

newage

7 - JAN 27

Copy 1965

CENTRAL ORGAN OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

REPUBLIC DAY NUMBER

Vol. XIII No. 4

New Delhi, January 24, 1965

25 Paise

FORWARD TO UNITED ACTION

SALUTE the Republic! Salute the memory of the martyrs who gave their lives for India's independence!

They did not make the supreme sacrifice to enable the monopolists and the hoarders and profiteers to fatten and hunger to stalk the towns and villages.

They did not die with the vision of the India of 1965, where the food crisis grips the nation in a vice which never seems to relax, where prices soar, unemployment grows, inflationary policies fleece the masses and misery and poverty spread like a flood, swallowing in their rapacious jaws more and more millions of our people.

Republic Day 1965 is like no other Republic Day since independence. The discontent of the masses is greater than at any time before. This discontent crosses the boundaries of political affiliations. The masses who have till now voted for the ruling party are as discontented as the masses who stand behind the democratic opposition.

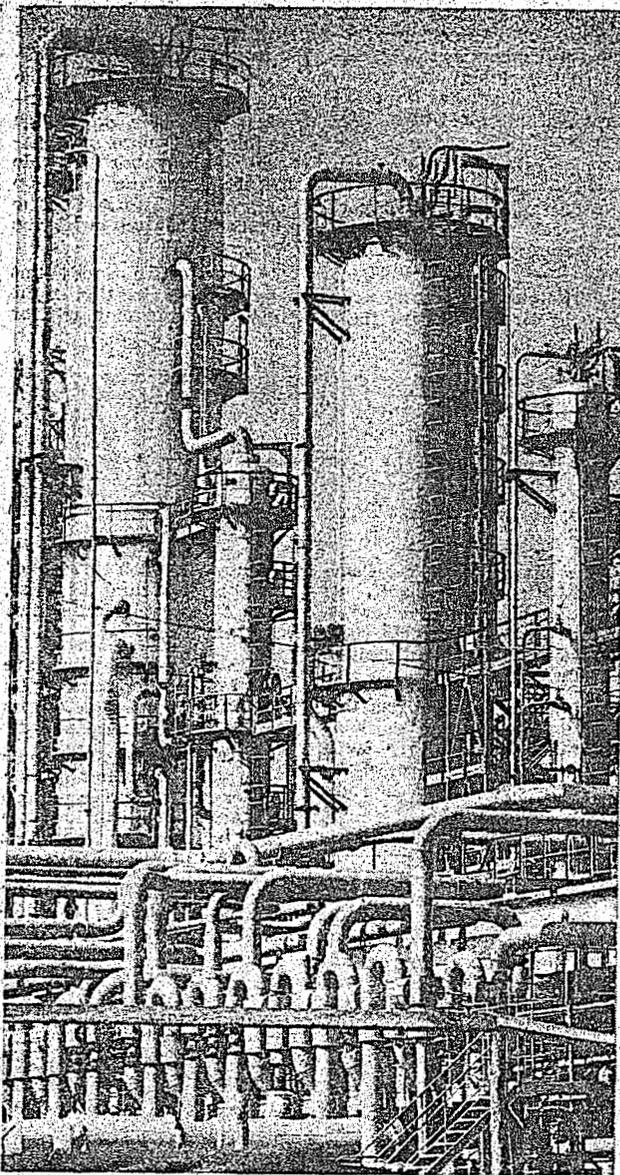
The recent Congress session at Durgapur itself heard numerous speeches from local and state leaders and rank-and-file delegates attacking the bankrupt economic policies of the Congress government—speeches, sharp and condemnatory and of a nature never heard before in any meetings of the ruling party.

The people will join the Republic Day celebrations this year with this discontent uppermost in their hearts; they are destined to go back home after the parades and the numerous solemn functions to empty kitchens.

It is not enough this year to salute the Flag and take the pledge to create the India of the dreams of our martyrs. Such an India cannot be brought into existence if the democratic movement does not unite and go into battle here and now.

Durgapur was remarkable not only for the bitterly critical attacks by the rank and file on the anti-people economic policies. It was, above

★ ON PAGE 2



OIL AND STEEL FORM THE BASIS OF INDIA'S INDUSTRIAL FUTURE

WHERE WAS THE CONGRESS LEFT AT DURGAPUR ?

At Durgapur, all commentators agree, there were sharper attacks on the Congress government's economic policies than ever before. The ministers and top leaders came in for the kind of criticism they usually receive only from the opposition. And, let it be understood, most of the attacks and criticisms were genuine and cannot be dismissed as merely "factional".

AND yet there was no result. Not one amendment to the economic resolution moved from the floor was accepted by the High Command.

Observers were aghast at the complete absence of even elementary courtesy towards the critics: most of the time the bosses ignored the speeches of these critics, keeping themselves "busy" joking with each other on the platform.

The emergence of the right caucus as a directing force, virtually taking the High Command under its wing, is also generally recognised as a key warning signal from Durgapur. The retreat from Bhubaneswar is a dominant impression of all democrats who attended the Durgapur session.

But what must be noted also—and its lessons quickly learnt before it is too late—was the complete absence at Durgapur of a united organised "left".

Gone appeared to be the fervour and the organised efforts which were made round K. D. Malaviya's alternative resolution at Bhubaneswar.

Not that the amendments moved by democratic Congressmen were not good, progressive and reflecting the people's interests.

But these appeared to be only the strivings of individuals, afraid of coming together and crushed, each in isolation, by the steamroller of Atulya Ghosh's machine.

As a matter of fact, the left, had it been united and with a definite and clear per-

spective before it, could have scored major victories at Durgapur.

The session began with the news of Indra Gandhi's outspoken attack on the right caucus on her way to Durgapur. This could have been a starting point of an organised and united attack on the right, with all Indra Gandhi's prestige in Congress circles to back it up. But nothing happened.

The Socialist Forum succumbed to Atulya Ghosh's mandate and did not even organise an unofficial meeting of its supporters. All the results of the democratic conventions organised by K. D. Malaviya in North India were frittered away—no get-together of the socialist-minded Congressmen, formal or informal, took place.

The rank and file delegates were sorely disappointed at the failure of the traditional leaders of the left to continue the work they began at Bhubaneswar. They had the feeling that the right caucus was outmanoeuvring the left at every turn.

It was a frustrating affair to see left leaders coming forward in support of the economic policy resolution, which, to say the least, was the antithesis of all for which the left stood.

Their speech may have been positive and useful. But when the operative part is support to a resolution of retreat from Bhubaneswar, advanced slogans have little meaning.

The election contest waged by K. D. Malaviya for a

Whatever may have happened at Durgapur, it is not too late to save the situation.

The radicalisation inside the Congress, the differences which have grown so rapidly and more so apparent at Durgapur provide the basis for the creation of a real platform for the democratic forces inside the Congress.

To be effective and not merely used by the right (which seeks to employ for

Comment

seat in the Working Committee was not fought, as it should have been fought, as a battle against the right caucus and for positive policies.

Of course, there was this element present in the contest—for K. D. Malaviya himself has been a symbol of the left offensive against the right since Bhubaneswar.

But delegates had the feeling that there was a hesitation in fighting the contest on clear cut policies and in open conflict with the right. Dissociation with the wrong policies and support for an advanced platform was not made the key question in the contest.

It is time for the left to do some clear thinking and follow this up by action.

—ROMESH CHANDRA

(January 19)

THE DANGEROUS DRIFT

STOCK-TAKING REVIEW ON SIXTEENTH REPUBLIC DAY

Taking stock on Republic Day is a healthy tradition. Even as our minds and hearts celebrate the birthday of our Republic and our eyes scan the future, we look back at what has been in order better to accomplish what has to be. An important facet of such a complex process is the internal policies of the government, which the present article intends to examine.

THE past year began with Jawaharlal Nehru reduced to shadow of his former ebullient self, almost midway saw him dead and ended with the Durgapur session of the ruling party—the first since freedom without Panditji. It began with a sense of national unease and ended with a sense akin to dread.

The proud national programme so often bravely proclaimed by Panditji, was emasculated in his declining years and now faces the prospect of wholesale subversion by the ruling clique of his own party.

This is the general trend of the past year. This is the dangerous drift which can end up in a perilous impasse, at least in the sphere of internal policies.

Not that there are no compensating factors. The past year has seen the accentuation of class conflict in India.

to the right of even existing economic policies".

The budget gave further concessions to the foreign monopolists, abolished the Super Profit Tax, gave considerable rebates on Corporation tax and opened up new possibilities of changing and perverting the public sector, including further emasculating of the Industrial Policy Resolution.

And with a cruel sense of mockery, it heralded the appointment of a Monopolies Commission to tackle the problem of the enormous concentration of wealth.

The shift to the right evidenced in the budget has been carried forward and there are enough hints of further unpleasant developments.

"Open Door" Campaign

Once again suggestions have emanated from the highest quarters that in the name of "urgent national necessity" foreign private monopoly will be allowed to infiltrate the public sector.

Shares of the public sector enterprises may also be issued to "cover up" the resources gap.

It has been proclaimed often enough that Congress "socialism" did not believe in nationalising the junk, i.e., existing industries. It would "socialise the vacuum", i.e., build up new and heavy industries in the public sector. And now this very public sector itself is going to be submitted to a subtly manipulated take-over bid.

Nor should it be overlooked that cases have come to light, as in the Heavy Engineering, Corporation in Ranchi, of deliberate sabotage of key public sector projects by the officers of the government themselves.

Only the other day the foreign monopolists were given a New Year's gift by the Finance Ministry.

It is now estimated that only half of the expected Rs. 300 crores investment by foreign capitalists in Indian industries during the Third Plan is likely to come in.

So to further appease these foreign maneaters "letters of intent" are now going to be given directly to them. They can then look around for Indian collaborators and in case of any shortfall, the Industrial Development Bank will come to their rescue.

Foreign Control

With the added clause that in "exceptional cases" the foreigners can be the majority partners, this amounts to the removal of the present condition that the Indian element of management and control would be dominant or, at least, equal.

It gives further avenues for that link-up between foreign and Indian monopolies which is the main economic

base of right reaction in the country.

Confronted with the agonisingly slow 3.1 per cent rate of national income growth in the Third Plan, despite the huge additional tax collection of Rs. 2,400 crores in three years (the five year target was Rs. 1,700 crores), the government has shown every sign of defeatism.

It proposes a Fourth Plan outlay of Rs. 21,500 crores, with an additional Rs. 1,000 crores if possible. This is considerably less than the Rs. 24,000 crores proposed by the Planning Commission, which itself was a climb down from the earlier estimates arrived at when Nehru was alive.

It postulates a 6.5 per cent growth rate, which is almost certain to prove unattainable. And it counts on Rs. 2,500 crores of foreign aid, which is likely to be pushed upwards. And it remains menacingly quiet on the question of distribution, of social justice and reduction of the glaring disparities.

Even this rather dismal indication faces the prospect of being darkened further following the Durgapur Congress session. An extraordinarily serious crisis in Indian planning is likely to overtake us, unless the democratic forces intervene effectively.

Employers' Impudence

The state of mind of the government on the labour front was shown in its readiness to modify the Bonus Commission report along the lines of the minutes of dissent signed by the representatives of the monopolists.

It was also revealed in the decision to extend the Desai award in the case of the bankmen. Only the very energetic and militant intervention of the trade union movement prevented the government from having its way. Even now the battle is still on.

These are only some instances to illustrate the clear trend of the so-called "new economic policy" about which the Prime Minister talked so angrily during the no-confidence debate in September 1964.

His fervent plea for the right to "pragmatically" change the basic policies in the internal economic sphere associated with Pandit Nehru, has already been implemented in part.

It would be wrong, however, to overlook the fact that the economic ties with the Soviet Union and other friendly socialist countries have been strengthened. Trade with the socialist world has expanded considerably.

The government shows every indication of going ahead to discuss the question of further aid from the socialist countries for projects vital for national regenera-

tion. This is a sign of health and of hope, which should not be underestimated.

Politically, as well, the government over the past year has not made any basic changes in the policies hitherto accepted. But there also the drift is unmistakable.

Corruption at the ministerial and top official level has become a matter of acute danger and is well nigh a national disgrace.

The government is to be congratulated for acting against Karon and the Bakshi. But even now nothing has been done to take back the gains of these robbers, who misused their official power for personal gain.

Even this limited action has so displeased the influential ruling clique that in the case of Biren Mitra and Biju Patnaik we are being treated to such amazingly slow action that the outcome is still very much in doubt.

Another case in point is the government's reluctance to move expeditiously against the Dalmia-Jain empire, which has been shown up to be based on the regular swindling of public money.

And it is extraordinary that the government solemnly contemplates accepting a scheme whereby the holders of "black" money (calculated by some to be Rs. 3000 crores) will be allowed to keep two-thirds of their booty if they are willing to give up the rest.

This may be something since so far the government has only gone in for spectacular raids on lockers of film stars, providing them with some free publicity.

True, the government has not yielded to the forces of communal reaction and has maintained the secularism which is one of the adornments of India.

Communalists' Freedom

But the sudden release of the accomplices of Gandhi's murderers—and their rearrest only after strident public protest—the speaking on common platforms with RSS Chief Goikar, the consultations between this archpriest of reaction and the Prime Minister, the refusal to take any legal action against communal propaganda, to say nothing of a para-military organisation like the RSS, even after the carnage at Jarnhedpur and Rourkela, are all indications that there should be no complacency on this score.

On this point, above all, we have to remember that Panditji is no longer with us.

One cannot close without some mention of the question of democratic rights and liberties.

* On Page 17

FORWARD TO UNITED ACTION

* From Front Page

all, a warning signal of the facts that a right wing caucus is seeking to control the Congress organisational machinery and that this caucus appears to be having its way more and more, not only in shaping the organisation but also the policies of the ruling party.

Durgapur put the clock back. The resolutions adopted were a far cry from the aspirations of Bhubaneswar. Earlier, the democrats in the Congress used to point out that while in words there are pledges to work for socialist advances, there is no implementation in practice.

Now at Durgapur, even the words appeared to be absent, and the term "socialism" had become for many of the leaders only an uncomfortable mantram, difficult to mouth, but a ritual which must be gone through painfully.

The efforts to frame the Fourth Plan to suit the monopolists, the veiled attacks on India's policy regarding nuclear weapons—all these were evil portraits of the growing grip of the right on the ruling party.

Grim Reminder

The dark shadow of Durgapur will be seen on Republic Day—a grim reminder that the democratic forces can no longer afford to be complacent.

At the same time, the democratic forces know well that in the recent period they have through nationwide campaigns and struggles put the right on the retreat on occasions and compelled the government to make conces-

sions in the interests of the masses.

The necessity, therefore, grows for the building of the unity of the democratic forces for the defence of India's progressive policies and for a shift to the left.

This task is of paramount importance: delay will only jeopardise the future of the people and amount to betrayal of all the aspirations of the thousands who gave their lives for India's independence from imperialism.

Platform Of Action

The Communist Party of India places before the nation, before all democratic parties, before the democratic elements inside the Congress, its 16-point platform of action. Here is the basis for joint action, united battle against the enemies of the country's progress.

On the Republic Day, the democratic forces must pledge themselves to subordinate narrow party and group interests and rivalries to the great, broad interests of the nation as a whole, to the supreme task of ending the sufferings of the masses and the perils which stand in the way of the country's advance.

Into united battle, now! Into united battle to build the national democratic front!

Together, for the completion of the national democratic revolution!

Together to carry forward the best traditions of our national movement!

Together for real national regeneration!

This is the call of Republic Day 1965.

BIRTH OF A CABAL

WHEN the Kamaraj plan was adopted in the middle of 1963 amidst a fanfare of publicity many people were rightly sceptical about its stated purpose.

The stated purpose was that the plan would act as a course in *Kalyanika* to rejuvenate the jaded nerves of the ailing Congress.

The unstated purpose, however, was to tailor the leadership of the ruling party and government after Nehru.

In June a "syndicate" took over, consisting of K. Kamaraj, Atulya Ghosh, Sanjiva Reddi and S. K. Patil. And they together catapulted Shastri into power.

No sooner was this achieved than the greasy pole of consensus on which Shastri was hoisted to the pinnacle started shedding its grease.

There were grumblings which were distinctly audible at the time of the cabinet formation and after. The common grouse was that Shastri was not conducting himself as the creature of consensus; that he was going it alone.

When the cabinet was formed, Atulya Ghosh was credited by press reports with the desire of replacing the two existing central ministers from Bengal by his own minions. That did not materialise.

Patil made no bones about his displeasure at being relegated to the Railways, too small a niche to contain his overflowing dynamism and versatility.

Sanjiva Reddi got his due at

the centre but his grievance was that Shastri never took him into his confidence in initiating policies.

In the December Congress Working Committee Sanjiva Reddi exploded in anger, said he was in the dark as to what was happening in Nagaland. This exhibition of annoyance invited a jibe from Morarji: "why don't you people get such issues settled inside the cabinet!"

It was a sore point. Several cabinet ministers had been complaining that there was no proper cabinet functioning.

There was no discussion in the cabinet on mission to China (proposed at Cairo), Chinese explosion, nuclear shield, Kashmir issue, Naga question, and what have you!

In the meantime came a series of pronouncements from Shastri against hoarders and black-marketeers after a long spell of enchantment. Atulya Ghosh and Patil were annoyed at such outbursts.

But they did not pursue Shastri as they did Nanda for his *sadachaar* activities.

All these attitudes and anti-pathies were slowly transforming the "syndicate". New alignments were in the offing.

The first salvo was fired from Ranchi on the weakest of the targets, Nanda. Both Kamaraj and Shastri expressed displeasure over it in private but kept quiet in public.

At Ranchi Atulya Ghosh accomplished the task of breaking Biju Patnaik from Morarji—at least formally. Patnaik, it may be remembered, was Morarji's election agent in the succession struggle. Biju, need-

ed a holiday from Morarji as he was in hot waters with regard to the Orissa inquiry.

Kamaraj is still looking askance at Patnaik; not so Shastri who takes the least line of resistance.

The other week there was a news item from Bhubaneswar saying that Kamaraj had put Ghosh, Reddi and Patnaik in full charge of the Kerala election. The other day Kamaraj said in Kerala that he and nobody else was in charge of that. What do we make out of it? Your guess is as good as mine.

With regard to the size of the Fourth Plan, Kamaraj's thinking tallies with that of Ghosh, Patil, Reddi and Morarji. But on the need for some kind of control he takes the cue from TTK.

Apparently Shastri is for a bigger plan—only apparently. Controls? He is delightfully pragmatic.

These things cannot go on. And naturally the first break came at Durgapur. There we witnessed the birth of a cabal: Atulya Ghosh, Patil, Sanjiva Reddi.

On the periphery are Patnaik, K. B. Sahay, D. P. Mishra and even Mohanlal Sukhadia.

Kamaraj and Shastri are not exactly in it.

Nanda and Indra Gandhi are not in the picture at all. There was no visible evidence of Morarji having made any progress at Durgapur.

Yes, the "syndicate" has given birth to the cabal which is determined to re-orient policies and is bound to meet more resistance inside the Congress itself.

—INSIDER

Whispering Gallery

Splitters Strike Again

CHUMMY WITH MUSLIM LEAGUE, E. M. S. SPURNS LEFT UNITY

TRIVANDRUM, January 15: The Leftist United Front comprising of the CPI, the RSP and progressive independents has decided to put up candidates in over hundred constituencies in the state Assembly elections to be held in March.

AFTER the withdrawal of the rival Communist Party led by EMS Nambudripad from the United Front, because of their preference for the Muslim League than the unity of the Left democratic forces in this election, the United Front has decided to go ahead with the work of uniting the left, democratic and secular forces in the state against both the Congress and the reactionary communal Kerala Congress-Muslim League alliance.

The sustained efforts and talks for a comprehensive and powerful leftist alliance in the general election which have been going on for the past many weeks were broken up by the rival Communist leader Nambudripad on January 13 when he insisted that he would not be a party to a categorical declaration of opposition of the United Front to the "rebel" Congress-Muslim League alliance.

He would not agree to the incorporation of such a declaration in the policy statement of the United Front. He was more keen on keeping his party's understanding with the Muslim League.

All along, during the three months of efforts by the CPI, the RSP and independents to forge a united front to fight the elections with a view to defeat the Congress and ensure a clean and good administration for the state they had met with this one obstacle, the insistence of the rival Communist Party firstly on an alliance with the Muslim League which later came to down to one of adjustments with the League.

Their contention was that in Malabar area where the Muslim League has its strongholds, it was necessary to have

certain adjustments with them regarding fielding certain agreed candidates with a view to defeating the Congress. The CPI, the RSP and the independents held a different view in the matter.

Despite this difference, an agreed manifesto was drawn up outlining the democratic minimum programme to which the United Front should pledge itself. In the discussions at Ernakulam last week the United Front further agreed on the category of candidates it will support.

It was agreed that apart from the candidates of the United Front (the Communist Party of India, the rival Communist Party and the Revolutionary Socialist Party), the Front would field independents who would accept its programme and stand by it.

Adjustments With SSP

Besides these, the United Front would also seek adjustment with such parties as the SSP and the Malanad Karshaka Sangham, who for reasons of their own, do not come into the Front. The only commitment they were to give was that they would not lend support to a government formed by the Congress or other groups in collusion with the Congress.

A fourth category of independents was also visualised who do not accept the programme of the United Front but would openly declare that they will not oppose the candidates of the United Front and will not offer support to a government formed by the Congress or any other group in collusion with the Congress. These independents would be decided upon by

agreement among parties of the United Front.

While the above formula was found acceptable to the CPI, the RSP and the rival Communist Party and independents, the representatives of the RSP, the CPI and independents rightly insisted that among the aims of the United Front should be stated that the Front would strive to defeat the Congress as well as the Kerala Congress-Muslim League alliance in the forthcoming elections and form a left progressive government.

EMS Nambudripad who was the sole representative of the rival CP insisted that he could not agree to such a declaration. It was obvious that the rival Communists were not prepared to retrace from their commitments to the Muslim League. He therefore withdrew from the talks.

The representatives of the CPI, the RSP and independents continued the discussions after Nambudripad had withdrawn from the meeting and they decided to go ahead with the work of the United Front. In a statement they issued on these developments, they appealed to the rival Communists to reconsider their stand and come back

From S. SHARMA

into the United Front, but Nambudripad has not responded.

On the contrary his statements after he withdrew from the United Front have clearly indicated that he attaches more importance to his understanding with the communal Muslim League, which itself is partner in a reactionary combination with the Kerala Congress, than to the unity of the Left forces which is the surest guarantee to the defeat of the Congress in the elections.

As newspaper comments point out, EMS in his anxiety to gang up with such reactionary parties as the Muslim League and Kerala Congress was prepared to weaken the United Front and present a gift of more seats to the Congress which otherwise would face certain disaster.

The statement which was issued by representatives of the RSP, CPI and independents after Nambudripad had withdrawn from the UF, recalled that the left parties and progressive independents in the state have been striving to form a United Front with a view to defeat in the elections, the hated Congress party as well as the Kerala Congress-Muslim League axis, which was seeking to come to power

exploiting the people's discontent against the Congress, so as to ensure a stable left democratic government which could afford immediate relief to the common people.

"It was hoped that in this Front would come the CPI, the Left Communist Party, the RSP and independents accepting the programme of the Front and that it could achieve an understanding with the SSP and the KTP with a view to defeating the Congress as well as the Kerala Congress-Muslim League alliance.

"We were also able to arrive at necessary electoral understanding for uniting the left progressive forces so as to guarantee the victory of the leftist United Front dealing heavy blows to the Congress and other reactionary alliances. But on behalf of the Left Communist Party, EMS today categorically declared that he was not prepared to agree to the statement being incorporated that the United Front would strive to defeat the Kerala Congress-League Axis.

"They have thus refused to join the democratic United Front. This is most unfortunate. However the United Front has decided to continue its work and in this it appeals for the co-operation and help of all left progressive parties and individuals.

"We appeal to the Left Communists to reconsider their stand, give up their policy of strengthening the rebel Congress-League axis at the cost of giving up their partners in the United Front and return to the United Front."

The statement was signed by Kumbalath Sanku Pillai, V. Gangadharan (Independents), N. Sreekanth Nair, G. Gopinathan Nair (RSP) and C. Achutha Menon (CPI).

RAJASTHAN GOVT. EMPLOYEES STEP UP AGITATION

JAIPUR: Strikes and agitations by government employees, demanding increased salaries and interim allowances have become ordinary occurrences these days in Rajasthan.

SPIRALLING prices of essential commodities, inadequate supply of foodgrains, higher cost of living and above all insecurity of service all feed this course of events.

The present agitation launched by the employees of Rajasthan government has for obvious reasons gained the support of people belonging to all walks of life and is currently one of the central events in the state's political spectrum.

The state government employees for the last five months have been demanding higher pay and interim allowances to meet the increased cost of living. But the response from the government to their demand has been far from favourable.

They have now decided to start an agitation and continue this struggle until their demands are favourably considered.

All the associations of Rajasthan government employees held a joint meeting at Jaipur on January 10 and evolved a new programme for mass protest and other forms of militant action.

The meeting was attended by representatives of the Teachers' Association, the Patwar Sangh, the Subordinate Service Association and many other government employees' organisations.

organisation of the agitation. It was also decided to hold a state conference on January 22.

In the meantime, government employees of Jaipur held a public meeting on January 12 and observed a novel form of mass protest. The employees gathered at selected places in the secretariat building and other offices and offered silent prayers.

At the end they sang "Raghupati Raghava Raja Ram" with slight modification. The last four lines were "Oh! God give us cheap food and cheap cloth..... Oh! God give these people (government authorities) proper mentality!"

It may be recalled that the annual conference of the Association of Government Employees took place in October last in Jaipur and Planning Minister M. D. Mathur addressed them.

Mathur told the employees that the problem of rising prices was not a good reason to demand more DA but assured them the supply of essential commodities at fixed prices by subsidising these commodities for such distribution.

The association thereafter took up the matter in earnest and submitted a full scheme to the Planning Minister in which they gave a list of 22 commodities to be included in the scheme of subsidy at fixed rate through subsidised shops.

The employees in this scheme had demanded that the rates at which these commodities should be supplied were the rates of 1960.

Later a deputation of the employees met the Chief Minister who asked them to meet the Finance Minister. Therefore, on December 23 they met the Finance Minister, B. K. Kaul, with their demands.

But the Finance Minister treated them in a harsh manner. The Finance Minister is reported to have told them that he "could not resign for your sake".

"I have no money", he continued, "and if what we pay you is not considered satisfactory by you people you can resign and go."

Thus the employees were forced to resort to other means for gaining their demands.

The main demand of the state government employees is rise in DA and bringing it to the level of the central government employees as decided by the Das Commission.

The employees also demand that the state government should arrange the supply of essential commodities at the 1960 prices and subsidise the shops to be able to ensure adequate supplies.

The Association has offered to run such shops by forming their own cooperatives all over the state.

They urge for a speedy solution of the problem of DA and unless the state government does something they will be forced to take to more militant form of direct action.

THE story of the RSS and the King of Nepal becomes more and more astounding, as it unveils itself. A new campaign has been launched in a section of the Nepali press attacking the Government of India for "daring" to suggest that the king should not address the RSS rally in Nagpur.

And now, to cap it all, the king has sent an open message to the RSS and complained to Guru Golwalkar of

approves of the fascist activities of the RSS? Or, as is rumoured, did the Government of India only hum and haw, and suggest that only because it would create an "unfortunate precedent" if "His Majesty" came, did they oppose the visit?

Was a clear statement regarding the character of the RSS made in the communications to the king? If not, why not? And if so, how does it happen that in total disregard of normal courtesies,

KING MAHENDRA'S RUFFLED FEELINGS

proper time? What gives the RSS boss the temerity to talk in this fashion? What lies behind the whole dirty tale?

It is no use shirking the truth. The RSS gangs are

which is headed by one of the imperialist powers and includes countries which are part of the system of military pacts headed by the USA.

This is elementary commonsense. But no! The External Affairs Ministry gave a complete clearance to this "Commonwealth" racket, knowing fully well what its agenda included.

Worse still, the "conference" had the temerity to discuss Kashmir and suggest solutions. Surely it is an axiom of India's policy that we are not prepared to discuss Kashmir at any sort of "Commonwealth" conference.

There were proposals for arbitration by Commonwealth countries, and the whole gamut of imperialist tricks was run through.

And all this took place in India, on our soil, at a conference opened by a Cabinet Minister, and having undoubtedly the blessings of some one in the External Affairs Ministry.

At a time when more and more sections of opinion in the country are realising that the so-called "Commonwealth tie" needs to be cut, and India should quit the Commonwealth this performance in New Delhi is all the more astounding.

A PATRIOT'S NOTEBOOK

New Delhi's "treatment", as a consequence of which "how ruffled are my feelings".

Last week, I wrote sharply on this issue and said that "it is the soft attitude extended by the government towards the RSS, which created conditions for this fantastic situation, when the head of state of a neighbouring country had agreed to address a rally of fascists who, everyone knows, were responsible for the murder of Mahatma Gandhi and for the communal massacres, which have soiled India's fair name only so very recently".

The further unfolding of the story only bears out this point further.

King Mahendra's message is taken by the RSS as an open certificate by what calls itself "the only independent and sovereign Hindu Kingdom".

For, the message is not only a formal affair: it is a long-winded treatise on Hinduism and on the necessity of "all dynamic Hindu forces" in the world cooperating!

Hindus everywhere must become "a united and indivisible force", says the king. And "it cannot be said that the RSS has not been playing a useful role in this movement".

All this is unheard of and totally impermissible interference in our internal affairs. How was such a message sent, if the Government of India made it clear that it dis-

the king goes out of his way to give the RSS a "certificate of merit"?

The king's letter to Golwalkar is clearly also a violation of accepted norms of conduct in such matters. The head of another state is confiding to the fascist leader of a paramilitary communal gang, his state of "ruffled feelings" and vexation with our government!

To cap it all, the venerable archpriest of Hindu fascism, Guruj himself, declares angrily that he "will settle the matter" himself "with the persons concerned and at the ap-

proved to swarm freely all over the country, marching and training in the use of arms, preaching their gospel of communal hate and violence. The government appears to be turning a blind eye to the danger involved.

In fact it is no secret that the rightwing caucus inside the Congress sympathises with the RSS. And Guruj's boasts of his close relations with Congress bosses are not entirely empty.

The democratic movement must take up the task of the isolation of the RSS and its vicious propaganda in ever greater earnest.

COMMONWEALTH INTERFERENCE

ANOTHER amazing demonstration of the Government of India's total incompetence in handling certain matters which pertain to external affairs, is the tamasha that has just ended in New Delhi called the "unofficial" Commonwealth Relations "Conference".

This racket, whose imperialist purposes are only too obvious, is, controlled in India by the Indian Council of World Affairs, which is headed these days by one, whose opposition to our policy of nonalignment is

no secret—Dr. H. N. Kunzru. The agenda for the conference included all sorts of questions which are quite outside the purview of "non-official" conferences of any government.

"Defence" was one of the subjects—the well-worn theme of joint Commonwealth "defence". And there were quite a few "experts", from Britain, Canada and the rest of the "white" parts of the Commonwealth.

Our defence should be the defence of a nonaligned country. We cannot and must not discuss it inside a body like the Commonwealth,

A correspondent has sent me the following interesting story from Kerala.

While E. M. S. Nambudripad and other leaders of the rival Communist Party were shouting themselves hoarse for unity with the Communist Party of India, a strange development was taking place in Alleppey.

A no-confidence motion was sponsored by Congress and Muslim League councillors against the chairman of the Municipality, T. V. Thomas, the well-known Communist leader. The Alleppey municipality which has been under the leadership of the Communist Party for a decade continued to be under the Party and all the efforts of the Congress Party to oust T. V. Thomas during his detention had been rebuffed.

But strangely, after the split in the Communist Party, three members of the Party broke away and formed a separate group and engineered the no-confi-

dence motion. They were prepared to gang up with the Congress and Muslim League councillors in the mean attempt.

The moment notice was given for the motion and the working class voters came to know of this, they went into action demanding the resignation of the rival Communists from the council, if they took this shameful stand.

The storm of protest was such that when on January 7, the motion came up for discussion, the three rival Communists, while speaking in support of the no-confidence motion, dared not vote in favour of the motion. Consequently the no-confidence motion was unable to secure sufficient support and was rejected.

Strange is the logic of the splitters. On the one hand, they attack the Communist Party for being allegedly "pro-Congress"; on the other they gang up with the very same Congress against the CPI!

—ROMESH CHANDRA

Have you started collections for the Kerala Election Fund of the CPI? If not, start immediately

- * TO DEFEAT FORCES OF REACTION AND THEIR ALLIES
- * TO ROUT COMMUNAL PARTIES AND THEIR FRIENDS
- * TO END THE CONGRESS MONOPOLY OF POWER
- * FOR A LEFT DEMOCRATIC VICTORY

Donate generously to the

Kerala Election Fund of the CPI

NEW PPH TITLE

A CONTEMPORARY HISTORY OF INDIA

edited by V. V. Balabushевич and A. M. Dyakov

The book tells the story of India and her people between the two world wars, of her struggle for independence and its fulfilment in 1947, and of the early years political consolidation and economic development. To the few fine histories written of this period, this book makes a valuable and significant addition.

Pp. 586

PRICE: Rs. 35/-

PEOPLES PUBLISHING HOUSE Rani Jhansi Road, New Delhi-1

CENTRAL GOVT. EMPLOYEES TO PLAN FOR FURTHER ACTION

NEW DELHI: The movement of Central government employees for upward revision of dearness allowance to mitigate the erosion of their living standards by the ever-rising prices and for suitable mechanism to link DA with the consumer price index is about to enter a new stage.

THE representatives of the Confederation of Central Government Employees' Organisations and its associate bodies are meeting in Delhi on January 20 to consider their next step, reports IPA.

It may be recalled that the Das Commission has already indicated, without giving its own opinion on the subject, that the DA Formula required to be examined.

The employees' organisations are keen that the dispute issue should be settled across the table without going through the exasperating process of a commission or arbitration. They are particularly unhappy at the fact that there is as yet

no machinery to discuss even such important issues as the wages or the DA.

On the question of ways for settling the wages issue, there appears to be no unanimity among the employees' organisations.

While some sections would like it to be settled in the proposed joint councils, the railway and defence employees federations have on the contrary shown preference for separate wage boards.

An important factor in favour of railwaymen and defence workers is that both the federations—the INTUC-affiliated and the independent—are unanimous on the demand for the wage board.

However, according to available indications, the government is not likely to concede this demand in the near future.

In order to resolve some of the outstanding disputes regarding classifications, it is likely that the government may consider the appointment of an expert committee. It is learnt that the Defence Ministry is actively considering this proposal.

Meanwhile, it is learnt that the reported proposal of the Defence Ministry for a new negotiating machinery for the civilian defence employees is under consideration of the Home Ministry.

Though government has not yet indicated its mind on the disputed point related to the joint consultative machinery, the Union Home Ministry, it is understood, will call a meeting of the Central government employees' organisations towards the end of this month or early February in this connection.

1964: YEAR OF STRUGGLE AND ADVANCE FOR INDIAN WOMEN

By HAJRAH BEGUM

On January 26, we celebrate the fifteenth anniversary of our Republic. The year 1964 has gone beyond the horizon, while we stand musing at the happy and the sad moments it gave us. It has left us, the women of India, with many valuable lessons, richer with experience, more self-confident, more united and determined to play an effective role in the task of the reconstruction of our country and building a prosperous, industrialised and secular India based on social justice and dignity for the common man, for the emancipation of women from feudal backwardness, superstitions and ignorance, devoted to the policies of nonalignment, friendship between the nations and world peace.

LAST year revealed, through numerous actions of women all over the country that a new woman is emerging in India who is participating more and more in the production of material goods and in moulding the social, political and cultural life of the country; who is accepting more responsibility and demanding her rights as a worker, wife and mother.

No Indian woman can think of the year 1964 without a pang in her heart, for in that year we lost the nation's beloved leader Jawaharlal Nehru. Women grieved at this loss more than others because Jawaharlal Nehru was a champion of women's rights, and a staunch campaigner for world peace, the cause dearest to every woman's heart.

Distressing Features

The other distressing features of this period have been the constant rise in prices, hoarding and profiteering of essential articles of life, especially food, and ever-increasing adulteration, and corruption, which make life miserable for an ordinary housewife.

In the end of January 1964, an all-India committee was set up to evolve ways and means to focus the attention of the nation on the problems and demands of working women—women who have the double responsibility, one towards their children and

family and the other towards their jobs.

They are entitled to some benefits and social services which are practically non-existent in our country.

This committee was constituted by prominent women personalities interested in advance and welfare of women, leading women-trade unionists, educationists, women in medical profession and representatives of women's organisations from nearly all the states.

It was decided to observe March 8, the International Women's Day as a day of working women's demands.

The response was very encouraging. State committees were set up in seven states to study the demands of different sections of working women and to organise this day.

Women employed in factories, in offices, in plantations, in small scale industry, in schools, in universities, and in hospitals, all worked together to popularise this day and make it a success.

This was the first time that their demands were being taken up on an all India scale. A large number of them were members of trade unions and had fought along with men workers for their demands, but they had some specific demands as women workers, and many of these demands were common to all the sections.

They wanted creches and kindergartens where they could leave their children when they

went to work. They wanted technical training and promotions to skilled jobs.

They felt that women workers in our country are used only as the sweated labour; they are not given the opportunity to learn any skill. They all protested against it.

There is discrimination against married women in varied forms, direct and indirect, in some professions such as pharmaceuticals. There is ban on the employees in some firms getting married while in others married women are just not employed.

All these problems were brought to the forefront on that day. Demonstrations were held in front of legislatures in Maharashtra, Punjab, West Bengal and Kerala, while mass rallies of women, processions, and deputations to Ministers were organised in Madras, Madhya Pradesh, and Hyderabad. A concentration of working women was held in Delhi.

The successful observation of this day infused a new confidence in working women and forged a unity between different sections of working women.

Last year for the first time the birthday of Sarojini Naidu was celebrated on an all India scale. This occasion was utilised to build unity among different women's organisations. In some states as in Delhi, Madras and Punjab, all organisations joined together to celebrate this day, which was a great tribute to the memory of this great woman.

The year 1964 saw a steep rise in the prices of the necessities of life. The increase was much marked in essential commodities like cereals, pulses, vegetables, milk, ghee, edible oils, sugar and baby foods.

To add to the already full to the brim cup of the miseries of a housewife was the problem of the adulteration of foodstuffs and the non-availability of the necessities. Hoarding, and black marketing became rampant in this situation.

This exhausted the patience of housewives; they could not be silent spectators when hoarders and black marketers were having a hayday of profiteering. The



Women court arrest in Calcutta during the food satyagraha, August 1964

government had to be moved to intervene effectively, to bring out the hoarded stocks, and to fix the maximum prices of food grains and other essential commodities.

Women, whether they were organised or unorganised, whether they were housewives or working women, all plunged in the battle to arrest the upward trend of prices, and to bring them down.

Two Lakh Signatures

Nearly two lacs of signatures were collected on a memorandum of the NFIW, demanding state trading in foodgrains, fair price shops in adequate numbers, the use of DIR against hoarders and black marketers, fixing prices of all essential commodities, and the formation of committees for distribution of foodgrains, sugar etc. with the cooperation of women's organisations, and other popular organisations.

Thousands of meetings of women were held all over the country in support of these demands. The signatures were presented to the legislatures at the time of the last budget sessions by the deputations of women.

The women of Delhi organised a vigil in front of Parliament when it opened for the budget session and presented the memorandum with 16,000 signatures to the Food Minister.

On the day of Raksha Bandhan a deputation of women presented to Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri a rakhi on which was inscribed, under the picture of a child, "Let me live, control prices".

No firm steps were taken by the government to check prices, so the struggle continued. Whatever steps the government took under the pressure of the people were half-hearted and did not help in solving the problem.

Women were not discouraged or disheartened; they were adamant. They joined vigilance committees, started consumer's cooperatives and worked in the existing cooperative societies. They were determined to join any movement aimed at lowering prices.

Women played an important role in price resistance movement everywhere, at many places it was led by housewives. In Delhi women organised the boycott of sweets at the time of Dussehra and Dewali.

Women courted arrests, they resorted to hungerstrikes, they adopted every form to continue their struggle. On September 7, the day Parliament opened for the autumn session, about 700 demonstrated in front of it on this issue.

Now the government has decided to enter the food trade, though in a limited way, through the State Trading Corporation, start statutory rationing in all big cities and the deficit area of Kerala, and institute summary trials for blackmarketing. It is a victory for the movement of the entire people in which women have played an important part.

But our goal is still very far. We have to intensify our struggles and achieve broader unity among all sections of women and all organisations of women if we want to reach it.

In spite of being so much involved in the problems of their homes and the country, the women of India did not lose sight of the international events and gave their support and solidarity whenever it was required.

International Solidarity

They protested at the time of Rivonia Trial in South Africa, against the intensification of war in South Vietnam by USA, at the stationing of the US Seventh Fleet in the Indian Ocean.

At the time of the World Conference for World Peace and International Cooperation held in Delhi in November 1964 women and women's organisations took an active part in its preparations and in the conference. Twentyone organisations of women jointly organised a public meeting to welcome the women delegates to the conference.

Last year women have been on the march and participated in promoting the progress of the country but we cannot be satisfied with what has been achieved. Millions of women still remain in the countryside and the towns who have not been drawn into any movement.

The maximum that we have done in a year does not even reach the minimum that our country requires us to do. We must pledge on this Republic Day to work with more zest and vigour during this year.

The foreign policy pursued by the Government of India which survived its biggest test during the Chinese aggression and immediately thereafter, when the pressure from the right reaction and the imperialists was at the peak, lost its architect Jawaharlal Nehru in the fateful year of 1964.

THE scramble for power in New Delhi that followed soon after the demise of Prime Minister Nehru pushed up one question uppermost in the minds of all—in the country itself as well as abroad—will the foreign policy of the Government of India which was so closely identified with the late Prime Minister retain its core and the fabric, or will it be subjected to such changes that might transform its basic character?

This question has not yet been fully answered, despite the repeated declarations of the government, but as it is the part-answer now available indicates that the basic character of our foreign policy has been retained by the Shastri government.

But that, as it is being increasingly felt by all students of foreign affairs, is not enough in the context of the rapidly-changing world situation which requires our foreign policy to be more dynamic and to have a reorientation with its edge directed against neo-colonialism.

To be blunt, one might even frankly state that since the days of Bandung and the Panchsheel, India's foreign policy has not developed any further. It cannot also be denied that in certain spheres there have been definite signs of going back. And, besides, the policy as such remains afflicted as before with major lapses and serious shortcomings, mostly due to lack of clarity and understanding of the problems and perspectives of the newly-independent, developing nations.

If one is to take stock of the role played by India in the major events that have taken place in the international arena since the passing away of Prime Minister Nehru, it will be clear that in the main, India has fared

Faux Pas At London

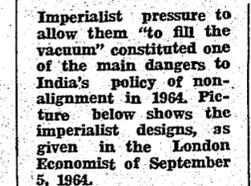
TIK's stupid remarks, at the time of the London Commonwealth Prime Ministers' meeting, on Southern Rhodesia where he had the cheek to identify the British Tory government's policy as being "not out of alignment with Indian policy"; his insistence not to raise questions about British Guiana or South Africa at the conference; the impression given by him that the accession of Kashmir to India was not final; his hesitancy to speak sharply about seeking a solution of the Laos problem and about with-

drawal of US troops from South-East Asia; and the anti-Communist tirade he carried on to convince his patrons the dependability of his government in the fight against communism—are some of the crassest examples of his overall performance.

In fact, his entire approach amounted to a downright denial to assert our national viewpoints, and it was unmistakably directed towards seeking a certificate of good behaviour from the Western imperialists, and to steer clear of all those issues which might annoy his mentors in the event of India being required to take a clear stand.

But one perhaps can understand the none-too-intelligent sales-talk of TTK on foreign affairs; it is not his subject, but very soon we had to see another performance. President Radhakrishnan visited USSR in September and this visit certainly helped in projecting India's stand on peace, nonalignment and friendship with the nations and so on. What it lacked miserably was a clear enunciation of India's position with regard to aggressive designs of the USA which threaten Cuba's sovereignty and independence. It also lacked firm declaration

Imperialist pressure to allow them "to fill the vacuum" constituted one of the main dangers to India's policy of non-alignment in 1964. Picture below shows the imperialist designs, as given in the London Economist of September 5, 1964.



A vacuum to fill



Imperialist pressure to allow them "to fill the vacuum" constituted one of the main dangers to India's policy of non-alignment in 1964. Picture below shows the imperialist designs, as given in the London Economist of September 5, 1964.

Set-Back For Nonalignment

The positive gains of the Cairo conference were not carried forward by the Government of India and on the other hand India's stand on nonalignment suffered a set-back when visiting London, Prime Minister Shastri loudly tom-tomed his brain-wave of a "nuclear shield" for India. This was again a blunder and it gave the impression of a further reversal of our affirmed policies.

Today the vacillations in our foreign policy continue not only as before but perhaps in greater frequency doing greater damage. India has failed to take a clear and unequivocal stand on a number of issues, for example, on the situations in the Congo, South Vietnam, Laos; on US aggressive designs in South-East Asia as a whole, on British neo-colonialist actions linked with Malaysia, on the Anglo-American manoeuvres to aid Pakistan on

the question of Kashmir, on the question of colonies still under the domination of imperialists and such host of issues. We have thereby become a party vulnerable to the Chinese propaganda that India indirectly supports the imperialist plans.

Apart from these weaknesses, the foreign policy suffers from other maladies too. One may very rightly ask what has the Government of India done to improve India's position in those countries where the behaviour of Indian residents has given rise to feelings of animosity? Or where the high-brow attitude of our diplomats caused considerable annoyance.

Even now there continues to remain a pathetic paucity in our external publicity and it is not accidental that many of our foreign missions are still ill-equipped with publicity material about various aspects of our country.

Shockingly Ill-Informed

It is shocking to know that many of our diplomats are sadly misinformed or uninformed about many developments in India. It is worth recalling an incident in this connection where in a meeting with several foreigners in the capital of a foreign country, one of our senior diplomats was unable to answer how many oil refineries India has.

And then one must not also forget that in some respect our foreign missions are still plagued with the remnants of British training and its consequent complexes. Our diplomats are yet to adapt themselves to the requirements of the new situation, and imbibe themselves with the national spirit to fulfil the new tasks.

The basic features of the foreign policy which have been proved to be correct beyond doubt and which have helped India to emerge as an important nonaligned power in the comity of nations, require today greater dynamism. In translating these basic tenets into action, India will have to take steps which, in a number of cases, might earn for us displeasure of the US and British imperialists. But that cannot be helped if India has to improve its image in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Can India get away without condemning the open transhipment of troops by the British government to Malaysia? Or by not openly declaring itself against the US policy of escalation of war in South Vietnam, or the provocations in Laos? It can do so only at its own peril; by earning mistrust of the fighting people.

Was it without any reason that at the time of the Chinese aggression only a few countries openly came out to

* On page 16



Working women demonstrate before Kerala Assembly on March 8, 1964

KERALA : NO CHANCES FOR OPPOSITION, BUT CONGRESS PROSPECTS ALSO BLEAK

With the breakdown of talks between the left parties in Kerala for forming a united front to fight the coming elections against the Congress and the Muslim League-Kerala Congress alliance, Kerala again became the subject matter for comment by the daily newspapers.

There were similarities in the approach of almost all the editorial comments. They found that it was not a workable proposition to have an alliance between the Kerala opposition parties, but the breakdown of efforts to form a left united front has not brightened the chances of the Congress any the better.

THE TIMES OF INDIA said on January 14:

"Even if the Left parties secure a majority they will not be in a position to form a government on the basis of an agreed programme. Whether it is land reforms, educational policy or price controls they are likely to pull in different directions. Though they are all united in their common hatred of the Congress, they are by no means agreed in their estimate of the ruling party.

"The chances of the Congress in the elections are no better. The party is more divided than ever before and it will find it very difficult to live down the odium it has earned by years of misrule.

"By refusing to form an alliance with any opposition group it is only making a virtue of necessity. The bitter truth is that in the present discredited state of the Congress, no party is seen on aligning itself with it.

"The disagreement between the various Opposition groups may work to its advantage but even if it emerges as the largest party in the legislature it will hardly be able to form a government which is in any way more strong or stable than the Sankar Ministry. All in all Kerala seems to be in for another long period of political instability."

On the same day, THE HINDUSTAN TIMES had this much to say on Kerala:

"The Congress Party's own shameful record of an electoral alliance with the communal Muslim League three years ago (actually it was five years ago—P.) can offer little solace to those parties that are now ready to rush into each other's expedient embraces. The ill-fated Congress decision was not even a profitable precedent....

"A compromise needs more than an agreement to make it work; it calls for a spirit of give and take which, hard as it is to come by among factions within a party, is harder to find in political marriage of convenience....

"From this, however, to the wishful claim made by the Congress President that his party's chances in Kerala had recently begun to get

prospects there. But all may not be lost yet if the party joins itself out of its delusions and shows a readiness to come to grips with facts."

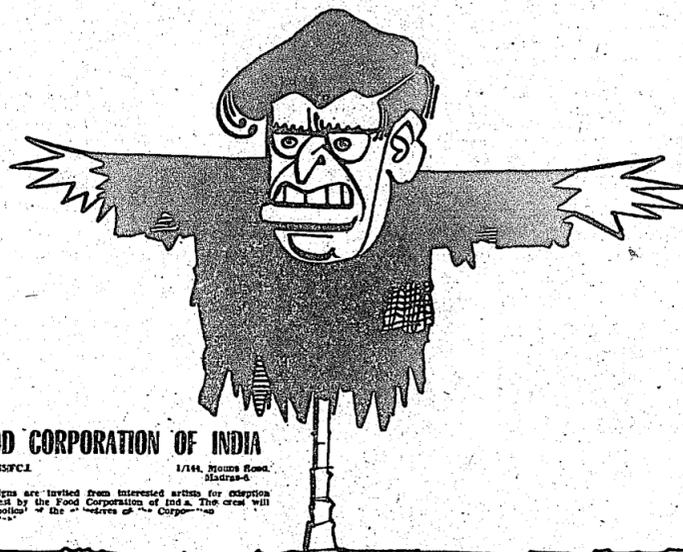
To the FREE PRESS JOURNAL (January 15), "the Kerala election riddle is now further complicated by the rift in the united front of leftist parties. The patchwork unity, however, has always appeared precarious."



thing, the chances have been made worse by recent developments.

"The error in anticipating public reaction to the arrests of the Communist Party's pro-Peking leaders has given rise to the unfortunate impression—and not merely in Kerala—that the government at the centre was moved to carry out the arrests from the

It added: "The leftist Communist group and the SSP seemed inclined from the very beginning to woo the Muslim League and the Kerala Congress while some other groups including the rightist Communists shunned any alliance with them. It is this basic difference on a vital issue that has evidently led to the final break-up.



FOOD CORPORATION OF INDIA

Designs are invited from interested artists for adoption of a crest by the Food Corporation of India. The crest will be symbolic of the 'bread of the Corporation'.

selfish motive of saving the party from losing the election to the Left Communists.

"Having thus by its own actions enabled the public to misread its otherwise justifiable decision, the ruling party had a responsibility for making an effort to put things right. Instead, it has not yet disclosed to the public the evidence which has led to the swoop on Peking's henchmen among the Communists.

"But how far and in what manner its impact will influence the election results, it is difficult to determine. Perhaps it is rash to rush the conclusion that the front's discomfiture will be the Con-

gress's opportunity.

"Popular disenchantment by the Congress rule and disaffection caused by the food bungle, rising prices and consequent distress to the people after the President's rule cannot be expected to be forgotten easily.

"If Congress hopes to profit from triangular contests, it may be remembered that multiplicity of parties and candidates can well make the election virtually a gamble. What seems certain now is that the state's chronic political instability is unlikely to improve appreciably after the mid-term election."

THE INDIAN EXPRESS however found solace in that "the electorate has been spared the disagreeable necessity of having to vote directly or indirectly for communism simply or largely because it dislikes Congress policies."

In an editorial on January 16 the paper said: "The alternative is still among two coalitions of leftists and the Congress. But that is better than a rigid choice between the Congress and communism." It seems to have forgotten that there is a party called Kerala Congress or another called Muslim League contesting the elections!

To make confusion worse confounded, it added:

"The electorate is now to

FCI MAKES ITS DEBUT

THE Food Corporation of India has made an impressive debut; I mean on the pages of the big newspapers. Huge half-page advertisements (rates: Rs. 11.80 for single column centimetre in the HINDUSTAN TIMES, Rs. 14 for single column centimetre in THE STATESMAN) have appeared in all of them heralding its birth.

As if in repayment for the cash doled out, some of the papers launched a frontal offensive against the FCI too. At least two of them had cartoons the very next day jibing at the FCI.

One showed C. Subramaniam in tattered clothes in the role of a scarecrow (offered as the emblem for the FCI) while the other showed the Food Minister as a magician producing the FCI out of his hat.

THE TIMES OF INDIA, in contrast, had an editorial which dealt with the problems and tasks before the FCI and concluded:

"With sufficient drive there is no reason why the Corporation should not be able in a year or two to acquire a commanding position in the wholesale foodgrains trade provided it formulates its policies with forethought and precision and follows them up with vigorous action. If it falls in its purpose it will be because of its own ineptitude and not because of a lack of public support or of financial resources."

—PARAKAL

LETTERS

FILM FESTIVAL OR WHAT?

THE way in which the current Film Festival is being conducted is a disgrace to the country.

It is called an international film festival, vying with famous European festivals for recognition and merit. And yet, the number of films which have been entered for competition is so small and their quality so low as would be seen a third-rate festival abroad.

The bungling in the arrangements is beyond description. The nepotism gone into the issue of passes for the festival for all the officials and their wives and children and relatives and friends is beneath contempt.

The director of this festival who appears every day on the stage at Vigyan Bhavan and repeats his "speech" as if a gramophone record is played is a standing disgrace to the India's show world.

The beatnik crowd which swaggers into the theatres in the expectation of seeing sex in the raw (they have been told that the films are uncensored and they are not being shown to the MFs because there is too much sex in them) make it impossible even to sit in these theatres with their catcalls and boosings.

One could only wall in despair, Oh, God, when are we going to get out of this rut?

ARGUS

New Delhi

JANUARY 24, 1965

That the first Congress session without Nehru would be different in some ways from earlier sessions had been expected. But it came as a shock to find that the Congress had reversed gear so soon after his death. Even while Nehru had been alive the progress towards a better life for the people had been slow enough and many within the organisation and outside it were unhappy at the halting pace of development. Nevertheless as long as he was there he symbolised in a way the people's urge for socialism and he strove to keep the Congress wagon hitched to the star of socialism.

It was symbolic—in a sense ominous—that for the first time in recent years the Congress session was not preceded by a meeting of the Socialist Forum.

Atulya Ghosh, who is today more than anyone else in the organisation the spearhead of the forces of the right, refused to accord any facilities to the organisers of the Forum. The excuse trotted out was that there would be no space available for the meeting and that in view of the large rush of delegates it would be difficult for the reception committee to accommodate members of the Forum who were not delegates.

Even without attending the Congress anyone could have realised how lame these excuses were. After attending it, it was absolutely clear that the refusal of facilities to the Forum was politically motivated.

When arrangements for several thousand volunteers and delegates had been made, the problem of accommodating a few dozen members of the Forum who were not delegates could surely not have presented an insurmountable difficulty.

Lack Of Enthusiasm

A marked lack of enthusiasm both in the preparatory stages and during the session itself characterised the Durgapur session.

Out of the 680 members of the AICC only 375 attended and similarly only about 1,500 delegates of the nearly 4,500 expected actually came to Durgapur.

Even prior to the session the reception committee, formally headed by Ajoy Mukherjee but actually controlled by Atulya Ghosh, came up against this indifference on the part of various sections of the people which resulted in a serious paucity of funds.

The West Bengal Chief Minister's drive against hoarders and profiteers on the eve of the Durgapur Congress also queerred the pitch for Atulya Ghosh who depended on them for his funds.

Atulya Ghosh however solved his financial problem with the help of the exhibition he organised in connection with this session.

Making use of a large area of land belonging to a quasi-government organisation—the Durgapur Projects—he charged huge rents from those who set up pavilions and stalls. Considering the fantastic rents charged—between Rs. 3.50 and Rs. 5.00 a square foot—the reluctance of private firms to take up space was not surprising.

But the various state governments and the public sector corporations were persuaded to take up the space and Atulya Ghosh was able to make up much of his deficit with the help of this money.

Thus the Durgapur session was in effect subsidised by the various public sector corporations of the government and the different state governments in the country.

As members of the Working Committee began to assemble in Durgapur there was a flutter of excitement over an interview given by Indira Gandhi to a group of newspapers in Calcutta.

In this interview she expressed concern over the slow pace of

implementation of the Bhubaneswar Resolution and squarely placed the blame for it on the shoulders of a powerful lobby within the Congress which, though in a minority, was strong enough to impede the progress of the country towards socialism.

Even though no one was named, it is suggestive of the state of affairs prevailing in the Congress party that this was universally interpreted as an attack on Atulya Ghosh.

Thus right on the eve of the session the question was posed—would the Durgapur session clear away the impediments that were holding up the implementation of the Bhubaneswar Resolution, or would the latter succeed in turning the face of the organisation away from the spirit of Bhubaneswar?

Looking back at the session it has to be regretfully noted that it is the forces of the right which have scored a triumph. While lip service has been paid to the Bhubaneswar Resolution, the resolutions adopted set the course in a direction that leads away from socialism and threatens to steer the vessel of the Congress organisation into the still waters of the period prior to the adoption of the Second Plan.

Three resolutions were adopted at Durgapur: The first on Tasks Before Congressmen, the second on International Affairs and the third on Economic and Social Policy.

The first hardly deserves comment because it dares not more than give expression to the pious wish that Congressmen should strengthen their links with the masses.

Socialism Omitted

But a number of delegates did not fail to notice that the word socialism does not occur in the entire resolution and some amendments to incorporate this were actually moved.

Nevertheless the mover of the resolution, none other than the redoubtable Atulya Ghosh, did not accept the amendments and the resolution was passed exactly in the form in which it had been proposed.

The resolution on International Affairs is also highly significant for what it says but for what it leaves unsaid.

The resolution contains no reference to colonialism and the struggle against it still going on in many parts of the world. There is no message of solidarity to those engaged in the struggle for national liberation.

The reference to the Cairo conference records its appreciation to "the reaffirmation of the principles of peaceful coexistence" and ignores the other part of the resolution of the conference which condemned colonialism in all its forms.

Special emphasis is laid on the principle adopted at the Cairo conference that "states must abstain from all use of threat of force directed against the territorial integrity and political independence of other states" which is understandable in view of India's experience in relation to China's use of force on India's borders.

But it is not at all clear why interest in her own problem should

CONGRESS SESSION REVIEW

Syndicate In Saddle, Retreat From Bhubaneswar

By OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

While agriculture has been given emphasis as it should, the resolution taken as a whole seems to suggest a shift in the basic strategy of planning evolved at the time of the Second Plan—namely a policy of laying stress on the building of the basic heavy industries necessary for the development of a self-reliant economy. The stress now will be, it appears, on agro-industries and on consumer goods industries.

While the Prime Minister himself emphasised the need for a large plan, the presidential speech of K. Kamaraj seemed to give a call for the reduction of the targets and outlays of the Fourth Plan.

Plan Outlay

After mentioning that the Rs. 21,500 crores proposed as the expenditure for the Fourth Plan he says: "We have carefully to analyse and study the consequences of such a large outlay on the levels of prices in the country.

"Impatient as we are to eliminate the poverty, misery, unemployment and ignorance that surround us, anxious as we are to transform ourselves into a modern society in the shortest possible time, we may be eager to embark on larger and larger plans.

"But at the same time prudence should guide our actions and should help us to assess realistically whether the intended benefits could be secured as envisaged.

"Any inflationary pressures arising out of large investments would again have its severe impact on the poorer and weaker sections of society.

"I have no doubt that the Planning Commission and the Government of India will devote their most careful consideration to all these aspects in the finalisation of the Plan and the determination of its size.

"The Plan contemplates the raising of additional resources to the tune of Rs. 8,000 crores by the Central and state governments. It appears to be that this is a commitment too heavy for both the centre and the states.

"The opportunities for levy of taxation in new fields appear to be limited. The central and state governments should therefore realistically examine their respective ability to raise the resources before finalising the Plan."

The debate that took place on the resolution revealed how little the voice of the rank and file delegates counts in the shaping of Congress policies. Excellent speeches were made, many of them highly critical of the policies of the government. Amendments were proposed.

But at the end of it all the amendments were withdrawn and the resolution passed unanimously. The whole process appears as some kind of a mystical ritual rather than one in which a real effort was being made to evolve a policy through collective discussion.

The election to fill the vacancy in the Working Committee caused by the death of G. Rajagopalan was also interesting insofar as it gave a picture of the alignment of forces within the Congress.

The election of Darbara Singh by a large majority was a confirmation of what had already been demonstrated earlier in other ways—the control that the "syndicate" retains over the organisation.

The possibility of any one coming into positions of leadership against the wishes of the members of this combination at the top with their formidable voting strength appears to be rather remote until the "syndicate" itself falls apart. At this moment there are no indications of this happening.

Accumulation of Strength

In fact there has been an accumulation of strength with the coming of Patnaik into their fold. This was the price that the latter had to pay to pull his neck out of the noose that Nanda had put round his neck.

The only other event of importance at the Congress session was the decision to merge the National Conference in Jammu and Kashmir with the Congress.

While this brings in new blood to the organisation, the large delegation from Jammu and Kashmir that attended the conference looked rather crestfallen at the picture of the Congress that was revealed at this session.

The courage with which the rank and file delegates spoke up at the session revealed that a considerable body of opinion exists within the organisation which is eager for bolder policies. But this body lacks cohesion and a sense of direction.

It will have to assert itself much more vigorously if it wishes to break the stone wall of stolid indifference to the wishes of the majority that blocks the way of advance.

Will the drift away from the ideals of Bhubaneswar persist or will the Congress set its sights once again on the policies of socialism?

The answer to that will depend on how strong the progressive forces within the Congress are and on the extent to which the democratic movement outside can exert pressure on the government and the ruling party to adopt policies that are more in line with the interest of the masses.

The Congress has sadly missed the bus at Durgapur. It was an occasion when the premier Political party in the country could have played a leading role in the formulation of the Fourth Plan. It could have lifted the Plan from the morass of official, bureaucratic thinking and approach; it could have elevated the Plan from the plane of vague statistical formulations into an expression of the aspirations of the people of this vast country. But the Congress session failed in all this and by that failure miserably let down the country and the people.

WHAT we got from Durgapur, instead, were a cacophony of conflicting views aired by different leaders about the approach to planning, the size of the Fourth Plan and the resources position; a resolution on economic and social policy which lacked lustre and was wholly stale and a lot of pious platitudes about the urgent necessity for many things.

We heard Congress President demanding a cut in the proposed Fourth Plan outlay because he feared that such largescale investments would cause inflation and the required additional resources would be too much of a burden on the people.

But we also heard Prime

Minister Shastri asserting that the proposed outlay of 21,500 crores, with provision for increasing it by another Rs. 1,000 crores, was the irreducible minimum.

The resolution on economic and social policy talked about implementing "a bolder Fourth Plan", but it also talked in the same breath about "a period of consolidation". Except for the suggestion of setting up agro-industrial corporations in the states, the resolution singularly lacked in originality and ideas.

Nothing was heard from the leading lights of the Congress about the wrong approach that has already gone into the formulation of the Fourth

ENOUGH RESOURCES, BUT WILL THEY BE TAPPED?

Needed: A Pro-People, Industry-Oriented Approach To Planning

Plan which would only retard the industrialisation of the country and achievement of the goal of a self-generating economy.

We heard a lot about increasing farm output, but next to nothing about providing the actual tiller of the soil with land and the necessary funds and facilities to produce. The resolution did not have anything to say about measures to reduce the disparity in incomes of the people; nor even about the national minimum and the deadline which the Bhubaneswar resolution of the Congress had promised.

Of course, to provide the minimum income of Rs. 20 a month a person by 1975-76, the Planning Commission had calculated that the national income should be of the order of Rs. 37,500 crores. To realise that target, a growth rate of seven per cent is absolutely necessary during the Fourth and Fifth Plans.

But after the tussle between the 'necessity-men' and the 'resources-men' at the time of the October National Development Council meeting, this has been given up and the target of growth of the economy has been fixed at 6.5 per cent.

The big business and their knight-errands inside the ruling party and the government have not sat idle since then. They had tasted blood and was rushing in for the kill. They wanted further slashing of the proposed outlay in the name of lack of resources and the spectre of inflation.

It is a pity that the Congress President should echo the views of big business and the monopoly press on these two issues in his presidential address at the Durgapur session. Both are, it may be seen, paper tigers nurtured and built by the scions of private sector.

For example, take resources. It was after considerable deliberations that the Planning Commission had come to the conclusion that resources to

finance a Plan of the magnitude of the one now proposed could be raised. The staunchest of the 'resources-men', Finance Minister T. T. Krishnamachari himself, had in the October meeting of the NDC agreed that resources for a Rs. 21,000 crores Plan could be raised. He had taken the "this-much-and-not-more" stance there.

Again, the NDC has kept projects (to be identified later) worth Rs. 1,000 crores in the "uncertainty" basket, to be taken up if and when the resources were adequate. That meant that the NDC considered it quite feasible to raise the additional resources of Rs. 2,500 to Rs. 3,000 crores mentioned in the Planning Commission memorandum.

Even otherwise, all the Rs. 3,000 crores are not to be raised through taxation as feared by the Congress President. It is mentioned in the memo itself that this has to be raised through "increased taxation, reduction of tax avoidance and evasion and adjustment of prices charged by public sector undertakings".

It is also not to be forgotten that taxation is a means for levelling of incomes even while mopping up resources for the Plan. But the Union Finance Minister seems to be quite averse to use it for

achieving such an objective. It is curious to note that all those who are pessimist about the resources position are invariably also opposed to the two latter suggestions of the Planning Commission.

These veteran champions of the private sector is now lobbying for a tax reduction in the name of curbing tax evasion. Reduce the taxes and there will be no evasion: this is their slogan. The Union Finance Minister seems to be favourably disposed to them, too.

by **PAULY V. PARAKAL**

The pricing policy of the public sector projects is under fire from them. It is understandable, for the consumers of the public sector products, except for the railways and the Post and Telegraphs, are the private sector industrial units and any increase in the prices of these products would cut into their margin of profit.

Let us now come to the issue of inflation and prices. It is now accepted that in a developing economy inflation to a certain extent is unavoidable. But the crisis which has

hit our economy and the people is not that kind of inflation which should have a direct link to the volume of investment and production; it is that of run-away prices.

The spiralling of prices is the direct result of artificial scarcity, market manipulations and profiteering. It is against this that popular resentment and indignation is finding expression in the mass agitations. It is for the executive wing of the government to take concrete measures to hold the price line, as stated in the Planning Commission memorandum. All planning presupposes

controls and discipline. And it is in this that the present situation is sadly lacking. Also, 'socialistic' pattern demands redistribution of income in such a way that all the fruits of development are not cornered by those who own the means of production, but are also available to the common man.

This is the main drawback of the present approach to planning in our country. It does not spell out steps for providing the common man with the fruits of planning, with returns for his sacrifices.

The people would not mind the burden of growth and development provided the fruits accrue to the poorer sections of society rather than the monopolists and big business.

The Planning Commission memorandum itself says: 'Recent price rises have caused hardships to large sections of the people, but they have also brought large incomes to sections of producers, traders, etc. Unless such incomes are concerted into savings and investments in consonance with the Plan, they will distort the economy and aggravate its imbalances. Structural changes in the economy are an essential condition of rapid development and will be more urgent than ever in the coming years.'

All these are not meant to suggest that the memorandum as it is provides a sound basis for India's development. Far from it. The sectoral allocations suggested in it in fact is a departure from the guidelines set in the Third Plan and as such seeks to take the economy backwards rather than forward.

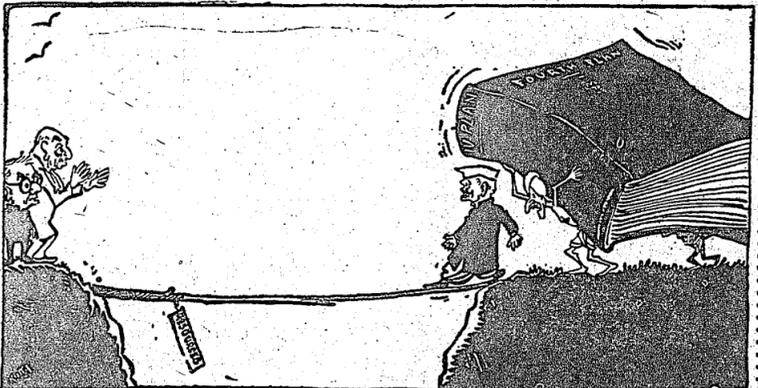
A comparative study of the sectoral allocations in the Third Plan and the proposals for the Fourth Plan would bear this out.

For example, despite the stress being placed in and out of place on agriculture, the

* ON PAGE 17

SECTORAL ALLOCATIONS IN THIRD AND FOURTH PLANS

Item	(Rs. crores)			
	Anticipated expenditure for the Third Plan	Allocation in the Fourth Plan	Percentage distribution	
			of Col. 2	of Col. 3
2	3	4	5	
Agriculture	1,090	2,400	13.3	15.4
Irrigation	648	1,000	7.9	6.4
	1,738	3,400	21.2	21.8
Power	1,187	1,950	14.5	12.4
Small Industry	233	450	2.8	2.9
Organised Industry	1,682	3,200	20.3	20.5
Transport and Communications	1,940	3,000	23.6	19.2
	5,022	8,600	61.2	55.0
Education	557	1,400	6.8	9.0
Scientific Research	72	175	0.9	1.1
Health	345	1,090	4.2	7.0
Housing and Construction	112	400	1.4	2.6
Welfare of Backward Classes	104	205	1.3	1.3
Social Welfare		65		0.4
Craftsmen Training and Labour Welfare		145		0.9
Public Cooperation	250	15	3.0	0.1
	1,440	3,495	17.6	22.4
Rural Works		25		0.2
Rehabilitation		50		0.3
Miscellaneous		50		0.3
		125		0.8
Grand Total	8,200	15,620	100.0	100.0



COURTESY: THE INDIAN EXPRESS

MR. KAMARAJ, WHAT ABOUT THOSE WHO LIVE ON 32 PAISE A DAY?

"CONGRESSNAGAR, Durgapur, January 9: Congress President Kamaraj today sounded a note of warning against over-ambitious planning, which would only aggravate inflationary pressures with their inevitable 'impact on the poorer and weaker sections of society'.

"In his presidential address to the 69th session of the Indian National Congress he doubted the wisdom of the proposal to raise Rs. 3,000 crores of additional resources during the Fourth Plan."

THESE were the opening paragraphs in THE HINDUSTAN TIMES report of the Congress President's speech at Durgapur. Reading them, one is tempted to ask: What do you know about the 'poorer and weaker sections of society,' Mr. Kamaraj?

Does Mr. Kamaraj know that 43 millions of our people, that is, one in every ten Indians, live on just 32 Paise a day on an average?

DISTRIBUTION OF CONSUMPTION: INDIA 1960-61

Decline of population	Percentage distribution of consumption	Maximum value of consumption per capita per month (Rs.)
Lowest	2.98	9.6
Second	4.45	12.6
Third	5.56	15.2
Fourth	6.61	17.9
Fifth	7.74	20.8
Sixth	9.00	24.3
Seventh	10.54	28.6
Eighth	12.57	34.6
Ninth	15.69	45.1
Tenth	24.86	—

The chart is very clear. Seventy per cent of our people have only the spending capacity of less than one rupee a day for their living. On the other hand, the ten per cent in the highest income bracket corners as much as 24.86 of the total produce. The Planning Commission's projections into the Fourth and Fifth Plans are aimed at providing these people living in "abject poverty" a minimum

per capita income of Rs. 20 (at 1960-61 prices) by the end of at least the Fifth Plan in 1975-76.

If the growth rate is reduced by cutting down on the outlay of the Plan, then, even by 1975-76, the objective of providing the minimum income for the poorer people will remain unrealised.

The minimum itself has been worked out by a working group on the minimum standard of living which included even such stout champions of 'realistic Plans' as M. R. Masani and P. S. Lokanathan, as far back as July 1962.

Whom does the Congress President favour—seventy per cent of the people who subsist on less than a rupee a day or those in the highest income bracket who take away one-fourth of the total national produce for their own enjoyment?

For, it is on this latter category on which the axe of tax should fall in the next Plan, and for a bit of levelling process.

Production & Development Targets in 3rd & 4th Plans

Item	Unit	1965-66		1970-71	
		Target	Mid-term Appraisal on Realisation	Present Estimate on Realisation	Target/Fish-tails on a Plan outlay of Rs. 22,500 crores
		3	4	5	6
I. AGRICULTURE					
Foodgrains	million tonnes	100	100	92	120
Cotton	lakh bales	70.65	70.65	63.40	85
Sugarcane (gur)	lakh tonnes	100	100	110	135
Oil seeds	"	98.2	98.2	75	100
Jute	lakh bales	63	62	62	80
Nitrogen fertilisers consumed	'000 tonnes	1000	800	650	2000
Phosphatic fertilisers consumed	"	400	250	250	1000
II. IRRIGATION & POWER					
Electricity:					
(a) installed capacity	m.kw.	12.7	12.5	11.7	22
(b) generated	m.kwh.	45000	45000	43000	88000
Irrigation:					
(a) additional Potential at outlet (gross)	million acres	29.5	23.2	20.0	14 (addl)
(b) Utilisation (gross)	"	22.8	18.6	16.0	11 (addl)
III. MINERALS:					
Iron ore	million tonnes	50.0	25.4	26	54
Coal	"	98.6	89.9	78	125
Petroleum refining	"	17.25	—	15.25	19.22
IV. INDUSTRY					
Inputs for agriculture					
Fertilisers N2	'000 tons	800	500	588 (tonnes)	425 (tonnes)
Fertilisers P2O5	'000 tons	400	200	250 (tonnes)	200 (tonnes)
Diesel engines	'000 numbers	168	168	78	60
Tractors	"	10	10	16	8
Power driven pumps	"	150	180	180	150
Consumer goods:					
Cotton textiles—mill made	million yards	5800	5550	5500	6000
Sugar	'000 tons	3500	3500	3200 (tonnes)	4500 (tonnes)
Paper & paper board	"	700	580	680 (tonnes)	650 (tonnes)
Newsprint	"	120	28	30	28
Drugs & Pharmaceuticals	Rs. crores	—	—	175	175
Motor cycles & scooters	'000 numbers	50	45	60	60
Bicycles (organised sector)	"	2000	1600	2200	1600
Electric fans	"	2500	2500	2800	2500
Capacity Production Capacity					
Metals					
Steel Ingots	million tonnes	9.2	7.8	8.9	7.4
Pig iron for sale	"	1.5	1.2	1.2	1.2
Alloy tool & special steel	'000 tons	200	50	50	51
Aluminium	"	80	68	73	68
Machinery					
Locomotives	numbers	360(c)	360(c)	390	340
Passenger coaches	"	1900(c)	1900(c)	1900	2200
Commercial vehicles	'000 numbers	60	54	54	100
Generators—steam	'000 kw.	—	—	—	2900
Generators—hydro	"	—	—	—	1700
Turbine—steam	"	—	—	—	2900
Turbine—hydro	"	—	—	—	1700
Electric Transformers (upto 33 Kva)	million Kva	3.5	3.5	4.0	3.5
Electric Transformers (above 33 Kva)	"	—	—	3.0	3.4
Sugar mill machinery	Rs. crores	14	14	17.5	12.0
Cotton textile machinery	"	20	20	22	30
Cement machinery	"	4.5	4.5	17.8	8
Paper machinery	"	6.5	6.5	8.0	8.0
Machine tools Intermediates	"	80	25	30	25
Cement	million tons	13	12	14 (tonnes)	12 (tonnes)
V. VILLAGE AND SMALL INDUSTRIES:					
Khad:					
(a) traditional	million sq. yards	160.0	110-110	100-100	5000 (in million yards)
(b) Ambar	"	—	—	—	—
Handloom	million yds.	2800	2650-2700	—	—
Powerloom	"	540	—	—	—
VI. TRANSPORT & COMMUNICATIONS:					
Railways:					
Freight traffic (originating)	million tonnes	249	245	225	855
Road Transport:					
Commercial Vehicles on the road	'000 numbers	685	330	335	596
Major Ports:					
Handling capacity	mil. tonnes	49	49	62	86 to 89
Shipping:					
tonnage	lakh GRT	10.9	15	15	30
Posts & Telegraph:					
Telephones	'000 numbers	760	780	810	1500
VII. EDUCATION					
School going children as percent of children in the respective age groups:					
(a) Primary stage	%	78.4	—	77.8	87.7
6-11 age group	"	—	—	—	—
(b) Middle stage	%	28.6	—	31.6	42.7
11-14 age group	"	—	—	—	—
(c) Secondary	%	15.6	—	17.8	22.1
14-17 age group	"	—	—	—	—
Technical education					
Admissions capacity	numbers	67,390	47,550	50,700	63,600
Diploma level	"	19,140	23,130	27,200	38,900

STEPS TOWARDS UNITY

New Developments in Working-Class Movements in France and Italy

Recent events in France and Italy have thrown a new light on the perennial problem facing the working class movement in Western Europe of what is to be done to ensure the defeat of reaction in these countries.

THE short answer to this problem is, of course, to achieve the unity of the working-class and progressive forces—in the first place of socialists and Communists—in this struggle in which they have a common aim.

The rather bitter experiences, particularly of the post-war years, have shown that this is easier said than done. The almost pathological hatred of communism of many rightwing socialist leaders has made the path to such unity exceedingly difficult.

But recent events in Italy and France have shown that the struggle for the political unity of the working-class and socialist forces is making important practical progress.

Even the enemies of communism concede that in these countries it is the Communist Party that is the premier party of the working-class, at the same time speaking for important sections of intellectuals and professional people.

In both these countries it has become increasingly evident, not just to a few politicians or political commentators, but to the vast mass of ordinary people, that any progress against the powers of reaction and monopoly capitalism, is only possible if unity of

the progressive forces exists, including the Communist Party.

The answer, hitherto, of many socialist leaders in these countries, has been that the Communist Party was too big to unite with, because the socialists were in danger of being swamped. An interesting contrast, incidentally with the argument of socialist leaders where the Communist Party is small, where they say it is too small to unite with.

Of course the French and Italian Communist Parties have been the victims of the foul unprincipled propaganda campaigns that are the common charge of those who fear working-class unity like the devil fears holy water.

In Italy all the power of the Vatican has been thrown into the campaign, in France all the personal prestige of General de Gaulle, in both, all the power which Big Business can command.

Yet despite everything, including cooking of the electoral books as in France,

at every election, national and municipal, the Communist vote has gone up and with it the popular pressure for unity of the working-class and progressive forces.

In Italy, the general secretary of the Italian Communist Party, Palmiro Togliatti, campaigned tirelessly for unity of the working-class movement, and warned that no true "opening to the left" was possible which excluded the Communists.

The socialist leader, Signor Nenni, thought otherwise, broke the agreement he had with the Communists and joined in a Christian Democrat government.

The social democrat leader

But the battle against reaction was won the moment Signor Saragat appealed for support from "all the democratic and anti-fascist groups", thereby abandoning his previous refusal to accept Communist votes.

After the election, the general secretary of the Italian Communist Party, Luigi Longo, declared: "From the beginning, we declared that our democratic leftwing would require the vote of other democrats, both Catholic and non-Catholic, in order to arrive at the desired election."

"We maintained constant contacts with these forces, bearing in mind all the while that after this election a new climate would be necessary for the country."

"In our greeting to President Saragat, together with the memory of our common struggle against fascism, there is also now our hope that the Italian working-class will advance with justice and progress."

The Presidential elections demonstrated to the entire Italian people that no democratic solution of the nation's problems is possible without the Communist Party.

Of course, the future development of the drive for working-class unity will have its difficulties, but it has now been demonstrated for all to see that such leftwing unity is possible as well as necessary.

In France, the Left has a similar problem. On March 14, there are municipal elections under a new law which would mean defeat for the Socialists and Communists unless they agree to present a united list.

Next December at the latest there will be the presidential elections. The only possibility to defeat de Gaulle is again Socialist-Communist agreement on a common programme and candidate who

would enjoy not only the support of Communists and Socialists but of all those who are opposed to General de Gaulle's regime.

The announcement of the agreement signed by the Communist and Socialist organisations in the Paris region for joint lists of "democratic union" in the coming municipal elections is therefore of the greatest significance.

It covers a population of about six million and 13 per cent of the total French electorate, it will ensure the return of progressive majorities in at least 26 of the 39 suburbs of Paris.

Unfortunately this is not a national agreement, but there is no doubt that the example of united action by Socialists and Communists in the Paris region will have an effect on other areas of the country.

The big question still is whether the Socialist leaders will consent to an agreement with the Communists which would enable de Gaulle to be beaten in December.

The Socialist presidential candidate, M. Defferre is also Mayor of Marseilles, second biggest city of France, but he became Mayor thanks only to an unprincipled pact with the Gaullists at the last municipal elections.

Ordinary people are naturally asking how M. Defferre can this time accept Gaullist support when he is standing against de Gaulle for President.

M. Defferre has so far refused even to talk with the Communists about a common electoral programme for the Presidential elections and still less to come concluded in Paris for the municipal elections.

Yet it is as plain as a pikestaff that only such an agreement can ensure the defeat of the Gaullists and a progressive majority in municipalities as well as a as the progressive President in the Elysee Palace.

Of course the professional anti-Communists among the socialist leaders as well as the rightwing claiming that if M. Defferre accepts Communist support he will lose. But there is no doubt that he cannot win without such support.

Perhaps even M. Defferre will have to learn the lesson that Signor Saragat had to learn in Italy.

ROME: In Italy today one often hears the expression: "Italian capitalism is shifting the rifle to the other shoulder." And this is not merely an expressive phrase. It reflects objective reality or, if you wish, objective danger looming over the country. This is the new feature which characterises the new year.

THE stakes of Italian Big Business in the so-called "left-centrist experiment" are known to have failed. Contrary to the hopes of the monopolists the Moro government has proved to be powerless in the face of the class struggle of the Italian working people, which in the last few months has acquired such tremendous sweep.

More than that, the results of the recent elections to the local government bodies and also the unusually protracted presidential elections are indicative of the discord that reigns in the camp of the bourgeois parties and, above all, in the Christian-Democratic Party.

And so the leading associations of Italian monopolists disappointed in the "left-centrist" experiment have preferred to change their tactics the essence of which now boils down to overt attack against the rights of the Italian working people. To see that this is so it will be sufficient to study the three-year economic development programme drawn up by the confederation of Italian manufacturers — Confindustria — the general staff of Italian monopoly capital.

Confindustria provides for the three-year period from 1964 to 1966 (as compared with 1963) a growth of employment by 4.4 per cent and of output by 20.6 per cent, and a reduction of investments by 3 per cent.

In other words the equipment at the Italian works will practically not be renewed at all, the labour force will virtually remain unchanged and output will grow. How will this be achieved? Of course, through intensification of labour, through "improvement" of the sweat system.

In short the Italian monopolists are trying to insure their profits in conditions of a slump on the market. Such a slump is regarded practically inevitable. The monopolists are seeking to insure themselves by old fashioned means, namely by the intensification of exploitation of the workers.

The Italian working people have for quite a long time resisted successfully the attacks of the monopolists on their rights. This is the result of the political maturity of the working class, of the might of the trade union movement and its effective organisation, the result of the active work of the Communist Party.

But this is not the only reason. The short-lived economic upsurge which created in the country nearly full employment has impelled the monopolists to disguise their concern for profits by reformist slogans.

The situation has today changed — the period of the "economic miracle" is something of the past and big business no longer considers it necessary to resort to dis-

ROME LETTER

Conspiracy Of The Monopolists

From A Special Correspondent

Reformist slogans have been discarded and the monopolies are going over to an open attack.

Under the current difficulties they consider the only acceptable pattern that the more unemployed, the more limited the rights of the workers, and the greater labour intensification will result in higher profits.

The conspiracy of the Confindustria against the Italian working people exists and not on paper. It is already being implemented on a countrywide scale.

Italian monopoly capital launched the offensive at the end of last year. FIAT announced the closing down of eight of its factories for several weeks under the pretext of "technological reorganisation." As if waiting for the order, RIV, a large ball-bearing firm, the Manietti Morelli, radio-engineering monopoly, the Innocent and Borletti machine building

plants and some 20 other major companies have joined the "operation FIAT."

A number of companies are simultaneously preparing for a mass dismissal of workers. Incidentally, during the past year the number of workers employed in production already decreased by 249,000 and the number of semi-employed has increased by 88,000.

In those places where enterprises are not being closed down, and where workers are meanwhile not being dismissed, the owners are attempting to bring to nought the gains of the working people.

The offensive of the monopolies is being developed with the full connivance of the left-centrist movement. Colombo, the present Minister of the Treasury and the leader of the right wing of the Christian Democrat Party; as L'UNITA wrote, went as far as declaring striking workers as

being almost saboteurs and demanded that the rights of the working people be curbed.

Some people in Italy are inclined to belittle the danger which threatens the democratic freedoms on the part of the monopolies and their headquarters, the Confindustria. Some in general doubt whether the monopolies in Italy have any strength and power pointing out that the state controls a number of branches of the country's economy.

Indeed, the share of state industry in Italy is high. The group of companies headed by IRI, in which the state participates, produces 91 per cent of the pig iron, 54 per cent of the steel, controls 80 per cent of the ship building yards, more than half of the capacity in machine building, many banks, telephone, radio and TV companies.

The state through the ENI oil methane corporation practically controls the enterprises manufacturing liquid fuel and through the ENEL (the national committee on electric power) the entire electric power production. The railways have been completely nationalised and the state Alitalia aviation company occupies the 8th place among the world's largest aviation companies. Such is approximately the complex of the state's participation in the country's economy.

However, the state in Italy is only a servile weapon in the hands of the monopolies and carries out their will. And this is not confirmed by the fact that no sooner had the conductor from the FIAT raised his baton that the closing down of the plants of the Alfa Romeo and Lancia state automobile companies was immediately announced.

The face of Cuba has changed, and so has the so-

SIX YEARS OF FREE CUBA

On the first day of this year Cuba celebrated the sixth year of its freedom. Six years ago the patriotic forces of Cuba overthrew the Batista regime and a popular government under the leadership of Fidel Castro came to power.

US imperialists and the reactionary elements in Cuba, most of whom have since run away and secured shelter in Florida, tried all methods to subvert Cuban independence. But the Cuban people solidly stood behind their government and foiled the attempt of US imperialists at bringing in a military

junta to power. There were militant actions everywhere in the country including a general strike.

Ever since the heroic people have not only defended their freedom but also inflicted an ignominious defeat on the aggressors, in what is now known as the CIA-planned and Penta-

gon-supported invasion at the Bay of Pigs.

The Cuban revolution was a people's revolution in the truest sense and it has brought about fundamental social and political changes in Cuba which has now come to be known as the Island of Freedom. It stands as a beacon of hope and has opened up a whole vista for the libe-

sent a whole new era in which events of stupendous magnitude have been compressed together. Cuba stands today as the first foothold of liberated mankind in the Americas and it continuously provides the struggling peoples with ever new hopes and aspirations.

The face of Cuba has changed, and so has the so-



ration of Latin American countries.

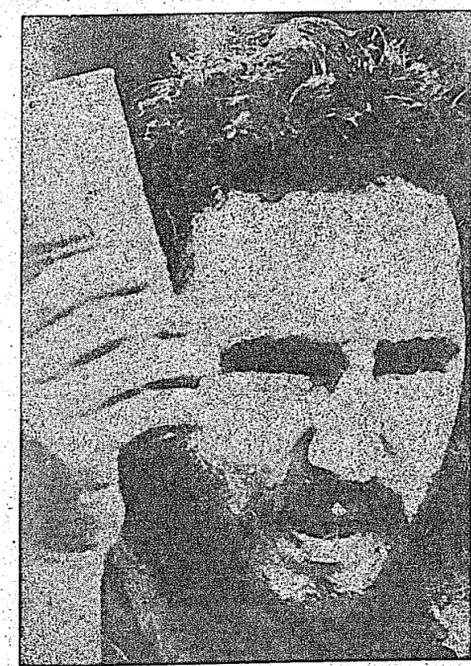
When the revolutionary government came to power and confronted the onslaught on the most powerful imperialist force, it seemed for a time that the fate of the Cuban people hung in a balance. But the solidarity of the peoples of the world over, the strong support of the socialist countries, the Soviet Union in particular, and above all, the bulwark of unity built by the Cubans themselves withstood the test and Cuba emerged triumphant.

With courage and determination, the Cuban people have rebuilt the country that was bled white by Yankee exploitation, and they surmounted the tremendous task of laying a strong, independent economic foundation of a socialist Cuba.

These six years constitute perhaps an insignificant period of time in the life of a nation and a country, but in relation to Cuba they repre-

sent a whole new era in which events of stupendous magnitude have been compressed together. Cuba stands today as the first foothold of liberated mankind in the Americas and it continuously provides the struggling peoples with ever new hopes and aspirations.

The Cuban revolution and the subsequent events have thrown up new factors in world developments. They have clearly demonstrated how the latent strength of an oppressed people can be released to fulfil the goal set by the popular government. Provocations, sabotage, armed invasions, economic blockade, natural calamities—nothing could hold back the onward march of the indomitable people of Cuba. Today, socialist Cuba is a reality and with the unstinted support of all freedom-loving people, Cuba will march on towards its cherished goal of social progress.



NEW AGE

Subscription Rates

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

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

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

A LIFE'S THEME

AND A THREEFOLD CORD By Alex La Gama, Seven Seas Books

Two are better than one because they have a good reward for their labour. . . . And if one prevails against him, two shall withstand him; and a threefold cord is not quickly broken.

THE above Ecclesiastic excerpt is the theme of Alex La Gama's latest novel, AND A THREEFOLD CORD. This extraordinary novel is the second novel of this author and it was written while he was under a five-year sentence of twenty-four-hour house detention in Cape Town, South Africa.

The theme of the book is life itself in which the author is closely linked. One may recall that Gama is one of those 156 persons who faced the repressive measures of the South African government in what is known as "treason trial".

After the legal battle was successfully won, Gama was released but he was again incarcerated following the anti-pass demonstrations at Sharpeville.

South African government had decreed that nothing Gama said or wrote could be reproduced in South Africa and in 1963 he was again thrown into prison for keeping banned literature — excerpts of articles which he himself had written.

In 1964, he was again haul-

ed up under the same charge but on August 31 the sentence was suspended for three years by appeal court on the condition that he "is not convicted of any offence involving banned publications in that period."

But two days later Gama and his wife were charged with the same offence and the case is pending. They are meanwhile on bail.

The book tells of unbear-



BOOK REVIEW

able situation in South Africa in all poignant details—sadness, laughter, struggle, poverty, hate of the people of South Africa against apartheid. It is a splendid addition in English literature published by the Seven Seas Books of German Democratic Republic.

GDR Warns Against West German Nuclear Mines

BERLIN: General Heinz Hoffmann, Defence Minister of the German Democratic Republic, warned emphatically against the consequences of the West German nuclear mines plans at an international press conference in Berlin on January 15.

BASED on the treaty of friendship and mutual assistance concluded with the Soviet Union and on the strategy of the Warsaw Treaty "we will make requisite conclusions on the latest plans of the West German militarists and take measures which are necessary for the protection of our own security and that of our allies. We know how to protect ourselves against the West German nuclear mines plan. Nobody should doubt this," Hoffmann declared.

General Hoffmann confirmed the recent proposals made by the State Council Chairman Walter Ulbricht (in regard to arms build-up and renunciation of nuclear armament in the two German

states) and said: "Even without upgrading the GDR, one can arrive at agreement how surprise attacks can be prevented, detente promoted and how disarmament can be brought about step by step in the two German states," the Defence Minister said.

A detailed documentation handed to the journalists substantiated the statements by General Hoffmann: "the nuclear landmines are deposited on West German territory. Their operational principles are laid down in the Bundeswehr (armed forces) instructions. Bundeswehr officers and pioneer troops are trained to handle the nuclear mines. Preparations to

blast objects in frontier areas has been made."

The Minister pointed out that compared to other nuclear weapons the warhead and delivery vehicle are not separate in nuclear mines. The right of decision of the US President was restricted at the most to the decision over the release of the fuse.

"Thus the planned nuclear mines belt is proved one of the most promising ways for Bonn to torpedo the decision in the hands of the US President and to gain co-decision on the use of American nuclear weapons."

Neither the National People's Army of the GDR nor other socialist armies "think of aggression against West Germany. It is therefore absurd to reply to our peace proposals with the laying of nuclear mines and then to declare this as a necessary step for the defence of West Germany," the Defence Minister pointed out.

Goa Workers Demand Judicial Enquiry Into Police Firing

Dock Strike not Result of Inter-Union Rivalries, but Official Callousness

From Our Correspondent

PANJIM: A campaign of vilification has been let loose against the Mormagoa port and dock workers' strike. Attempts are being made to make out that it is the result of inter-union rivalry by interested parties.

FACTS, however, are very different from this. And in order to understand them better it is necessary to know a little about the origin and course of the now-more-than-two-month-old strike.

The strike began on November 10 when 200 winchmen of the Shantilal & Co. (stevedores) belonging to the Mormagoa Port, Dock and Transport Workers Union (MPDTWU), affiliated to the AITUC, downed their tools demanding pay scales, house rent and dearness allowance.

On November 12, 300 barge-men and 300 workers of the mechanical ore handling plant of Chowgule & Co. joined the strike.

The authorities replied by arresting Gerald Pereira and Gajanan Patil, leaders of the MPDTWU, and detaining them through conciliation proceedings were going on. However, they were released on bail when produced before the court on November 16. On November 18 these two leaders were again arrested, this time under the Defence of India Rules.

On November 19, 400 gang workers of the HMS-affiliated Transport and Dock Workers Union went on strike with the same demands. Nine hundred gang workers of the MPDTWU struck work the same morning while at the time of the afternoon shift a thousand winchmen also joined in.

The winchmen's complaint also included the introduction of the

pool system which the stevedores had introduced in consultation with the INTUC-affiliated Goa Dock Labour Union—a union which has no more membership than two dozen out of the 700 permanent and 300 casual winchmen in the Goa docks.

The pool system would have cost the permanent winchmen their continuity of service (five to ten years), leave and other benefits. It also meant reducing the number of winchmen per gang from five to four, thereby increasing workload and causing unemployment.

Thus, by November 19, the whole Mormagoa port was paralysed. Then started the reign of police terror and intimidation. Arrests were made galore. Attempts were made to recruit blacklegs and to work the port with their help. A leading role in this was taken by the local INTUC leader, Mohan Nair, a man with a shady past.

By the end of November more than 150 workers were in jails all over Goa. On November 21 alone, 105 barge crew of Chowgule & Co. were arrested.

On November 29 the IDWU withdrew its strike, reportedly on the advice of the HMS leadership, on the appointment of the court of enquiry. However, when the stevedores refused to restore the pre-strike status quo and insisted that the workers join as new casual recruits, the HMS-led union continued its strike.

The strike continued, and so also the police terror. On Decem-

ber 17 the police arrested 50 winchmen and drove them into far-away jungles amidst wild animals. MPDTWU leader Arvind Sarmalkar, who went to the police station to protest against the arrests, was assaulted.

On December 19, the women-folk of the arrested workers went to the police station to enquire about the whereabouts of the workers, but they were told that the arrested people had been let off.

Even on December 20, the workers had not reached their homes and so the women went again to the police station. About 500 women and some workers who had accompanied them squatted in front of the police station demanding their fathers, husbands and sons.

Then came the crowning brutality of the Goa police. These unarmed and peaceful women were assaulted, many of them molested. They were lathicharged and finally when nothing else could move the worried women, the police opened indiscriminate fire.

The police firing resulted in instant death of two workers: Constance Costa, a shovel mechanic, and Thomas Fernandez, a

country craft worker from Tuticorin.

The brutal and indiscriminate nature of the police firing is beyond doubt as seen from the fact that a naval rating and a Christian girl returning from church were also injured seriously. It is reported that the naval rating has later succumbed to his injuries.

The police repression and firing resulted in country-wide protest. The Seventh Congress of the CPI, meeting in Bombay, passed a protest resolution; the AITUC issued a statement and so did the Waterfront Federation, the Gumi Kamgar Union, the LIC Employees Federation.

In Goa itself, the Mazagaon dock workers came out of the yard. Seven thousand workers wearing black badges participated in the funeral procession of Constance Costa. The whole of Vasco-Mormagoa area observed complete hartal.

There were protest rallies at Margao (December 21), Bicholim (December 23), Sanvordem (December 24) and Panjim (December 25).

As a result of this country-wide protest, the Government of India has appointed S. A. Nadkarni, a former Portuguese civil servant, to enquire into the police firing. But the choice has not satisfied anybody.

The Goa workers are demanding that a high court judge should be appointed to enquire into the police firing.

Other points which the dock workers want to be investigated into are:

★ Who was responsible for deporting the workers into animal-infested jungles?

★ Molestation of women who went to the police station to enquire about their menfolk.

★ Whether sufficient warning was given before the police firing.

★ Whether the magistrate was present and ordered the firing.

★ Whether Mohan Nair, the INTUC leader, has the licence for carrying a revolver and whether it was advisable to allow him to carry it around during the strike days.

The general strike in the Mormagoa port is still going on. About 150 workers are still in jail.

When the court of enquiry under Salim Merchant held its preliminary meeting in Bombay on December 28, Gerald Pereira attended it under police escort. The issue of the present strike has not at all been referred to this court.

Though the Regional Labour Commissioner and other central government officials have visited Goa, no reasonable solution has been sought or found for the dispute.

The MPDTWU is willing to call off the strike, but for that the government would have to assure that the pre-strike status quo would be restored and that no worker would be victimised. The issues could then be negotiated or referred to arbitration.

All the workers and their leaders under detention should also be immediately released.



Oh, What Fine Planning for Employment !!

A meeting of the Central Committee on Employment, a tripartite body constituted by the Ministry of Labour and Employment, was held in New Delhi on January 12. The meeting had before it the following agenda:

- 1 Action taken on the recommendations made at the third meeting of the Central Committee on Employment and the second meeting of the Standing Committee of the Central Committee.
- 2 Fourth Plan—Employment.
- 3 Employment situation in India (1961-64)—A district-wise analysis.
- 4 Employment policy of government.
- 5 Registration of all employment seekers—both the unemployed and the under-employed—at the employment exchanges.
- 6 Establishment by the central government of a separate cell in every state to deal with problems concerning unemployment.

With such a heavy agenda (and the documents for discussion covered 114 closely-typed cyclostyled pages, besides three printed reports), it was expected that the Committee will take

several hours, if not days, to deal with all the points.

The meeting which began at 11.00 a.m. on January 12, however, dispersed after one hour and twenty minutes.

The Minister of Labour and Employment who presided read out from a prepared speech, after which V.K.R.V. Rao, member of the Planning Commission, made certain remarks.

The AITUC representative on the committee, S. G. Patkar wanted "to raise the serious issue of unemployment caused by rationalisation and automation. But there was no discussion in the committee on this or any other vital question affecting employment."

The committee was meeting after an year. But the manner in which the meeting was organised precluded any concrete discussions and one wondered why the meeting was at all convened—and that too with such an imposing agenda.

The documents circulated at the meeting indicated that the Fourth Plan's employment objective is nothing more than providing jobs for those new entrants into the labour force during the plan period, keeping the backlog of unemployed at the end of the current plan untouched.

This is, in fact, claimed as a singular achievement!

The document stated: "Taking a total view of the likely backlog at the end of the Third Plan and the growth of

labour force during the Fourth Plan period, the employment requirements amount to 34-36 million if the backlog is to be wiped out in the Fourth Plan itself.

"Assuming however that some unemployment will be unavoidable, a target of 25 million employment opportunities will not be unreasonable for the Fourth Plan. Even fixing the target of additional employment at 25 million (equivalent to the additions to labour force during 1968-71) should be considered significant because a target will amount to a definite advance insofar as the backlog of unemployment would not be allowed to increase in spite of the additions to labour force during the Fourth Plan period being larger than the labour force during any of the previous Plan periods.

"Since the experience so far has been of an increasing backlog from one Plan to the other, arresting the growth of unemployment during the next Plan period itself may be regarded as a step forward.

"Further, since productivity would be having a rising trend, this target of 25 million additional employment under the Fourth Plan should be regarded as significant in our planning for employment."

This remarkable exercise in planning for employment was, perhaps, not expected to be endorsed by the participants in the meeting and that was possibly why the meeting dispersed with only official homilies.

The last eighteen months have been very eventful in the trade union movement in India. Recovering from the attacks made on its interests by employers under the cloak of national emergency, the working class has sought through a series of actions to safeguard its living and working conditions and to secure some gains.

The Great March in September 1963, in which the working class participated in a big way, the mighty movement against price rise in which more than 50,000 trade union leaders went on protest hunger-strike at all important industrial centres throughout the country, the food satyagraha, and, above all, the series of 'bandh' actions in Maharashtra, Gujarat, Kerala, Uttar Pradesh, Bengal, Goa, at once demonstrating the unity and might of the toiling masses and foreshadowing the shape of things to come—all these and the innumerable and multifarious local actions have had a mighty impact.

Through these actions, the workers gained correction of faulty indices in some places resulting in the payment of enhanced dearness-allowance, they won wage boards in iron and steel, engineering, plantations, mining and newspaper industries and second wage boards in textiles and cement and for working journalists.

They secured the right of a minimum four per cent bonus, though other gains have been wiped off by the government's pro-employer modifications of the Bonus Commission report.

And in many local units, wage-scales, leave and bonus, DA and other rights have been won.

These nationwide and local struggles have brought into joint action the workers who belong to organisations with different affiliations. The formation of the Rashtriya Sangram Samiti of AITUC, UTUC, HMP and national federations of banks, LIC field staff, newspaper employees, road transport workers, the Mahagujarat Sangram Samiti, etc., is indicative of the widespread desire for united action on common issues of prices, food, bonus, etc.

The impact of all these, although carefully denied, is quite visible in the resolutions passed at the last INTUC session (December 30-31) held at Hyderabad. This session had its usual quota of anti-Communist vituperations and warnings to the working class to be vigilant and not fall in the traps of these 'enemies'.

For example, you find the following gems of wisdom cast by S. R. Vasavada to be appreciated by those that care: "Recently, when ideological differences have cropped up between Russia and China, split has overtaken the CPI also. One section owes allegiance to Russia while the other tries to follow China. "Whatever may be the dif-

ference between the two sections of the Communist Party, let us not forget that their objective is the same. Both of them cherish to establish Communist dictatorship in the country.

"The pro-Russian section believes that this can be done with the help of labour by causing strikes and by disrupting the economy of the country, while the pro-Chinese faction believes that the same can be achieved by aggressive wars."

And at the end of some more profound thoughts like these, Vasavada says: "If the Communists are successful in attaining their objective, working class of this country will lose everything which they have gained during the last 17 years."

However, anti-communism was not the theme at Hyderabad. Even leaders of the 'holy crusade' against communism were forced to take note of realities.

In fact, their tirades were motivated by the well-founded fear that more and more

sections of the working class are beginning to see through this game of anti-communism which is indulged in to keep the working class divided and thus weak in the face of the capitalist offensive of rising prices, scarcity of food, etc., and the utter unwillingness of the government to take effective steps to check these anti-people actions.

The impact of the events and the change which they have generated is visible in the resolutions passed and comes out clearly when contrasted with the proceedings of the 14th (Jaipur) session.

Then, as a remedy for bringing down prices, Vasavada could lecture on the virtues of saving and spending less to a working class which is sick with anxiety to find money to secure its barest necessities.

At Hyderabad, though the responsibility for creating the present conditions is not squarely put where it belongs, namely on the unholy trinity of speculators, bankers and bureaucrats, yet, for the first time, an awareness is there that rising prices are a problem to be tackled urgently, and one for which long-term solution has to be found.

Among the solutions suggested are the following: abolition of absentee landlordism; land to the tiller, as productivity can increase "only where the tiller has a direct interest in land and its production"; "ensure fair price to the producer and consumer by reducing, if not eliminating, the middle man as far as possible"; rationing in urban areas and immediate establishment of fair-price-combination shops.

Then again, there is a resolution demanding ceiling on urban properties, which also says: "It is also necessary that there should be a ceiling on income in industries so that the highest-paid, including the top-management personnel, does not exceed ten times the lowest paid in the same industry."

Another resolution on tax evasion calls for the tightening of stringent measures against tax evasion and unaccounted money.

The resolution on bonus will have to reflect this, or it will lose its hold on more and more sections of the working class. From the fantastic dreamland of Jaipur they have been forced to come to the positions they adopted at Hyderabad. But these are yet equivocal and halfhearted.

Perhaps the toils and sacrifices of the working class during the coming year in defence of their life and living will force a clearer and firmer stand on these issues by the INTUC.

shows the difficult position in which the INTUC has landed itself due to its leadership's policy of appeasing the monopolists and supporting whatever the government does.

The INTUC has the doubtful honour of being the only TU organisation which has supported the government's modifications of the Bonus Commission's recommendations under the cloak of government's assurance that higher bonus due anywhere under existing agreements, will be safeguarded.

The resolution evades the whole question by simply demanding "immediate effect to the unanimous recommendation of four per cent bonus". Thus the Hyderabad session shows that stern and grim reality is breaking through the barriers raised by perverted understanding.

Though there are still hesitations and inhibitions, though the steps in a correct understanding on some issues are still halting and shackled by the desire to support even the wrong policies of the government, the impact of the working class on the march could not be entirely ignored.

Realities are forcing the working class and other toiling masses into a line of struggle against the attack of monopolists, hoarders, blackmarketeers and obliging bureaucrats and the policies adopted by the government which aid and abet these anti-social, anti-national elements.

In their struggle, the working class, of whatever affiliation, is finding a common understanding and a common line of action.

The INTUC leadership will have to reflect this, or it will lose its hold on more and more sections of the working class. From the fantastic dreamland of Jaipur they have been forced to come to the positions they adopted at Hyderabad. But these are yet equivocal and halfhearted.

Perhaps the toils and sacrifices of the working class during the coming year in defence of their life and living will force a clearer and firmer stand on these issues by the INTUC.

An important study on

Indian Working Class Movement

INDIAN TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

by Gopal Ghosh

(Price: Rs. Two)

Available with:

PEOPLE'S PUBLISHING HOUSE
Rani Jhansi Road, New Delhi

Employers Resist Efforts To Give Relief To Contract Labour At SLC Sub-Committee

A meeting of the sub-committee appointed by the Standing Labour Committee, to finalise the draft of the proposed Contract Labour (Regulation) Bill was held in New Delhi on January 11 and 12.

The bill as proposed by the government contains provisions for licensing of contractors, provision of health, canteen and other facilities for contract labour, fixation of responsibility for payment of wages, overtime, etc., to such labour, extension of provident fund, employees' state insurance and maternity benefits to them and for abolition of contract labour in certain industries and operations.

It proposes to set up advisory boards at central and state levels. The bill will cover all private and public sector industries, railways, mines, plantations and government offices.

A clause by clause discussion was held on the bill at the meeting. Most of the discussion centred around two or three crucial points.

The employers wanted to define contract labour in a way which would exclude all such labour which was not working inside the premises of an establishment.

This would mean that all contract labour in building and construction work outside the premises, loading, unloading and transport labour, and those working in ancillary or on products which are farmed out would be excluded from the purview of the bill.

Consequently, the employers argued that they as principal employers, could not accept any responsibility for payment of wages, etc., in case of labour which was not working inside the premises of the establishment.

This contention of the employers was strongly resisted by the

workers' representatives who were fully supported by the representatives of all the state governments present (Maharashtra, Bihar, West Bengal and Madhya Pradesh).

The trade union representatives argued that such a narrowing down of the definition and consequently of the responsibilities of the principal employers would, in fact, deprive those workers of all protection which they were most in need.

A suggestion was made by the AITUC representative, and supported by the INTUC, and all state government representatives, that the definition should be enlarged to include not only those workers who were working for a contractor, but also those who were under individual contract (without the mediation of a third party).

No agreement could be arrived at on this question.

Another question which aroused controversy was the power sought to be given to appropriate government, acting on the advice of tripartite boards which will be set up by them, to prohibit contract labour in certain industries or operations.

The employers were totally opposed to any such provision. But when it was firmly pointed out to them that they had already committed themselves to such a provision in the Indian Labour Conference, they sought to lay down stringent conditions.

They took shelter behind a Supreme Court decision which in the case of a particular estab-

lishment had laid down four conditions for abolition of contract labour. These were that contract labour could be prohibited in any process, operation or other work only if that process, etc.:

- (i) is incidental to or necessary for the work of that establishment;
- (ii) is of perennial nature and is carried on from day to day;
- (iii) is done ordinarily through regular workers in that establishment or establishments similar thereto; and
- (iv) is sufficient to employ a considerable number of labour.

It was argued by the TU representatives that the criteria could not be applied jointly but only severally. If they were to be applied jointly, it would rule out prohibition of contract labour in any new process or operation or work and would perpetuate the present condition.

There could be no agreement on this point either.

The AITUC representative made a proposal, which was supported by the INTUC, that a clause should be inserted on the lines of Sec. 33(C) of the Industrial Disputes Act which would provide for computation in cash and recovery of such computed amount, of any benefits which could be so computable, if any contract worker was deprived of them.

The sub-committee will now meet again on January 25, to finalise all points on which agreement could not be arrived at.

Satish Loomba represented the AITUC in the sub-committee meeting. The INTUC was represented by Kanti Mehta. Employers' representatives were Charat Ram and G. M. Modi.

REALITY STRUGGLES TO BREAK THROUGH

By SATISH LOOMBA

CONGO: THE TRUTH

THE Foreign Minister has reiterated the Government of India's position on the Congo in an interview with the UNI this week-end.

"The Congo", says Sardar Swaran Singh, "is facing unprecedented hardship, when Congolese are fighting Congolese and a large number of Congolese casualties have taken place".

Unfortunately, this is not the whole truth. And the Government of India would do well not to continue to wobble on the vital issue facing the world today.

The truth is that the US and Belgian imperialists have only recently committed fresh aggression in the Congo, with the assistance of the British imperialists, and it is these imperialist powers which are responsible for the present state of affairs in the Congo.

Tshombe is an imperialist agent, and he acts with the help of imperialist armed forces, marked as "mercenaries".

Only last week (January 10) the NEW YORK TIMES reported that 500 Congolese

patriots had been "executed" (murdered) in Stanleyville, since the city was "retaken by Belgian and mercenary forces last November". One can take



Murderer Tshombe

it that the number killed is several times greater.

The NEW YORK TIMES admits that:

"About 300 of the executions are reported to have taken place in the week after

the city was captured by Belgian paratroopers and white mercenaries on November 24".

Who killed these patriots? It is clear enough from the NEW YORK TIMES despatch itself that it is the imperialists who are responsible not only indirectly, but directly. But India's Foreign Minister continues to talk only of "Congolese fighting Congolese", and closes his eyes to the imperialists' vile butchery.

In the same interview, Sardar Swaran Singh goes on to say:

"We are in favour of conciliation in the Congo and have been supporting the efforts of the organisation of African unity for this purpose".

This is a welcome statement. India should back the OAU's efforts to the hilt. But what does this imply?

The latest news from Dar-es-Salaam is that Presidents Kenyatta and Nyerere of Kenya and Tanganyika and Prime Minister Obote of Uganda have issued a joint communique "welcoming and sympathising" with the stand taken by the Congolese liberation front leader Christopher Gbenye. President Kenyatta heads the OAU's ad hoc commission on the Congo.

To support the OAU's efforts should imply, therefore, categorical stand in support of the liberation forces, against imperialist aggression and the imperialist puppet regime of Tshombe.

Unfortunately, the Government of India avoids taking precisely this stand—while declaring that it supports the OAU's efforts!

AFRO-ASIA In The Headlines

SOUTH VIETNAM: SIHANOUK CALL

PRINCE Norodom Sihanouk has again urged the neutralisation of South Vietnam.

He has pointed out that the Soviet Union, China and France also favour such neutralisation and has assured that North Vietnam would also support neutralising of South Vietnam, provided the US military occupation ceases and the people of South Vietnam were given the right to choose their own government.

With every day that passes, the truth about South Vietnam becomes clearer for all mankind. There is one solution: the US armed forces must quit.

Increasingly, sober sections in the USA itself are coming to the same conclusion: all the military might of the US thrown in, all the conspiracies of the CIA and Ambassador Maxwell Taylor, have failed to crush the people of South Vietnam.

If the US imperialists argue that they cannot allow the "strategic" South Vietnam to fall into "enemy" hands—'neutralisation' is a way out for them.

The very fact that they refuse to accept the offer of a universal guarantee to declare and preserve the neutral-

ity of South Vietnam proves that the US war-maniacs are not prepared for any peaceful solution of the problem.

What about the Government of India's stand? It has a special position as chairman of the Supervisory Commission—a position it has woefully failed to discharge satisfactorily so far. Here is another opportunity for the Government of India to rescue its policy on Vietnam from the dung-heap on which it has fallen. It should immediately extend its full support to the Cambodian-French proposal for a neutral South Vietnam—as an immediate first step towards peace.

SOUTH AFRICA: 53 YEARS

JANUARY 8, was the anniversary of the foundation of the African National Congress, the mighty liberation movement of the South African people.

Fifty three years ago, on this date in 1912, the ANC was founded in Bloemfontein in the Orange Free State.

During all these years, the ANC has been true to its claim to be "the spear and shield" of the oppressed people of South Africa. It has helped to unite in one immense movement men and women of different tribes who, till the ANC came on the scene, were divided and disunited.

Except for actual civil war, the ANC has adopted nearly every single form of political action to attack the fortress of white domination: national strikes, defence campaigns, demonstrations, sabotage...

The Indian democratic movement salutes the African National Congress on the completion of 53 years of glorious struggle, and wishes it more success, more strength to lead the South African people on to victory.

AFRASI

(January, 16)



Valiant fighters for South Africa's freedom. Dr. Dadoo and J. B. Marks

Foreign Policy

denounce the aggression? Was it not clear that in a choice between China and India, many countries take a non-committal stand even though they may be convinced of the justification of India's stand?

Has not this situation come about very largely due to our own behaviour; in trying to steer clear of all the issues which might require India to take positions against US imperialism?

The era of platitudes and pious hopes is over. India has to take a clear stand in its foreign policy matters irrespective of what the imperialists might feel. Our stand will not only be in line with our basic tenets but over and above will have a firm anti-neocolonial edge. We must pronounce ourselves unmistakably with the national-liberation movements and aid all anti-colonial struggles

say on various international issues and on the most important subject: should India make an atom bomb?—it clearly granted a concession to the fanatics. In fact, Shastri's earlier bold declaration that India shall not make an atom bomb though it is capable of doing so, has been watered down very greatly and the prestige India had earned in the nonaligned world following such a bold declaration has largely stumped.

This incident alone should be a pointer to those who are entrusted with the responsibility of carrying out and taking forward Indian foreign policy. They must realise that any vacillation on the part of our country on any important issue today will automatically make our country subject to doubt and mistrust by the newly-developing countries and the socialist world, who in today's world matter most and besides whom India has no other better friends.

It had nothing new to

SINGAPORE: By the show of rude armed might the British government seem to be bent upon aggravating the tension between Indonesia and Malaysia and bring about a direct conflict.

TRUE, Indonesia's withdrawal from the UN has helped Malaysia to exaggerate dangers of aggression by Indonesia but the way British forces have been and are being reinforced leaves no room for doubt that perhaps a confrontation with Indonesia is really what certain British circles are looking forward to.

The British troop movements have been stepped up. Crack battalions, naval squadrons and bomber wings are being rushed to Indonesia's frontier. British aircraft carrier EAGLE is patrolling the Molucca Straits between Indonesia and Malaysia.

Army Chiefs and even the British Army Minister recently visited Malaysia to personally check up the battle-readiness of the forces. The number of British army personnel has already exceeded 50,000 and seventy warships are already there.

British press is justifying such troop movements by playing up the story of imminent danger of aggression on Malaysia by Indonesia. They are suggesting that all this preparation is just to ward off the likely blow.

But it is clear that the leaders of Malaysia are itching for a retaliatory action in line with the principles of pursuit. And that is why they are not talking in terms of a peaceful solution of the problem.

Despite the walk-out from the UN, the Indonesian government has not accented the dispute by taking to any war-like action and President Sukarno has even declared that he would welcome another UN mission to Sabah (North Borneo) to determine the wishes of the people there regarding Malaysia.

But this does not appear to be liked by the British government and only a few days back it has moved an infantry battalion and a parachute battalion to North Borneo in addition to 10,000 British troops already there.

NEW STATESMAN commenting on the situation has given expression to imperialist might by declaring: "In certain circumstances we would have no alternative but to strike hard and quickly."

It has also pointed out that the

Rude Show of British Armed Might in South-East Asia

From Our Correspondent

US Seventh Fleet is near at hand and "in Borneo, British morale is high; another 50 helicopters, promptly delivered, would send it skyhigh."

Reports here indicate that Australia and US governments are going to back all British actions in regard to Malaysia and this issue has also been the subject of discussion in the recent Manila session of the SEATO.

While the US interest in Malaysia is clear—it could be transformed into a rear support area for the US garrison in South Vietnam, the Australian interest hinges upon control over west Irian territory of Indonesia.

Malaysia is the creation of the

imperialists in furtherance of their plan to acquire a reliable stronghold in South-East Asia. But the Asian countries immediately recognised this manoeuvre and rightly took it as a serious threat to national interests and security.

Growing Struggles

Struggles even inside Malaysia, particularly in North Kalimantan, are growing for winning independence from imperialist yoke and this is precisely why the British armed might is being stepped up.

The British move has been condemned by all peace-loving people. The Afro-Asian Solidarity Organisation recently denounced the British military penetration into Malaysia and demanded immediate withdrawal of British troops for this territory. It supported the people of North Kalimantan, Malaya and Singapore in the struggle for their national independence and for the liquidation of the war bases in this region of the world.

Huge Profits

The Highlands and Lowlands Para Rubber Co. increased its profit per acre from £14 to £23 between 1958 and 1962. Golden Hope's gross profits in 1928 were £80,000 and £792,000 in 1959-60. Its plantation area in that time increased from 1,500 acres to 100 sq. miles.

A conservative estimate of the total British investment in these territories is £400 m.

There was £160 m. worth of investments in neighbouring Indonesia which were deliberately risked, and which are now being lost through nationalisation (so far without compensation), to defend the larger stake in Malaysia.

The Dangerous Drift

* From Page 3

To this day the government has refused to abrogate the hated and repressive Defence of India Rules, despite the complete change in conditions since the time they were first introduced. These Rules have been systematically used against the struggles of the people.

The latest instance is the largescale arrests of the leaders and cadres of the rival Communist Party. The refusal to produce the arrested in a court of law, where they would have a chance to defend themselves, and the failure to produce any plausible evidence, are serious anti-democratic offences of which the government is guilty.

It is no wonder, then, that in view of all these tendencies in internal policies, the Swatantra Party refused to join in the no-confidence motion against the

Rubber exports in 1962 were worth £150 m. and exported palm oil, the second most important estate crop, was worth £7 m. Tin exports were worth £74 m. and iron ore £20 m.

Rubber accounted for £15 m. of the £22 m. value of the exported plantation crops of the Borneo territories in 1961. Of total British Borneo exports of £99 m. timber from North Borneo and Sarawak was worth £17 m., the balance being almost entirely accounted for by £51 m. in Brunel-Sarawak oil, bauxite, and spices exports. Even tiny Brunei produced £400,000 worth of rubber in 1961.

Companies' rubber and tin shares are the leaders on the London Stock Exchange, paying the highest dividends.

Huge Profits

The Highlands and Lowlands Para Rubber Co. increased its profit per acre from £14 to £23 between 1958 and 1962. Golden Hope's gross profits in 1928 were £80,000 and £792,000 in 1959-60. Its plantation area in that time increased from 1,500 acres to 100 sq. miles.

A conservative estimate of the total British investment in these territories is £400 m.

There was £160 m. worth of investments in neighbouring Indonesia which were deliberately risked, and which are now being lost through nationalisation (so far without compensation), to defend the larger stake in Malaysia.

Planning: Need For Change In Approach

* From Centre Pages

outlay envisaged for agriculture and irrigation in the Fourth Plan is only 21.8 per cent of the total outlay in the public sector. This was as much as 21.2 per cent in the Third Plan.

It is true that mere increase in outlay on agriculture would not bring the desired result of increasing agricultural output. But it goes to prove that all that the government preaches is not going into practice when it comes to actual allocations of funds.

On the other hand, we find that the allocations for education, health and other social services has gone up substantially from 17.6 per cent in the Third Plan to 22.4 per cent in the Fourth Plan proposals.

And this despite the fact that in the fields of education and health, by present reckoning, the Third Plan targets would be overfulfilled. The only other sectors where the Third Plan targets would be realised are shipping tonnage, handling capacity of ports, telephones, electric transformers, and sugar, cotton textiles, cement and paper machinery.

The slashing done in the percentage allocation for industry, power and transport is quite alarming. From 61.2 per cent of the total outlay in the Third Plan, it has been reduced to just 55 per cent in the Fourth Plan.

This has been done on the plea of giving preference to quick-yielding projects which, it is claimed, could give a boost to the economy. The same argument is advanced for taking up consumer industries at the cost of heavy industries.

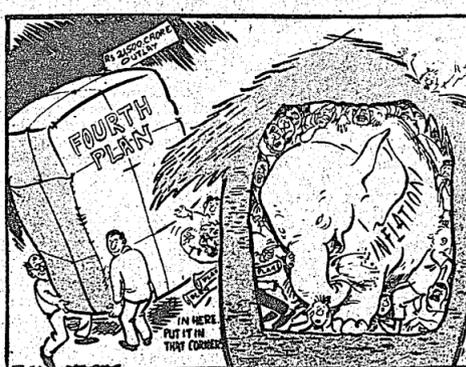
The argument is misleading because, first, any reduction in the expenditure on

heavy industry at this stage might result in accentuating the imbalances in the economy, especially in view of the fact that the scope for expanding agricultural production is still open to doubt.

Second, by the time the Fourth Plan goes into operation the investments made on heavy industry in the Third Plan would have started giving returns despite the so-called long gestation period. This should make the production chart to keep a smooth upward curve.

Also, if a gap in investments on heavy industry is allowed in the Fourth Plan, there will also be a corresponding gap in production at a subsequent period.

Of course, Prime Minister Shastri has said in his speech at the Durgapur session of the Congress itself, that "plan had to be ambitious" and that "the development of heavy and consumer industries has to proceed side by side with



Offensive of the monopoly press against the Plan

Bridges Of Amity

Polish Transformers For India

THE Transformer and Traction Apparatus Works at Lodz has recently completed the assembling of 18 medium and high power transformers for India.

In a few days time, these transformers will be sent to India. A special team of technicians from the plant will also come to help Indian technicians in the handling of these complicated units.

It is to be noted that the high quality performance of the transformers manufactured by the Lodz Works and their convenient delivery terms were the decisive factors that favoured the acceptance of the Polish tender by India as against the other bidders.

Indo-Rumanian Collaboration

AT the time of the Republic Day talks will be held here between the representatives of Indian and Rumanian governments for further economic collaboration, particularly in the field of oil industry.

It may be recalled that our country's first public sector refinery was built at Nummati entirely with Rumanian technical assistance and it went into stream on January 1, 1962.

Even at the Barauni refinery, the Rumanian experts have built two important units: the kerosene processing plants which have the annual capacity for processing 600,000 tons of crude oil.

India At Leipzig Fair

THE ensuing fair at Leipzig will mark the 800 years of the Leipzig Fair, one of the biggest channels of East-West trade.

India, which for the last few years, has been the biggest overseas exhibitor at the fair, will be participating this year also with a whole lot of new products and goods.

The last year's participation by India proved to be quite beneficial for the Indian trade and this year an even better result is expected.

Expansion Of Lumumba University

THE Lumumba University in Moscow, in which every year about 50 Indian students are receiving educational facilities, is going to be expanded.

At present 3,200 students and post-graduates from 82 countries are studying in this University. By 1968, another new educational centre for 4,000 students and 200 post-graduates will be ready.

The new centre will have a computing centre, a small machine-building plant for practical training, engineering, and agricultural departments, a clinic for medical faculties, besides library and other amenities for studying.

The present University has 69 departments and 137 laboratories. Its 851 teachers include 250 masters of sciences, 50 professors and doctors of sciences. The first batch of specialists will graduate from the University this year.

SOVIET PRESS CRITICAL OF DURGAPUR CONGRESS

From MASOOD ALI KHAN

MOSCOW: Soviet press continues to take keen interest in developments in India. The Seventh Congress of the CPI was given a lot of space in newspapers here and its resolutions, decisions and the new Programme of the CPI and its analysis of the Indian scene are being noted and seriously studied by political observers and experts on India.

THE Seventh Congress of the CPI is certain to play a significant and lasting role in the international Communist movement. Its contribution towards a general better understanding of the Indian situation, a better appreciation of the aims and aspirations of the progressive forces in India, their strategy of future advance and the path charted out for the unity and rallying together of the greatest number of allies for the creation of a national democratic front and the adoption of a programme of non-capitalist development of the country leading to socialism, all these are factors of enduring importance and abiding value and influence for the international movement.

The Congress of the CPI is certain to increase its weight in the coming deliberations of the world Communist movement, and the significance of the CPI Programme for the progressive movements of Africa, Asia and Latin America is already being noted by political observers here.

Keener interest is being shown by Soviet press and radio in the economic and political situation in India and the perspectives of her future development. After detailed reporting of the CPI Congress there appeared in PRAVDA an article by its Delhi correspondent on the problems facing the country and the hopes for the year 1965. On January 15, PRAVDA and IZVESTIA published long reviews of the 69th annual session of the Indian National Congress by their correspondents.

Indian Situation

PRAVDA noted that this annual session of the Congress Party was the first in many years which took place without the participation of the recognised leader of the Party, the late Jawaharlal Nehru and its also coincided with the tenth anniversary of the well-known Agadi session where the decision to build a society of socialist type was taken. PRAVDA noted that the country is facing serious economic difficulties—shortage of foodstuffs, continuously rising prices—which give rise to dissatisfaction of the people with the policies of the ruling party.

PRAVDA said that the discussion on the international situation and foreign policy of India and on the international economic situation had revealed "serious differences within the party". The resolution on the economic situation was sharply criticised, PRAVDA said. The main criticism being that although the leadership formulates good resolutions declaring the building of a just society of socialist type to be the aim, it does not put these decisions into practice.

PRAVDA quoted the former Central Minister N. V. Gadgil as saying that the whole responsibility for the present economic situation lay on the leadership of the Con-

gress; and Jagjivan Ram as declaring that the Congress policies had brought the country to such a pass that ten to fifteen families controlled most of the industry of India. Only by taking more radical measures poverty could be fought and standards of living improved.

Although seventy amendments were moved to the official resolution and demands were made for immediate measures against the monopolies and against the rise in prices, it was announced at the end of discussion that all the amendments had been withdrawn by their authors, thus the original resolution was adopted.

"Of course even the adopted resolution contains many good formulations, declarations and promises. But it all depends on whether these promises and declarations will be put into practice", PRAVDA said.

Growing Contradictions

PRAVDA noted that at this session the left opposition inside the party came out with more energetic and argumentative criticism of the social and economic policies of the leadership. This was an indication of the growing contradictions inside the Congress. But the paper quoted the Indian press as saying that the left in the Congress acted in an uncoordinated and disunited manner and therefore could not succeed in influencing the character of the resolution in any tangible manner.

Only future will show whether the criticism reflecting the interests of the working people and the

mood of the rank and file members of the Congress party will have any influence on the policies of the leadership of the ruling party, PRAVDA concluded.

IZVESTIA correspondent's review of Durgapur session was even more critical. In connection with the future direction of development of the country the article mentions the fact that most of the press comments in India has been critical of the Congress session.

IZVESTIA noted that along with economic progress in India, the power of the monopolies had increased and so had their influence on the many aspects of the country's life and policies. Indian reaction aided by the monopolies attacked the progressive policies of Nehru, a number of times.

"After Nehru's death reactionary circles of India, whose representatives are found even in the leadership of the Congress, developed a new offensive with the aim of changing both the internal and foreign policies of India. This was reflected at the Durgapur session

also. The government policies were subjected to strong fire from the right".

IZVESTIA notes with satisfaction (and so does PRAVDA) that the demands for India's own atom bomb and nuclear umbrella or shield etc. and the attacks on India's nonalignment were defeated.

IZVESTIA's comment on the Durgapur resolution dealing with economic matters is much more critical.

"The resolution on economic questions fared much worse. Its original project was redrafted a number of times, amended and changed so that the final version adopted at the session is of such a vague and hazy character that, judging by press reviews, it satisfied nobody. The resolution enumerates all the misfortunes of the present Indian economy. However it is difficult to find in it anything showing the way to a removal of these misfortunes", IZVESTIA says.

The pressure of the reactionary elements was also shown by the fact that a number of propositions put forward a year ago at Bhubaneswar were not developed in the resolutions of this session.

"The Durgapur session was the first crossroads in India's path after Nehru's death. It left quite a lot unclear", declared IZVESTIA.

THE BRITISH SCENE

by O. ORESTOV

PRICES SHOOT UP AS BIG BUSINESS REAPS PROFITS

The Labour government is up against the uneasy task of clearing up the economic mess left by the Conservatives.

NO one in Britain has any doubt that the situation is quite a difficult one, for among the problems to be solved are not only the exhaustion of the British currency stocks, the fall in exports, the lagging of a number of important branches of British industry, but also the general growth of the costs of life in recent years.

The average Britisher—factory or office worker or housewife—are far from being familiar with the figures of the foreign trade deficit of the bank rate.

He or she thinks first of all in terms of the figures on the price tags of the goods exhibited in the show-windows of shops, goods which he or she has to buy for his or her family.

Unpleasant Surprises

The first days of 1965 brought some unpleasant "surprises" to the British working people. "The costs of life," says the newspaper SUN, "are shooting up like the patient's temperature during fever. Everyone agrees that the growth of prices should be contained, but these keep growing and growing."

The growth of prices is a reflection of the policy of large monopolies, and are

their answer to the new government's measures in the field of economy.

It was not accidental that the prices on goods of 2,500 different kinds increased actually after the October elections.

"When the prices on hundreds of goods," says THE DAILY MIRROR, "suddenly soared, this looked already like some kind of coordinated actions, and the British housewives justly suspect some plotting."

The trading companies complained of a 15-per cent increase of the import rates. However, this raise did not spread to the imports of foodstuffs.

Now the press is asking the question: Why then were the prices raised, let us say, on biscuits?"

The monopolies are raising the prices at a time when the government has not adopted resolute measures for price control yet.

The retail traders, who mainly have to deal with the complaints of the buyers, say in the press that they were ordered to raise the prices by large companies and firms against which they are helpless.

May be the purse of the British monopolies has in-

deed become thin and life is becoming unbearable for them? Nothing of the kind.

The SUN points out that "many firms consider that the size of their profits is something sacred and is not to be reduced no matter what happens in our country."

Thus, for instance, the Watney Brewery Company which three weeks ago increased the price on beer received last year a profit of 11 million pounds, two million more than in the preceding year.

High Profits

The new offensive of the monopolies on the living standards of the British people is, of course, taking place in somewhat different conditions than in the past. Today the British working people have the possibility of demanding from the Labour Party for which they voted, that it protect their interests.

George Brown, the Minister of Economic Affairs, expressed serious anxiety over the sharp rise in retail prices and asked that the trade associations and firms immediately explain to the government the reason for increasing prices on many goods.

The DAILY WORKER criticises the government for limiting itself to an "inquiry" and for not taking concrete measure against the arbitrary actions of the monopolies.

The Labour government will have to give the people a clear answer: does it really intend to curb the appetites of big capital?

The wages of the British working people somewhat increased in recent years. However, the rise in wages in the

first place, always lagged behind the rise in prices, and secondly, it was the result of the bitter struggle of the working people for their rights.

Besides this, as was pointed out in LABOUR MONTHLY, there is a large number of working people, approximately, seven million, including members of their families who "are compelled to accept any work in order to feed their families."

The new offensive of the monopolies on the living standards of the British people is, of course, taking place in somewhat different conditions than in the past. Today the British working people have the possibility of demanding from the Labour Party for which they voted, that it protect their interests.

George Brown, the Minister of Economic Affairs, expressed serious anxiety over the sharp rise in retail prices and asked that the trade associations and firms immediately explain to the government the reason for increasing prices on many goods.

The DAILY WORKER criticises the government for limiting itself to an "inquiry" and for not taking concrete measure against the arbitrary actions of the monopolies.

The Labour government will have to give the people a clear answer: does it really intend to curb the appetites of big capital?

The revolutionary government of Burma has taken yet another bold step to strengthen the country's national economy. On January 18 it nationalised Burma's largest mining combine—the Burma Corporation, in which foreign capital, including British and American capital, had 50 per cent share.

WITH the nationalisation of this corporation, the last of the big firms in Burma controlled by private interests, both indigenous and foreign, has passed on to state ownership. The only other foreign firm which is still to be nationalised is the small British-owned Bombay-Burma Trading Corporation.

The Burma Corporation controlled one of the most important sectors of Burma's mineral industry and virtually had a monopoly on the extraction of wolfram, silver and tin.

Ever since the revolutionary government came to power in Burma, it has been systematically taking private firms, both trading and industrial enterprises, under state ownership.

The example of Burma in carrying out a systematic nationalisation programme for strengthening national economy is a pointer to the governments of many developing countries which are currently concerned with tapping resources for their economic development.

Without being cowed down by the influence of foreign vested interests, a country can take firm steps to curb the control of private capital over its national economy. Burma is a living example of such a bold venture. This is a lesson for a big country like ours too where the government is still hesitant to take



By Sadhan Mukherjee

ANOTHER BOLD STEP IN BURMA

Murder In Burundi

SINCE Burundi became independent, problem after problem dogged the development of this new African state. It has been the subject of Belgian and US imperialists' intrigues. Continuous attempts are under way by the imperialists to win over the right-wingers of the ruling Party of Unity and National Progress (UPRONA) in Burundi.

This history of Burundi is closely linked up with that of the neighbouring Leopoldville Congo. Like Patrice Lumumba, Burundi's national hero Prince Louis Rwagasore also was brutally murdered in 1961.

And now on January 15 Burundi's new Premier Pierre Ngendandumwe has been assassinated. The assassination has been described by the Foreign Minister of Burundi as a "political murder", particularly in view of the fact that the Prime Minister was murdered the very day he announced the list of his ministers.

Among the persons arrested already are the former Premier, the Communications Minister and

several important officials who are known for their right-wing views.

A leader of the UPRONA Party had expressed serious apprehension only a few days ago when he said: "Reaction's triumph in Leopoldville is apt to stimulate our opponents at home."

The developments of the Congo over the last few weeks must have provided further impetus to the right-wingers in Burundi and the assassination is perhaps the first step towards disruption of unity to provide opportunity for the entry of mercenaries in Burundi.

Already reports have come that the Hutu tribes have become restive, and the Tutsi tribes are being egged on by the Belgians to take to violent actions.

The imperialists have been trying to create dissension in Burundi in their characteristic manner. A few months ago they utilised Tshombe to create a difficult situation for Burundi.

With his flair of impudence this puppet accused the Burundi government of interfering in Congolese affairs and threatened to deport the Burundi settlers. Tshombe's gendarmes and army began to hunt down Burundis, rob them of their property, and throw them into concentration camps.

The hand of Moise Tshombe and his imperialist masters in abetting the murder is



WORLD REPORT wailed: It is inadmissible that 13 countries out of the new UN members, with their total national incomes of less than the annual turnover of an average US company, should enjoy the same vote in the General Assembly as the United States.

The journal only forgave that UN was no longer a joint stock company under US managing agency.

Faced with a clear prospect of defeat on the arrears issue, the United States is now trying to save its face by seeking a postponement of the meeting of the General Assembly until September. But this attempt also is not likely to succeed.

Opposition To Salazar

THE voice of opposition to Salazar in Portugal which is still stifled under fascist dictatorship has been heard again.

A statement signed by 119 public figures of Oporto strongly condemning Salazar's political and economic policies has been circulated. This is the first united written expression of disapproval of Salazar's rule during the last one and a half years.

Great significance is attached to this document in view of the fact that in Portugal till now there is no official opposition to the Salazar government and no political parties except Salazar's National Union and Monarchist Movement. In view of the elections for the National Assembly approaching the document declares the firm determination of the opposition to fully participate in these elections.

The declaration openly criticised Portuguese policies with regard to Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea and disapproved of the military operations carried in these countries by the Salazar dictatorship.

This first organised democratic protest against Salazar's misrule inside Portugal heralds a new phase in the people's struggle against the tyranny and oppression of the fascist rule. Meanwhile, the Salazar government continues to defy world opinion against its policies in Africa and it has threatened that any decision taken by the UN Security Council on African questions will not be binding on Portugal.

The democratic voice in Portugal that has now been heard should rally the Portuguese people to defeat the Salazar government and in this it will have the unstinted support of all the progressive forces of the world.

THROW OUT THIS NAZI

TAKE a good look at the picture printed alongside. This is the photograph of a man who belonged to Hitler's select band of devout Nazis. This man has not only remained a fascist since 1925 and a proved espionage ringleader, but continues also, to do dirty work in furtherance of West German plans for war and subversion.



His name is Edgar Von Randow, who has been appointed Consul-General of West Germany in Calcutta. It is no secret that besides West German army, which is controlled and trained by Hitler's generals and officers, and the West German police, which is in the hands of former Gestapo and SS officers, the West German foreign services too is full of fascists and war criminals.

Details of Randow's activity as a Nazi and an active member of Hitler's war machinery have been revealed by the government of German Democratic Republic as far back as in 1961 and a whole set of documents were released.

But this is the first time that a known Nazi and an espionage mastermind and a forger has been assigned to a diplomatic post in India by the West German government.

While the motive of the West German government behind this appointment is anybody's guess, what is astounding is the fact that the External Affairs Ministry of the Government of India has not only not declined to accept him

as a diplomat but has not protested so far against his appointment.

Edgar Von Randow, who has been appointed Consul-General of West Germany in Calcutta, is no secret that besides West German army, which is controlled and trained by Hitler's generals and officers, and the West German police, which is in the hands of former Gestapo and SS officers, the West German foreign services too is full of fascists and war criminals.

Details of Randow's activity as a Nazi and an active member of Hitler's war machinery have been revealed by the government of German Democratic Republic as far back as in 1961 and a whole set of documents were released.

While the motive of the West German government behind this appointment is anybody's guess, what is astounding is the fact that the External Affairs Ministry of the Government of India has not only not declined to accept him

a specialist in forgery (among his achievements is the forgery of British Parliamentary proceedings giving them anti-American slant), in his capacity as head of the German Consulate in Shanghai in 1941, took up as main task the job of intensifying tension in the Far East for the expansion of war in the Pacific area and for invasion of the Soviet Union.

After the end of war, Randow re-entered diplomatic service in 1952 and for being a man of "proven merits" (fulfilling the espionage and war plans of Nazi rulers), he was appointed as West German Legation Counsellor First Class in Indonesia in 1953 and as West German Envoy to Burma in 1957.

Taking note of his "experience" as a "specialist" on Asian affairs, he has now been appointed as Consul-General in Calcutta. And from here this Nazi is obviously going to carry on his nefarious activities and involve our country in all sorts of dirty schemes, and espionage activities.

For Randow, therefore the Government of India cannot observe the norms of our traditional hospitality. For him there is only one road open: throw him out of the country. And the Government of India must do it immediately.

US In Tight Corner

UNITED States has now reached a point in its manoeuvre against the Soviet Union on the question of payment of so-called dues for UN peacekeeping operations that it can neither expect to win in the General Assembly voting for its proposal to invoke Article 19 against the USSR nor can it accept the compromise formula suggested by the Afro-Asian nations.

Article 19 can be invoked only when the country concerned has defaulted for two years in clearing its regular contributions. As far as USSR is concerned, these regular contributions have already been made and therefore there is no scope to invoke Article 19. Other extraneous assessments of dues are not covered under this Article.

As commented last week in these columns the US manoeuvre has now really backfired and either way USA faces a clear defeat. It is therefore not without reason that the US press is wild against the Asian-African and Latin American nations, who by virtue of their number in the UN today are in a position to defeat the US move and push through the suggestion for voluntary contributions to meet the UN arrears. This suggestion has already been accepted by USSR.

A few days back the UNITED STATES NEWS AND

E.M.S. WENT BACK ON ANTI-LEAGUE COMMITMENTS

M.N. Govindan Nair Explains How Rival Communists Wrecked Bid For Left Unity

M. N. Govindan Nair, member of the central secretariat of the Communist Party of India has declared that the CPI will work for uniting all progressive sections of the people in Kerala to deal a crushing blow to the Congress as well as the Kerala Congress-Muslim League combine in the coming elections in the state.

He said that the CPI would strive for the unity of the progressive forces undaunted by the disruptive role of the Left Communists and their uninhibited solicitude for the communal Muslim League as shown up during the talks between left parties for forming a Left United Front.

Addressing a press conference in New Delhi on January 20 on the Kerala elections, MN said:

The elections to the Kerala Assembly, scheduled to take place on March 4 has aroused much interest throughout the country.

People were looking on with great hope that at least in this state the Congress will meet with a crushing defeat at the hands of the democratic and socialist forces.

Even in 1960 the Communist Party alone had secured 44 per cent of the votes polled in Kerala and all other parties together could get only 56 per cent.

Congress Isolated

Now the Congress is thoroughly isolated from the people and opposed by their old friends like the Muslim League and the SSP.

Further the Congress is split and the communal and religious bodies which supported the Congress in 1960 are now behind the Kerala Congress.

In this situation, the possibility of defeating the Congress at the polls and providing the people of Kerala with a stable, clean and good administration has become real. This however could be achieved only by the democratic and progressive opposition parties joining hands together on the basis of a minimum programme.

The Communist Party was trying its best to bring about such an alliance of democra-



M. N. Govindan Nair

tic opposition parties in the state.

Talks were going on between the Communist Party, the Left Communists, the RSP and progressive independents and we were almost hopeful of forging such an alliance when unfortunately the Left Communists walked out of it.

We had agreed upon a minimum programme and as for the allocation of seats, since the Left Communists objected to parity between the CPI and themselves, we agreed that the criterion in the selection of candidates should be their effectiveness in defeating the Congress.

A formula was also evolved to the satisfaction of all regarding the United Front's attitude to the SSP and other independents whom we may support to defeat the Congress.

But when it was demanded that in the policy statement of the United Front, it should be categorically stated that a stable and clean administration would be possible only by defeating both the Congress as well as the new alliance forged between the Muslim League and the Kerala Congress, EMS Nambudiripad refused to agree to such a declaration and walked out of the meeting.

The attitude to the Muslim

League-Kerala Congress alliance was not a new subject posed before the United Front. This had been discussed earlier and EMS had agreed to it.

WHEN IT WAS POINTED OUT TO HIM THAT HE HAD EARLIER AGREED TO IT, HE SAID THAT HE WAS WITHDRAWING FROM HIS EARLIER COMMITMENT.

He was so much committed to the Muslim League and through them to the League-Kerala Congress alliance that he chose to be in their company than in the United Front.

This attitude on the part of the Left Communists belies their tall claim that they are for an all-out defeat of the Congress and for forming a stable ministry.

It must be clear to anyone that the best way to defeat the Congress and secure a majority is by Communists and Left Communists joining hands.

Even in the Malabar area, where they hope to secure some seats with the help of the Muslim League, if only we and they had remained together, we jointly would have secured two thirds of the seats.

The number of seats they could get now after quitting the United Front will be much less.

In Travancore-Cochin area also, we jointly would have secured a comfortable majority.

But this new alliance of the Left Communists may only help the Kerala Congress.

So by walking out of the United Front they have only helped the Muslim League and the Kerala Congress and even made doubtful the chances of a stable ministry

of progressive democratic forces being formed.

It is to be noted that the Congress Party utilised the same forces which are now ranged behind the Kerala Congress together with the Muslim League to unleash the so-called liberation struggle against the Communist Ministry in 1959.

Allying With Reaction

These forces were violently opposed to the Education Bill, the land reform legislation and other progressive measures which the Communist Ministry introduced.

It is unfortunate that EMS has now found fit to be in their company rather than with the progressive forces in the state.

However, undaunted by this disruptive role of the Left Communists, the United Front will continue its work to unite all progressive sections of the people of Kerala to deal a crushing blow to the Congress and the reactionary alliance of the Muslim League and Kerala Congress, concluded M. N. Govindan Nair.

PLANNING COMMISSION SIDESTEPS KAMARAJ

പ്ലാനിംഗ് കമ്മീഷൻ കമാരാജിനെ സൈഡ് സ്റ്റെപ്പ് ചെയ്തു

DOES the Durgapur performance of Congress President Kamaraj presage a bid by the ruling party's organisational wing to have a bigger say in determining important New Delhi policies? Kamaraj's speech did put every one on tenter-hooks as far as the Fourth Plan, its shape and size are concerned.

All eyes in the capital naturally turned to the Planning Commission which, rather swiftly after the Durgapur session—on Monday precisely—held a full-fledged meeting with Prime Minister Shastri in the chair.

The undercurrent was thick with talk of a thorough revision of the Fourth Plan's size. Predictions of a scaling down of the Plan's proposed outlay of Rs. 21,500 crores were freely thrown about.

There were Doubting Thomases too who pointed to the Planning Commission's memorandum to the government, and the National Development Council's endorsement of a Rs. 21,500 crores plan. But then they had to contend with the fact that the prestige and authority of no less a person than the Congress President was pitted on the other side.

What was the upshot? Those who heard the authori-

tative version of Planning Commission's secretary T. P. Singh had their doubts and fears largely allayed. He pointed out that the Commission's session was "in the nature of a routine meeting" whose main subject was to report on developments since the last meeting of the NDC. "Incidentally" of course the Durgapur session's economic policy resolution was also brought up.

Speaking with the polish and flair of an accomplished civilian, Singh disclosed that insofar as the Congress President's speech and the Planning Commission's trend of thinking were concerned there was a complete identity of approach.

To those who were taken by surprise, Singh pointed out the Durgapur proposal for Agro-Industrial Corporations which fitted in with the concept of the Planning Commission admirably. However, the Commission's proposal about the size of the Fourth Plan was not to be disturbed.

The Planning Commission secretary's version did leave a few lurking doubts. References to the texts sharpened them.

"The Plan contemplates the raising of additional resources to the tune of 3000 crores of rupees by the central and state governments. It appears to me that this is a commitment too heavy for both the centre and the states," Mr. Kamaraj said at Durgapur.

As against this the Plan-

ning Commission through its memorandum to the government took the view that "considering all aspects particularly the availability of resources it is felt that the Fourth Plan should be framed on the basis of a minimum outlay ranging between Rs. 21,500 to Rs. 22,500 crores". There was inherent in these views a not insignificant difference in approach.

Knowledgeable New Delhi circles agreed that the Commission had side-stepped Kamaraj's suggestion for a smaller plan. It was said that in the Commission's meeting even Finance Minister T. T. Krishnamachari, the erstwhile champion for a smaller plan, did not ask for a downward revision. He did ask for greater "financial disciplines", these circles said, and cutting down non-Plan expenditures—a view which was in tune with the general trend.

The Planning Commission's review however does not mean the end of the matter. The second round has yet to come, only the venue changes. The chief ministers, who much more than Planning Commission members and central ministers come under the ambit of the party organisation's pressures, will have the final say when the NDC meets next—say in March or April—when the fate of the price-line will be known better.

-DIARIST
