (BHAGAWAT JHA AZAD spoke against it at Bhubaneswar later), he climbed down a peg or two but in spite of it the Government of India's stand vis-a-vis the Seventh Fleet is one of acquiescence.

The defence leadership is said to be in favour of the American move. It wanted some submarines from the US but got none. They asked for one or two on loan to train our destroyer crew. The Americans said: have the Seventh Fleet!

It asked for supersonic aircraft. The entire political leadership begged for a squadron or two. Some of the leaders even agreed in private to the scrapping of the Mig project to please the Pentagon. Did not the Tata Committee rigged up by ITK ask for its abandonment? If ITK had his way, that notorious report which spelt out in detail how India should be sold to the West would have been accepted by the Government of India.

It is now whispered in the corridors of the Defence Ministry that Pentagon might relent and part with a few supersonic planes next year or so when they replace the F-86 now in the possession of Pakistan.

Possibly this is a bait to shut up New Delhi and prevent her from protesting. And she has started biting it.

What New Delhi seems to be telling Washington is this: You have your cruise, your sight-seeing or familiarisation in the Indian Ocean. But please don't involve us openly. We will keep our eyes like the

monkey's provided you don't come into our territorial waters.

But unfortunately for the leaders, the Yankees are insisting on a tea party at Vishakapatnam or Madras.

HOME Minister NANDA is apparently active on the anti-corruption front. Insider wishes him well.

But at the same time I can't resist asking a few questions. When he summoned the other week the big sharks from Industry and Commerce to seek their support (sic!) in fighting corruption, didn't he notice among the distinguished guests one or two branded by the VIVIAN BOSE Commission for cheating, embezzlement, tax evasion and what not?

Almost a year has passed that the DALMIA-JAINS have been adjudged guilty. The government promised action on the floor of Parliament. But nothing, literally nothing, has been done.

Dalmia, the "master-brain" behind the fraud, convicted for two years in jail, is still enjoying his normal life in air-conditioned comfort in Delhi's Irwin hospital. Send him back, Mr. Home Minister, to the cell where he should be.

If you want to be humane, instruct the jail staff to give facilities to his four wives for weekly interviews with their hubby.

Nanda's preliminary moves on fighting corruption are good. But first of all the government should help the people to cultivate trust in its bona fides on this crucial question.

—INSIDER