

# To Halt Monopoly And Reaction: Build United National Campaign

# NEW WAGE

★ COMMUNIST PARTY WEEKLY ★

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**THE ALL-INDIA CONFERENCE OF TRADE UNIONS, WHICH WAS HELD IN BOMBAY FROM DECEMBER 13 TO 15, 1963 DECIDED TO LAUNCH A NATIONAL CAMPAIGN OF ALL THE TOILERS OF INDIA FOR REDUCTION OF HIGH PRICES AND TAXES, FOR INCREASE IN WAGES, DA AND BONUS, AND FOR NATIONALISATION OF BANKS, OIL, EXPORT-IMPORT TRADE ETC.**

It established a National Campaign Committee to initiate the movement on January 1, the New Year Day, with the hope and resolve that the New Year of 1964 shall spell victories for the working class and the toiling people of India; that the New Year will give them, if not the breath of socialism, at least, substantial relief from the robbery of the monopoly capitalists, landlords and speculators, who rule the economy of our country today, to the detriment of rapid national progress, people's well-being and democracy.

**T**HE working class knows from its historical experience that good resolves and hopes, even the most legitimate demands and rights, cannot depend for their fulfilment on the goodwill of the ruling classes, however sweet their words and however sweeping their socialist promises. For sweet promises to become reality, the working class has to act. Democracy and socialism depend on the struggle of the democratic toiling people.

Hence the trade unions and the working people have begun to mobilise for their demands and for nation-wide action to realise them.

Soon after the Bombay conference, the Standing Labour Committee of the tripartite Indian Labour Conference, consisting of all the national organisations of the employers and the workers and the government met in Delhi on December 27. In that conference, the government and the employers decried the talk of agitation, strike and hartal.

cost of living; they admitted that the cost of living indices contained "mistakes" which had to be rectified and paid for.

And having admitted all these failures, affecting the lives of millions, they asked the workers not to take

direct action, not to strike, but to depend on the goodwill of those who have failed to curb the monopolists, who tremble at the thought of nationalising the banks, who refuse to take concrete action against the wholesale food dealers, speculators and hoarders.

Yes, at the tripartite committee, we heard promises to hurry up the correction of the index and DA, to hurry up the bonus decision. "In principle" everyone seemed to be pleasantly accommodating.

its unions to give notices to demand the link up of DA with cost of living where it does not exist. The HMS and HMP, the PSP and the SP have declared their resolve to "launch struggle" to secure reduction in prices and taxes and to fight for nationalisation.

Despite the "profound" economic thought of their ex-leader Asoka Mehta, who in his new post has blatantly opposed bank nationalisation, the PSP rank and file workers do want action to realise the programme of immediate relief of the masses and positive steps to curb the monopolists and establish democratic control over the millionaire robbers of our economy.

In the presence of such un-

Congress Party has to decide either to reduce the taxes on the poor and seize the fattening purses of the monopolies or to go the same old way of the vested interests and face the challenge of the toiling masses and their democracy and socialism in action. Let the ruling classes choose soon, as the Budget Day is not far off.

**Give notice To Employers**

The Campaign Committee, therefore, wants all trade unions and mass organisations to give formal notices to the employers and the interests concerned of their demands, begin to establish action committees and work for liaison and united front with all those working class organisations, who have similar demands and action in view. We must work for unity of action in order to achieve success and defeat the manoeuvres of monopoly capital and its supporters.

# PREPARE

# FOR ACTION

But all the labour ranks, including the INTUC and the HMS demanded immediate concrete action, concrete fulfilment of past promises before they could trust any further.

In fact, after the conference, the INTUC has asked

animity on principal slogans and need for action, it is regrettable that concrete steps for common consultation and action are not yet on the horizon among the parties and leaders of the democratic and Left forces in the working class of the country.

## Prospects Of A United Action

The National Campaign Committee is, however, hopeful that as things ma-

Exasperated by the growing misery, even now in many areas and factories, workers have been compelled to resort to strikes, in the face of employers' haughtiness and adamant refusal to concede, in many cases, the workers and trade unions are waiting to synchronise their individual factory or trade action in the general strike that is envisaged, if the government and the employers refuse to settle the main demands, which have been voiced unitedly by all orga-

by **S. A. Dange**

ture and the workers begin to move, all the forces of working class will converge towards united action.

At the conference we made it clear to the government and the big gentry of the employers, that we would begin our national campaign on January 1, and that they have thirty days to tell the workers of India what positive steps the government and the employers will take on the questions posed before them by the whole TU movement.

February is the month of budgets, the month when government and the ruling

nisations. Thus all the mighty currents of the toiling masses are on the move to act and win.

**LET ALL FORCES UNITE FOR ACTION, AN ALL-NATIONAL ACTION, WHICH ASKS FOR NOTHING MORE THAN PRACTICAL FULFILMENT OF PROMISES ALREADY MADE TO THE PEOPLE AND OF PRINCIPLES ACCEPTED BY THE NATION; AN ACTION, WHICH IS NOTHING BUT IN DEFENCE OF DEMOCRACY AND WELL BEING OF THE PEOPLE AND CALLS A HALT TO THE ANTI-DEMOCRATIC MARCH OF MONOPOLY AND REACTION.** (Jan. 8, 1964)



Bombay Morcha on December 30, 1963 (See Report on Page 7) Photo: Sharad Pawar

# TAKE NOTICE—ALL CONCERNED

# agreement on crisis but no action by govt.

★ From AJOY DASGUPTA

CALCUTTA: After two days of debate in the state legislature and consultations with leaders of opposition, West Bengal Chief Minister P. C. SEN has announced the state government's food policy. The main features of the policy are fixation of prices of paddy and rice but no state trading and no all-parties vigilance committee.

SEN expressed confidence that even without state trading prices fixed would be maintained throughout the year. But even Congress MLAs expressed apprehension that unless the government acquired sufficient stocks by resorting to state trading in some form or other, prices fixed could not be enforced.

For fixing prices, paddy and rice have been classified into three categories: medium, fine and superfine and aromatic. Paddy price has been fixed at Rs. 14, Rs. 15 and Rs. 16 per maund for the three varieties respectively. The price of rice, though not fixed finally, would be approximately Rs. 26, Rs. 28 and Rs. 30 respectively.

It has also been decided that all millers, traders and persons having stocks of over 100 maunds of rice (50 maunds in the border areas) will have to take out licences.

## Chief Minister's Hopes

The Chief Minister expected that with 53 lakh tons rice produced in the state this year and the outside supply of nearly five lakh tons of rice, including the one lakh tons from the Centre for supply through modified ration shops, the prices will be held in check and there would be even flow of rice in the open market.

But if the trade did not play its part and the normal flow is disturbed in any way, the government will enter the market and buy at a rate which will be one rupee less per maund in each variety. And if the normal flow is not restored even at the advent of the monsoon, the state would procure at prices which would be one rupee further down, that is Rs. two less than the present price.



I AM sure it will tickle your ribs to read the following:

"What is so sacred about the public sector? And anyway is it not a case of mischievous misnomer to describe the really public sector as the 'private' sector?"

So what the Tatas and Birlas own is "really public" and the Government of India is private. Isn't the prattle amusing?

Whose blooming brilliance is this—you are bound to ask. Guess whose?

Well, it is the RSS scribe again. The quotation is from an editorial of the RSS-Jan Sangh Weekly, ORGANISER.

As Dryden says: Shadwell alone of my sons is he

Who stands confirmed in full stupidity

The rest to some faint meaning make pretence But Shadwell never deviates into sense.

## Whose Democracy?

THE air being filled these days with talk

★ Distribution of land to cultivators and intensive cultivation through supply of more fertilisers, better seeds and extension of irrigation facilities.

★ State trading in wholesale foodgrains and a levy on the millers.

★ Fixation of floor price for paddy at Rs. 15 per maund and ceiling price for rice at Rs. 25 per maund.

★ Supply of rice from modified ration and fair-price shops at least a crore of people at a subsidised rate of Rs. 22 per maund; to facilitate this getting at least two lakh tons of rice from the Centre and another four lakh tons from Orissa on a government-to-government basis.

## Vigilance Committee

The main speaker from the Congress side, ASHOK KRISHNA DUTT, who is the secretary of the Legislature Congress Party, agreed with Jyoti Basu on fixation of price and more supply from the Centre. He felt state trading had many difficulties but still it might be necessary.

Dutt suggested formation of a committee of legislature on the

basis of proportional representation to keep constant watch on the food situation and to advise the government on steps to be taken. He also wanted a public vigilance committee with former Irrigation Minister AJOY MUKHERJEE at its head.

Many other Congress MLAs who participated in the debate were critical of the way in which the government handled the food situation last year and suggested many remedial measures.

The RSP and RCPI members supported Jyoti Basu's proposals while Forward Bloc members criticised the government for inefficient handling of the food problem. FSP's main speaker KASHI KANTA MAITRA challenged the Chief Minister's contention that West Bengal was deficit in foodgrains.

Maitra claimed that last year the total supply of cereals with the government was 55 lakh tons whereas the consumption needs of the people did not exceed 43 lakh tons, calculating on the basis of 15.3 oz. per head per day.

The debate showed that all sections of the House felt concern about the food situation in the state and agreed that much of the suffering of the people was due to the profit greed of a handful of big traders. The Chief Minister, however, insisted that many cultivators also shared in the profit.

The concern of the House was however not reflected fully in the government decision. Though fixation of price by itself is an advance, in the absence of state trading and all parties committee to enforce it, there is every danger that the government might yield to the pressure of traders who have not hidden their anger at the decision to fix prices and the prices fixed. The initiative of the people was hailed by everybody, but it was not recognised by taking a decision to form vigilance committees. Hence it now falls on the people to keep up the pressure to curb the food thieves and to prevent the government from backsliding. If last year's experience is any indication, there is no doubt that the people will not fail in this task.

## RESOLUTIONS of National Council of Communist Party of India

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## A SANGHITE SHADWELL

of socialism (much of it rank hypocritical though, as we know) the doves of the private profit-makers are adluter. Acharya of the Swatantra Party, RAJAJI has come out in full-throated laudation of decrepit old capitalism in its primeval glory. He is all for "market economy." West Germany has proved the correction of such economy, he avers. (SWARAJYA, Dec. 21.)

CR goes on to moan: "The profit motive has by demagogic propaganda come to be looked upon as indecent... Honest busy men come to be looked upon as thieves and robbers indulging in unsocial and indecent activities" (ibid).

He has asked for the economy to be made to work by "the laws of nature", which, as he must know, means today that economy of exploitation of the masses by private capital be permitted to run riot.

It is not difficult for anyone to see, provided normal vision is used, that thievery is the compelling law of capitalism. Even the small entrepreneurs, nearest to the natural state, are being robbed by the big sharks through competition, restriction of credits and fleecing of the shareholders in their monopoly concerns.

The probe of ex-Justice VIVIAN BOSE which took the lid off a bit of these nefarious operations was certainly no act of demagoguery. There is no mention of the Bose findings in Rajaji's theses which he has styled "The Deceptive Name of Socialism."

Even though his Swatantra

Party is tied to the apron-strings of the Forum of Free Enterprise, is it so compelling for CR to advocate dead or doomed causes which require resort to such petty trickery as *suppresso veri* and *suggestio falsi*?

## Sangh Plays Same Tune

NOT to be outdone, Jan Sangh—the other party which after having faithfully served feudalism in its time, is now racing to curry favour with the pro-imperialist monopolist bourgeoisie, shouts hoarse on behalf of the same Free Enterprise. Echoing CR almost word for word, it has declared:

"An economy of abundance is possible only in a state of freedom" (for the Sacred Cow, the Big Business tycoons)! Even its plenary conference at Ahmedabad, sang hallelujah to the menagerie-owners.

Amusing scenes are being enacted in our land, a monkey-dance on a grand scale is on.

## "Inadvertent" Liar

IT will not be news to say that anti-Communist propaganda thrives on white lies or that the Faiz-

bazar weekly THOUGHT belonging to the notorious American Lobby is rushing headlong to take the palm in this regard.

But sometimes these knight-errants do and say things in their unholly zeal which expose them even before the most casual reader of daily news. The latest instance is provided by the following in the December 28 issue of the above-mentioned "review":

"Mr. Jagjit Singh Lyall-puri, a member of the CPI's Central Executive Committee, is now in London... Some of my informants say that he is acting there as a conveyor-belt for Peking in Europe."

Now, as the daily press in Delhi reported in November, Lyallpuri was in the Punjab and he also figured in a much-publicised conference of the Party!

Can't the pitiable scribes of the THOUGHT cook their stories a little better? This very columnist, as I had occasion to point out once before, also reported several statements allegedly made by EMS at a meeting of the Party's National Council which the latter never attended. Found out by us, he came forth with the "confession" that he had made an "inadvertent" mistake!

"Inadvertently" flogging statements and 'facts' must have become a habit with thoughtless THOUGHT. But that is precisely how all anti-Communist function.

—GARUDA

The private sector cannot obviously lag behind and the Punjab and Delhi Chamber of Commerce has gone one better over the official performances, in compiling fraudulent consumer price index numbers.

WHEN the employees of certain leading commercial firms went to collect their December pay packets last week, they were amazed to find a cut of Rs. 10 to Rs. 17.50 out of the previous month's salaries.

They were more baffled to know the reason for the cut which the management was quick to explain: That their DA was cut since the index shown by the Punjab and Delhi Chamber of Commerce had dropped by four points between September and October 1963!

The index prepared by the Chamber of Commerce is pretty "hush hush" and it is circulated every month in a "CONFIDENTIAL" envelope. But it is understood that the Chamber's "Middle Class Cost of Living for Delhi" is based on data collected by the Chamber and compiled with the assistance of the 'CAPITAL', the Calcutta financial journal.

In any case, the Punjab and Delhi Chamber of Commerce did a wonderful job for its members during the New Year.

## ONLY CHAMBER INDEX SHRINKS

When the agitated trade unionists made inquiries with the Cham-

ber, they were told that the fall in the index by four points was the result of "seasonal variations". No middle-class employee in the Capital had enjoyed the fortune of having a four-point drop in his living costs in October last year. The Chamber's index is said to be on base year 1953 but no index on the three base years 1939, 1944 and 1930 compiled for the working class has shown any drastic variation as has been presented by the Punjab Chamber. For instance:

● According to the 1939-based index for Delhi, the September index was 420, in October, it rose to 422.

● According to the 1944-based index for Delhi, it rose by one point from 161 in September to 162 in October.

● According to the 1960-based index for Delhi, the index was constant at 113 for both September and October.

The Delhi trade unions which held an independent survey into the consumer prices and compiled the index on their own, found out that the official index (1944 base) was wrong to the extent of 50 points!

But when even this faulty official index showed an upward trend or had stood constant, the

# INDEX FRAUD (Pvt.) LIMITED

## Punjab and Delhi Chamber of Commerce Again At It

★ by A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

Punjab Chamber's index dropped by four points. Whatever might be the variations in weightages, the prices had not dropped so much as to depress the middle-class index by four points while the same index for the working class stood unaffected.

## REMARKABLE VENTURE

The Punjab and Delhi Chamber of Commerce has evidently floated a remarkably enterprising venture—the Index Fraud (Private) Ltd. This was not so unexpected from

the Chamber which was so vehemently critical of the workers' campaign against the CDS and had decried the Great Petition and March to Parliament as "anti-national". Instigated by the Chamber, some managements had issued charge-sheets on workers who participated in the Great March. (See NEW AGE, September 22, 1963)

The Punjab and Delhi Chamber's formula is more or less based on the Bengal Chamber's formula for DA payments in commercial firms. On a slab 118-120 in the index, the employee should get 150 per cent + 75 per cent + 37½ per cent; while on the slab 124-126, the percentage of DA would be 160+80+40. In the case of the lowest paid employee, who gets a basic wage of Rs. 65 (in ICI, Delhi), the DA fell from Rs. 160 to Rs. 150; in the case of a stenographer getting a basic wage of Rs. 250, the loss was to the extent of Rs. 17.50.

## EMPLOYEES CHEATED

About 60 firms are said to be members of the Punjab and Delhi Chamber of Commerce and several

hundred employees in commercial firms are covered by the Chamber's formula based on its own middle-class cost of living index.

According to the Chamber's index, on base 1953, the September index was 124 and in October—120. The November index which would guide the payments for January, next month, is stated to be 121.

The trade unions of the commercial firms which enforce the Chamber's formula are understood to have demanded a thorough probe into this "private" index fraud. Agreements governing DA, based on the Chamber's formula are likely to be renounced by the unions.

TAILPIECE: While the 1960-based index for Delhi rose by two points in November to 115, the official index numbers on the 1939, 1944, and 1949 base years have shown steady decline—from 422 to 415, 162 to 159 and 122 to 121 according to the figures given to the Delhi Administration. The Punjab Chamber's figure is one point higher than October but nevertheless three points lower than the September figure!

# AGITATION MOUNTS UP AGAINST LAND SURCHARGE

★ from MOHIT SEN

HYDERABAD, January 5: "Neither the severe cold nor the work of harvest stopped thousands of peasants from thronging to our meetings wherever we went and expressing their determination for struggle" said Y. V. Krishna Rao, Convenor of the All-Parties Action Committee against the additional land-levy and for distribution of banjar (waste) lands.

HE was giving his impressions of a 16-day tour of Nalgonda, Warangal, Khammam, Krishna, East and West Godavary, Vishakapatnam and Srikakulam districts, together with Tenneti viswanadham and Vavilala Gopalakrishnaaya, on behalf of the Action Committee. The Communist Party, Praja Party, PSP, Socialist Party and non-party individuals make up this Action Committee.

He found that all the peasants were very agitated about the terrible burdens being thrust upon them by the Additional Assessment Act. The agricultural labourers are further terribly discontented because of the government's policy of stopping the distribution of banjar lands and also its levying of excessive penalties on those poverty-stricken persons who were cultivating such lands. In all places he visited the peasants individually and collectively narrated how the land revenue rates have doubled or trebled in their respective villages:

Complaints poured in, that the special staff appointed by the government for the collection of arrears are harassing the peasants. They are attaching the paddy heaps and preventing the peasants from threshing them. In Srikakulam not only paddy heaps but standing crops are being attached. And peasants, not being informed of the attachment orders, who have threshed the paddy heaps are being prosecuted.

## MONEYLENDER & OFFICIAL TIE-UP

In some areas in Srikakulam, revenue officials along with the police visit the villages, together with the moneylender who offers money on exorbitant rates of interest. Attachment notices are served without giving the demand notices.

Even where, as in places in Nalgonda, Vishakapatnam and Srikakulam, remission for the present crop has been officially announced, harassment is going on for the col-

lection of arrears. In the Telengana region a government order has extended the time for payment of the current land revenue up to March 15, but the revenue officials are not bothering to adhere to this order.

In Vishakapatnam and Srikakulam revenue is paid in four instalments but the revenue officials are pressing for payment in one instalment. This has been brought to the attention of the Revenue Minister but to no avail.

# KISAN NEWS

He said that reports already received indicate that the volunteers for satyagraha will not be less in any event than those who enrolled in September 1962, prior to the Chinese aggression, i.e., 20,000. He emphatically denied that the Swatantra Party's decision to withdraw its satyagraha would have any effect on the struggle to be launched by the All-Parties Action Committee. Pledge forms and lists of volunteers are now being prepared in the various districts.

## ACTION COMMITTEES' FIVE DEMANDS

He mentioned that peasants following the Congress undoubtedly favoured the agitation of the Action Committee. What is more, in West Godavary, Congressmen who have been to jail during the national struggle, are in the district Action Committee. They are also touring the district.

## C.M. IS OFF THE MARK

He said that the Chief Minister was very far off the mark when he said that the peasants are ready to bear the burden of the additional levy for the sake of economic development. Discontent was large with the thousands

## Grant Better Class to Baldev Singh CPI DELHI COMMITTEE DEMAND

BALDEV SINGH, a member of the Delhi state council of the CPI and a former municipal councillor, is now in a very bad state of health in jail. He was arrested some time back under DIR and is undergoing a sentence of six months at present.

His health has deteriorated following a hunger-strike he was forced to resort sometime back protesting against being put as a 'C' class prisoner. His falling health has caused considerable anxiety not

only among the Communists but also to a large number of non-Party people, particularly in the rural areas of Delhi where Baldev Singh is held in great respect.

Baldev Singh had been imprisoned several times but had always been put as a better class prisoner. But this time he was given only 'C' class.

The Delhi state council of the CPI in a statement has demanded of the Delhi Administration that Baldev Singh must immediately be put as a better class prisoner.

Assessment Act immediately; and 5. to distribute the banjar lands to the landless."

If the government persists in its adamant anti-peasant position the Action Committee would be compelled to start the peaceful satyagraha struggle before the end of January.

Another round of intensive touring begins from January 10. There is no doubt that the brave peasant of Andhra Pradesh is gearing himself for a mighty battle. If the government has a shred of respect for democracy it must bow before the popular will.



(Shiver-shiver) "TKK's right... (shiver-shiver) "Patil's right... (shiver-shiver) "You've got to go slow about socialism" (Courtesy: PATRIOT)

## KHRUSHCHOV'S NEW YEAR INITIATIVE

### Editorials

**THE SOVIET UNION** has done it again. Yet another peace initiative is now being discussed by governments and peoples in every part of the globe.

Nikita Khrushchov's message to heads of state (or government) of the countries of the world proposes the signing of an international agreement, under which all states would renounce the use of force for the settlement of territorial or border disputes.

Here is a vital contribution towards new steps for relaxation of tension in 1964. The imperialists will try their best to underplay its significance, to dismiss it as "propaganda", to misinterpret it in one way or the other. But the peoples, who sincerely desire peace, are already hailing the Khrushchov proposal as a bright light illumining the darkness which prevailed during the last weeks of 1963, after the assassination of President Kennedy.

The Khrushchov proposals carry forward the victories, which reached a new turning point with the signing of the partial nuclear test-ban treaty. The proposals are accompanied by the laudable practical step taken by the Soviet Union in making a substantial cut in military expenditure in its new budget.

The Soviet Union has again and again demonstrated its supreme desire for peace. The New Year initiative points correctly to the fact that territorial and border disputes are danger spots, which can lead to the outbreak of war. Renunciation of the use of force to settle these disputes would be a decisive contribution towards peace and would create a new climate for further advances towards general and complete disarmament and the abolition of war.

The foreign policy resolution of the Bhubaneswar Congress session rightly highlights the Khrushchov initiative and welcomes it and "expresses the hope that it will evoke fruitful responses". The resolution emphatically states that the agreement proposed by Khrushchov would "help lower tensions, to speed up world disarmament and improve the world climate for peace."

India is committed to a peaceful solution of her own disputes. A clearcut and unambiguous response to the Khrushchov proposals by the Government of India would put an end to the militarist and chauvinist cries of the Right reactionary forces in the country, who still continue to call for dangerous military solutions.

The Indian people expect the Prime Minister and the government to take the lead in officially supporting the Khrushchov initiative. Such support must be backed by concrete efforts in the United Nations and elsewhere to make the proposals a reality.

1964 has begun well for peace, thanks to the valuable initiative of Nikita Khrushchov. His New Year message voices not only the feelings of the Soviet people, but of all peaceloving peoples all over the world.

## SPEED UP RELEASES

A large number of releases of Communist leaders detained under the hated DIR have taken place in recent days. These releases are the result of the non-stop campaign waged all over the country by the Communist Party and the mass organisations.

The total number of Communist detenus has been substantially reduced. Nevertheless a large number of leading Communists continue to be in prison. According to information at our disposal at this moment, 26 are still detained in Maharashtra, 21 in West Bengal, 16 in Assam, 29 in Tripura, 12 in Uttar Pradesh, 1 in Delhi, 1 in Bihar.

Among them are eight members of the National Council of the Party, including two members of the Central Executive Committee B. T. Ranadive and Promode Das Gupta.

The official argument that individual cases are being "examined" and this takes time, is utterly and completely false. The Communist Party demands the immediate release of all the remaining detenus. The release campaign will continue with all force till every detenu is out again at the service of India's working masses.

(January 8)

# Bhubaneswar Debate

The Subjects Committee is still debating the resolution on Democracy and Socialism, as NEW AGE goes to press. The outcome is still not clear. The battle for the elected seats in the Working Committee is on. Never in the post-independence history of the Congress has the battle been joined on ideological issues in such manner.

**LAL BAHADUR SHASTRI** may yell himself hoarse insisting (with his tongue in the cheek?) that "there is no difference on the objective" between the Right and Left. **BIJU PATNAIK** may scream aloud that "no one in the Congress Working Committee was opposed to the nationalisation of banks."

But the differentiation which is appearing inside the Congress cannot be hidden from the Indian people any longer. Bhubaneswar has ripped the masks off the agents of the Right reaction and the monopolists inside the Congress leadership.

What is also a remarkable new feature is the open emergence of a group which fights for progressive policies and commands not inconsiderable support. The very tabling of an alternate resolution by K. D. MALAVIYA is an indication of the determination of the Congress rank and file to fight the Rightist forces, which continue to occupy important positions in the Congress hierarchy. Whatever the fate of the alternative resolution, the platform of progressive opinion has made itself felt as a force to be reckoned with.

The very fact that the archpriests of the Right-like S. K. PATIL are forced to pay lip service to socialism is proof enough of the growing strength of progressive opinion among the Congress rank and file. This lip service by the Right is also a warning to the Indian people not to be taken in by verbal clap-net, but demand concrete action in terms of the raising of living standards and the curbing of the monopolists.

## Congress And Foreign Policy

**THE** draft of the resolution on international affairs for the Bhubaneswar session has reiterated India's fundamental policies of non-alignment, peaceful coexistence and opposition to colonialism and racialism. It has welcomed the KHRUSHCHOV initiative for an agreement renouncing the use of force for settling international disputes.

The resolution has called for complete and total disarmament following the test-ban treaty; it has supported the Colombo proposals and welcomed the call for a conference of nonaligned nations.

All this is to the good and reflects the popular will. What is, however, missing in the resolution is any reference to the serious attacks by Right reaction and the imperialist powers on the whole concept of nonalignment, the efforts made to reverse this policy or weaken it. The references to the policy of nonalignment lack the crusading vigour of those who are conscious of the dangers to that policy and are determined to fight to preserve it.

The resolution fails to take note of the events of the last one year and the perils which have beset our foreign policy in this period. Ignored also are the questions which have been at the centre of all dis-

crete statements indicating our awareness of the dangers and the means to be adopted to ward them off, are required.

The Steering Committee went out of its way to delete an important paragraph in the resolution, which would have given edge and point to the reference to the policy of nonalignment.

## notes OF THE week

★ By Romesh Chandra

This deleted paragraph read: "The Congress affirms that non-alignment is not a negative policy nor based on weakness, but on our strong belief in peace. Our dedication to national independence and dignity and friendship, to reciprocity and common interests in our relations to other nations are inherent in our policy."

"The Congress declares that actions and policies within our country or from without, which are calculated to or have the effect of casting doubts or shadows on our policies of nonalignment, or of extending the area of the cold war or of nuclear weapons and strategy, from whatever quarters it may come, are factors adverse to world peace and cannot have our support or approval."

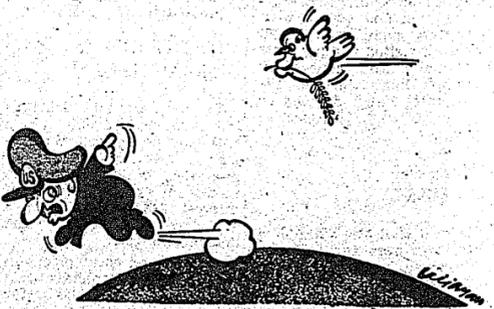
For the Steering Committee even this indirect reference to the enemies of nonalignment was not palatable. The ostrich would obviously like to close its eyes to the Seventh Fleet, in particular. And for the men at the top, the VOA deal never took place at all.

Even the categorical statement made in the Rajya Sabha by Prime Minister NEHRU only the other day that India would depend for its defence only on its own armed forces and its own people, did not find a place in the Bhubaneswar resolution.

The Congress must understand that it is no longer enough to repeat formulae about our devotion to peace. These are good and useful and will be widely welcomed.

But in the context of today and the assault on nonalignment, con-

"Gee! Missile!"



COURTESY: PATRIOT

## Communalism In Khulna

**THE** Government of India has drawn serious attention to the "widespread disturbances and lawlessness in Khulna and elsewhere against the minority community in East Pakistan."

The responsibility for the Khulna riots rest squarely on the heads of the leaders of the Pakistan government and their imperialist masters. Utilising the resentment at the theft of the sacred relic from the Hazratbali shrine in Srinagar, the Pakistan chieftains launched a vitriolic campaign of hate and communalism. The arson, looting and casualties in Khulna are the direct results of this hate campaign.

In our country, the communal parties are already seeking to utilise the Khulna events for their own heinous purposes.

Communal elements are ever ready to act to divert the democratic movement at the instance of the imperialists and their reactionary agents.

The working people must assert themselves against the communal hoodlums in Khulna and their would-be counterparts in our own country. Communal amity must be asserted and an all-out attack made on the communalists and their parties.

## Kashmir Stink Pot

**WITH** the finding of the sacred relic, the efforts of anti-national communalists in Kashmir itself have been foiled. Their feeble attempts to cast doubts on the genuineness of the relic now restored to its place, are bound to fail.

But the manner in which hysteria was sought to be whipped up in Kashmir calls for action to prevent any repetition of such acts of treachery and sabotage, which provide grist to the anti-Indian hate mill of the imperialists and their Pakistan henchmen.

\* ON PAGE 17

**CALCUTTA:** Ten thousand workers and employees of the Calcutta Tramways will go on strike from January 15 as the management has refused to meet even the five minimum demands out of the 26 demands put forward by the workers.

**THE** five minimum demands are (1) linking of dearness allowance with cost of living index and grant of office employees, (2) merger of DA with basic pay, (3) improving old and outmoded scale of pay, (4) house rent allowance of Rs. 15 and Rs. 30 for workers and office employees respectively, and (5) overtime pay at double the

## PUNJAB FORMULATES IMMEDIATE DEMANDS

From OUR CORRESPONDENT

A meeting of the working committee of the Punjab state committee of AITUC was held at Jullundur on January 3. The president of the Punjab TUC BABA KARTAR SINGH presided.

**THE** working committee discussed the serious situation arising out of the rapid and continuous rise of prices. It demanded that prices should be immediately brought down by at least 25 per cent and effectively controlled at that level. It demanded that wages of all workers who do not get any DA should be raised by 25 per cent to offset the increased cost of living. Where the system of DA prevails, it should be linked with correct cost of living index with 100 per cent neutralisation.

The working committee welcomed the decisions of the Punjab government to raise the pay of sweepers to Rs. 85 per month and demanded that the pay of all other low-paid employees should be raised forthwith. It demanded a minimum pay of Rs. 80 for class IV and proportionate rise for class III employees.

The working committee protested against the exclusion of any representative of AITUC from the panel of names of arbitrators proposed by the government and demanded immediate inclusion of its representatives in the same.

## L'AFFAIRE INTUC

INFLATED CLAIM OF TATA UNION BLOWN UP IN INTERNAL RIVALRY

From OUR CORRESPONDENT

**JAMSHEDPUR:** The INTUC-affiliated Tata Workers' Union, which is recognised by the TISCO, used to claim and still claims that it is the only representative union of the TISCO workers. The balloon of this claim was deflated in a recent law suit between the two rival factions of the INTUC.

**MURTAZA HOSSAIN,** a member of the rival faction owing allegiance to E. L. VERMA, the deputy-president of the union, recently filed a suit in the Munsif's Court, Jamshedpur, challenging the validity of the elections of the union.

In the course of the suit, it was revealed that the fully-paid membership of the INTUC union was only 5,000 and that 17,000 members have not paid their dues for the last two years. The sub-rules of the union do not allow these 17,000 members to participate in the elections.

While the validity of the sub-rules is still pending before the Munsif's Court interest is centered around the fact that the actual membership of the Tata Workers' Union does not exceed 5,000. The union office-bearers could not deny this allegation in their written statement before the court.

The contest between the two factions of the INTUC is over the fact whether voting rights should be granted to

# Calcutta Tramway Workers Prepare For Strike

MANAGEMENT REFUSES TO NEGOTIATE

From AJAY DASGUPTA

normal rates in place of the existing rate of one and one-third.

At a press conference, representatives of the joint committee of tram workers said that since 1963 there had been no revision of pay scale of the workers nor any increase in DA, though the company's revenue had increased by Rs. one crore during this period.

The mileage run has gone down during the period but receipt per mile increased from Rs 167.87 to Rs. 225.03. London expenses increased by 63 per cent and directors' fees went up by 132 per cent.

The special reserve account has shown a decrease with no additions since 1958, but the loan account has decreased

ed by 25 per cent in the last ten years. The special reserve account is meant for the West Bengal government to pay compensation to the company's shareholders when it is taken over in 1972 as per Calcutta Tramways Act 1952.

So, the decrease in this fund means that while the company is amassing money and even liquidating its liabilities, as shown by the decrease in loan account it is planning to make a dig into the taxpayers' money when it gets out.

And over and above this, the company wants not only fixation of higher fare rates but their implementation also before it negotiates on a wage increase for the workers. The workers have naturally rejected such an anti-national and anti-worker stand.

Preparations for the strike are in full swing. A foretaste of the strike was available on January 3 when 7,000 workers and employees marched to the state Assembly practically paralysing the tram services.

## CAMPAIGN PLAN IN ANDHRA PRADESH

From MOHIT SEN

**HYDERABAD,** January 5: The workers of Hyderabad have responded with terrific enthusiasm to the call of the Bombay conference. Raj Bahadur Gour reported to the Hyderabad City Trade Union Council at a meeting on December 22, presided over by Makhdoom Mohiuddin, on the decisions of the Bombay conference.

**L**ATER, on December 29, he reported to trade union activists the background and significance of the proposed working class action, making a powerful appeal for the alternative democratic path of national development of the toiling people as against the capitalist path.

On January 1, a big cycle procession toured extensive areas of the city, led by Makhdoom Mohiuddin, Raj Bahadur Gour and K. L. Mahendra. Workers of the Road Transport Corporation, Praga Tools, and other factories of the industrial area were prominent in this demonstration.

Makhdoom addressed the workers, congratulated them on the victories of the past year and said the workers were greeting the New Year with another call to action for the good of the people and of the nation.

On January 2, the Sanatnagar industrial area witnessed a big demonstration of workers from various factories like Allwyns, Jaya Engineering, Hyderabad Lamination led by K. L. Mahendra and Amlak Ram.

On January 4, the hotel workers of Secunderabad came out on the streets with an impressive proces-

sion as a manifestation of their determination to unite with the rest of their class in support of the Bombay conference decisions. Sambamoorthy, Salam Sahidi and Srinivasan were prominent among the leaders of this procession.

The Hyderabad hotel workers plan a similar demonstration on January 8, while the Road Transport Corporation workers are planning five public meetings on January 9.

The campaign will culminate in a demonstration and meeting on January 10 at Pratapgiri Kothi.

Nagarjunasagar workers—pro-ject, transport and workshop—are holding meetings and demonstrations for four days starting from January 9, as a preparation for the one day strike when the call comes and as part of the national campaign.

In Vishakapatnam all local unions, both those affiliated to the AITUC and the non-affiliated have held a mass rally and demonstration led by the Bombay conference. A broad based action committee has been set up, including prominent non-AITUC workers leaders to coordinate further activities.



## West Bengal Planning Convention

**THE** strike of the Jay Engineering workers is continuing and trouble is brewing in the giant Jessop factory where 14 workers including union leaders have been dismissed. The workers of these two factories as well as the fruit-sellers of Calcutta, who are waging a struggle against wholesalers, led big mass deputations to the Assembly during its short session.

The rising temper of the working class is clearly seen and the Bombay convention's call has been widely hailed. The Working Committee of the BPTUC has decided to hold a big rally and demonstration on January 13 and a convention on January 25.

## JAMSHEDPUR R. I. T. IN A RUT

LEGISLATORS DEMAND IMMEDIATE REMEDY

From OUR CORRESPONDENT

"Utter waste, inefficiency, corruption and callousness": This is how U. MISHRA MP, SUNIL MUKHERJEE MLA and RAMAVATAR SINGH MLA describe the management of the Regional Institute of Technology at Jamshedpur. In the course of a statement, they say:

"The mismanagement of the institution has become notorious for its utter waste, inefficiency, corruption and callousness towards the requirements of technical education. Last year the students of the R.I.T. had to resort to a hunger strike to draw the attention of the government to the crying problems of this institution."

"The Government of Bihar had then promised to look into the irregularities of the management of this institute and an audit party was sent by the Accountant General of Bihar for a special audit into the irregularities alleged.

single proper laboratory or workshop, though about four years have passed since the Institute was started. It is said that twenty nine members of the teaching and administrative staff, have resigned and left during this period, though most of them were qualified and experienced. Favouritism and practices which can hardly be called clean are alleged in the appointment of teachers and even admission of students.

"If all these facts are true, it is a standing shame for Bihar and for Jamshedpur, and it is the job of every decent citizen to demand that this state of affairs must go."

"We hope that the state government and particularly the Chief Minister, who is also the Chairman of the Managing Board of the institution, will take immediate steps to redress the grievances of the students."

For the 1250 students studying at the Institute, there is not a

# Why did Soviet Union Sign Test-Ban Treaty?

How is it that the Soviet Union agreed to a partial nuclear test-ban treaty in August 1963 when it was opposed to such a treaty only a short while ago? (T. GOVINAIAH, Hyderabad)

Let us have a look at the evolution of the Soviet Union's position on the question of ending nuclear weapons tests. In the first years after the end of the second world war, the United States had a monopoly of nuclear weapons and the main task of the Soviet Union was to end this monopoly, so fraught with danger for world peace and the advancement of the forces of socialism and national liberation.

To this end the Soviet Union demanded the immediate banning and destruction of nuclear weapons. When the imperialist powers rejected this demand, it started to develop its own nuclear weapons. And once again, the forces of world peace and socialism noted with gratitude that the Soviet Union accomplished its task, fulfilled its duty to the peoples of the world.

Soon enough nuclear weapons ceased to be the monopoly of the imperialists. Let it be remembered that the Soviet people had to make, in this connection, considerable material sacrifice. Naturally during this period the banning of tests of nuclear weapons without simultaneous destruction of those weapons possessed by the United States would not have been a proper demand to raise. Nor did the Soviet Union raise such a demand.

## Initiative to End Arms Race

But once the material basis for the policy of nuclear blackmail by the imperialists was removed, the Soviet Union was interested in doing its utmost to bring to an end the nuclear arms race as soon as possible.

Thus, it was that in 1956, the Soviet Union advanced the proposal that agreement should be reached on the ending of nuclear tests without waiting for a settlement of the disarmament problem. Since no underground nuclear tests were being carried out at that time the proposal pertained only to atmospheric and underwater tests. The US government

turned down this proposal. The Soviet government statement of August 21, 1963 says:

"It is also necessary to stress that the proposal for the prohibition of nuclear weapons tests advanced at that time by the Soviet government envisaged the settling of this problem precisely on the basis on which it is solved now... The difference, thus, is that in 1956 the United States refused to accept our proposal and in 1963 accepted it even in a broader form—with the addition of outer space."

## Underground Tests

What about underground tests? Since the time the US began this form of testing the Soviet Union has called for its ending. But the imperialists tied up the prohibition of such tests with the demand for so-called international inspection and control in the form of numerous and extensive on-the-spot investigations.

They refused to accept the findings of internationally reputed scientists, including some from the US that underground tests could also be detected without any need for on-the-spot inspection. They refused to accept the Soviet proposal for a limited number of on-the-spot inspections.

It was obvious that not inspection but espionage was their objective. The Soviet Union naturally could not endanger its security and that of the entire socialist camp.

It persisted in its demand to end all nuclear weapons tests till some two months before the agreement on the partial test-ban treaty. As the above quoted statement says "every sober-minded politician or diplomat realises that every side wishes to achieve the maximum in negotiations with its partners. We strove for this maximum, i.e., for the ending of all nuclear tests, including underground ones."

"But at this stage this proved to be impossible. And in these conditions the Soviet Union has agreed to an agreement on the

banning of nuclear tests in three environments: in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water... Of course, the Soviet government does not give up its efforts today, too, in the struggle to ban also the underground nuclear weapons tests."

## Partial Gains

The statement goes on to outline the reasons for the giving up by the Soviet Union of its maximum demand in this sphere and the acceptance of partial gains:

"Underlying this are definite material factors of great significance, connected with important and major steps of the Soviet government to strengthen the defence capacity of the USSR, the security of all the socialist nations. These steps, which included also the tests of nuclear arms, including the most powerful ones existing in the world, have reliably ensured the security of the socialist community..."

"Of course, now we cannot divulge such things, for instance, as the concrete results of the tests of nuclear weapons we carried out in 1961-62, the data on the

## YOUR QUESTIONS ANSWERED

calibres of nuclear warheads in our arsenal, the destination of specific nuclear combat devices of which the Soviet Union has plenty, where these means are deployed, and so forth. That would be against the security interests of the Soviet Union and of all socialist states, including the security interests of the People's Republic of China."

Thus a change in the military-technological situation made possible the acceptance of a partial test-ban treaty, i.e., a partial gain, in August 1963, whereas this was not acceptable only a short time ago. The exact nature of this change cannot be divulged without grave and impermissible security risks.

Soviet policy has naturally to be flexible, to take into account the rapid changes in science and technology and secure partial victories for peace as the path to general and complete disarmament. It cannot afford to be bound by dogmatic and fossilised positions which those changes have rendered obsolete. In any event, the Chinese leaders have now revealed that their real objection to the Soviet position is that nuclear tests, partial

or otherwise are at all to be banned. They call this "a joint Soviet-US plot to monopolise nuclear weapons and an attempt to deprive China of the right to possess nuclear weapons to resist the US nuclear threat. The Chinese government lodged repeated protests against this" (The Origin and Development of the Differences between the leadership of the CPSU and Ourselves).

Neither the date nor the partial form of the test-ban treaty is what really bothers the CPC leadership. What worries them is any step that leads to the emerging reality of peaceful coexistence through a step-by-step advance along the road to general disarmament through mutual concessions and partial gains.

As for underground tests, the Soviet Union gives no monopoly in this sphere to the United States. It can also conduct such tests. Nor does the test-ban treaty give the imperialists any further facilities for such tests that they did not possess earlier. What the treaty does do is to heighten the confidence of the people everywhere as they struggle for peace that real gains can be made.

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



Adhyaksha Dr. Jagan Chandra Ghose,  
M.A. Ayurved-Sastri, F.C.S. (London)  
M.C.S. (A) (Medical) Formerly Professor  
of Chemistry, Bhagpur College.

**MKRITASANJIBANI**  
**MAHADRAKSHARISTA**  
(6 years old)

Calcutta Centre: Dr. Nares Chandra Ghose,  
M.B.B.S. (Cal) Ayurvedicharya.

## BONUS COMMISSION REPORT FINALISED

New Formula of Profit Sharing

★ By OUR STAFF CORRESPONDENT

NEW DELHI: The Bonus Commission has finalised its report during its last meeting in Bombay on December 30-31. The recommendations are reported to be unanimous though on some points the private sector employers' representative has some reservations. The report will be signed in Bombay on January 18 and submitted to government on January 20.

The formula evolved by the Commission provides for a national minimum bonus in all industries irrespective of profit or loss. The minimum bonus would be four per cent of the total annual basic wages plus dearness allowance of a worker. The upper limit of the bonus in profit-making concerns would be 20 per cent of the total annual basic wages plus dearness allowance of a worker.

### REHABILITATION CHARGES REJECTED

The Commission has discarded the Labour Appellate Tribunal formula of available surplus, approved by the Supreme Court, and recommended a new formula. The Commission formula has done away with the rehabilitation charges which constituted one of the main obstacles in arriving at available surplus of the profit for distribution of bonus to the workers. According to the Commission formula, only four

### MINIMUM BONUS

The trade union circles consider that the acceptance of the principle of minimum bonus in non-profit making industries, particularly in less organised and sweated industries, is a major gain of the workers.

It is understood that government has decided to act without delay on the unanimous recommendations of the Bonus Commission. The recommendations would also cover the public sector industries.

# MILL WORKERS DEMAND STANDARDISED BONUS

G. K. U. Memorandum Before Commission

★ From OUR CORRESPONDENT

BOMBAY: The Girni Kamgar Union of Bombay has represented before the Bonus Commission on December 30 that the textile workers must get equal bonus in all units on region-cum-industry basis in those areas where the textile mills have standardised wage rates, dearness allowance and other conditions of service.

The memorandum was a follow-up of the agitation of the Bombay textile workers numbering about 75,000



A view of the procession

over the question of unequal bonus payments in various mills of the city.

The memorandum drew the attention of the Bonus Commission to the fact that the bonus distribution was one of the factors that has disturbed the industrial peace in Bombay continuously for the last 12 years.

Till 1948, bonus for the workers in all the cotton textile mills in Bombay was paid on an industry-cum-region basis and every worker was paid at the same rate. After 1948, a departure was made in this respect following the Labour Appellate Tribunal formula of available surplus for payment of bonus.

The memorandum was backed up by a huge rally of workers who had walked

more than seven miles from the mills to the place where the Bonus Commission was meeting. One important feature of the demonstration was the participation in large numbers of the women workers. The Chairman of the Bonus Commission, M. R. Meher, and S. A. Dange, who

is a member of the Commission met the workers and received the memorandum.

The rally of the workers elected a deputation of ten persons including S. A. Dange, S. G. Patkar, Datta Deshmukh besides five men and two women workers, to meet the Home Minister and the Chief Minister on two other issues.

The deputations waited on the Chief Minister urging him to expedite the publication of report of the Experts Committee on index fraud. They requested the Home Minister to withdraw the police cases instituted following the December agitation of the workers on unequal payment of bonus. The Home Minister assured that the cases would "not be proceeded with."



S. A. Dange addressing the rally

in the 26 mills, who have been carrying on protest actions during the last fortnight

# D. A. MAP OF DELHI

Picture of Confusion & Anarchy

NEW DELHI: Present position of dearness allowance paid to the employees in the Capital presents a weird picture and highlights the need for a systematic method of the payment of DA to the workers.

EXCEPT in textile, chemical, printing and rubber industries and some commercial firms and establishments DA is not linked up with consumers price index numbers. Workers in other industries are paid only a consolidated wage which actually results in depressing their standard of living when the prices go up.

In textile the payment of DA is governed by an award of G. L. NANDA in 1946, which was subsequently approved of by the Labour Appellate Tribunal. This award gave the textile workers an increase of 2-37 paise per day per point rise in the Consumer Price Index with 1944 as 100. Calculation starts at 120 of the said index for which DA was fixed at Rs. 44-75.

In the HINDUSTAN TIMES, DA is calculated with 1939 as 100 and for 400 points Rs. 25 was given as a flat rate DA on a minimum basic wage of Rs. 50 and above. For every rise or fall of 10 points there would be a rise or fall of

rupee one in the DA. The present quantum of DA paid to the workers in that establishment thus comes to Rs. 31. In addition to this employees are given rupees seven in the form of fringe benefits like subsidised tea, snacks etc.

In private hotels, workers are paid Rs. 35 as a flat rate DA but in public sector hotels the amount paid is only Rs. 15. There is no linking of DA with the index in any manner.

In commercial establishments the payment differs from concern to concern. The base year taken for calculation is different in different companies. No cent per cent neutralisation is given to the employees by any company. The quantum of DA goes down as the salary of an employee goes up. In most of the concerns the slab is of Rs. 100.

In many offices DA is linked with the Delhi and Punjab Chamber of Commerce Middle Class Cost of Living Index compiled for them by the "CAPITAL". DA con-

stitutes a certain percentage of the salary which changes as the index goes up or down. The percentage is however different for first 100 rupees, second 100 rupees and the remainder. In I.C.F. and other concerns this practice is prevalent.

The bank employees are paid DA on the basis of the Bank Tribunal (1960) award which gave cent per cent neutralisation to subordinate staff and 75 per cent neutralisation to clerical staff. DA is linked with the all-India index, 1949 base. According to the award, the clerical staff should get DA at the rate of three per cent of pay for every rise of four points above 100 in the quarterly average of the all-India index.

A large number of Central Government employees get DA on the basis of the Second Pay Commission Report which recommended that government should consider the payment of DA if the index goes up by 10 points for consecutive 12 months. The employees did not obtain full neutralisation for the last rise of 10 points (115-125). As the All-India Index now stands at 138 (1949 base) the Central Government employees have started urging the consideration of an additional rise

in DA. Employees in engineering and rubber industries, shop assistants and building and construction workers do not get any DA.

Trade unions in Delhi are planning to launch agitation on these questions. They also demand linking of DA with the index wherever it has not yet been done so far. (IPA)

## REOPEN B.N.C. MILLS

Joint Demand of Trade Unions

★ From OUR CORRESPONDENT

RAJNANDGAON: A conference of Chattisgarh trade unions on December 22 demanded the immediate reopening of the B.N.C. Mills which has been closed down for indefinite period since November 20. This closure has affected the livelihood of more than 2,500 families.

THE significant aspect of the conference was the participation of the representatives of the AITUC, UTUC, INTUC, various bank employees, P.W.D., jute workers and teachers organisations. Only the HMS did not participate in the conference.

In a unanimous resolution the conference demanded that government must immediately intervene into the matter and reopen the mill by January 15 latest. It has also decided to observe throughout Chattisgarh "Open B.N.C. Mill Day" on January 13.

SUBMIT BONUS REPORT IMMEDIATELY

## DHIREN DHAR

DHIREN DHAR, a member of the Calcutta District Council of the CPI, a councillor of Calcutta Corporation since 1952 and leader of the UCC and Communist Bloc, breathed his last on December 23. The Corporation offices and meeting closed as a mark of respect. Deputy Mayor and councillors from all parties, prominent citizens and leaders of Communist Party accompanied in the last journey.

Dhiren Dhar was first arrested in 1934 in connection with the Titagarh conspiracy case. After his release in 1938 he came in contact with the Party and became a member in 1939-40. He became a District Committee Organiser of the Party in 1945 and later on a member of the District Committee. He was connected with Calcutta Corporation Workers' Union and many other trade union organisations. He became an MLA from Taltola constituency in Calcutta in 1957.

He had long association with ISCUS movement and was assistant secretary of its West Bengal Provincial Committee.

NEW AGE sends its heartfelt condolences to his bereaved family.

# BHUBANESWAR: NEBULOUS TRUTH

Don't look the gift horse in the mouth, says the adage but the press in this country seems to be not convinced of the sagacity of the old saying. It has been looking at the Congress Working Committee's New Year gift—the draft resolution on 'democracy and Socialism' to be placed before the Bhubaneswar session of the Indian National Congress—not only in the mouth, but ears and nose as well.

AT the newspapers found in their examination depended on the angles from which they looked at it; while some of them found too many teeth, some of them protruding more than they should be, others discovered that the resolution had no teeth at all, or even if it had they were false.

It is only natural that the monopoly press, catering to the interests of the private sector, should generally welcome the resolution while gently putting pressure to change its 'more obnoxious' features. That is in keeping with the tactics of its representatives inside the organisation, too.

The progressive section of the press, on the other hand, found the resolution too vague, lacking in clear directives to the government especially on such issues as bank nationalisation and state trading in foodgrains.

## "Disappointing"

Thus, the PATRIOT found the resolution "disappointing" because "a self-righteous restatement of vaguely worded aims was not what the country and the rank and file of the Congress had been looking forward to from the working committee." In an editorial on January 2, the

# Resist Attack on People

## MAHARASHTRA CPI OUTLINES TASKS

★ From G. ADHIKARI

POONA: The Maharashtra state council of the Communist Party has called for a powerful mass campaign in defence of the people against the growing attacks of the vested interests and the government.

THE council, at the end of its session here on December 27, appealed to the Left parties and progressive elements in the state to unite in the common cause of defending the economic interests of the people.

It decided to support the proposed struggle of trade unions for dearness allowance and bonus, nationalisation of banks and export-import trade, and state trading in foodgrains.

The council further decided to organise a campaign among the peasants to secure fair prices for agricultural produce, and for fair wages and land to the landless agricultural workers.

A mass signature campaign among working women in urban and rural areas on the basis of their charter of demands will also be taken up. The council decided to support and participate in the morcha of working women proposed to be taken to the Maharashtra Assembly by the Shramik Mahila Samiti in support of the charter of demands.

Welcoming the verdict of the people of Goa in favour of merger with Maharashtra

in the resolution. In an editorial on January 3 it said the resolution "accommodates many shades of opinion within the party on its economic programme and allays the misgivings felt by a larger public (the capitalists—P) outside."

The paper found consistency in the general approach to the goals and took consolation that the working committee had not given in to the insistent demands of the Congress Left, whom it termed as "pressure groups seeking to overcome political frustrations by the advocacy of radical causes."

The most significant part of the resolution was, according to THE STATESMAN, "the stress laid on the consent of the people and on democratic values and methods of changes as the means of bringing about changes in economic and social relations." And, "the attainment of a national minimum standard of living by the end of the fifth plan, may not seem impressive but it is as near to realism as can be expected."

## Faithfully Yours

While the resolution meant "socialism by consent" to THE STATESMAN, it was a "sensible document" to THE HINDUSTAN TIMES. It was "notable for general sobriety and comprehensive concern for the welfare of the nation," and "if some dubious and unverified generalisations have been written into it, there is also the rejection of the more eccentric and impractical proposals."

The paper was very regretful that here and there, the working committee still seems to be obsessed by the notion that economic justice should not only be done but appear to be done even to the "densest of its partymen." In consequence it has advocated "certain ideas that have little relation to reality," chief among them being the limit sought to be put on income and property.

Explaining at length the "high tax levels" existing in the country, the editorial, on January 2, finally asked: "In such a situation, and with the capital market just showing signs of recovery from the blight that struck it last year, was the choice of the Christians to be thrown to the lions the right one?"

Whereas THE HINDUSTAN TIMES ended with a question, THE TIMES OF INDIA on January 2 began with a question: "Is the Congress so unsure of what it wants that it has to redefine (or reiterate) its economic and social goals every now and then?" The third plan "had set down these goals with a fair degree of precision and there is little that the party can hope to gain by viewing them through a new pair of glasses every twelve months."

It castigated the Congress Left: "There are elements in the party who think that all that is needed to achieve a socialist utopia is a continuous expansion of the public sector and ever new curbs to cramp initiative and incentive in the private sector."

The slackness in the rate of growth was due to the administrative machinery's inability to cope with the tasks it has taken upon itself and "this is why the steering committee of the forthcoming session of the Congress at Bhubaneswar (this was obviously a slip by the editorial writer—P) in revising the draft resolution on democracy and socialism has thought

# TYPES

it prudent to delete all reference to nationalisation of banks."

THE TIMES OF INDIA reminded the party leaders that "what matters in the end is not the rightness or wrongness of a particular measure (1) in the context of abstract justice but its practical impact." And hence, particular objection is taken by the paper to the ceiling on incomes because "in actual practice such a measure is likely to do more harm than good in the present conditions."

The NATIONAL HERALD started by saying that the resolution has not been made "more inspiring and readable" but it has been invested with practical value and inspires hope and fear, the test which we have prescribed for any worthwhile declaration on socialism. But by the time the editorial, on January 2, finished enumerating the measures which can follow from the resolution, it found that it had "some sharpness," provided "enough inspiration" and will also "generate pressure towards socialisation." It is quite doubtful whether any in the Congress would listen to the parting advice it gave that "this should be the signal for all Congressmen to move together without indulging in political or personal lobbying."

## NAIK'S ALCOHOLIC REFORM

IT might have been a pure coincidence that the announcement of the Maharashtra Chief Minister V. P. Naik about the relaxation of prohibition in his state and the Congress working committee's draft resolution on democracy and socialism should have come out on the same day. If the latter had caused depression in any quarters, the former should have provided the spirits to overcome it despite the low alcoholic content of the reform.

If press reports are to be believed, the powers that might be in New Delhi have frowned upon the Maharashtra government's decision. How out of tune with public sentiment can the authorities be is proved by this. If the spectrum of newspaper comments is a true reflection of all shades of public opinion, then the people are overwhelmingly in support of the Bombay decision.

The INDIAN EXPRESS on January 2 declared that Naik "deserves the country's congratulations for recognising the plain facts of prohibition instead of paying lip service to an ideal which does not exist," and hopefully

asked: "Does it mark the beginning of the end?"

"Even though the implementation of prohibition remains one of the directive principles of the Constitution, it is obvious that the policy was not enshrined in the hearts of the people," it said. But THE TIMES OF INDIA of the same day was of the opinion that the measures announced by the Bombay Chief Minister "are indeed fully in harmony with the directive principle of the Constitution relating to prohibition."

The paper called for three cheers to Naik for his "good sense and boldness," for he "has taken courage in both hands and done what should have been done years ago, but which was not done because 'the authorities persisted in living in a world of make-believe.'"

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES on January 2 found, "in the virtual abandonment of the prohibition policy by the Maharashtra government 'the victory of good sense over shibboleth.' Naik's "bold and realistic step" should "activate the more timid states to move in the same direction," it said.

After condemning the talk of satyagraha etc. by prohibition fanatics, the editorial said: "It is permitted for individuals to have pet ideas and fads. But governments cannot afford to be crank and wilful." Therefore it advised other states that they "need not be apologetic" about going back on the prohibition policy.

Pointing out that prohibition "had ceased to be a fad sanctioned by the Constitution and became a vested interest for a section of officials, the enforcement staff, bootleggers and an army of middlemen," the PATRIOT said that Naik is "sure to provoke the anger of party puritans with the decision to relax the law by the will have on his side the people."

In a first editorial titled "The Morning After," THE STATESMAN said about the announcement: "Many will resist this return to sense, and they will include not a few bootleggers and other traffickers who are the only ones to profit from alcohol going underground which is all prohibition achieves."

"Senseless and unenforceable restrictions on drink have created not only bootleggers, traffickers and gangsters, but also what may be called a higher form of corruption in quarters that might have preferred to remain honest and law-abiding," the editorial said and added that the Bombay decision would make it easy for Justice Telkhand "to tell the people boldly just what an expensive joke prohibition is."

And so, in the STATESMAN'S language, "Here's to Mr. Naik!"

—PARAKAL

### THE INDEX FRAUD

Memoranda submitted by AITUC, INTUC and HMS to Experts Committee appointed by Maharashtra Government.

Price: Rs. 1.50

Write to:

Publications Department  
ALL-INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS  
Rani Jhansi Road, New Delhi.

For the third time since independence, the question of the Delhi political and civic set-up is on the agenda. Ever since 1925, under the leadership of Congress leaders Asaf Ali and Deshbandu Gupta, the people of Delhi had been demanding recognition as an autonomous state with a democratically elected legislature and a ministry.

IN 1952 a somewhat hesitant and half-hearted concession was given by the Central Government: Delhi and a number of other Union territories were formed into Part C states and legislatures with limited powers were brought into being. The Delhi legislature however was abolished in 1957 and the status of the metropolis again changed into a centrally administered Union territory.

Instead of the legislature, at the civic level the Delhi Municipal Corporation was formed with the amalgamation of a number of local bodies.

The political aspirations of the masses were being summarily scuttled with the abolition of the Part C State. And a local body could by no stretch of imagination be a substitute for an assembly. The Delhi Pradesh Congress Committee and the Communist Party had protested against this, but the Government of India insisted on taking an undemocratic and retrograde decision and experimenting again with the administrative set-up in Delhi.

There is no doubt that the record of the five-year life of the Delhi ministry was open to considerable objections and criticisms. But the Delhi Assembly and ministry did not provide an exception in this regard.

And six years of life in Delhi since the Part C state was abolished have not seen any curb on evils like corruption and maladministration.

The democratic control having gone, popular vigilance and checks by elected representatives not being there, in certain spheres and at certain levels, administration has run riot. Law and order situation has off and on deteriorated; corruption has increased. Scandals in the civil supplies department has led to scarcity and profiteering in essential commodities.

## Corporation's Failure

Delhi Municipal Corporation too has failed to deliver the goods. Offered to Delhi as a "powerful" substitute for an assembly, it has proved to be not so "powerful" after all. Mismanagement by those at the helm of affairs and misuse of authority by the Congress majority apart, certain basic weaknesses have been revealed in the

# BUILD HOME FOR DELHI DESTITUATES

## CPI DEMAND

THE Delhi provincial council of the Communist Party of India has demanded that the Municipal Corporation should set up a "regular organisation on a permanent basis" to provide shelters for more than 10,000 homeless in Delhi.

The existing approach of the authorities of trying to meet this problem on an ad hoc basis shows callousness and must be replaced by a positive policy, the council said in a statement.

The Communist Party urged upon the Government of India as well as the Delhi Administration to provide the necessary financial resources to the Corporation to enable it to carry out the job.

Corporation has not provided the people of Delhi with a unified civic administration. Multiplicity of authority has remained:

1. New Delhi area remains a separate entity under a nominated New Delhi municipal committee.
2. Cantonment area remains separate.
3. The implementation of the Master Plan for re-development of Delhi vests in a separate autonomous body, the Delhi Development Authority.
4. Civic functions like Higher Secondary Education are outside the purview of the corporation.
5. Rural development schemes, health, social welfare, housing remain divided between the Delhi administration and the corporation, each wing sometimes working at cross purposes!
6. Crores of rupees as proceeds from sales tax, state excise duty etc. are not available to the corporation which, through its separate taxation, heaps further and ever increasing burdens on the people. The corporation even goes into financial bankruptcy every two or three months.

## Bureaucracy In Action

Thus overlapping of functions, duplicity and red-tapism arising out of multiplicity of authority have become common place.

And the corporation has to deal with each ministry of the Government of India separately, resulting in further delays, lack of coordination and confusion. The lack of a state government has also created difficulties in ensuring supplies of water and electricity from Punjab and U.P.

Experience thus gained confirmed the understanding and naturally reinforced the demand of the Delhi Pradesh Congress Committee and the Communist Party, that to effectively solve Delhi's multifarious problems, we should have a single, unified authority in an assembly and a fully responsible state government.

It further confirmed the belief that to make the corporation into an effective instrument of service to the people, multiplicity of authority must go and power to take decisions, and execute them must vest in the elected representatives.

# Delhi Demands Real Democratic Set-Up

## People Reject GOI's New Proposals

tatives of the people, rather than in the Commissioner.

So stark have been the realities that even the Jan Sangh which had welcomed the abolition of the assembly, has shifted its position and now wants even the Chief Commissioner of Delhi to be responsible to an elected body!

The municipal corporation of Delhi on December 13, 1962 also adopted a resolution demanding a unified democratic set-up at the civic and political level.



by PREM SAGAR GUPTA

The issue assumed irresistible force, when Parliament was discussing a bill to set up some sort of democratic governments in the Union territories and Nagaland. Discrimination against Delhi, was widely criticized in both Houses of Parliament and the Home Minister was forced to concede an assurance that Delhi would be given a special form of government.

## Latest Scheme

It is thus that Home Minister Gulzarilal Nanda held discussions on this New Year day with representatives of political parties and assured them that the government's latest scheme was something new for the metropolis, something in between an assembly and the municipal corporation. The main features of his plan are as follows:

- a. The name of the municipal corporation will be changed to Metropolitan Council.
- b. Departments dealing with development and rural areas, social welfare, weights and measures and perhaps housing, at present under the Delhi administration, will be transferred to the Metropolitan Council.
- c. The present bifurcation of the executive and the deliberative wings in the Municipal Corporation will be given up and the Mayor will be made the Chief Executive. Head with a right to nominate three more members to constitute the Mayor-in-Council, on the pattern of a ministry.
- d. After a few years of experience of how the Mayor in Council discharges its responsibilities, the government may consider the question of transferring to the Metropolitan Council, higher secondary education.

Representatives of the Delhi Pradesh Congress and the Communist Party reiterated the demand for an assembly as necessitated by experience of the past six years. The Delhi Communist Party was represented at these discussions by M. Farooqi, B. D. Joshi and Prem Sagar Gupta. A written memorandum was submitted to the Home Minister which amongst other things stated the following:

"If the proposed scheme of a Metropolitan Council is being offered as a substitute for a de-

mocratic legislative set-up, then the Communist Party REJECTS it.

"It is the legitimate right of the people of Delhi to have a legislature and a Ministry. If other Union territories smaller than Delhi in population and having much less resources can have legislatures and ministries, there is no reason to deny it in the case of Delhi."

"THE COMMUNIST PARTY REITERATES ONCE AGAIN THE DEMAND FOR A FULL-FLEDGED DEMOCRATIC SET-UP FOR DELHI."

"We are conscious of the fact that the government of India has certain special responsibilities in the Union capital. But why should the Government of India have any apprehension that a democratically elected government in Delhi will come in the way of discharging those

responsibilities. Special provisions can always be made in that regard by an Act of Parliament."

The Home Minister, however, was not prepared to consider this, since according to him decision had already been taken by the government.

Thus it turned out that the Home Ministry's latest proposals for the future reorganization of Delhi's set-up are confined purely to reorientation of the civic body. There also the Government of India seems averse to taking any bold decisions.

The unanimous opinion of all political parties in Delhi in that multiplicity of authorities should go and all civic matters be transferred to a single body, does not seem to carry weight with government. It does not want to treat Delhi on a par with the other Union territories; it does not want to abolish New Delhi municipal committee or the Delhi Development Authority and merge them with the metropolitan council. It does not want to transfer even the higher secondary education to the council.

THE MULTIPLICITY OF AUTHORITY IS TO BE RETAINED EVEN ON THE CIVIC PLANE, THEREBY ACCENTUATING THE PRESENT SOURCE OF MANY ILLS.

The proposals betray such utter lack of confidence in democracy that the present elected committees of the corporation for management of water supply, electricity and transport undertakings are to be replaced by boards of 'experts'. While handing over control to the Mayor, checks and balances in favour of bureaucracy are to be so applied as to reduce overall powers of elected representatives.

Already the proposals have met with disapproval of all political parties.

Unless the government of India remoulds its thinking in conformity with the democratic aspirations of the people and in consonance with the realities of the situation and experience, the present proposals are bound to be rejected by all shades of opinion, because they would fail to set up an organization capable of giving the people an easily accessible administration and solving city's complex problems.

It was again the Joint Water and Sewage Board of 'experts' which caused Infective Hepatitis (jaundice) in Delhi in 1950. If the corporation today has to pay to the government annual interest charges on water supply and sewage to the tune of a crore and ten lakhs, the corporation is merely carrying the burden of 'experts'.

Similarly it is the 'expert' handling of Delhi's transport service that brings a bad name to the corporation.

We wonder whether the 'experts' are meant to run riot in the Boards, or to help the metropolitan council with their 'expert' knowledge in taking proper decisions.

Without giving Delhi an assembly, the proposals of the Home Ministry do wish to introduce the pattern of a ministry in the form of a 'Mayor-in-Council' at the

civic level. The Communist Party memorandum dealing with this aspect, stated as follows:

★ The proposal to make the Mayor the head of the Executive in the civic set-up is correct and we support it. The present arrangement in which the Commissioner is the executive head is democratically wrong and therefore, should go.

★ However, the Communist Party opposes the introduction of a cabinet system in the corporation, unless the proposed Mayor-in-Council, is intended to function as a sort of coordinating committee, responsible to the corporation just like any other committee."

The Communist Party's memorandum also demands that the zonal committees of the corporation should get statutory position enjoying greater powers to administer civic affairs in their respective localities.

The discussions of the Home Minister with the political parties have remained inconclusive. The Communist Party has subsequently addressed a letter to Gulzarilal Nanda requesting that a round table conference of representatives of political parties and sections of opinion in the corporation be called. The discussions are likely to be renewed after the Bhubaneswar session of the Congress.

The present proposals of the Home Ministry are a mere eye-wash. These do not seek to give the people of Delhi the much desired democratic set up at the state level nor do they aim at giving Delhi a unified, powerful, civic administration.

While handing over control to the Mayor, checks and balances in favour of bureaucracy are to be so applied as to reduce overall powers of elected representatives.

Already the proposals have met with disapproval of all political parties.

## ALL INDIA CAMPAIGN GETS A GOOD START

The National Campaign of the Toilers of India initiated at the Bombay conference has begun well. One of the eleven points of the minimum demands of the national Charter has been won, in principle. Government has been forced to think in terms of amending the Factories Act to enforce decision on fair price shops on recalcitrant employers, if they continue to default by February 29.

**B**UT the employers at the Standing Labour Committee meeting have made their reservations and these reservations are serious. They are not prepared for any automatic adjustment in D.A., either on the application of the general principle of linking it with the index; or to pay higher DA when the indices are cleaned out of their present fraudulent faults.

**A**S the All-India Day on January 12/13 is drawing near, reports from various industrial centres indicate the rising tempo of the campaign. Consultative meetings of unions in the different centres have been called in most centres; the participation is enthusiastic.

The state conventions would be held mostly before end of January. A special task which the state TU bodies as well as unions have undertaken in preparatory work is to probe the official index in the different centres a little deeper.

**I**NTERIM relief was won by the employees of Hindustan Times, Delhi by a settlement dated December 27. The management agreed to pay interim relief to all employees excluding working journalists and officers equivalent to 10 per cent of their salary or wages as on November 1, 1963, inclusive of ad hoc dearness allowance of Rs. 25 (but excluding the additional DA payable on the basis of the cost of living index) subject to a maximum of Rs. 30 and a

minimum of Rs. 15 per month. This payment will be adjusted against the dues which may be payable as a result of the Wage Board recommendations for non-journalist staff.

The employees got a month's salary as advance against final settlement of bonus.

**U**NIONS of the AITUC and UTUC are jointly campaigning on the issues of price rise and higher D.A. in Qullon district in Kerala State.

**T**HE Bihar State TU Convention is being held at Jamshedpur on 28-29 January. A regional convention is to be held at another steel town, Bhilai on 17-18 January.

**T**HE Andhra Pradesh Committee of the AITUC has directed affiliated unions to observe Demand Day either on Ja-

nuary 10, 11 or 12. The Committee decided on a tour programme for its members for extensive propaganda work on the national campaign in all the districts and industrial centres.

**T**HE Punjab Committee of the AITUC called a meeting on January 3 to take steps to intensify the campaign. Reports from centres in Punjab indicate that preparations are well in hand for the observance of the All-India Demands Day. In Faridabad, a Joint Committee of Trade Unions has been set up and a demonstration and rally have been planned for January 14.

**T**HE South Kanara Trade Union Council which met on December 29 under the presidency of A. Shantaram Pai, fully endorsed the 11-point Charter of Demands of the Bombay conference.

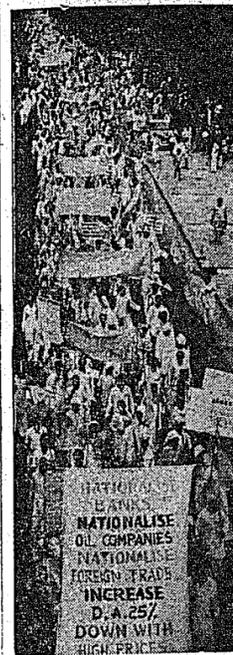
The council has decided to observe January 12 as National Campaign Day

by holding demonstrations and meetings.

**I**RON ore miners of Rajasthan (owned by the Bhilai Steel Project) began their campaign on DA, bonus etc., on January 1 according to the call of the Bombay conference. The Samyukta Khadun Mazdoor Sangh held a general body meeting on December 29 and the meeting decided on starting the campaign on January 1.

The campaign began with a demonstration of more than 4,000 workers carrying festoons and banners displaying the eleven-point demands. All categories of workers participated in the demonstration. At the head of the demonstration was a big placard which read: "National Campaign Begins: Inaugural March."

The demonstration went through the main thoroughfares of the town and ended in a rally which was addressed by Nasim Alam and S. K. Datta. The campaign of the miners will culminate in a bigger demonstration on January 13.



consumers cooperatives should be ensured.

Prices of all pulses should be controlled and their supply to the shops guaranteed.

The provision for exhibition of prices in all shops should be enforced vigorously. The executive directed

Party units to organise a campaign on the basis of these demands and demonstrate before taluq offices and collectorates and to present memoranda to district collectors and tehsildars.

A report on the Bombay conference of trade unions on DA and bonus was heard by the executive which exhorted all party units to help the trade unions to make the All India Demands Day on January 12-13 a big success.

be taken immediately to alleviate the hardships of the people:

Government should take over wholesale trade in foodgrains and guarantee adequate supplies at fair price of all articles to the fair price shops and cooperative societies.

The supply of rice made through fair price shops should be increased to three 'dangazhls' a week; the state

government should demand that the additional rice needed for this be supplied by the Centre to the state.

The sales tax now being levied on foodgrains should be scrapped immediately.

Opening of fair price shops in all factories and industrial units employing more than 300 persons should be guaranteed; adequate stocks in all such shops and

## Towards New Dimensions Of Struggle Metal & Engineering Workers Prepare For Conference

The metal and engineering workers of India are going to hold their 2nd conference at Hyderabad on February 1-2 after four years. The first conference was held in Calcutta in August 1959.

**T**HE ensuing conference will deal with some very vital problems like the setting up of a wage board for engineering industry, expediting the work of the Wage Board for Iron and Steel Industry, increase in DA and its link-up with cost of living index etc.

The metal and engineering workers are going to meet on the national scale at a time when these industries have already assumed a very important position in the country's economy. Before independence the Britishers never allowed us to develop the metal and engineering industry in spite of our vast resources. The wealth of raw materials like iron ore, manganese, dolomite, coal etc., is enough to feed our industry for next 300 years.

But after independence a tremendous upsurge came in this field. With the help of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries India has been able to build a nucleus of steel and heavy industries in public sector and alongwith it smaller engineering industries grew up in private sector.

India used to import machines worth Rs. 18 crores. After independence, the value of imports of machines rose from Rs. 18 crores in 1951-52 to Rs. 348.91 crores in 1961-62.

Along with the imported machineries the indigenous production of machines and other goods is also increasing.

Both in public and private sectors, the production is increasing. At the beginning of First Plan the value of indigenous product was Rs. 4 crores. At the end of First Plan the value of the production of metal and engineering goods rose to Rs. 25 crores.

At the end of the Second Five Year Plan the estimated value of the production per year was Rs 200.50 crores. And the target of the Third Plan is far more. The estimated value of the production in the year 1965-66 would be Rs. 500 to 600 crores.

From the above facts it can be seen how rapidly the industry has been growing (see Table 1 below)

that the workers of this industry today, in spite of their sacrifices, are the most exploited. With the growth of the industry their exploitation has also increased. From the table below computed on the basis of Census of Manufacturing Industries, it can be seen how the exploitation of the workers has increased:

Size of Eng. Factory Employment	Value of labour paid by the employer to the worker	Value returned to the worker
Factory below 20	Rs. 1	Rs. 1.696
" " 50	"	" 1.145
" " 100	"	" 1.696
" " 250	"	" 1.891
Above 5 lakhs fixed capital investment For factories	Rs. 1	1.926
" below 500	"	" 1.936
" 1000	"	" 1.714
" 2000	"	" 2.109
" 5000	"	" 2.220

it is only natural therefore that one of the longstanding grievances of the workers in this industry is that the pay scales of different categories of workers must be revised. The jobs done by the workers are very much complicated. And, there is a total

The 7,000 workers of Jay Engineering are already on strike from December 17. The 1,000 workers of Gloster Cables in West Bengal are also on strike on the question of revision of pay scales, bonus, gratuity etc.

Similarly the workers of Guest, Keen & Williams, Bralhatwaite, Saxby and Farmer and some other factories numbering about 25,000 are going to hold their special conventions, to serve strike notices on the above mentioned issues. Considering this situation the West Bengal branch of our Federation has decided in its meeting on December 31 to give a call for one day general strike of engineering workers on the above issues and in support of Jay Engineering and Gloster Cable workers' strikes. The Hyderabad conference of metal and engineering workers is going to shape this struggle on a national scale.

The secretariat of the Federation is meeting from December 30 to January 6 at Bombay to prepare the report of the General Secretary.

Mysore has already decided to send 100 delegates to the Hyderabad Conference. The Hindustan Aircraft where 22,000 workers are employed has decided to send 50 delegates and observers.

anarchy prevailing in the wage system. That is why the demand for a wage board for the metal and engineering industry has received so much momentum among the workers as it is hoped that

**★ By MOHAMMED ELIAS, MP**  
General Secretary  
National Federation of Metal & Eng. Workers of India

the wage board will revise the whole wage system. The wage board for the iron and steel industry has already been constituted. The engineering industry is still left out though it employs the largest number of workers. Thus, the question of pay scales, increase in DA and its

In different parts of Bombay city, engineering workers have begun meeting and discussing for sending delegates etc. It is expected that a large number of delegates will participate in Hyderabad conference coming from all parts of the country.

## KERALA PREPARES FOR CAMPAIGN

★ From S. SHARMA

**TRIVANDRUM:** The executive of the Kerala state council of the Communist Party has expressed grave concern over the spiralling rise in prices of rice and other essential articles of daily need of the people.

**M**EETING at Alwaye from December 26 to 28 under the chairmanship of K. T. JACOB, the executive made a review of the food situation in the state. It said that the state government, instead of taking prompt and effective steps to check the rise in prices, was showing "earnestness" in issuing statements distorting the actual state of affairs and pooh-poohing the hardships of the people.

It is a fact that the price of rice has come down a bit from the peak it reached a few weeks ago, but the present price itself is very high. Besides, the prices of such essential articles as sugar, jaggery, dal, chillies and coriander continue to be unbearably high.

Even with regard to rice there is no room for complacency. There is no prospect of deficit Kerala being able to secure necessary supplies from Andhra or Madras. The movement of rice from these states will naturally be to such states as West Bengal and

Maharashtra considering the rice situation in those states. The executive felt the only step by which this situation could be met was for the Union government to take over wholesale trade in foodgrains and to guarantee necessary supplies to deficit states like Kerala at fixed rates. The state government ought to bring pressure on the Centre for such a step.

Unfortunately, the Kerala government is not doing anything of the sort. It has not even cared to implement the directive of the Centre to lift the sales tax on foodgrains. Neither has it taken any step to get fair price shops opened in factories and industrial concerns employing more than 300 persons—another directive from the Centre.

The executive noted that the fair price shops opened in the state on cooperative basis are few in number, and even in the existing ones there was no adequate supply of all essential articles.



## BOOK REVIEW

# The Indian 'Speaker' In Russia

Russia as I saw it by Sardar Hukam Singh, published by Punjabi Publishers, Jullunder (164 pp.) Rs. 3 ordinary, Rs. 4 bound.

SARDAR Hukam Singh, the Speaker of the Lok Sabha, first visited the USSR in 1955 as a member of the first parliamentary delegation from India to visit that country. On that occasion the delegation was able to cover a very large part of the Soviet Union, visited many republics and saw for themselves the working of Soviet society, the extent of the war devastations and the economic recovery till then.

As he emphasises, he saw the Soviet Union neither with any preconceived opinions nor with much previous "knowledge of the new system introduced by the Russian revolution." In this book he records his impressions, which may be described as those of a genuinely uncommitted Indian.

He took nothing for granted and most of what he saw was revealing to him. He narrates all he saw, the advanced industry, the museums with their cultural treasures as well as his encounters with ordinary Russian people, their tremendous warmth and large-heartedness and at the same time "one felt rather vaguely that there was a point where they put the bolt on and shut us out."

Six years later, in 1961, he went to London to participate in the Commonwealth parliamentary conference from where he went to the USSR in response to an invitation from his Soviet counterpart, the Chairman of the House of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

On this occasion he was already acquainted with the basic facts of the Soviet system, with the major cities and institutions. But the second visit was still more revealing in another direction: he saw the great changes that the rectification of the personality cult had wrought in Soviet society, at economic, administrative and political levels.

In these six years, not only great changes had taken place in the USSR but the nature of the relations between India and the Soviet Union had changed fundamentally. Following the historic Nehru-Khrushchev visits to each other's countries, not only the flood gates of trade had opened on both sides but there has been a steady flow of technicians, experts, students, artists and writers to the mutual advantage and increase of knowledge of the two countries.

In his own words, the "Soviet Union is going to was no longer an unknown digit to us, Indians. The iron curtain is if it

exists and is drawn to shut out certain people of some other countries, we are not aware of it." The second visit differed in essence in the sense that there was no longer any mystery now befogging that country.

He describes the new housing construction in Moscow, the prefab building techniques, the new efforts towards decentralisation of the economy, of fighting red tape, of new administrative efforts and also about fashion consciousness of the Moscow women.

"These, however, are the outward changes. What was not so apparent, and yet what one could not miss were the changes that had occurred in the minds of men. The Russians I met, and a good number of them I met, talked more volubly, easily, with almost no reservation, often critically, about their life, their political system, their leaders. Indeed it happened that after having known me, a foreigner, for only half an hour, a Russian would take me into confidence so completely as could never have been dreamt of by him a decade ago..."

"The Russian of 1961, I sensed, was different even from the Russian of 1955. Now he not only took me to wherever I wanted to go or answered every question I put to him; but also he talked very often spontaneously, on his own, about himself and his country. One almost got the impression that every Russian wanted a listener to unburden his heart which had remained tightly locked for far too long a period."

The Speaker has a charmingly narrative style and a disarming curiosity whether it be the story of the Bibikhanam Mosque named after the wife of Taimurlang in Samarkand or the site of a modern construction site. He quotes many a conversation with the common people which cumulatively convey an impression of the Soviet Union today far better than any theoretical statement.

Sardar Hukam Singh reached Moscow on the eve of the 22nd Congress when the Soviet capital seemed to be thick with stories about misdeeds committed during the Stalin era. During the intervening years, political prisoners had been released in their thousands, many of whom had never been brought to court at all, or had been gaoled on trumped up charges. The labour camps had been broken up and the returnees narrated their stories to their friends and acquaintances. This was the first time that the ordinary people had come to know the full extent of the shocking things that had taken place.

He says, "when they learnt of them they were first bewildered, then shocked, then furiously angry. By the time I arrived in Moscow in 1961 the anger seemed to have mounted to white heat, and people spoke with unrestrained rage about those days."

After narrating several discussions with Soviet citizens on whether the atrocities committed were inevitable in conditions of revolution or they were ruthless acts perpetrated by an unscrupulous individual who had risen to absolute power, Sardar Hukam Singh has "no doubt that the Russians value very much the freedom they have newly obtained as a result of a number of measures introduced by the Khrushchev administration."

He then describes the new changes in Party rules about strict implementation of the principles of collective leadership, against any person occupying the same office for more than two terms, and about several changes in Soviet jurisprudence etc.

No book about the Soviet Union of the sixties could be complete without a reference to the Soviet achievements in the sphere of scientific research and space flight and the book adequately conveys the enthusiasm and confidence of the Soviet people especially of the younger generation in the limitless possibilities of advance in this sphere. The tremendous interest in science and the justifiable pride emanating

from the knowledge that in this sphere their science and technology excels all others are truly phenomenal.

In the end he says that "the Soviet Union has taken a new turn. It will no doubt be an exciting experience to watch it advance along the unbeaten track chosen by them." Since they themselves are infinitely thrilled at the prospect of moving ahead to a new economic dimension within a wider democratic framework that they ardently desire peace to prevail.

"Peaceful coexistence, I do not believe, is a smokescreen for them behind which they are surreptitiously preparing for war..."

—BAREN RAY

## Enquiry Into Hazratbal Affair

THE disappearance of the holy relic of the Prophet from the Hazratbal shrine on the morning of December 27 seems to be a deliberate attempt on the part of certain miscreants to disrupt the unity of the people.

A thorough and impartial enquiry into the incident can go a long way in strengthening the confidence of the people. An independent commission should be set up to enquire into the police firing so that people are not denied the right for peaceful demonstrations to express their genuinely felt resentment and feelings.

G. M. MALIK  
Convener, Kashmir Provincial Committee, Democratic Conference  
Srinagar

## Readers' Letters

### Indiscriminate Transfers

INDISCRIMINATE transfers have landed a large number of employees of the Central Excise and Customs of the Shillong zone, which includes Tripura state, in severe hardships. At least 300 employees have suffered as a result of recent transfers, which could be best termed as persecution.

Among those served with transfer orders are many ailing employees who receive treatment from the Calcutta Medical College hospital, employees due for retirement shortly and even women employees. The unjust nature of these transfers is patent from the

fact that they have been done with the least consideration for the convenience of the employees. When some of the transferred employees represented their cases, the authorities turned them down without as much as listening to their plight.

An interesting aspect of the spate of transfers is that some Assamese employees have got transfers back to their home state. This has naturally caused suspicions whether the transfers were effected for the benefit of some favoured employees. And all this has been done at an estimated cost, reportedly, of Rs. 1.5 lakhs! It indeed speaks ill of the emergency and economy measures.

Agartala P. SEN GUPTA

## BRIDGES OF AMITY

### ISCUS CONFERENCE

A LONG with the national conference of the Indo-Soviet Cultural Society at Ernakulam, an exhibition of Soviet books was organised. The exhibition was inaugurated by KUTIPUZHA KRISHNA PILLAI, renowned man of letters in Malayalam. Another renowned writer, THAKAZHI SIVASANKARA PILLAI addressed the inaugural meeting, presided over by K. DAMODARAN editor of Navayugam.

The function was also addressed by Madame KHUDOZHNIKOVA and Madame V. V. LUBOMUDROVA, head of the cultural department of the Soviet embassy in India. Khudozhnikova said that the Soviet Union stood first in the world in publication of books. The largest number of books of other languages and countries were translated and published in the Soviet Union. Many scientific and educational books were also published there.

In 1961-62 about a hundred text books were published in the Soviet Union. Of these 14 have been approved by Indian universities and many others have been recommended for supplementary reading. Lubomudrova said more than 200 Indians had visited the Soviet Union last year and about the same number of Soviet people visited India. Eighty Indian students were in

the Soviet Union now. Indian languages were also being studied there.

### TRADE WITH HUNGARY

FOR the first time in the trade relations between India and Hungary, a five-year trade and payments agreement was recently concluded.

Though India and Hungary have been trading partners since long—even before the Second World War—rapid development in the volume of trade has taken place only in the last 7-8 years. Before the introduction of the Rupee-payment system, i.e., in 1959, the turnover on both sides was only Rs. 4.1 crores. Since then it has increased manifold and in 1963 it reached the level of Rs. 8.5 crores each way.

The new trade agreement is aimed at doubling the volume of trade within the next three years, i.e., by 1966. Hungary will sell to India steel, chemicals, machinery, measuring and scientific instruments and complete plant equipments. India will export among others tea, coffee, pepper, jute products, fodder and textiles.

Besides these, it is estimated that there is good scope for selling to Hungary such non-traditional Indian export items as light engineering goods, machinery, handicrafts, shoes, coir products, ready-made garments and so on, and in the new trade agreement ample provision has been made for the promotion of the sale of these items.

### INDO-POLISH AGREEMENT

A new long-term Indo-Polish trade and payments agreement was signed in New Delhi on December 18.

The newly signed agreement envisages doubling of the trade between India and Poland by 1966. Exports each way are expected to reach the level of Rs. 15.7 crores in 1964.

According to the agreement, Poland will supply India with machines, complete industrial plants, power industry equipment, fishing vessels, motor vehicles, and products of the chemical and pharmaceutical industries. India will supply Poland in return with tobacco, coffee, tea, iron and manganese ores, oil cakes, etc.

Indian goods were introduced into the Polish markets only after the 1949 trade agreement and there had been a great spurt in the volume of trade exchange after 1958. The volume of trade had grown from Rs. 3.93 crores in 1959 to Rs. 19 crores in 1962.

Poland is now importing not only traditional items as iron and manganese ores but also machine tools, textile machinery, electric motors, textiles and leather goods.

The Elta-Enterprise of Transformers and Traction Apparatus in Lodz represented by the Elektrim foreign trade agency has won the competition for the delivery of 24 medium and high power transformers to India in 1964.

THE Indian monopoly press has been gleefully publishing "news" from Colombo of the activities of the anti-Party, anti-unity clique led by N. Sanmugathasan, who seek to split the Communist Party of Ceylon and are taking steps to establish a rival "Communist Party".

Special reports have appeared in the Indian press of the assaults made by goondas, hired by Sanmugathasan and his supporters, on delegates to the so-called 16th "sessions" of the Ceylon Trade Union Federation (CTUF), who dared to protest against the dangerous disruptive activities of Sanmugathasan.

Recent issues of FORWARD, the Ceylon Communist Party weekly, give the full story of the disruptive efforts of the anti-Party, anti-unity clique in the trade union movement, and, what is most heartening, the story of the ever growing movement in the working class against Sanmugathasan's gangster methods.

NEW AGE is publishing on this page a resolution and reports from FORWARD which will help our readers to understand the truth about the splitting activities, carried out, under the directions of the Chinese leadership, in Ceylon, through Sanmugathasan and his group.

—Editor

This is the text of the resolution passed by 236 delegates and observers to the CTUF "sessions" organised by the Sanmugathasan clique who have withdrawn from it in disgust.

The resolution was passed unanimously, but only office bearers of various unions were asked to sign it. Even this list, however, is incomplete, as a number of leading trade unionists left before actually affixing their signatures to the resolution in order to report to their members.

WE condemn the attempts of the General Secretary of the CTUF, N. Sanmugathasan, to misuse his position in order to make the CTUF, which was built in close co-operation with and under the leadership of the Communist Party, into an instrument to fight against the Communist Party and the United Left Front.

These policies of Mr. Sanmugathasan have been condemned by a number of the constituent unions of the CTUF and by meetings of the workers at several factories and workplaces.

ALTHOUGH trade union delegations from abroad had been invited from 16 countries, only four turned up—China, Indonesia, Vietnam and Korea.

We also condemn the decision of the Sanmugathasan clique, without any authority from the General Council or the members of the CTUF, to refuse to invite the leaders of the Communist Party and the ULF to address the sessions. This is another expression of their opposition to the CP and the ULF.

### Conference Rigging

The workers are determined to fight for their demands in unity with and under the leadership of the Communist Party and the ULF which have stood at the head of all their struggles for the past 30 years.

We condemn and disassociate ourselves from the attempts of Mr. Sanmugathasan and his supporters in the bureaucratic set-up at the CTUF headquarters to call an unrepresentative and undemocratic so-called "sessions" of the CTUF in order to stop the growing revolt against his policies, which can only lead the CTUF workers to isolation and defeat.

### Undemocratic & Unrepresentative

The so-called "16th sessions" of the CTUF is neither democratic nor representative.

The resolutions it is supposed to discuss were unknown to the delegates until the morning that the conference began. They were not even placed before the General Council of the CTUF.

# SPLITTERS' GANG REJECTED BY CEYLON T. U. MOVEMENT

informed of the change in the date of the sessions.

At the sessions itself the "democracy" of the Sanmugathasan bureaucrats was seen by the open intimidation of delegates by hired thugs and rowdies who had nothing to do with the CTUF. After M. G. Mendis had made his Presidential speech, which was received, with round after round of applause, these hired thugs fell upon and assaulted those who cheered him and injured several. The doors of the New Town Hall were closed to prevent persons leaving and several persons inside were also assaulted.

### Fight These Policies

In view of the above, we warn the workers of the constituent unions of the CTUF of the dangerous and undemocratic policies pursued by the Sanmugathasan bureaucracy and urge them to join the fight against these disastrous policies.

In order to facilitate the struggle, a real workers' conference will be convened in February 1964 to take the necessary political and organisational steps to ensure that the workers of these unions march forward in the fight for the 21 demands and other demands of the working class in close co-operation with and under the leadership of the Communist Party and the United Left Front.

In many cases "delegates" have not been elected by the workers but selected by "committees".

In other places, such as the CTB depot at Galle, delegates

elect by the workers at a meeting have been refused and persons whom the workers have rejected and thrown out of office have been accepted by the Sanmugathasan bureaucracy as "delegates".

Signed:

M. G. MENDIS (President, CTUF, and President, Ceylon Motor Workers' Union)

S. NADESAN (President, Ceylon Plantation Workers' Union)

P. CHANDRASEKERAM (Acting President, Ceylon Harbour Workers' Union)

S. J. DE SILVA (General Secretary, Ceylon Harbour Workers' Union)

D. L. WICKREMASINGHE (President, Colombo Municipal Passenger Transport Employees' Union)

T. L. SIRISENA (President, Kantalal Sugar Factory Workers' Union)

M. K. ARNOLIS APPUHAMY (General Secretary, Ceylon Press Workers' Union)

T. W. PERERA (General Secretary, United Beedi Workers' Union)

K. R. JAMES (President, Elephant House Branch, Ceylon General Workers' Union)

T. SARAM (Mattakulya Boatyard Workers' Union President)

M. CHANDRADAPA (Secretary, Health & Co. branch union)

R. FRANCIS APPUHAMY (C. W. Mackle & Co branch union President)

by office bearers of the following CTB depot branches of the Ceylon Motor Workers' Union—Galle, Matara, Kalutara, Panadura, Ratnapura, Meetotamulla, Ambalangoda, Rattmalana; and by office bearers and district representatives of the Ceylon Plantation Workers' Union from Matale, Ratnapura, Wattagama, Matara, Haputale, Hattton, Nuwara Eliya, Galle, Badulla, Ingiriya, Rakwana and Talawakelle.

Y. K. D. WEERASENA (President, Lipton & Co Branch union)

P. KURUPPU (Vice-President, Wellawatte Spinning & Weaving Mills branch union)

A. GUNASIRI (President, United Plumbago Workers' Union)

The statement is also signed

## Splitters Use Gangsters

"It was more like a prison than a workers' conference", commented an estate worker from Haputale, when describing his reaction to the opening day of the so-called 16th sessions of the CTUF.

His comment was apt and understandable. For that was precisely what the Sanmugathasan boss-caucus in the CTUF headquarters wanted the conference to be. Following the example of trade union bosses in the USA, the Sanmugathasan bureaucrats sought to stifle opposition to their anti-CP and anti-ULF policies by resorting to conference-rigging and the use of hired gangsters.

On the opening day of the sessions, the conference rigging was particularly noticeable.

Nine delegates and observers elected by the workers of the CTB depot at Galle, for instance, were denied the right to be delegates and persons handpicked by the caucus were seated instead. All the delegates of the Ceylon Harbour Workers' Union were refused. A Vice-President of the Ceylon Plantation Workers' Union and a well-known figure both in the CTUF and the plantations, who had been elected as a delegate, was also refused admission. And there were many more such cases.

Elaborate preparations had also been made to intimidate delegates. A number of professional gangsters, some of whom have cases pending against them, were specially hired by a Colombo businessman who is a strong political and financial supporter of the Sanmugathasan anti-party and anti-ULF group. These persons were brought to the CTUF, lavishly entertained, and issued with special cards describing them as "technical cadre".

In addition, a "volunteer" organisation was trained by some army men, issued with code commands, and told how to get ready for an attack when a whistle was blown. They took up positions at the conference hall on the night prior to the opening of the sessions, after laying in a stock of iron rods, swords and other weapons.

The loud applause that greeted M. G. Mendis's powerful speech exposing the anti-party and anti-ULF manoeuvres of the Sanmugathasan clique and the undemocratic rigging of the conference was more than the clique could bear.

As M. G. Mendis descended from the platform and began to walk out of the conference, all the delegates rose and many began to follow him. At this point, a whistle was blown and the "technical cadre" closed the doors, and began laying about the delegates with iron rods and swords.

Some of them tried to manhandle Mendis, tearing at his shirt and striking him in the face. But the workers' delegates gathered round and protected Mendis and forced a way out.

This so enraged the "technical cadre" that they rushed out of the hall, began to pelt stones at the delegates who had got out and started an indiscriminate assault on persons outside, including passers-by.

Four persons were admitted to hospital with serious injuries. One of them had his hands and face cut with a sword; another had head injuries which needed 9 stitches; and a third had head and body injuries. A proprietor of a small nearby garage who tried to pick-up the injured and remove them to hospital in his car, was set upon, beaten with rods and his car smashed. Many others were assaulted and kicked, even after they had fallen.

Thus did the Sanmugathasan caucus demonstrate the real meaning of their loud talk about "revolution". It was a revolution, directed not against the imperialists or the bosses, but against workers' delegates who demanded that the CTUF should continue to advance alongside the CP and ULF.

NEW AGE

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# DRUZHBA PIPELINE OPENS IN G.D.R.

★ From P. KUNHANANDAN

BERLIN, December 20: December 18 will remain as a red letter day in the life of the German people and in the annals of the economic history of the world socialist system.

ON that day WALTER ULBRICHT ceremoniously opened the last stage of the world's longest "Friendship" pipeline and oil poured into the Schwedt refinery in the GDR.

From now on Schwedt, a little town on the eastern frontier of GDR, will develop as the biggest oil town in West Europe. The opening of the pipeline before schedule is only the first-stage of the new oil refinery and other chemical industrial complex being built on the Oder river.

Walter Ulbricht said when he opened the slide valves of the pipeline: "Schwedt in one of the most significant foundation stones for the future profile of the national economy of the German Democratic Republic." The building of the oil refinery and other chemical combinat in Schwedt is considered by the COMECON as the most important political and economic investment of the German Democratic Republic.

The story of the building of the great artery of the world socialist system across the Euro-

pean continent is an inspiring saga of labour heroism of Communist construction. This world's longest oil pipeline was constructed in a relatively short period of four years.

The COMECON took the decision and the agreement was signed between Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and German Democratic Republic on December 18, 1959 and the first spade work of this herculean construction began on the X'mas eve of that year.

During these four years a pipeline system with a total length of 5,500 km was built. This is something unique in the world history of oil transportation.

One thing is certain in any case that NENNI's group in helping the Christian Democrats to overcome the governmental crisis on the basis of support for the Atlantic alliance and attempting to stop the united working class movement has only transferred this crisis to within the Italian Socialist Party.

Under the pressure of this movement and the opposition of the Italian Communist Party following the broad support gained by the left socialist criticisms, there were moments of uncertainty which manifested not only among the dissident leaders of the Socialist Party but even from among the Christian Democrats as was evident from the speech by the former President of the Republic, GIOVANNI GRONCHI at the Senate.

Workers' Demand

If the participation of the socialists in the government represents a new feature, then this must show itself day by day. That is what the Italian working masses are demanding. They mobi-

lised unitedly in order to win their demands and in this connection the measures announced by the government are utterly ineffective.

The mighty power of the 450,000 textile workers, the fight of the bank employees, of the railwaymen, of the Post and Telegraph workers, the response of the metallurgical workers of Milan against the intimidatory and repressive measures of the employers, confirm that the perspective of a united Italian working class movement still remains open. However, one must not shut ones eyes to the danger that this internal crisis in the Socialist Party entails.

The disquiet expressed on this account by the present Secretary General of the Italian Socialist Party, DE MARTINO, criticism of the dissident VITTORELLI expressed in the Senate towards the External Affairs, are opposed to the disciplinary measures taken by the majority of the Rightwing of the Socialist Party, towards these members of Parliament from the Left of the party who refused to vote for the new government.

testimony of the great industrial might of the socialist world.

Very soon small capillaries will run all over GDR from the Schwedt refinery, nourishing mechanised agriculture and paving the basis for all the complex products of a modern petro-chemical industry. Heating, cooking and driving will be cheaper for the people in the coming years.

The world socialist system is ready to compete with Caltex and shell in west Europe providing cheaper petroleum and oil within a short time.

Those who attack COMECON as a fetter on the free development of individual socialist countries should have a look at the great production revolution, this pipeline which is one of the many great projects of the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance has brought to individual socialist countries like GDR, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland.

of the Polish United Workers' Party, arrived in the town. Among the guests were the Soviet government delegation headed by Vice Premier MIKHAIL LESECHKO, the government delegations from Czechoslovakia, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, Rumania and CMEA officials.

At midday a mass meeting devoted to the official commissioning of this important project of Polish socialist industry was held in the "Pszedwesne" cinema of Plotsk. On behalf of the Party's Central Committee and the government, Gomulka conveyed to the builders congratulations and profound gratitude for their work and the pre-schedule completion of the section.

On behalf of the people and the Party, he thanked the CMEA, all countries which built the pipeline, above all

the Soviet Union, for their co-operation and assistance in the construction of this project.

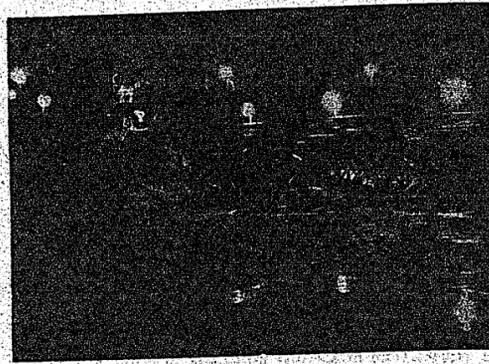
By supplying the CMEA countries with its oil, the Polish leader said, the Soviet Union helps meet their growing demand in oil for fuel and for the chemical industry. The piping of Soviet oil enables Poland, the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia and Hungary advantageously to solve the problem of liquid fuel and the question of a raw material base for their chemical industry.

Turning to the tremendous successes of Poland, Gomulka said that the guarantee for them were fraternal friendship, cooperation and assistance between the socialist countries. The unity of the socialist nations should be safeguarded as the apple of the eye, he added.

That is why "L'UNITA" posed the question: Does the majority following Nenni really wish to undertake in regard to Italian workers, some step towards provoking a split and as a consequence a new division in the working class movement? This question is posed also by the workers, and by the majority of Italians and it is perhaps because of this that the present leaders of the Socialist Party are today expecting their governmental allies to fulfil their promises.

Possibly they are afraid of finding themselves tomorrow in the impossible situation of having to declare the Socialist Party's refusal to support the government in which case the Christian Democrats will of course employ the same methods of blackmail as they earlier used against FANFANI.

Christmas has brought to Italy a new government after a crisis which started last January when the Rightwing of the Christian Democrats had imposed a halt to the programme of the centre-left government of Fanfani but it is not for this that the masses are in festival these days. On the contrary the latest developments of the situation, the internal crisis of the Socialist Party indicate and confirm that their battle for the social and democratic renewal of Italy continues and that they can and must battle unitedly, and repel all attempts at causing a new split on the basis of anti-communism.



A night view of the construction site at Schwedt

## POLISH SECTION ALSO COMMISSIONED

WARSAW, December 28: The Polish section of the Druzhba (Friendship) oil pipeline built by the collective efforts of five European socialist countries was officially commissioned in the Polish town of Plotsk today.

On this occasion the Polish leaders headed by WLADYSLAW GOMULKA, first secretary of the Central Committee

of the Polish United Workers' Party, arrived in the town. Among the guests were the Soviet government delegation headed by Vice Premier MIKHAIL LESECHKO, the government delegations from Czechoslovakia, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, Rumania and CMEA officials.

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MOSCOW, January 3: The Soviet government has submitted to the governments of all states a proposal to sign an international agreement (or treaty) under which states would renounce the use of force for the settlement of territorial or border disputes.

The proposal is contained in a message addressed by Nikita Khrushchov to heads of state (or government) of the countries of the world on December 31, 1963.

The message stresses that "at the present time a situation has arisen when it is possible to practically pose and solve the problem of excluding from international life the use of force in territorial disputes between states."

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# RENOUNCE USE OF FORCE FOR SOLVING BORDER DISPUTES

## Khrushchov's Letter To Heads Of States

"The Soviet government," the message says, "has arrived at the conclusion that while continuing to work tirelessly for the solution of the problem of general and complete disarmament it would be useful simultaneously to redouble our efforts in eliminating acute frictions in relations between states and centres of tension."

### Dangerous Frictions

Khrushchov characterises territorial disputes, problems of the state boundaries, mutual or unilateral claims of states to each other's territories, as questions "over which dangerous frictions arise most frequently between states in various parts of the world."

After noting that not all "territorial claims and disputes between states are of the same nature," the head of the Soviet government first of all points to Taiwan. "This island since ancient times is a component part of the Chinese state. The unlawful occupation of Taiwan by American troops must be terminated. The island is an inalienable part of the People's Republic of China and would have been reunified with it long since, were it not for the external interference of another state."

Referring to territorial claims and border disputes based on arguments and considerations of history, ethnography, blood affinity and religion, Khrushchov calls for "regarding with due understanding" the boundaries formed in the course of history.

"Especially dangerous to all mankind would be an armed border conflict in that part of the world where both world wars started in the past, and where the bulk of the troops and armaments of the states belonging to the two principal antagonistic military alignments are concentrated in our time. This area is Europe—there is no disputing this."

There is no doubt that should a world thermonuclear war escalate from a

"The demands of the liberated states for the return of their territories that are still under the colonial yoke or under foreign occupation are unquestionably just," the message says. "All this, of course, applies in full also to the territories of the peoples which have not yet won national independence at all and remain as colonies."

The military bases established on alien territories should be liquidated in similar fashion.

### No Force For Reunification

One should renounce the use of force in settling the question of the reunification of such states as Korea, Vietnam and Germany.

The head of the Soviet government declares that the territorial "claims" of the revenge-seeking circles of certain states which were the aggressors in the Second World War "must be resolutely rejected as incompatible with the interests of peace, because nothing but a new world war may grow out of these claims."

"We are deeply convinced that the use of force for the settlement of territorial disputes is not in the genuine interests of any people or any country."

"The main line of the policy of the socialist states, aimed at strengthening peace and averting war is exactly the earnest of the fact that on our side armed force will not and cannot be used to settle any territorial disputes in our favour."

"We are deeply convinced that the use of force for the settlement of territorial disputes is not in the genuine interests of any people or any country."

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local clash between states seeking to settle their territorial disputes by force, it would spare no one, and no one would be able to fence oneself off from it. "No one, except madmen or political figures blinded by hatred, can resign themselves to such a prospect."

"I should like to say quite definitely and firmly that in the Soviet Union there are no such political figures, and had they appeared, they would have certainly been committed to a madhouse," notes the head of the Soviet government.

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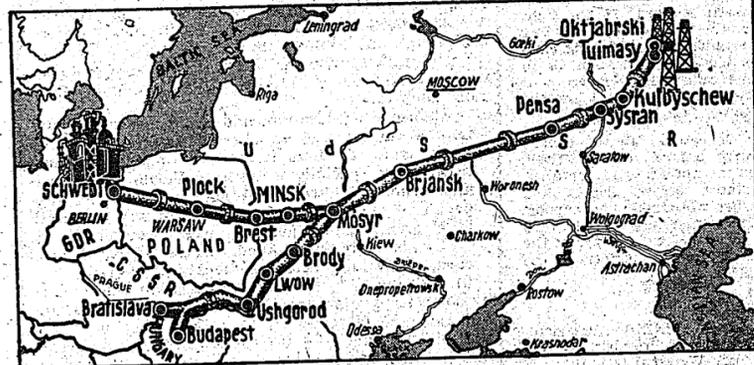
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## ITALIAN SOCIALIST PARTY: INTERNAL CRISIS DEEPENS

★ From DINO PELLICIA

ROME, December 23: The internal crisis of the Italian Socialist Party has become more grave during the last few days. Just now Christmas has brought a brief respite in the hectic political life in Italy and we do not know at the time of writing what will be the developments from this crisis. Perhaps it will lead (so eagerly wished by the conservatives) to a split.

Under the pressure of this movement and the opposition of the Italian Communist Party following the broad support gained by the left socialist criticisms, there were moments of uncertainty which manifested not only among the dissident leaders of the Socialist Party but even from among the Christian Democrats as was evident from the speech by the former President of the Republic, GIOVANNI GRONCHI at the Senate.

Workers' Demand

If the participation of the socialists in the government represents a new feature, then this must show itself day by day. That is what the Italian working masses are demanding. They mobi-

lised unitedly in order to win their demands and in this connection the measures announced by the government are utterly ineffective.

The mighty power of the 450,000 textile workers, the fight of the bank employees, of the railwaymen, of the Post and Telegraph workers, the response of the metallurgical workers of Milan against the intimidatory and repressive measures of the employers, confirm that the perspective of a united Italian working class movement still remains open. However, one must not shut ones eyes to the danger that this internal crisis in the Socialist Party entails.

The disquiet expressed on this account by the present Secretary General of the Italian Socialist Party, DE MARTINO, criticism of the dissident VITTORELLI expressed in the Senate towards the External Affairs, are opposed to the disciplinary measures taken by the majority of the Rightwing of the Socialist Party, towards these members of Parliament from the Left of the party who refused to vote for the new government.

## PEACE PROSPECTS BETTER Khrushchov Tells UPI Correspondent

★ From MASOOD ALI KHAN

MOSCOW, January 1: In its last issue for 1963, Pravda, under a three-column headline "Peace, creative work and communism" said: "Looking back, we have much to be proud of and happy about this year. This year, now passing into history, was a great and glorious year. We can be proud of its results, the fruits of labour and genius of Soviet people, all that has been achieved by us under the leadership of the Communist Party."

The paper also published an interview given by the Soviet Premier to the correspondent of UPI of the United States of America on the occasion of the New Year.

Khrushchov declared that the coming year 1964 "can undoubtedly become a year of decisive change for the better in the entire international situation" given a unity of endeavour of the Soviet Union, USA and other states in the interest of peace.

Khrushchov declared that the Soviet people were entering 1964 with grand plans of peaceful construction and "we believe that the American people do not want war either."

Referring to American policies, the Soviet leader said: "The declared inten-

tion of the new US President Lyndon Johnson, to continue in foreign affairs the policy of peaceful settlement of international problems, of improving relations with the Soviet Union and calling a halt to the cold war, has been met with gratification in this country."

The passing year had generated hopes for a relaxation of tension and in this respect, the coming year probably could be no worse than the one about to end.

Khrushchov listed a number of issues on which, in his opinion, there might be a reasonable prospect of agreement in the new year like reductions in armed forces, cuts in military spending, signing of a non-aggression pact between NATO and War-

Pravda on the same day also published a message of New Year greetings from Prime Minister Nehru, under the headline "The Ties of Friendship Shall Strengthen." Greetings to Cuba on the fifth anniversary of her revolution were also published.

# Chicken War

THE European Economic Community (EEC) has been recently busy trying to mend the trade situation of its "inner six" countries and as is Uncle's habit, he has suddenly butted into the affairs making the situation even more confused and complicated.

Originally, the Uncle tried to turn the common market into a bridgehead of expansion and a battering ram for American monopolies, spearheaded against the socialist countries. This was done in the name of "integration" in West Europe. But the EEC dodged the pat of its transoceanic patron and began coming out more as a rival than an ally.

Attempts to avoid EEC external tariffs and conquer it from inside by actively exporting American capital into the common market zone proved to be a double-edged weapon. It resulted in telling damage to the payments balance of the USA. Plans to get Britain, as a "Trojan horse" into the EEC, have also suffered a fiasco.

Hence, Uncle is up to another trick. He is looking forward to a comprehensive agreement with the EEC on the mutual lowering of customs tariffs within GATT, talks on which will open in Geneva on May 4.

Meanwhile, remnants of the "chicken war" of last summer

linger on. The war was really on chickens—a sharp clash between the USA and the common market bloc in connection with the high tariffs introduced by the EEC on imports of frozen poultry from over the ocean. The Uncle replied with threats of dire consequences—the raising of customs duties on various goods imported to the USA from the "inner six" countries.

Actually, the alarm felt by the Uncle was not merely because of chickens. The USA annually sells 120 crore dollars worth of farm products to the EEC countries. These products are available in the EEC countries themselves in quantity. In 1958-62 the American export of these products grew by 35 per cent. So, France—a member of the EEC—planned to turn the "inner six" into a walled-off zone for the USA. And, the tension grew. And now the Uncle has therefore entered into the second phase of his chicken war—seeking to throttle the EEC.

## SHADOW UNDER THE LAMP

THE Uncle's free land of the United States is always described by his pals as a land of bounty.

There is no hunger, no privation and so on.

And now has come an exceedingly interesting revelation in the form of a booklet prepared recently by a group of American economists under L. KEYSERLING, former chairman of the Economic Advisers Council to President TRUMAN. The booklet is entitled: "Poverty and Privation in the United States. Difficult Condition of Two-Fifths of the Nation."

Some of the startling facts are: In 1960, 77 million Americans, or two-fifths of the country's population, lived in poverty and privation. And only 7 per cent of the population—12.5 million people—lived a life of plenty.

In the south of the country 68 per cent of the families lived in poverty and privation in 1960. Among the Negroes the percentage was as high as 80. In the same year 58 per cent of the country's farmers could not make both ends meet.

In the USA the rich gets richer and poor becomes poorer. In 1953 one-fifth of the country's families got 49 per cent of the national income, whereas in 1960, they got only 45 per cent. The highest income group in the USA, who appropriated 44.7 per cent of the national in-

## Under Uncle Sam's Umbrella

come in 1953, increased it further to 45.7 per cent in 1960.

The breadwinners of more than one-fourth of the families living in poverty are unemployed. About two-thirds of the heads of the families do not have sufficient education.

The booklet grudgingly admits through facts that poverty is the inevitable companion of capitalism. The Uncle's gems are mostly synthetic!

## INTEREST IN VENEZUELA

THE Uncle is highly interested in the Latin American countries, and particularly in Venezuela. Hence, he has to control the democracy there and see that his candidate secures largest number of votes, of course, through democratic means!

Why is Uncle so interested in the "democratic" election in Venezuela? The answer is quite obvious. The United States "has too much at stake"

in Venezuela, admits the NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE.

Venezuela which holds the world's second place in oil production is a real "El Dorado" of gold for the American monopolies whose capital investments there amount to 3,500 million dollars. This is almost one-third of all the US capital investments in Latin America.

It has also very much at stake in its political manoeuvrings in regard to realisation of the ill-starred programme of "Alliance for Progress". So, can you blame the Uncle?

## -CHARVAK

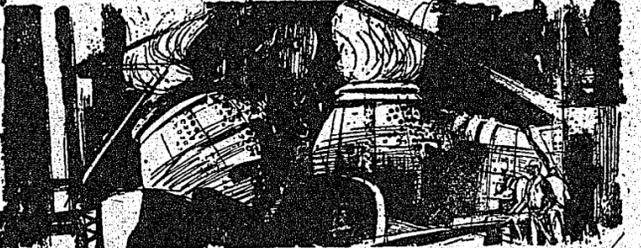


"How deep do you figure we'll get involved, Sir?"

# DEFENCE and



# DEVELOPMENT



# GO TOGETHER

Slanted now for direct support of defence effort the steel industry has stepped up its production and modified the mills' rolling programmes. Motor vehicles for the armed forces have been standardised. The capacity of the engineering industry has been strengthened. Commissioning of power plants is being expedited. An emergency pool of generating sets is being set up. More wagons are rolling out of Railway Workshops and arterial and other roads are being modernized.

New priorities are building up the bedrock of the nation's defence power. Support this drive in every way you can by thought, word and deed.



ON WITH THE PLAN STRENGTHEN INDIA'S DEFENCES

## THE BRITISH DISLIKE!

The British capitalists do not seem to realise that no longer it is a *laissez-faire* in India for their trade to prosper. If British capital has to do business, it is natural that it will be circumscribed within the limits of Indian law. But this is what the British capitalists do not like.

THEIR anger and discomfiture have found expression in the London TIMES of December 30 where it has expressed strong displeasure for Government of India's action in raiding six British firms in Calcutta, one among which has already been noticed to show cause on more than a dozen distinct charges of violation of customs and foreign exchange regulations.

## CRISIS IN CONFIDENCE?

According to THE TIMES, such raids and calling of explanations etc. are directed against some of the most substantial and longest established British firms in India and therefore it has warned government that these might result in some effects "on confidence in London about investments here." It has also remarked

that the breaches of customs and foreign exchange regulations by these business houses "are nothing serious" and "that these are the inevitable accompaniment of the impingement of an immensely elaborate system of import-export and exchange controls on business with traditional patterns and ways of trade." The London TIMES further said that these breaches "do not justify the steps taken, which have included raids on premises."

The British financiers ought to be told that such steps should have been taken by the Government of India long time back. In fact, Government of India has been castigated for having failed to take action earlier. If the Indian regulations are not to the liking of British capitalist gentry, they can go back home. What is holding them back?

-S. M.

## R.K. BHOGALE

R. K. BHOGALE, veteran leader of the textile workers and vice-president of the Girmi Kamgar Union of Bombay was knocked down by a taxi and died in the K.E.M. Hospital on January 5.

HE was just crossing a street in Parel after having addressed a mill gate meeting, when he was knocked down by a running taxi. He was seriously wounded in the neck and the head and became unconscious. He was immediately taken to the hospital but all efforts to bring him back to consciousness failed and he passed away the same evening.

## His Devotion And Sacrifice

Thousands of grief-stricken workers thronged to participate in the funeral procession of their beloved leader, which started from the office of the Bombay Committee of the CPI on the afternoon of the next day. The last rites took place in the evening when S. A. DANGE paid a moving tribute to the memory of his departed colleague.

## Grievous Loss To Party

A sudden accident has cut short the devoted life of a stalwart trade union leader, an ardent patriot and a staunch Communist who rose from the ranks of the textile workers of Bombay. Indian trade union movement and the Communist Party of India has suffered a grievous loss. The Communist Party of India dips the red banner to honour his memory and sends heartfelt condolences to his bereaved wife and children.

Ramachandra Krishnaji Bhogale was an outstanding working class leader, who came from the first generation of young workers who devoted their entire life to the militant trade union movement and to the Communist Party.

Born in 1901 in a poor peasant family Bhogale came to Bombay and joined the ranks of the textile workers when he was quite young.

When the great Bombay textile workers' strike broke out in 1928 Bhogale was already a skilled weaver-foreman. He threw himself into the movement and soon made his mark.

-G. ADHIKARI

## Karnatak

★ From OUR CORRESPONDENT

# STUDENTS FIRM ON THEIR DEMANDS STRIKE GATHERS MASS SUPPORT

BANGALORE: The struggle of the Mysore University students which started on December 12 continues even after the reopening of the colleges following Xmas holidays.

THE hunger strike which started in Bangalore has now spread to other centres like Mysore, Tumkur, Hassan etc. Government had issued a threat that if the students don't attend the colleges after the colleges reopen, they will lose freeships and scholarships and also that the loss in attendance due to strike will not be condoned.

## BRISK PREPARATIONS FOR DEMANDS DAY State TUC Plan For January 12

The Karnataka Provincial Trade Union Council has called upon all the trade union organisations in the state to observe January 12 as "Toilers' Day" by holding meetings and demonstrations.

BRISK preparations are going on in all TU centres for this purpose. A convention of TU representatives of about 30 organisations in Bangalore was held on January 1, under the presidency of F. Louis, president of the Hindustan Aircraft Employees' Association.

## Yankee Game In Kashmir Exposed NEWSWEEK PEDDLES GREEN LIES

How the Yankee imperialists seek to fish in troubled waters is best evidenced by the report which appeared in the US news magazine NEWSWEEK on the missing relic of the Prophet from the Hazratbal shrine in Srinagar. The report, headlined "Hair of the Prophet", appearing in the weekly's issue dated January 13 is self-revealing as to the invectives and down-right lies it contains and therefore is reproduced below without comment:

IT was sometime between 2 and 3 in the morning when evil men broke into the Hazratbal Mosque, the sacred structure which the Moghul Emperor Shah Jehan long ago caused to be built near Srinagar, summer capital of the state of Kashmir. Sawing through a vault door, the thieves ignored the jewels and luxurious rugs they found within. Instead, they smashed open a cupboard and from the innermost of a nest of four boxes removed a silver-tipped glass cylinder 5 inches long. Inside the cylinder was a black hair which was brought to Kashmir 300 years ago and which the faithful believe came from the head of the Prophet Mohammed himself.

The news of the theft rolled like a tidal wave through Florida-size Kashmir, the predominantly Moslem state which became part of India during the chaotic days of 1947 when Moslem Pakistan and Hindu India were dividing up Britain's Indian Empire. Within hours of the sacrilege, keening women and men shouting "Allah Ho Akbar" (God is Great) converged on the mosque in outrage. Then, after a series of inflammatory speeches, they proceeded to take indiscriminate revenge. Ignoring tear-gas attacks and repeated police charges, the mob burned two movie houses and partially destroyed a police station. In the rioting, one Moslem and one Hindu died.

CALL FOR JIHAD: Next day, 140,000 demonstrators seethed through the streets of Srinagar. In one line marched Moslem women—unveiled to signify mourning. In the other, angry men carried the body of the slain Moslem, wrapped in the national colours of Pakistan. For six days on end the demonstrations continued and by then Moslem tribesmen were calling for jihad—holy war against the infidel. From Karachi, Pakistani Foreign Minister Z. A. Bhutto charged that the theft was "part of India's plan to reduce the Kashmir Moslem majority to a minority" and Pakistan's newspapers warned of "horrible consequences."

Alarmed, India's Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru alerted his army and broadcast a declaration that "the man responsible was no friend of India." But by then irreparable damage had been done to relations between Moslems and Hindus—even though, at week's end, the Prophet's hair unaccountably turned up, undamaged, in the very mosque from which it had disappeared.

meetings were organised in all the centres. They are determined that unless all their demands, including reduction of college fees to the 1950-61 level, are conceded they would not call off strike.

The support for the students' cause has been universal, both inside the Assembly as well as outside. There was complete hartal in Tumkur on January 3 to express support to the students' cause. Several trade unions have expressed support to the struggle. The girl students who were so far not joining the demonstrations have now started taking out processions.

All efforts to divide the students' ranks have failed. Attempts were being made by interested parties to set the Karnataka University students against Mysore University students. But the Mysore students have strongly repudiated this move by categorically stating that they were all in favour of extending all these benefits to the Karnataka University students also.

The student leaders have been effectively answering all the arguments of the government and have shown how their demands are reasonable. They have also raised the vital question of free education as being given in Kashmir. The students of Mysore feel that this basic demand will be taken up by students all over India soon.

## Notes Of The Week

### KASHMIR STINK POT

FROM PAGE FOUR

The events in Kashmir require the closest investigation and study. The manner in which large sections of the people were drawn into the agitation, led by anti-national elements, is an indication of the deep discontent and dissatisfaction against the ruling circles in Kashmir.

The Kashmiri people are not communal—the spontaneous unity

WORLD

FIRE OVER JORDAN WATER

The convening of the Arab Summit at Cairo on January 13 highlights Arab determination to prevent the imperialist-backed Israeli plan to divert the waters of the river Jordan. It also highlights the danger to peace, which the Israeli plan constitutes.

THE heads of Arab governments are meeting to voice their opposition to a scheme which has a number of sinister implications:

★ In the name of irrigating the Negev desert, the scheme would seriously jeopardise the economy of Syria, Lebanon and Jordan and lead to starvation for their people. Under the scheme, three Arab states would be left with only 540 out of a total of 1,880 million cubic metres of the Jordan waters. This crime is all the more heinous when it is realised that the river Jordan receives 77 per cent of its waters from the Arab countries.



★ The scheme is not required for the present population of Israel, but for immigrants from other parts of the world (Israel proposes to bring one million more by 1970 and another million by 1980). The Arab states naturally resent this attempt to increase Israel's population with more immigrants, when the Arab refugees—the original inhabitants of Palestine—are still prevented from returning to their homeland.

★ The scheme is a clear violation of international law which requires that no country should attempt to divert a water course in such a way as harms other countries. International law also stipulates that the right of a state on that part of a waterway which runs inside its territory is not an absolute one, but is sub-

ject to respect of the rights of other countries through which the same water way runs. Of special interest is the fact that the Israeli plan to divert the Jordan waters is based on a scheme put forward by US Ambassador ERIC JOHNSTON in 1955. The American imperialists fully support the Israeli government in this plan, which is an essential part of imperialist interests in the region. Leading Arab newspapers have drawn attention to the fact

that the US Sixth Fleet, which operates in the Mediterranean, and British military bases in the region will be used to bolster up the Israeli plan to divert the Jordan waters. Arab ambassadors in New Delhi have done well to act together to draw the Government of India's attention to the dangers arising from the imperialist-backed plan. A clear and categorical statement of solidarity with the Arabs on this vital issue must be made by the Prime Minister without further delay. Such a statement would not only make clear to the Arab people that India stands with them; it would also be a warning signal to the imperialists against any attempt to disturb peace which may be made by them.

The All-India Peace Council and the Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity have taken a welcome initiative in issuing statements in opposition to the dastardly imperialist scheme to divert the Jordan waters. The Indian people stand wholly against the illegal Israeli Plan. THE NATO powers are desperately attempting

to grab the strategic island of Cyprus for their war plans. The last weeks have seen deliberately provoked clashes between one section of the population of Cyprus against the other. These clashes are being made the excuse for armed intervention by the NATO powers in the internal affairs of Cyprus.



The Indian people understand well the policy of divide and rule. For years, the British imperialists used Turkish-Greek differences to put down the liberation movement of the Cypriot people. When forced to grant independence, the British imperialists imposed the Zurich-London agreements on the Cypriot people—and used these agreements to create internal tension and as an excuse for interference.

It is the internal affair of the Cyprus government whether it revises its constitution or not, and whether it abrogates the unequal Zurich-London agreements or not. The NATO powers have no business to interfere. British troops have been des-

patched in large numbers to Cyprus. Turkish bombers have made threatening flights over Nicosia and other towns. It is not only the independence of Cyprus which is at stake. Peace is in danger. "Hands off Cyprus!" must be the cry of all who stand for peace and independence.

CURTAIN DOWN ON CENTRAL AFRICAN FED. THE Central African Federation has been dissolved. This is a victory for the African people of the three territories of Nyasaland and Northern and Southern Rhodesia, who have demanded the dissolution of the Federation since it was formed in 1953.

The British imperialists had a simple aim when they constituted the Federation; they wanted to bring under their control, through one administrative and economic unit, the rich copper belt of Northern Rhodesia, the cheap African labour of Nyasaland and the farms, plantations and industries of the White-dominated Southern Rhodesia.

British investments in the Federation since 1953 were estimated by the Federal Prime Minister, the notorious White Sahib ROY WELLESKY, at three to four hundred million pounds. Profits in the copper belt alone were forty million pounds a year. Strategically also the Federation was sought to be a foothold for British bases, to make up for the loss of others in other parts of Africa.

There is no doubt that the British imperialists seek to use the dissolution of the Federation for further attacks on the African freedom movement. But the dissolution nevertheless, is a victory, on the basis of which African nationalism can march rapidly to full independence in all three parts of the Federation. Nyasaland is already assured independence in July this year, and will be renamed Malawi. In Northern Rhodesia, the United National Independence Party (UNIP) led by Kenneth Kaunda, which carries the majority with it, demands independence in 1964 also. The real problem is in Southern Rhodesia. Here the 2,34,000 White settlers seek to impose their racialist domination over 3.7 million Africans. The White settlers hope to be granted "independence" and then continue

—ESSEN

Fostering Understanding Between Peoples

AIM OF SOVIET ORIENTOLOGISTS

Zhukov Tells New Age Staff Correspondent

NEW DELHI: The aim of Soviet orientology is to "foster better understanding between the peoples of the Orient and Soviet Union", said Academician E. M. ZHUKOV, leader of the Soviet delegation to the 26th International Congress of Orientalists now being held in New Delhi.

Maisky. The opinions expressed therein reflected the common views of Soviet specialists on Mongolia.



The Soviet scholar said Ghengis Khan's wars were "predatory and therefore could not connect the people."

ZHUKOV told NEW AGE that a better understanding of the people based on "purely scientific knowledge about their past" was "a noble aim not only for us but scholars everywhere."

The study of the past is very important to understand the present and the future because many social institutions of the present have deep roots in the past. It is highly useful to study the origin of such institutions, he said.

SCIENTIFIC APPROACH

Soviet orientology is based on scientific approach, he said. Conclusions drawn by the Soviet orientologists are based on extensive studies from archives and

excavations, rare manuscripts such as available in the Leningrad library. There were many people capable of translating works of ancient and medieval periods.

Zhukov said Russian orientology was not a recent phenomenon, but dated far back into the eighteenth century. In pre-Revolution days also there were great oriental scholars in the country like Krachkovskiy who specialised in Arabic studies, and Scherbatsky and Oldenburg who were Indologists. Their works are considered to be top-class even today.

Touching on a recent "controversial" subject Zhukov said an assessment of Ghengis Khan and his empire was made in an article, 'Problems of History', by Academician

That is why he could not build a great Mongolian state on solid basis. Soon after his death the state he built withered away. The fall was imminent because it was "based on oppression of nations and peoples, based on wars which bred hatred".

Some people think that Ghengis Khan played a progressive role in binding the Mongol tribes, Zhukov said. This might have been true in the 'beginning' stages, but "when the Mongolian state founded by Ghengis Khan became a military empire based on war and oppression, this empire undermined itself and lost any progressive meaning", he added.

The Soviet academician said that in human history only constructive work, not wars, made for social progress. There are wars which played progressive roles, but they are the ones for national liberation. Predatory wars never had any progressive social meaning.

Academician Zhukov is leading the 36-member Soviet delegation to the Orientalists Congress. The delegation is making important contribution to the discussions held in all the ten sections of the Congress.

new important results in fundamental research particularly devoted to history, philology and culture of the Orient have been achieved.

Today there are more than a thousand orientologists in the Soviet Union. The number of Indologists is put at more than a hundred. Most of them are scholars and research workers who devote most of their time in pursuit of oriental studies.

The Soviet delegation has brought to the Orientalists Congress papers which are the sum total of the studies and achievements of these experts, the best of whom have come themselves as delegates.

The achievements of Soviet archaeology are demonstrated in the papers of prominent archaeologists Prof. Piotrovskij and Prof. Krupnov who was awarded a Lenin Prize for his work in North Caucasus.

Such scholars in the history of the East as Prof. Guber, an authority on the problems of South East Asia, and Prof. Gafurov, historian and director of the Institute of Peoples of Asia, Prof. Husseinov, member of the Academy of Sciences of Azerbaijan, and Prof. Miller, an expert in the history of Turkey.

Leader of the delegation Zhukov himself is a specialist on the history of Japan and international relations in the Far East. He is the chief editor of World History Vol. I to IX and Soviet Historical Encyclopaedia Vol. I to III. He is the secretary of the Historical Department of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

Mention should also be made about Mrs. T. V. Greek who has presented a paper on "Indian Miniatures in the Leningrad Collections", and A. M. Mirzoyev who has presented a paper on the "History of Literary Contacts of Mawarannahr and North India in Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries". Mrs. Volkova, who has been mentioned earlier, has presented a paper on "Unpublished Manuscripts of Ashoka Vadamala and the Cycle of Ashoka's Upagupta Legends."

Though the Orientalists Congress has no section on China, two Soviet scholars presented papers on China. They are: "Sun Yat-sen and Problems of Solidarity of Peoples of Asia" by Prof. S. L. Tikhvinsky and "Some Problems of Historiography in Soviet Chinese Studies" by Prof. G. V. Yefimov.

About one-third of the papers read by Soviet delegates deal in particular with problems relating to India. Among them are the papers of Prof. Azimjanova, director of the Institute of Oriental Studies of Uzbekistan, Prof. Balabushevich, head of the Indian Department of the Institute of the Peoples of Asia, Prof. Mirzoev, member of the Academy of Sciences of Tajikistan, Prof. Chikovani, member of the Academy of Sciences of Georgia.

There are also papers contributed by such acknowledged Soviet scholars like Mrs. Bikova, Mrs. Volkova and Mrs. Elizavetkova, all specialists in Indian philology.

One of the youngest scholars attending the Orientalists Congress is Prof. Babakaev, who has specialised in Assamese philology.

GREAT STRIDES

Soviet orientology and Indology have made great strides during the last decade. The defects which were characteristic of the thirties and the forties which usually sprang from subjective and dogmatic views, have not only been successfully surmounted, but

Rightwing political parties, Pastukhov asks. It is precisely these parties that are conducting the most brazen and unbridled struggle against Prime Minister NEHRU, the democratic wing of the Indian National Congress and the Communist Party of India.

Pastukhov says such a coincidence in Bowles' actions with those of the Indian reactionaries is an interference in the internal affairs of the country to which he is accredited.

The timing of Bowles lectures was not accidental, he says. Soon the ruling party's conference would meet wherein it is expected that the Rightwing elements will try to launch an offensive against the decisions of the Jaipur session of the AICC. They will call for a curtailment of the public sector in favour of the private sector and renunciation of the policy of tonalignment.

What is there to prevent American diplomacy from displaying its own initiative, Zhukov asks. He writes that vital problems concerning peace cannot be judged by the yardstick of a sports commentator.

★

Pastukhov recalls that Bowles tried to interfere when the VOA agreement was being revised by the Government of India and he also played his part in the game around the Bokaro steel plant in favour of the private sector so much so that India decided to build the plant without US aid, with her own resources.

Those days are gone when the Western powers could call the tune in Asia. Bowles should remember these, his own words, and should not offer India to dance to the tune of the United States. Chester Bowles is obviously drunk on fishing in troubled waters, the PRAVDA article says.

ON the same day PRAVDA published a comment by N. PASTUKHOV on the lectures US Ambassador to India CHESTER BOWLES delivered at the Delhi University attacking the public sector, the principle of planning in India's economy and glorifying the Indian private enterprise.

Are all these ideas not set forth in the programmes of the extreme

Khrushchov's Letter Evokes Good Response

From MASOOD ALI KHAN

MOSCOW: Soviet press continues to publish extensive comments and reactions to Premier KHRUSHCHOV's message to heads of governments calling for the exclusion of the use of force to settle border disputes.

PRAVDA published on January 7 on its first page a statement by KRISHNA MENON given to its correspondent in Delhi in which he calls Khrushchov's proposals "a big contribution to the cause of strengthening general peace".

Menon says: "This is a new approach to the solution of international problems which is in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Organisation."

"Soviet proposal to exclude force from the arsenal of means for deciding disputes in no way shows weakness on the part of the Soviet Union. The Indian people welcome the initiative taken by Khrushchov."

Papers here also published comments by ANSAR HARVANI and other MPs welcoming Khrushchov's message to the heads of governments.

Commentator YURI ZHUKOV called the message a new stupendous bid to secure peace. If this proposal were adopted it would, as the message says, "like a fresh wind disperse in international affairs much of what are, artificially inflated things obstructing the lessening of tensions in the world and the consolidation of world peace", he said.

The Soviet proposal got a world wide response and it was with an eye to this apparently that the US Secretary of State DEAN RUSK declared that it would be studied most seriously. Rusk further said that the method of peaceful solution of territorial

disputes "dovetailed with the policy USA has been long pursuing." Consequently, Zhukov said, this method must be acceptable to the United States as well.

Why then did the State Department publish some 24 hours later a statement calling the Soviet proposal "so disappointing"? It must be, as the AP commentator JOHN HIGHTOWER said, because "the Soviet Premier had captured the initiative" and "stolen a march on President JOHNSON in their parallel peace offensives".

Are all these ideas not set forth in the programmes of the extreme

AFRICAN FEDERATION

\*FROM PAGE 19

their South African type of racialist domination, with the help of armed forces.

The question of Southern Rhodesia has become an international question. The UN is seized of it.

Indian opinion has been reiterated at several recent peace conferences and now once again in the international affairs resolution of the Bhubaneswar session of the Congress, which says:

"The Congress is deeply concerned over the racist policy pursued by Southern Rhodesia. It is opposed to the confinement of any

greater power on the racist minority in Southern Rhodesia in the name and guise of self-government or its extension.

"It reiterates that national independence must be territorial and should include social and individual equality of citizens, and may not place any premium or advantage in favour of any racial group. This alone will enable the will of the majority to be ascertained and to prevail through well-established democratic processes."

(January 7)

PRIVATE SECTOR'S CLAIM



AT a time when the Congress is busy clarifying its concept of socialism the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI) has thought it necessary to detail the 'Contribution of Private Sector Industries During the Plans' to strengthen the hands of those in the ruling party who are frantically trying to prevent it from clearing its vision. And yet, what these 'details' succeed in making out is not a case for the status quo, but for radical alteration of the present policies to ensure the attainment of the Plan objectives.

The most staggering fact which the FICCI's brochure reveals is that of the private sector's indiscriminate growth. An eloquent testimony to this is the investment in the private sector industries during the first and second Plans.

The net investment during the Second Plan exceeded the estimates of the Planning Commission by about 26 per cent and was three times the level of investment in the First Plan. In absolute terms, it amounted to Rs. 725 crores (in addition to amounts spent for replacement and modernisation of plants) as against the Plan provision of Rs. 575 crores.

No wonder, nearly 95 per cent of the output of organised industries was in the private sector when the Third Plan began, making a mockery of the Prime Minister's periodic exhortation that the public sector should attain the 'com-

manding heights'. We are supposed to be guided by a well-defined Plan in our economic development. But the growth, as it is actually taking place, appears to be outside the Plan. The private sector, instead of progressively giving way to the public sector, is able to progress beyond the Plan, while the public sector is not able to attain even the Plan targets. TTK and ASOKA MEHTA, who are concerned primarily with economic growth, may gloat over such a development, but that it is not what the Plan had enjoined cannot be gainsaid.

HOW SUCH 'GOOD' RESULTS?

And how has the private sector been able to show such good results? Was its 'success' due mainly to its own efforts, as the FICCI brochure suggests, or did 'external' sources, which mean the government, banking and other financing institutions, help in its achievement?

Even according to the brochure, the share of the 'undistributed profits and surpluses' in financing the private industrial enterprises declined from 62 per cent of the total investment in the First Plan to 47 per cent in the Second.

Obviously, the share of 'external' sources should have correspondingly gone up, exposing the FICCI's claim that "a major part of the resources for development of private industries was provided from the internal sources."

And what has been the result of this 'success'? The FICCI

has, of course, claimed that the expansion of private industries has been accompanied by diversification of their ownership over a larger section of the people. There has thus been no augmentation of monopoly. But as various official studies have shown, concentration and monopoly have gone apace during the past decade, with the result that less than a score of top industrial houses have come to control about 25 per cent of the paid-up capital in the private corporate sector.

The FICCI has also given credit to the private sector for providing "progressively higher remuneration to industrial workers" and for "improving their conditions of work." The absurdity of this claim is, however, evident from the fact that the workers are preparing to launch their biggest ever action to achieve these very objectives.

Thus, the success of the private sector—as mirrored by the FICCI—is in fact the result of its influence in the ruling party, which—with its vague principles about socialism—has allowed the Rightists in its leadership to provide all sorts of incentives and concessions to private enterprise. Bhubaneswar can help to alter this situation but only if it puts an end to the Congress party's equivocations on policy as well as on steps required for its implementation.

An instance of the private sector's keenness to make the state and the tax-payers foot the bill for its growth has been provided by the FICCI's opposition to the proposal for raising the rates of power supplied for industrial use. Not only has it complained that the existing rates are high, it has also

Congress Session At Bhubaneswar

# IDEOLOGICAL FIGHT ON

★ From NEW AGE Special Correspondent K. U. WARIER

that this go slow was old talk and asked those sitting on dais whether they will bring socialism when doomsday comes. He said that after Chinese invasion, reaction has got entrenched and organised and any one who speaks against vested interests, even the Prime Minister, is blacked out by monopoly press.

There were quite a number of speakers who asked for nationalisation of newspapers also.

Another powerful speaker YASEPAL from Punjab bluntly told delegates that six business houses who controlled banks also controlled government, Congress leadership and even AICC. There were many more like SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE, V. B. RAJU and GOVIND SAHAI who contributed very well to debate by their plea for effective socialist action.

Unlike in Jaipur, Rightists were prepared here to come out into the open to oppose rising tide of socialist demands. Among their spokesmen were V. HANUMAN THAYYA, BABUBHAI CHINAI, S. K. PATIL and HAREKRUSHNA MAHATAB.

The Rightists took the line of argument that it was unnecessary

GOPABANDHUNAGAR (Bhubaneswar), January 8: From Jaipur to Bhubaneswar, ideological fight in Congress party on question of defining its socialist objectives has had one significant result: fight here has been more fierce and face to face.

THE socialist viewpoint has emerged stronger than ever before and this new phenomena is undoubtedly disturbing the diehard elements forcing them to use every argument and device to defeat this tide.

Short of a show down, the split is almost complete as one views discussions in Subjects Committee of the 68th session of the Indian National Congress on Democracy and Socialism. Demand for a genuine socialist programme and for urgent and suitable administrative and fiscal measures to implement such a programme dominated discussion.

Open dissatisfaction with leadership for its halting approach and compromise with reaction, crippling socialist will and initiative of organisation, was voiced by delegate after delegate who spoke against Working Committee's draft resolution on democracy and socialism.

### Feeling Of Rank And File

Even more revealing was the extent of strong feeling in rank and file in favour of such measures such as nationalisation of banks, insurance, foreign trade, state trading in foodgrains, curb on monopolies, land reforms and more credit facilities for farmers, price control and similar other steps to take the country nearer the goal of socialism. Against this the leadership could advise only caution while diehard Rightist elements openly came forward to defend the private sector and oppose all ideas of nationalisation.

LAL BAHADUR SHASTRI, moving the resolution, said that it was a synthesis of different viewpoints in the Working Committee. He spoke at length to explain 'evolutionary revolution' of Congress and its adherence to democratic means to achieve socialism.

### Reply To Shastri

A reply to Shastri came from K. D. MALAVIYA who pointed out that nobody was opposed to democratic means in achieving socialism. 'I am one of those who believe that socialism in this country is not worth having without democracy', he said.

Democracy was therefore not a subject of controversy, Malaviya said. But he pointed out that 'socialism must have a meaning now' and for that certain fundamental things have got to be done. What was required today was to revise fiscal policies, he said.

BIJU PATNAIK who seconded the resolution made a brilliant speech in which he confessed the weaknesses of administrative machinery and the weaknesses of congressmen to talk loud and not be able to act.

'Unless we are able to implement rudiments of social justice, unless we stop speaking with tongue in our cheeks, unless we stop indulging in generalities, unless we stop bluffing people, we will remain what we are', he warned.

But from this Patnaik argued that it would be wrong to advocate things which

could not be done. With the present rotten administrative machinery it is impossible to bring about vast socialist changes, he said. Therefore he put first priority on re-designing administrative apparatus.

But Patnaik did not explain what was being done to change this administrative machinery. His plea therefore about weaknesses of administrative apparatus could only be a damper on the enthusiasm of the rank and file Congressmen who demand urgent socialist action.

Patnaik said that in the Working Committee nobody was opposed to nationalisation of banking. 'But it was a fiscal policy. Institutional changes should take place at the proper time', was his

ing was a mother industry' and said that while all economic programmes were committed to planning, banks were not committed to any planning. It is absolutely necessary that a clear mandate is given to the government that banks should be nationalised, he said.

### Issue Of Nationalisation

Besides nationalisation of banks, he demanded state trading, a ceiling on urban income and a ceiling on number of licences to be given to any one business house for starting industries so as to prevent concentration of wealth and monopolies.

Powerful speeches in favour of bank nationalisation came from BHAGAVAT JHA

## CHALLENGE FROM THE LEFT

advice. 'When we may specifically be wanting to do something, would it be wise to talk too much about it?'

Another point made by Patnaik was that rice mills and other agricultural processing industries should be progressively taken over by the government and this principle has been accepted by the Working Committee.

K. D. Malviya, who moved his substitute resolution because the Working Committee's draft was of a 'too general' nature and lacked necessary 'sense of urgency' referred to Patnaik's statement that none in the Working Committee was opposed to nationalisation of banks and said that he was surprised why in that case it is not specifically mentioned in the resolution.

He pointed out that bank-

AZAD and a number of other delegates. Azad was cheered loudly and repeatedly as he lashed at hesitancy and slow habits of leadership. He demanded 'nationalisation' of not only banks but also steel, textile and sugar, and effective measures to check concentration of wealth and for punishing hoarders and profiteers.

D. P. RAI from Bihar said

to "theorise" and pass resolutions on socialism, and instead, what was required was to attend to implementation. Even before the session began Mahatab had circulated a booklet entitled "Call to Action" setting out this idea.

The Rightist game was obviously to frustrate ideological discussion and sharpening of views in the party. Hanumanthayya said "those

★ON PAGE 17

## OFFICIAL(?) CONGRESS VIEW ON SEVENTH FLEET

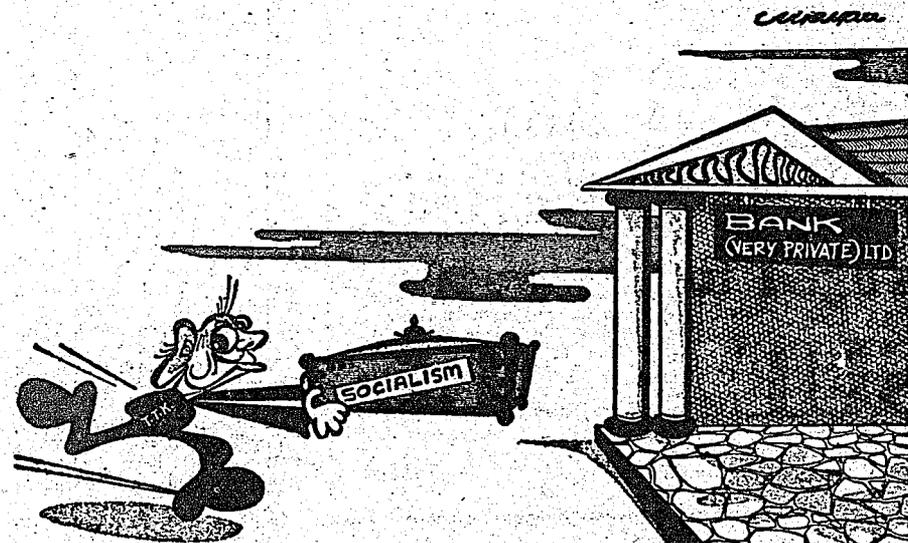
NEW DELHI: The comment in the latest issue of the AICC ECONOMIC REVIEW on the seventh Fleet has evoked considerable surprise here, report IPA.

THE comment which appears in the Bhubaneswar Congress Special Number states that "in the context of China's growing expansionist and aggressive mentality, the US Seventh Fleet's presence in the Indian Ocean may serve a wholesome purpose".

It is being pointed out here that the Prime Minister was cautious in his statement before the Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha to indicate any official approval on the part of the Union government to the proposal to extend the operations of the Seventh Fleet to the Indian Ocean. He merely stated that India could not prevent the Seventh Fleet of the USA or any fleet of any other power from operating in waters beyond the limits of Indian territorial waters.

That the official bulletin of the AICC should have gone further to actually welcome the fleet is therefore considered surprising. The comment in the bulletin points out that China has a large fleet of submarines and the presence of some of them in the Bay of Bengal was reported recently. It is also stated that the American Seventh Fleet has 'contained China's expansionist aims in the Eastern Pacific'.

The use of cold war language which India has scrupulously avoided in the past in the AICC journal is all the more perplexing in the context of the full support accorded by the Bhubaneswar Congress to Soviet Premier Khrushchov's recent proposals for relaxation of tension.



Courtesy: PATRIOT