

GOVT. MUST STOP BEING PIG-HEADED OVER GOA

POPULAR VERDICT MUST BE RESPECTED

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NEW AGE

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The results of the election in Goa have baffled many people—especially Congressmen.

If the Congress government had not decided to send troops into Goa in December 1961, Goa would not have been liberated.

In the general elections in 1962, which followed the liberation of Goa, though the Congress did not openly demand votes on the credit of Goa, yet it was in their minds and in the minds of the people also.

Then was it not a surprise that the Goans themselves, so soon after liberation, forgot that very Congress, and voted in such a way that it was totally defeated? How could this happen?

Congressmen, who were refused the official recognition, like Mrs. Sahodara, who got wounded in the Portuguese firing.

IN imperialist circles, it may be interpreted that the Goan people did not like to be liberated from the Portuguese rule and hence they defeated the very party of liberation! Such an interpretation would be blatant nonsense. Because, the Goans have voted that party or bloc in majority, which not only does not want a separate Union territory but wants it to be merged in the state of Maharashtra. So the imperialists cannot get much consolation from the results.

The main reason for the Congress defeat is the fact that the Congress Party, as such, was never considered as the Party of Goan Liberation, either before the military action or after.

The underground fighters inside Goa, who have been on the scene since the independence of India, have never been identified with the Congress. Whenever any actions were carried out by them, they were disowned by the Congress Party and the government in India.

This was perhaps done for "diplomatic" reasons, though, in fact, the Congress leadership and government demanded Goan liberation, gave some amount of moral protection to the patriots in Goa jails and welcomed those who came to India. But these fighters themselves were never Congress Party members nor did the Congress own them up.

**CPI CHAIRMAN
S. A. DANGE**

Writing on LIBERATION ANNIVERSARY
Analyses Results of Recent Elections and Calls
for a Realistic Policy in National Interest.

There were some commando actions in Goa itself, which received arms for their action with the connivance, if not support, of the Congress government across the border. But those actions too were conducted and advertised as those of a group or party which was not the Congress. The Congress could not reap much benefit out of the Nagar Havell action also.

The famous satyagraha movement which culminated in the firing on the satyagrahis in 1955 raised the indignation of the whole country and when people in Bombay joined in the protests against Portuguese action, the Morarji Desai ministry fired on the demonstrators.

The credit for the nationwide satyagraha went to all other parties except the Congress. Among those who were killed on the Goan borders were Communists, Socialists, Praja Socialists, Independents, Jan Sanghis, Hindu Mahasabhaltes. There were some

Among those who suffered prison terms were names like N. G. Goray, Madhu Limaye, Mrs. Sudha Joshi, Diwakar Kakodkar etc. The great Banda border satyagraha of 1955 was led by Chitale the Communist leader. Thus the people who led in these actions did not belong to the Congress.

In the mind of the Goans, therefore, as the India which intensely fought or championed their liberation, there was everyone else but the Congress. That is the basic cause of Congress defeat.

To this was added the question of Goa's merger with Maharashtra. As in liberation, so in this question the Congress Party followed a reactionary policy.

First, in forming the administrative set-up after liberation the Congress allied itself with erstwhile Portuguese compradors, the big landlords and contractors including the Catholic Church and all that it meant.

The new millionaires, who had got hold of the ore mines, the smuggled gold fortunes, and port and dock contracts wanted a Goa for their own rampage, to be centrally administered or to be a new separate state.

Historically Goa is a part of Maharashtra. Its language, history, tradition, etc., logically dovetail and develop with those of the Marathi people. The attempt to separate them from the Marathi people and build them as a separate Portuguese Goan group in India on the basis of the Portuguese language and the Christian religion did not succeed.

The attempt of some Congress leaders, to pass off Konkani spoken by the Goans as

a separate language and on that basis to form a Konkani state or Saguri state (comprising districts along the Arabian Sea coast) by taking away chunks from the old Bombay state, only excited laughter and some castelst bad blood. The Goan peasantry—whatever its religious attachment—and the petty bourgeois intelligentsia orientated towards Maharashtra despite the Portuguese separation of four hundred years.

The Christinity of the Goans neither created a new language nor a new nationality. The first translation of the Bible in Goa is a Marathi translation and the Christ-

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DETAINED MP SERIOUSLY ILL

AGARTALA: BIREN DUTTA, member of the Lok Sabha from Tripura, is on the verge of death in the Hazaribagh central jail in Bihar, it is reliably learnt here.

The Chief Commissioner of Tripura told Aghore Deb Barma, acting leader of the opposition in the Tripura Assembly that the Tripura government had asked the Bihar government to transfer Biren Dutta either to Ranchi or to Patna for proper medical check-up.

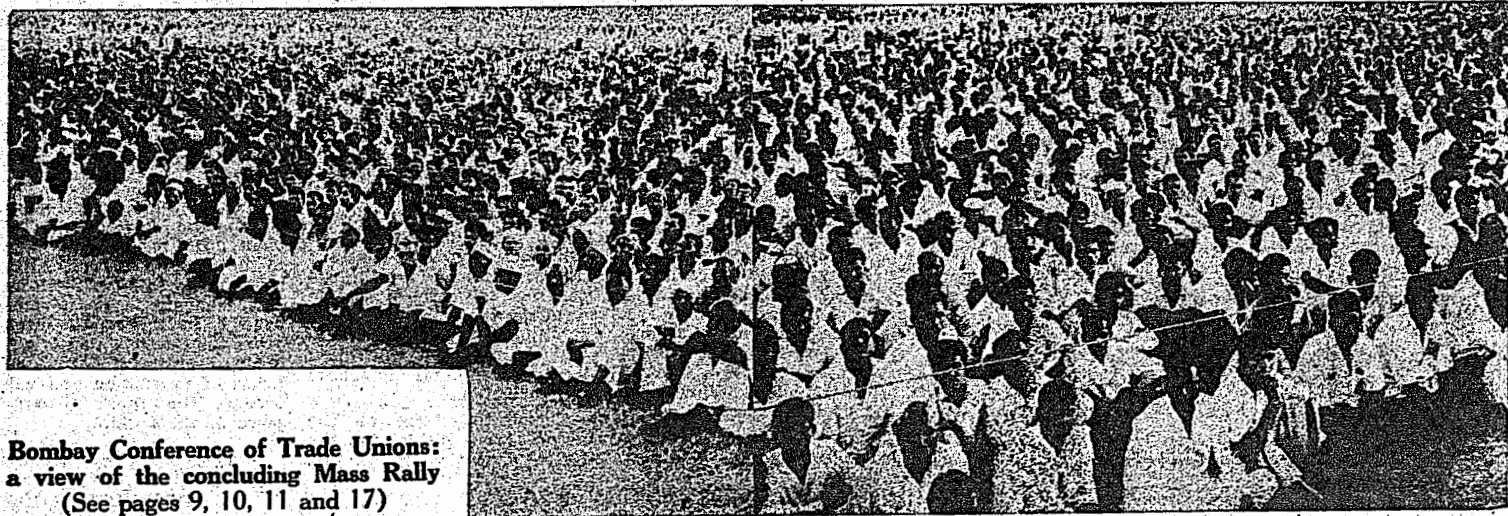
The Chief Commissioner said he could give no assurance regarding Dutta's release.

Nripen Chakraborty, leader of the opposition in the

Assembly, is also seriously ill in the same jail. He is afflicted with partial paralysis of his left arm.

Besides these two comrades, many other Communist leaders like Promode Das Gupta and Chandra Shekhar are also ailing in the Hazaribagh jail. The government has shown no consideration for these ailing comrades.

The number of Communist detenus in Tripura still remains at the original number of 29. Both members of the Lok Sabha from Tripura and the leader and deputy leader of the twelve-member Communist Opposition in the Assembly are in jail.



Bombay Conference of Trade Unions:
a view of the concluding Mass Rally
(See pages 9, 10, 11 and 17)

KEEP OUT THE SEVENTH FLEET

Editorial

THE NEWS THAT THE US government has decided to station part of its Seventh Fleet in the Indian Ocean to "protect us from Chinese aggression", has rightly caused the gravest concern in all patriotic circles in this country. Accompanied as this announcement is by the visit of a top US General to India to inspect our "defence preparedness", there is plenty of reason for anxiety.

The joint air exercises were not what the US imperialists wished them to be: they were not the "air umbrella". Our people fought hard to frustrate the US designs in this respect. We succeeded in averting the danger. But the air exercises had only been the preparation for more inroads into our independence, planned by the US and British overlords.

NEW AGE had warned then particularly against the efforts to lull our people into accepting the participation of foreign military personnel in our defence, as something normal. Once a country allows foreign military personnel to take part in its defence network—it loses part of its independence.

It is in this context of the joint air exercises that the visit of General MAXWELL TAYLOR to our frontiers, his "inspection" of our entire border defence, coupled with the news of the decision to send the Seventh Fleet to the Indian Ocean must be examined.

Defence Ministry spokesmen have been at pains to point out that the US General is not doing in India what he is doing elsewhere in his Asian empire—that is, reviewing US troops and bases. Government has also let it be known that it has nothing to do with the summoning of the Seventh Fleet and is not pleased with this decision.

But all the briefings to the press cannot wipe out the ugly taste which will be left in the mouths of our friends all over the world—particularly in the socialist and the Afro-Asian countries.

Pakistan's Foreign Minister BHUTTO has been quick to attack India for "pretending to be nonaligned", and asks how it happens that it is only the West which has joint exercises with India. Bhutto has his own sinister purposes. But it is time for patriotic India to assert itself in such a way that the Bhuttos and other enemies of India cannot take advantage of our errors to blacken our image abroad.

Which free country, which is not tied to a military pact, allows the head of a foreign army to inspect its frontier defences, in the manner in which General Taylor is supposed to be inspecting our defences?

Our people must seriously ask themselves this question, and assert themselves as they did at the time of the joint air exercises to prevent any direct or indirect weakening of our policy of nonalignment.

As for the Seventh Fleet, it is no use briefing the press about the Government of India's innocence in the matter. What is necessary is a decisive public condemnation of the US move to bring the fleet into the Indian ocean. We reject the "umbrella"—whether it comes by air or by sea.

The real purpose of the Seventh Fleet moving to the Indian ocean is not our "defence" against Chinese aggression. There is no danger from the sea at any rate. It is clear that the Seventh Fleet is intended to intimidate all the countries in the region, including our own, against any resistance to US pressures and blackmail.

Coming, as the latest US moves do, after the assassination of President Kennedy, one cannot but be apprehensive regarding their motives. Kennedy was killed with a view to halt the moves he initiated for a relaxation of international tension. The world still hopes that his successor will carry forward his policies.

One can only regret that the latest moves in this region do not appear to fulfill those hopes.

(Dec. 16)

Chemical Industry to Help Soviet Agricultural Growth

★ From MASOOD ALI KHAN

MOSCOW, December 16: Vast expansion of the chemical industry—and at a staggering rate—has been planned by the plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the CPSU just ended here. This is considered to be the key for the further quick development of agriculture and the consumer goods industry.

BUT as Western propaganda has made much noise about the so-called "failure" of Soviet agriculture let me give a few facts to show the absurdity of these claims:

In spite of a very bad drought on a vast area including Kazakhstan and the Ukraine, the biggest grain producing areas, 336 million poods more grain was procured by the state from state and collective farms this year than in 1953. The fact that the Soviet Union decided to buy grain from abroad only shows that general prosperity and consumption of food has increased and now the state does not act as in the time of Stalin and Molotov (like 1947, when in part of the land people died of hunger due to famine but grain was exported).

COLLECTIVISATION FAILURE?

Much is being written about the failure of socialist methods and of collectivisation of agriculture by the capitalist press. Actually facts show the opposite.

The structure of agricultural production has changed in such a way that now practically all food is provided by the socialist sector. In 1953 meat, milk and eggs and also vegetables in considerable quantities were supplied by the collective farmers but produced on their private plots. Thus from state farms and collective farms the state got 2,956,000 tons of meat and farmers from their private production gave 649,000 tons; in case of milk—the socialist sector gave 7,554,000 tons and collective farmers from their private production gave 3,092,000 tons; as for eggs—state farms and collective farms sold 1,445,000,000 and the private sector (i.e., the collective farmer producing privately) gave 1,173 millions.

Before the war the proportion of the privately produced meat, milk, eggs etc., was even higher.

But in 1952 the state received from the state farms and collective farms 85 per cent of meat, 95 per cent of milk, about 70 per cent eggs. This shows that the socialist sector began to supply the food requirements as the overwhelming dominant supplier in all fields. Grain production was totally in the socialist and state sector since collectivisation.

Actually if we compare 1953, the drought year, with 1952 we find that grain produced by the state was up by 1.4 times, cotton 1.3 times, sugarbeet 1.8 times, potatoes 1.5 times, vegetables 2.5 times, meat 2.6 times, milk 2.7 times, eggs 3.3 times, wool 1.9 times.

This all-round increase could hardly be achieved

if the climatic conditions had been normal this year the increase would have been much greater. Grain procured by the state in 1953 was 1889 million poods; in 1952 it reached 3458 million poods; this year expected figure is 2735 million or a drop of 723 million poods over last year.

This is considerable but with state reserves due to previous bumper harvests and some purchases abroad and economy in consumption the needs can be met till the next harvest comes in.

Much has been written in the capitalist press about the so-called failure of the policy of cultivating the virgin lands. But if we see the above figures we find that state procurement of grain was increased by a very big amount due to the extension of the cultivation in the virgin lands. Total production of grain in the country increased from 5,670 million poods to 9,000 million in 1952 because of cultivation of the virgin lands.

Not only that. From 1954 to 1952 the state got back all its investment in the virgin lands only by grain production and earned 3,000 million roubles profit over and above.

Expansion into the virgin lands was the only means available to increase quickly the supply of grain after catastrophic state of agriculture inherited from the Stalin era. The state could not wait then for a vast development of chemical industry to produce fertilisers and did not have the investment resources needed for this development at that time. The only way which gave quick returns and was much cheaper was extension of the cultivated area.

Occasional droughts were expected of course; but usually they hit either Kazakhstan or Ukraine. 1953 was the worst year in the sense that drought hit vast areas in both the grain production belts.

Production of fertilisers was sadly neglected during Stalin's management due to the favourite theory of crop rotation put forward by Vasily Williams, the agronomist who considered investment in fertilisers a waste; he considered his rotation method sufficient for the restoration of the fertility of the soil. In fact it proved a complete failure.

Stalin favoured it because it required no investment. But it has been proved by constant practice here and by the experience of other leading countries that the only way to get guaranteed bumper harvests is intensive cultivation by using mineral fertilisers and irrigation.

This is the secret of the bigger crop yields in the United States where in 1952

the area under crops was 118 million hectares and mineral fertilisers were produced to the tune of 36.5 million tons: In Soviet Union, the area was 216 million hectares, but fertilisers produced were only 17.3 million tons. Or, in USA per hectare availability of fertilisers was 229 kilograms while in Soviet Union it was only 82 kilograms. As a result grain productivity in the USA per hectare including maize was 26.6, while in the Soviet Union it was only 10.9.

As Khrushchev said, citing these figures, there is no special American wisdom involved here.

So, now having prepared the base for further big advance, the Soviet Union has decided to increase fertiliser production to between 70 to 80 million tons by 1970 and total grain production between 14 to 16 thousand million poods. (1953 figure was 5,000 million poods).

How would this colossal increase in the production of fertilisers, double of US production, be achieved? By an unprecedented staggering overall expansion of the chemical industry in the next seven years when 42,000 million roubles will be invested in it. Of these 10,500 million will go for developing the use of chemicals in agriculture. Two hundred new chemical enterprises will be built and five hundred old ones reconstructed.

ASTOUNDING TARGETS

The very fact that such astounding targets have been set shows the strength of the Soviet economy and the socialist system and the huge tasks it can tackle. Its advantage is that it can concentrate huge resources in the required key sector of economy when required and thus prepare a big advance for the whole system.

This colossal advance of the chemical industry would of course mean not only an advance in agriculture but in other branches of industry as well. There will be a big increase in the production of consumer goods. Synthetic fibre production for example will increase from 310 thousand to 1350 thousand tons by 1972.

How profitable all this is going to be for the economy can be seen from thus:

● With an investment of 42,000 million roubles the additional income from industry and agriculture due to use of chemical products is estimated to be 57,000 million roubles—a profit of 15,000 million roubles for the state by 1970.

Thus, chemical industry has become the key to a life of plenty. The resulting increase in the Soviet standard of living is going to be colossal. As Khrushchev said on November 7, in the next seven years the Soviet Union is going to overtake the USA in terms of production and will become the first economic power in the world.

(Also see page 13)

Unabashed Championing Of Monopolists

WHEN, on assuming the charge of the Finance Ministry TTK began talking about the need for a better climate for corporate enterprise, we had told our readers that he was a man to watch, because there was no knowing where he would stop. Unfortunately, this apprehension of ours has come true, for TTK, in spite of his occasional radical postures, has continued to unfold his 'master plan' to activate the private corporate sector.

The latest steps in this plan have been revealed in his long-awaited statement on economic situation, made in Parliament on Monday (December 16). In its unabashed championing of the interests of private monopolists, it excels all his earlier performances. In fact, judging from its initial impact on Dalal Street, and other stock exchanges, and the warm welcome it has received from Bharat Ram, G. D. Somani, Babubhai Chinal and such other representatives of big business, it will be no exaggeration to say that they at least look upon it as their 'Magna Carta', meant to clear the way for them to spread their tentacles and make easy gains.

ration to say that they at least look upon it as their 'Magna Carta', meant to clear the way for them to spread their tentacles and make easy gains.

TTK's Loud Thinking

TTK has described this statement as being in the nature of "thinking aloud" about the course that economic policy might take in the months ahead. But even the few glimpses he gives of his thinking, and a couple of measures he has announced as its result, are enough to indicate that whoever might gain from his policies, the country and its common men will only be the losers.

The decontrol on 18 commodities, quite a few of which enter into the making of chemicals, will, no doubt, give a spur to their prices. But that will not be the worst result of TTK's "thinking aloud", nor will the raising of the limit of exemption from licensing from Rs. 10 lakhs to Rs. 25 lakhs bring the heavens down. What is bound to deflect

the economy from its course so far is the understanding behind these steps—an understanding that the only malady from which the economy suffers is the lack of mobilisation of resources for productive purposes, which the private sector alone is capable of mobilising and putting to productive use, provided it is freed of all controls and regulations.

"Stimulating" and sustaining production and productivity" and such other sentiments are, no doubt, laudable, but the very fact that all of TTK's measures in recent months have been directed at improving the climate for such production in the private sector makes it abundantly clear that in his mind production is getting increasingly associated with this sector, and as a direct consequence, it is also getting progressively alienated from its socio-economic objective of bringing down disparities in wealth and incomes.

TTK had himself blurted this out during his intervention in the Lok Sabha debate on the Plan's mid-term appraisal. Concentration of wealth did

not worry him, he had said, so long as it contributed to increasing production. It can very well be taken care of later, he added.

India's planning—as the people had understood it—however, seems to have a different meaning. Here, concentration has to be taken care of simultaneously with increase in production, not only by increasing the share of the public sector in the economy, but also by such economic and fiscal policies as would prevent monopolisation of wealth and means of production.

No Qualms

The Prime Minister also admitted in the same debate that the Government's efforts in this direction have not been effective. TTK has, however, suffered from no such qualms, else he would not be concentrating all his efforts on activating the capitalist market.

TTK's attitude towards controls and other regulatory measures is conditioned by this consideration. He, of course, seeks to give it a thick veneer of pragmatism and "imperatives of the situation", but why should this pragmatism and "imperatives" not lead him to "devise astute and stringent measures" to

Economic notes

meet the twin evils of unaccounted money and tax evasion? The very fact that he does nothing of the kind—in spite of talking about them—makes it clear that for him—as for his colleague Subramaniam—"competition" and not "control" or regulation is increasingly becoming the hallmark of socialism.

TTK has ventured to think aloud only to dampen all hope of relief in the next budget. And knowing his orientation at present it is clear that the common people and not the moneyed men of the corporate sector will have to carry the cross in the next fiscal year as they have done in the present.

TTK will, however, not be concerned at this mockery of the socialist pattern, for his antipathy towards the "man-eaters" was never real—but what about the Prime Minister and the Government as a whole which have only recently renewed their commitment to socialism?

—ESSEN

December 18

Trade With Poland

★ By Our Staff Correspondent

THE Polish Deputy Minister for Foreign Trade, F. MODRZEWSKI has expressed the hope that the turnover in trade between India and Poland in 1963 would be to the tune of Rs. 25 crores. In 1962 it was only of Rs. 19 crores. Modrzewski was speaking at a reception given in his honour by the Indo-Polish Friendship and Cultural Society in New Delhi on December 17 at the Chelmsford Club.



He said the trade agreement which was under negotiation between India and Poland and for signing which he had come to India, envisaged a two-to-three-fold increase in trade between the two countries in the next few years. Among other things, the agreement would provide for

large exports of bauxite to Poland. The Polish Minister also said that there was greater scope for exporting Indian light engineering and metal goods to Poland. This could be done easily if Indian manufacturers and exporters visited his country and made direct contacts with the market there.

Tracing the history of the increasing Indo-Polish trade and economic collaboration, Modrzewski said that though an agreement was signed as far back as 1948, there was not much trade during the decade which followed, possibly because of lack of knowledge about each other's needs and markets.

After an agreement was signed providing for rupee payments, the Indo-Polish trade picked up quickly. By that time the markets had also become familiar to each other. In the last five years, the volume of trade between the two countries has grown manifold.

Modrzewski said economic co-operation between industrialising countries like India and Poland was mutually beneficial. These

countries could supplement each other's lines of production with a long-term perspective in economic cooperation and trade. Such co-operation would help in cutting down costs and in establishing variety in production, he said.

The Polish Minister said that this cooperation was different from the capitalist division of markets. As proof of this, he cited the fact that though India provided a good market for Polish mining machinery, Poland has agreed to help in setting up a mining machinery plant in India.

Indo-Polish economic collaboration has been developed considerably in the field of mining, he said. Poland is helping to set up nine deep washeries in India. So also coal washeries are being set up with Polish assistance. India is also using Polish mining machinery on a large scale. Poland is extending her best help so that India can achieve her target of raising coal production 200 per cent in the next ten years.

Modrzewski said it was not only in coal-mining that such cooperation could be strengthened between the two countries. In several other fields such as thermal power, marine diesel etc. there could be more cooperation between the two countries.

The Polish Minister concluded by saying that trade and economic cooperation should be not only between India and Poland, but between all countries of the world. He hoped the coming UN conference on world trade and development would help to further trade and cooperation between all countries.

S. V. Krishnamoorthy Rao, Deputy Speaker of the Lok Sabha, who presided over the function, listed in detail the step by step growth in economic and cultural relations between India and Poland. He said ties between the two countries have grown stronger and stronger and hoped they would grow still more in coming years.

Students Confer

★ From Mohit Sen

THE fourth conference of the Hyderabad Students' Union, held on December 15, reflected an upswing of the students' movement in the city after some years of difficulty.

The great Telugu poet Sri Sri inaugurated the conference which was attended by a large audience of students and leading intellectuals. He emphasised that for all advance, for any struggle for socialism, world peace was essential. He urged the students to be in the forefront of the struggle for social advance. He also recited two stirring poems.

Dr. Rashiduddin Khan, head of the Political Science Department of Osmania University, delivered the presidential address, reminding the students of their responsibilities in making democracy and socialism an irrevocable reality.

After the inaugural session some disturbance was sought to be created by a small section of students, claiming to be delegates. They raised anti-Communist slogans hoping thereby to dub the HSU. However, better sense soon prevailed and some of the leaders of those who sought to create the disturbance stated that they had been misinformed and misled and went away peacefully.

The delegates session was attended by 60 delegates from various colleges and faculties. The secretary's report was endorsed and, among others, resolutions passed hailing the Moscow test-ban treaty, urging acceptance of the Colombo proposals by China and demanding the introduction of Telugu as the medium of instruction.

The following are among the office-bearers elected: D. V. K. Rama Rao—President; Nagabhusan

Rao and Rehman—Vice-Presidents; C. Raghavachary—General Secretary.

Some of the disruptors were thoroughly upset by the orderly and business-like manner in which the proceedings were conducted and a handful of them staged another "conference" and elected each other as office-bearers.

However, their pitiful efforts only go to confirm the progress that the HSU has made and its perspective of advance. A programme of intensive mass work among the students now lies ahead.

IMPORTANT CORRECTION IN THIS ISSUE

On centre pages in the Charter of Minimum Demands, number nine should read as:

(9) Introduction of state trading in wholesale business of foodgrains.

Demand number eleven should read as: (11) (a) Nationalisation of banks, export-import trade and the oil and sugar industries under democratic control as a first step towards furthering state acquisition and control over decisive sector of the national economy;

(b) Take-over by government of all plants and mines which have been closed down by the employers despite their being productive units;

(c) Public sector workers to have the same democratic and TU rights as in the private sector.

PAGE THREE

Profumous Chacko Tramples Law Under Foot

★ From Our Correspondent

TRIVANDRUM: A scandal vying with the Profumo Affair in spicy details and notoriety is rocking Kerala with P. T. CHACKO, Minister for Home Affairs, Police, Revenue, Anti-Corruption etc., etc., as its central figure.

THE high drama which unfolded itself during the ten days beginning December 8 had all the mysterious ingredients of a Perry Mason thriller — a hit and run case, a switch in the identity of the car driver, an unidentified woman companion to the Minister in the car and a dam site rest house.

The story can be summarised as follows:

On December 8 P. T. Chacko's car hit a handcart on the Trichur-Peechi road and knocked down the cart puller. It also grazed and injured a woman and a three-year-old girl. Instead of stopping the car and taking the injured persons to hospital, the car was driven away at high speed.

But the car could not go far. After going for about four miles the car stopped by itself because the radiator had burnt out. Chacko had to wait by the roadside for some time till a jeep from a nearby rubber estate took him and his woman companion to the Peechi rest house.

NAVAJEEVAN, the Communist daily from Trichur, published the news of the incident the next day. The report said that the car was being driven by Chacko himself and that the woman with him at the time of the accident was not his wife, but a Hindu woman, the inference being made from the fact that she had a 'tilak' on her forehead. It also mentioned that pressure was brought on the editor not to publish the news.

The news made sensation in the state, especially because of the fact that the Minister did not stop his car after the accident, though the handcart puller's injury was serious enough to warrant taking his dying declaration by the police afterwards.

Though newsmen tried to contact him at the Peechi rest house, Chacko did not care to talk. Instead, the district collector of Trichur issued a statement saying that normal action was being taken against the "driver" of the car. There was no mention in the statement about the woman who was with Chacko, though it said that "certain exaggerated reports" about the incident had appeared in the press, which were "not true".

Meanwhile, DEEPIKA, a daily from Kottayam which is an ardent supporter of Chacko, tried to 'make' out that the woman with Chacko was his wife. Other papers in the state, including non-Communist dailies, published the news too, some of them with additions from their correspondents on eye-witness accounts of the accident and the persons involved.

Chacko still kept his silence. But one thing he did: his wife was brought from her home village to Peechi and together they made the return trip to Trivandrum a bit ostentatiously, making out as if his wife was with him all along.

However, NAVAJEEVAN and the other Communist papers, DESHABHIMANI and JANAYUGOM, maintained that it was Chacko who was driving the car at the time of the accident and that the woman travelling with him was not his wife.

DESHABHIMANI for its part,

took up the story from Trivandrum and reported that a woman fitting the descriptions given in the first reports had been seen in Trivandrum the previous week. Further, the paper reported, presumably the same woman was seen on December 7 at the Alwaye state rest house where Chacko stayed for the night. It was also reported that the Trivandrum Mayor who was staying in an upstairs room in the rest house was compelled to vacate his room for the "privacy" of the Minister.

Some progress was made in solving the mystery when on December 13, one Mrs. PADMAM S. MENON admitted at Ernakulam that she was the Minister's companion at the time of the accident. She expressed surprise at Chacko's silence over the matter despite the press reports. But when asked who was driving the car at the time of the accident, she evaded a reply, maintaining that it was for Chacko to make any statement in that regard.

Her statement was corroborated later in the day by Chacko at Trivandrum. He told pressmen that Mrs. Padmam S. Menon had asked him for a lift and he gave it. "What is wrong in giving a lift to a Congress social worker? My wife and her husband have no complaints in the matter", he said. He also characterised the press reports as an "aggressive type of character assassination" indulged in by the Communists.

Chacko still refused to say anything about who was driving the car at the time of the accident. Meanwhile, the driver of the state car appeared in the Trichur police station and took the blame upon himself for the accident. (There are two reports about the identity of the driver who appeared in the Trichur police station. One report said it was the driver of state car number 16 which was involved in the accident, while another report said it was the driver of state car number 10, which had been entered in the FIR as the car involved in the accident though that was not the real case.)

Then NAVAJEEVAN came out with more news about the Peechi trip, maintaining that it was not a case of merely "giving a lift." It reported that the woman with Chacko travelled upto the Peechi rest house with him; that a taxi car was brought to the rest house from Trichur in which she went to a nearby village and came back to the rest house later in the evening; that the taxi fare for this trip coming to Rs. 27.50 was paid by Chacko; and that she left the rest house early next morning in another taxi car.

On December 16, the mystery about who was driving the car at the time of the accident also seemed to have been solved. On that day the Trichur police charged a case against Chacko over this followed information given by Chacko that he was himself driving the car.

There is also a report that the Deputy Inspector General of Police, BHASKARA MARAR, was sent specially to Trichur from Trivandrum by the Minister to rewrite the FIR to say that

Chacko was driving the car and to charge the case against Chacko. Originally, only the Communist papers had demanded for Chacko's resignation over the incident and attempts to influence the officers to tamper with the natural course of justice. But with all the facts now revealed, the demand for Chacko's resignation and an open enquiry into his conduct during the whole episode has gained widest support in the state.

Many papers have written editorials demanding an open enquiry into the episode and Chacko's resignation. Leaders of all political parties in the state except the Congress have also voiced a similar demand. Even the president of the Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee, K. P. MADHAVAN NAIR, is understood to have privately advised Chacko to resign.

Resignation Demanded

The secretary of the Kerala state council of the Communist Party of India, C. ACHUTHA MENON has written to PRIME MINISTER NEHRU demanding that public morality should be upheld by advising Chacko to resign. He has also posed the administrative and political improprieties involved in Chacko's behaviour, including his attempt to escape responsibility from the crime he committed and to foist it on his driver.

In a statement Achutha Menon said that ordinarily the private life of a minister or a political worker should not become the subject matter of political discussion, "but when an incident in the private life of an individual holding a responsible position affects his position and powers in

public life, that incident cannot escape public notice and comment".

Commenting on the pose of injured innocence by Chacko, he said: "I desire to state that even after what took place during the display of barbarity otherwise known as liberation struggle against the Communist government under the leadership of the same Sri Chacko, the people of Kerala have not descended to that state wherein they stoop to spread scandal deliberately against a man and a woman engaged in public life the moment they go about in a car.

"The pose of innocence which Sri Chacko puts on, however clever it be, is not going to dupe anybody. Every action of Sri Chacko, before and after the incident under reference — the driving of the car himself and without the driver, refusal to stop the car as soon as the accident occurred, engineering of the press note issued by the district collector, bringing down his wife from Vazhoor to Trichur the next day, and above all, his silence for five full days over the fact that along with him in the car was another woman and till the woman herself came out with a statement — heaped suspicion over suspicion.....

"When things have reached such a pass, the question arises naturally of standards of morality expected of a public worker and that too from a minister elected by the people. I am not hesitating to demand his resignation on the very ground that Sri Chacko has failed to maintain the minimum standards of morality.

"Sri Chacko is reported to have stated that I demanded his resignation because of political animosity. I leave that to be judged by the people. I would like Sri Chacko to know

that as far as I am concerned, such an allegation against me from Sri Chacko will not and cannot deter me from discharging my duty to my people and my country.....

"The second question raised by the episode is of more serious import. The clear allegation is that a minister responsible to uphold and protect law, order and justice trampled under foot all these and prostituted his official position to screen his crime.

"It is the natural and simple law and human conduct expected from an ordinary citizen that when his car hits some one, he stops the car, takes the injured to the nearest hospital and reports the matter to the nearest police station. Even if the car was not driven by the Minister but his driver, how can the Minister be less guilty for not complying with this simple law?.....

"The most serious charge against the Minister is that he tried to foist his guilt on an innocent person (the driver), tampered with the evidence available and concocted false evidence. With this end in view, he misused the entire official machinery and the officers under his charge.

"People cannot expect that justice will be dispensed for them so long as such a minister, guilty of these serious crimes, continues to be in office. The seriousness of the crime becomes all the greater when one remembers that Sri Chacko holds not only the portfolios of Home Affairs, Law and Order and Revenue, but also is in charge of the anti-corruption department."

Achutha Menon demanded that Chacko should resign his office and if he still refused the allegations against him, a public enquiry into his activities during the ten days should be ordered.

PEACE IS EVERY INDIAN'S BUSINESS

Looking Back At The Seminar

As the Prime Minister inaugurated the Seminar on International Affairs and World Peace on December 7, it was perhaps inevitable that those of us who have been connected with the peace movement since its inception, should remember the early days of the movement ten or twelve years ago.

THOSE were the days when people in high places, who should have known better, scoffed at the efforts of popular organisations working to build up public opinion for peace. Governments decide international affairs; what can public opinion do? This was the trend of the arguments put forward then against the entire concept of a peace movement.

There were more ugly and wounding attacks on our movement. "Join the Peace Movement and see the world", said some. "A movement of cranks and lunatics", said others. "Let those who have nothing else to do join the peace movement", was the pronouncement of still others.

But the Indian peace movement grew all the same. Reactionary forces succeeded in imposing bans and prohibitions on participation in the peace movement. But the bans and prohibitions were never able to silence the voice of our movement.

And as it grew, new organisations sprang up with similar aims as those of the All-India Peace Council, which had pioneered the work for peace in our country.

The cold war often cast its shadows over the efforts to unite all the organisations working for peace, to bring together all the forces of peace. Political prejudices and suspicious constituted barriers dividing one organisation from another, one section of peace-loving Indians from another. Sectarian and dogmatic beliefs in the "purity" of one's own "line" also had to be fought at every stage of development.

★ The Seminar on International Affairs and World Peace, convened on the initiative of the Committee of Indian Parliamentarians for

Peace, provided a common platform for all the organisations working for peace, a common platform for diverse sections of political opinion. This was itself a major achievement of the Seminar.

★ The fact that the unity achieved during the Seminar is to be carried forward in the coming days, through the numerous activities decided upon by the Seminar's Commissions, makes the Seminar's achievements all the more significant.

It is important to view the Seminar in the context of the

by Romesh Chandra

political situation inside the country and in the world as a whole.

The Right reactionary offensive against the policy of nonalignment has continued to grow stronger since the Chinese aggression last year. The Seminar, through its wholehearted support for the policy of nonalignment, laid the basis for an effective counter-offensive against the enemies of nonalignment, a broad-based counter-offensive on behalf of all patriotic Indians.

The pro-imperialist reactionary forces in the country correctly saw in the Seminar a danger to them. That was why they spared no efforts to slander and attack the Seminar. The dirty weeklies, which peddle filth and attack the nation's basic policies at the same time, published lies about the Seminar and labelled it "Communist". But it was no longer possible, as it had been in an earlier period, to label every effort for peace "Communist".

And factually, it was difficult to swallow the nonsensical assertion that the scores of Congress MPs who took an active part in the Seminar were all "Communist puppets", as the reactionary wags made out.

In the lobbies of Parliament, the Right hit out at the Seminar: the fact that organisers of the Peace Council were associated with the work of the Seminar was sought to be used to paint the Seminar in lurid colours.

But everyone knew that those who opposed the Seminar were really the opponents of India's peace policy itself and all their "righteous" anti-Communism could not conceal their ugly face from those who stand by the policy of nonalignment.

That notorious dollar-paid gang—the so-called "National Marxist Association"—was brought into use at the end. Thousands of posters were plastered all over the city, proclaiming that the Seminar was an agency of the Kremlin and Peking, that the Committee of Indian Parliamentarians for Peace was composed of "Communist" stooges! And finally, a feeble "demonstration" of a handful of hirelings was organised outside the Vigyan Bhavan, as the Seminar opened.

The wrath of the Rightist forces was understandable. Only a year ago, they had ruled the roost in this very same capital. Now they had been put on run. They had fattened on the disunity of the patriotic forces and the Seminar threatened to end that disunity, on which the Right lived and flourished. The howling of the jackals was not without reason.

The tremendous success of the Seminar—beyond all previous expectations—silenced the Right slanderers and won over those who may have had genuine doubts about the Seminar's character.

★ In the background of the battle for and against nonalignment the Seminar has already played an important



Eighth East-West Round Table Conference met in Moscow in early December with 82 delegates from 19 countries. In the Presidium (above) were (left to right) Oskar Lange of Poland, Henri Rolin of Belgium and Ilya Ehrenburg of Soviet Union

role: its follow-up programmes will help to gather more and more informal support for the policy of nonalignment and to build up a broad united movement against the opponents of this policy.

In the present international context also, the Seminar had considerable significance. The last few months had seen new and rapid developments which had shown up in a flash the immense possibilities and at the same time the terrible dangers which exist for mankind. The test-ban treaty was signed, lighting up the lamps of hope for further progress along the road to disarmament and peace. But it was followed by the assassination of President Kennedy by those forces in the USA, which stand for war, racialism and all that is the worst on this earth.

The forces of peace had won the treaty: the forces of war had desperately tried to halt the onward march of the forces of peace.

The Seminar was the first major national assembly for peace held anywhere in the world, following the murder of President Kennedy. There was throughout the proceedings a sense of urgency inspired by the unspoken realisation among all participants that resolute united action by all forces of peace was the need of the hour, to build on the test ban treaty and carry it forward.

Of course, there was confidence and optimism—the same confidence and optimism which characterises all sincere gatherings of peace workers. But these were tempered with an awareness of the responsibilities which rest on the peoples for the safeguarding of peace—an awareness sharpened by the grim events of Dallas.

The fact that the Chairman of the British Labour Party took part in the Seminar, side by side with a Soviet delegation led by so eminent a personality as Madame Nikolaeva, emphasised the fact that the world outside also realised the key importance of the Seminar.

Mr. Anthony Greenwood is not only the Chairman of his party, but is tipped as the likely Foreign Secretary in the Labour government in Britain. And therefore, his association with the Seminar and his valuable contributions were of added importance. His con-

crete suggestions on steps forward for disarmament were studied with deep attention. They reflected the growing strength of the forces of peace in Britain, which are increasingly rallying today to vote the Tory government out and a new Labour government in.

One felt, as the Seminar went on, that India was beginning once again to deserve the position it has held for so long, as a centre of the struggle for peace, as an initiator of moves for disarmament, as a leader of the world battle against imperialism and war. The last year had seen a vicious propaganda offensive, which sought to rob India of this position; and the Right-wing offensive had helped in this process, by succeeding in blunting the edge of our non-alignment policy through such disastrous steps as the VOA deal.

CHINA AND PAKISTAN

The Seminar naturally gave considerable attention to the question of our relations with China and Pakistan. The support given to the Colombo proposals and to the policy of a peaceful solution of all disputes will help to strengthen public opinion against those forces which insist upon a military solution. At the same time, the Seminar's views will assist in securing support for the Colombo proposals abroad and consequently in putting international pressure on the Chinese government to accept and implement the proposals.

The firm support given by the Seminar to the policy of resistance to the Pakistan government's pressure and blackmail over Kashmir was also timely and of international importance.

Each of the Commissions had occasion to discuss the wrong policies pursued by the Chinese leadership in regard to world affairs. The Seminar expressed its serious apprehensions regarding the Chinese government's refusal to sign the test ban treaty and its worldwide propaganda campaign against it. The Seminar also expressed itself strongly against the Chinese leadership's attempt to give a racial colour to the concept of Afro-Asian solidarity and thus divide Afro-Asia from progressive movements and

★ ON PAGE TWELVE

Whispering Gallery

MAN-EATERS' BEST FRIEND

MORARJIBHAI was gone with the KAMARAJ wind. The same wind swept TTK into the Union Finance Ministry. Way back he left the same Ministry, chased and mauled, as he said then, by the man-eaters.

Of late, however, the man-eaters seem to have become grass eaters. They are so sweet and reasonable to their alleged former victim. There is a "wind of change" blowing all round.

Unlike Morarji Desai, a fanatic and an obscurantist, TATTAI KRISHNAMACHARI is a colourful personality. He had never been a soap-box orator though he made money in selling soap.

Perhaps this past experience is standing him in good stead now. He is successfully applying plenty of soft-soap to the man-eaters so much so that they might enthrone him as the king of the jungle of the corporate sector.

TTK is not that crude as his predecessor was. He modified drastically the inequitous CDS, gave a measure of satisfaction to goldsmiths, re-cast the pension system to throw an extra naya. Paisa to the government

employees, assumed power on paper to fix a ceiling on existing ornaments, promised to partly mitigate the rigour of the P-form and curbed the power of the Trustees a bit.

There was undoubtedly a certain gain to the people. Morarji Desai, the former sub-collector, would not have done anything of the sort. TTK did all these because he needed a measure of popular support.

But we never had any illusions: we knew he was going one step forward only to go two steps backwards.

And we are right. The whole career of TTK illustrates it. We need to examine only his recent past. After he took refuge in Mysapore, caught badly in the Mundhra storm, he started talking that the Plan brought no change in the living standards of 20 per cent of our people. How nice of him to have said it! He called for speeding up of the economy on socialistic lines. How wonderful!

After the general elections he was brought back as Minister for Co-ordination. One of the men who arranged his come-back was KRISHNA MENON. And when the government was thrown into a crisis in the wake of the Chinese invasion, TTK was the first to hound VKK.

He had a tiff with MALA VIVA, another of his admirers when he was in the wilderness. But the friendship broke up soon when TTK tried to smuggle a Burma-Shell organisation and a certain Sundaram, a buddy of his, into the public sector oil business.

Having failed to make a dent into oil refining, TTK sought to scotch aircraft manufacture in the public sector. As Co-ordination Minister, he appointed Swatantra financier J. R. D. TATA, as chairman of a committee to look into aircraft production. On the committee he put his own chum BHOOTHALINGAM.

Tata and Bhoothi recommended that India should scrap the MIG agreement, abandon production of HF-24 at Bangalore, should not touch with a barge pole the Soviet engine which was to have been fitted with the HF frame and so on.

And when the report was placed before Nehru, he hit the ceiling. But unlike Morarji, TTK is a quick change artist. He sent Bhoothi to Moscow when he failed to get the supercon from the Yankees. And Bhoothi—or Lingam, by whatever name you choose to call him—the conscienceless ICS chappie that he is, promptly flew to Moscow, and pleaded for MIGs which he said were worthless when he wrote his report.

I will finish this profile next week.

—INSIDER



Mr. Anthony Greenwood, Chairman of the British Labour Party addressing the Commission on Disarmament with Mrs. Rajen Nehru on his left. Next to her Mrs. Nikolaeva, leader of the Soviet delegation follows proceedings with the help of her interpreter.

Andhra Threat Of Denationalisation

★ From MOHIT SEN

HYDERABAD: The government proposal to denationalise the Andhra Paper Mills at Rajahmundry continues to be the subject of heated controversy. Some Congress MLAs have now openly joined the fray. But reports indicate that Chief Minister SANJEEVA REDDY is adamant.

A FORMER minister, PATABHIRAMA RAO, and some fifteen others have issued a public statement expressing surprise at the way in which the Chief Minister steamrollered a "unanimous" decision of the Congress Legislature Party approving of the handover of the mills to private interests.

The agenda, according to this statement, contained no reference to this controversial subject. The only item was the Cooperation Bill which was being discussed in the Assembly. Sanjeeva Reddy took advantage of the omnibus item headed "any other matter that might be brought up by the leader" to rush things through.

The signatories feel that an important question, involving policy issues, should have been specifically mentioned in the agenda itself. Had this been done many MLAs would have been present and participated in the discussion.

They have demanded that the party leader should convene another meeting of the legislature party to discuss the issue before the current session is over. They are busy now trying to get as many MLAs to sign this requisition demand as possible.

It should be noted that all the signatories belong to the SANJEEVAIAH group in the Andhra Congress. Their opposition to denationalisation is highly suspected and regarded in informed circles as simply a factional manoeuvre. Its utility is only that it helps to keep the issue alive in the public mind and gives a bit more time for popular intervention.

In the meantime, rumours are rife that the Andhra cabinet has made up its mind to sell off the mills but have not yet decided on

news from states

Bihar Govt's Retrograde Proposal

PATNA: The Bihar government is seeking to amend the Model Standing Orders to give powers to the managements to dismiss workmen without giving any reasons or opportunity to the victims to clear themselves from the charges.

BY the proposed amendment to paragraph 13 of the Model Standing Orders, the managements would be empowered to dismiss workmen without giving any notice indicating the reasons for such termination if in the opinion of the management it is not in the interests of the state or is likely to involve the management directly or indirectly in any civil or criminal proceedings.

RATAN ROY, general secretary of the Bihar State Trade Union Congress has termed this move as a "dangerous one for the democratic trade union movement and is intended to give unbridled power to the managements to victimise trade union workers".

In a statement, Ratan Roy says: "It is really strange that the government has thought it fit to elevate the managements to the level of governmental authorities and empower them with more authority to dismiss their employees than what are enjoyed by the government itself, that is, without assigning any reason and giving an opportunity to defend themselves."

"The second shield given to the management of not revealing the reason, if such revelation would lead to involvement in civil or criminal proceedings is unheard of anywhere in the world. Arming the managements with such fantastic powers betrays the extreme pro-management attitude of the government of Bihar."

It has been the general practice to discuss important amendments to rules and statutes in the tripartite committees before they are inscribed on the statute book, says the statement adding that while the standing labour committee has several times discussed several amendments to the Model Standing Orders, the government of Bihar never came up with these proposals.

Roy requested the government to withdraw this 'monstrous' amendment. "I also appeal to all central trade unions to register their emphatic protest against this barbaric authority sought to be given to the managements by the Bihar government."

He also requested all affiliated unions to "record their protest through mass meetings, resolutions, mass signatures against this amendment so that such a nefarious move may be prevented".

Punjab Lawlessness

Avtar Singh Malhotra, secretary of the Punjab state council of the Communist Party of India has issued the following statement:

ONE tenant has been shot dead and six wounded by goondas in an attempt to evict the tenants of a farm in Murtzapur in Karnal district.

It is wellknown that the landlord Soorat Singh has been trying to evict the tenants here by hook or crook for the last so many months. The tenants approached the authorities and the state government repeatedly for intervention.

But those who talk of increasing agricultural production don't realise that the tiller has to be protected from the landlord's rapacity and helped to exert his utmost.

I demand that those responsible for this shooting be immediately arrested and prosecuted. An enquiry should be held into the conduct of the police officials posted and the tenants should be helped to cultivate the land they have been tilling for so many years.

I send my condolences to the bereaved family of the tenant martyred in the cause of justice and demand that full compensation should be paid to the family.

RESOLUTIONS of National Council of Communist Party of India

New Delhi, Oct. 14-19, 1963

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KERALA GOVT. URGED TO CALL ALLPARTIES MEET For Effective Steps To Check Soaring Prices

★ FROM S. SHARMA

The secretariat of the Kerala State Council of the Communist Party of India has charged both the State and Union Governments with failure to take effective and quick steps to prevent the spiralling rise in prices of essential articles of daily life like foodstuffs, sugar etc.

IN a statement issued on December 10 the secretariat has warned that if the present attitude of complacency on the part of the government is continued, a Bengal will be repeated in Kerala before long.

The secretariat has called upon the state government to convene a conference of leaders of public opinion to discuss and concert measures to check the price rise of essential commodities.

It has directed all Party units to organise meetings and demonstrations in conjunction with all parties and organisations interested in the subject with a view to mobilising public pressure on the government to take effective steps to hold the price line.

The prices of rice and other essential articles of daily use are soaring high daily causing considerable concern and hardship to all classes of people. Both the state and Union governments have so far failed to effectively prevent this phenomenon.

The state government's attitude to this has been one of unpardonable complacency. The statement made by the Food Minister in answer to a question on the floor of the Assembly bears ample testimony to this. He repeatedly affirmed that rise in price was evident only with regard to certain varieties of rice from Madras and even that would be temporary.

But it was obvious that this statement had nothing in common with the actual reality. Thereafter collectors of certain districts have been forced to make statements counter to this.

The reality is that price of rice of all varieties including those imported from Andhra, which has been the main sup-

plier of rice for our deficit state, has been shooting up and this price rise has been experienced in all parts of the state alike. This rise in price has got expanded to such articles as sugar, jaggery and even vegetables.

We appeal to the state government to take note of the seriousness of the situation and take urgent and effective measures for the supply of essential articles at controlled rates and in adequate measure.

The Kerala government has at least to take the minimum steps such as increase in the present quantum of rice supplied through the fair price

shops to supply not only rice but other essential food articles also in industrial units employing more than 300 hands, removing the present difficulties in the working of consumers cooperative societies and the removal of the sales tax on rice.

The state government should further demand greater allotment of rice from the Centre and urge on the Union government to fix the maximum price of rice and paddy in the rice producing states as Madras and Andhra and the selling price of rice in Kerala under the Defence of India Rules and ensure that these rates are implemented rigorously.

The state secretariat of the CPI further suggests that a conference of leaders of public opinion should be convened to discuss these and other measures.

The state council secretariat directs all the party units to organise and mobilise agitation and public opinion to bring pressure on the government to take the above measures.

Party units are directed to take initiative in the matter of organising meetings and rallies for the above purpose in conjunction with trade union, kisan organisations and other mass organisations and political parties.

PUNJAB MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS Communist Party Statement

JULLUNDUR: Within two weeks people of 72 towns in Punjab will go to the polls to elect their representatives to the municipal committees.

THE secretariat of the Punjab State Council of the Communist Party of India, in a statement on these elections, has noted that their scope of work is such as to make possible very broad unity among democratic-minded people with a desire to serve people, notwithstanding their differences on national political issues. Such unity is essential if the local bodies are to be rid of factionalism and corruption.

The statement says this is the reason for the widespread sentiment among the people that local bodies should not be made an arena for party politics and that all parties pledged to serve the people should cooperate in local bodies.

The Communist Party pledges to fully respect this healthy sentiment of the people and do all it can to ensure the formation of broadbased citizens fronts to contest the municipal elections. Where such fronts are not possible, the Party will cooperate with and support all those who have the welfare of the urban people and the above viewpoints, the statement says.

The problems facing the municipal committees have been highlighted in the statement, the most important of them being lack of adequate finances. The state government has refused to accept the unanimous demand of the local bodies for a share of such taxes as entertainment tax, vehicle tax, etc.

The government on the other hand is insisting on the committees to impose taxes on cycles, rickshaws and houses which would hit hard the poorer sections of the society. Simultaneously, there is the problem of tax evasion by the rich, especially in those committees where the municipal commissioners have links with rich vested interests.

Functioning of the committees is hindered by the undemocratic and overriding

executive power in the appointed officers. It further seeks to give autocratic powers to the state, even to supersede committees.

The statement says it is a welcome fact that the standing committee of the urban local bodies has unanimously characterised the Bill as "undemocratic" and has demanded that it be radically redrafted.

The secretariat calls for electing men and women to the urban local bodies who stand for the following, irrespective of their other political differences.

To rid the committee of corruption, factionalism, communal wrangling and to be able to do that to rid them of the influence of vested interests;

To make use of all the finances of the committees to provide better civic amenities to the people especially in the busties, to provide better lighting, pucca streets, better sanitation and maternity centres;

To stop evasion of taxes by the rich people and to give relief to the poor from unjust taxes, to abolish altogether such taxes as cycle tax;

To work to ensure that the state government makes funds available to the municipal committees from its own resources;

To work for more powers and responsibilities to the committees and to remove all the undemocratic features of the present Local Bodies Act instead of making it more undemocratic and reactionary.

The statement concludes by saying that a very broad unity is possible to achieve these tasks which must not be hindered by narrow party interests. To facilitate such broad unity, the Communist Party will not enter the elections on party basis but Communists will fight elections as candidates of united citizens front bodies, mainly based on the unity of all democratic elements, or as independents.

The Bill seeks to introduce nominations in the garb of selection from a panel prepared by the commissioner. It seeks to vest the entire

READ HAYAT URDU WEEKLY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA 7/4 ASAF ALI ROAD NEW DELHI 1

PEACE, FREEDOM AND SOCIALISM

(WORLD MARXIST REVIEW)

No. 11, 1963

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L. LONGO: Historical Role and significance of the struggle of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

I. G. MAURER: Inviolable Foundation of Unity of International Communist movement, etc.

Price: 75 nP.

TYPES

KEEP OUT THE GUNBOATS

LAST week's inspired leak of US intention to move its Seventh Fleet into the Indian Ocean has rightly caused alarm and indignation among people in this country. While an official spokesman of the External Affairs Ministry has declared that the Government of India has no information of this American move, newspapers have drawn pointed attention to the dangerous implications of this arrogant posture of Washington and demanded that the Government of India should resist it and tell the US where it belongs.

In a forthright attack on this latest American design in this region of Asia, THE TIMES OF INDIA wrote on December 13: "Washington appears to believe that a 'power vacuum' exists in this part of the world and that, moreover, it is obliged to remove this vacuum through the massive presence of a fleet equipped with nuclear weapons. The implications of this decision, if decision it is, will be most far-reaching and New Delhi will be unable to evade some definition of its attitude towards what is unmistakably uninvited Western interference."

The contention that the presence of the Seventh Fleet will not involve interference in the internal affairs of the South-East Asian countries is an equivocation that is not worth the effort of making. The introduction of a conventional fleet into the Indian Ocean is disturbing enough; the presence of nuclear weapons will be infinitely more provocative and not merely to Communist China.

The paper has declared that the Government of India must 'strenuously resist' this move 'if non-alignment is to remain meaningful.' It harks back to the joint air exercises and VOA deal and points out that all these would confirm the view that America thinks that the Chinese aggression has destroyed our non-

alignment and Western military assistance has firmly committed India to the Western camp. The present move is an extension of this trend of which the late Mr. Dulles would have unhesitatingly approved and it is for the Government of India to disabuse Washington of any such illusion.

The Line Must Be Drawn

The theme is further developed in a well-written commentary by NJN entitled 'The Line Must Be Drawn' in THE TIMES OF INDIA of Monday, NJN asks: 'New Delhi is reportedly "unhappy" but what does this dissatisfaction precisely mean and how was it possible that the United States could be led into supposing that the proposal would, if not joyously welcomed, be at least acceptable?'

'Was there not even an informal exchange of ideas when the United States originally conceived this thoroughly objectionable idea of attempting to fill a "vacuum" with a fleet equipped with nuclear weapons? These and many other questions demand an immediate answer not only because public opinion in this country has the right to know but because the incredible misunderstanding which this affair reflects between the US and

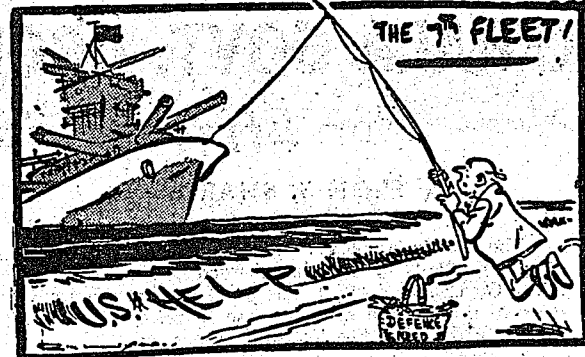
Indian governments does not promise well either for South-East Asia or for Indo-US relations.

The writer suggests that the roots of this misunderstanding can perhaps be traced to the border crisis of October-November last year — a crisis which destroyed some illusions but unfortunately created many others. 'Such illusions arise from a lack of definition and for this New Delhi itself cannot entirely evade responsibility', he says. 'Non-alignment, it was supposed, was either no longer valid or less valid than before. The border dispute, it was also supposed, destroyed all possibility of Sino-Indian understanding and that relentless Chinese pressure would leave India no alternative but to develop a relationship of so-called interdependence with the United States.'

NJN points out that though American military aid was stringless in the sense that no impossible strings were attached, yet the United States has not been 'without some expectations' for what she was doing for us. And he adds that these expectations coincided with some doubts in this country itself about the usefulness of non-alignment. This enabled the US to take it for granted that our non-alignment was only nominal and a face-saving device to disguise a very real shift towards alignment with the West.

'New Delhi did very little to disabuse the West and Washington's political naivete completed this picture of suppositions, assumptions and misinterpretations possibly unparalleled in the relations between any two countries. Hence the VOA and the air exercises and now the Seventh Fleet.'

'This colossal self-deception can be shattered only by New Delhi categorically denouncing its role in South-East Asia and destroying any possibility of the kind of collaboration — politely referred to as "interdependence" — on which Washington appears to have set its heart. This is a time for plain speaking since nothing less will convince the United States that it will have neither the sympathy nor the support of the countries of the Indian Ocean area in its misguided attempt to play policeman in the Indian Ocean. New Delhi's responsi-



—by LAXMAN, Courtesy: THE TIMES OF INDIA

bility for this apart, the ineptitude and arrogance implicit in this clumsy piece of 'containment' are quite intolerable.

The writer says that VOA and air exercises were 'both serious errors' and adds: 'It is not enough to express unhappiness and obliquely accept the American proposals without making plain the government's downright disapproval.' He calls for some 'constructive thinking' on the possibility of resolving the border dispute with China, on the nature of this dispute and on the extent and limits of the Chinese threat. 'A true assessment of the entire China affair is long overdue and the failure to do this is responsible for the further failure to clarify and define India's relations with the United States.'

THE FREE PRESS JOURNAL of Bombay writing on December 14 said: 'Viewed against the background of the recent joint air exercises and India's other agreements accepting military assistance from the West, the introduction of a US naval presence in the Indian Ocean is liable to appear, particularly to India's enemies, as a confirmation of India's alleged military sell-out to the West.'

PATRIOT of Monday in a strong editorial calls upon the Government of India to firmly oppose US attempt to thrust her 'sea umbrella' on us and says: 'The sending of an American naval force into the Bay of Bengal or the Arabian Sea will amount to barefaced intervention. Talk of its being meant as a warning to China is hypocritical and insulting to Indian intelligence.... If the Seventh or any other American fleet makes our waters its beat, the step is a deliberate attempt to intimidate this country, and make it look helpless and weak in the eyes of the rest of Asia and to begin a new chapter of imperialism in this part of the world.'

'The Government of India would be helping in undermining the sovereignty of the people of this country if it permits the American navy to dominate their seas. It should categorically and clearly tell General Taylor that such a move would be regarded by this country as a calculated provocation and that it will not be tolerated whatever the consequences. American newspapers have talked about the Government of USA owning half our money. Our seas are not in pawn and the people of India will expect the government to make this clear to the USA.'

MASTERS' VOICE

THE uproar in the Congress Parliamentary Party over the Companies (Amendment) Bill and against the attempt of the 'business lobby' in the Party to muster support for the Select Committee's recommendation—that the power sought by the government

to convert loans granted to companies into equity should not have retrospective effect—which finally resulted in the Prime Minister reversing the Party executive's majority verdict, has caused not a little unhappiness to the press of the private sector. The defeat of the business lobby has let loose tongues to criticise the Prime Minister, to criticise the procedure adopted and to cry about the supposed impropriety in government going against the Select Committee.

THE INDIAN EXPRESS wrote on Saturday: 'We are constrained to observe that it was an error on the part of the Congress Parliamentary Party to have surrendered to the leader its inherent right to thrash out the issue. The highest esteem in which we hold the Prime Minister cannot dissuade us from remarking that in permitting a false sense of prestige and of party discipline to sway his mind, he has committed a grievous error.'

This is not planning for growth, nor quickening the pace of expansion, nor stimulating and rewarding individual initiative and enterprise, nor even socialism. This is punishment for innocence re-defined as crime.'

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES calls the legislation as 'a dubious piece of legislation' and asks why government should persist in it and 'why saner second thoughts should be so brutally stifled.' The provision that is sought to be pushed through on the strength of legislative majority outrages liberal jurisprudence and even common good faith.' The paper describes the happenings inside the Congress Parliamentary Party as stirring 'hornet's nest' and 'farical goings on'.

THE SUNDAY STATESMAN characterises the incident as a 'regrettable episode'. 'The intransigence that both a parliamentary committee and the party executive which later supported it had succumbed to lobbying pressure will not enhance the prestige of either Parliament or the party, especially when the latter failed to reveal the actual state of opinion within the party on this particular issue.'

The paper also says that by the method adopted, 'a dubious precedent has been set up and parliamentary processes have suffered some diminution of prestige, since the executive acting through its party members may in future determine even a Select Committee the details of legislation, making the association of members of other parties or independent outside evidence almost farical.'

But what about the Congress members who plumped for the Swatantra view in the Select Committee knowing that it was opposed by the Minister and not acceptable to the Cabinet?

—SANJAYA

ACCEPT 11-POINT CHARTER

★ From SADHAN MUKERJEE

BOMBAY: More than one lakh people at the concluding open rally of the All-India conference of trade unions on dearness allowance, the consumer price index, bonus and nationalisation lustily cheered to heartily endorse the decision for all-India action decided upon to secure the eleven-point demands charter set out in the resolution passed by the conference (See overleaf).

The rally was presided over by S. S. MIRAJKAR, president of the AITUC, and addressed, among others, by S. A. DANGE, general secretary of the AITUC.

COLOURFUL befestooned Jathas carrying red flags came trooping to the Shivaji Park maidan since early afternoon on Sunday. Many workers had walked a distance of seven to eight miles to join the rally.

Though several meetings were being held in Bombay that day—among them one addressed by FETER ALVARES and another by GEORGE FERNANDES—the Shivaji Park meeting was by far the biggest.

Speaking at the open rally, Dange appealed to all trade union organisations to come together and jointly struggle to make the all-India campaign planned by the conference a success.

He said: "Only if we unite, can we successfully compel the government to concede the demands and redress the grievances of the people." He added that all workers must come together on common demands despite their other differences. Working class unity alone could overthrow capitalist domination.

Dange said if workers united at the base, then even leaders who did not want unity would be unable to do any mischief. Therefore, he said, every factory should become a stronghold of the working class united front.

Dange said the decisions of the conference must be translated into practice immediately so that the government faced tremendous struggles everywhere.

Giving a detailed analysis of the demands put forward in the Charter of Demands, Dange said there was no other way to check the erosion of workers' real income unless it was linked up with the price index and that index was worked out on correct prices.

About minimum bonus payment in all industries, Dange said it has been the demand of the TU movement in the country for a long time. It was high time that it was achieved. He added that the Bonus Commission award, if it went somewhat in favour of the workers, would not be easy to implement because employers would resist it. Hence workers must be prepared for an all out struggle to force the employers to make payments.

He said that the fraudulent consumer price indices cheated Bombay workers to the extent of Rs. six crores every year. This was the case wherever DA was linked with consumer price indices.

Dange said government employees could not get a rise in DA because the government deliberately kept the index below ten points which was the minimum to qualify for revision in DA under the Pay Commission award.

Dange called on the workers to give notice to the government by January 12-13 that unless the eleven-point Charter of Demands was met, the workers, middle class employees and others all over the country would resort to direct action on a date to be decided by the National Campaign Committee set up by the conference and resort to all-India protest strike and hartal.

Earlier, MOHAMMED ELIAS addressing the rally condemned the brutal police attack on Bombay textile workers and said that the entire working class must declare that such repression would not be tolerated by them.

Elias dwelt at length on the role of workers during the emergency in boosting production and strengthening the national defence effort, and how, taking advantage of the situation the government and employers intensified their attack on workers' rights and other privileges.

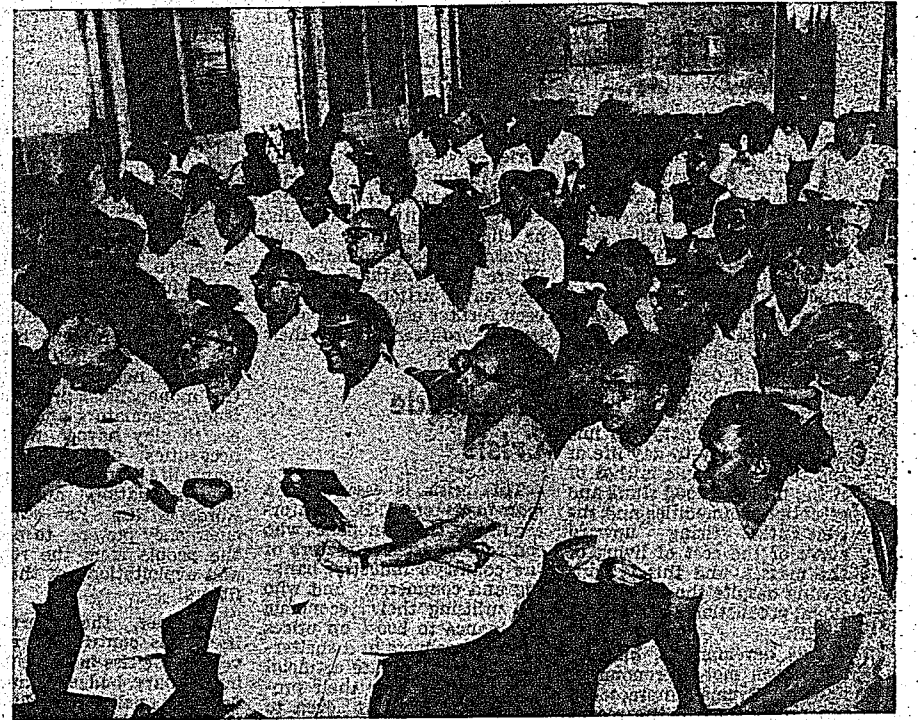
He said that the last one year's history showed that workers not only agitated for their economic demands but contributed their mite towards defence of the Motherland and national reconstruction.

Elias cited the Dum Dum experience to bring down prices and said that unless firm action was not taken by the government, the employers, hoarders and profiteers by themselves would not mend their profiteering and exploiting ways. He gave examples to show how the government had miserably failed to curb anti-social activities. Hence, he added, strong and militant action as planned by the conference was the only way out.

SATYANARAYANA REDDY, general secretary of the Andhra Pradesh Trade Union Council and P. BALACHANDRA MENON, general secretary of the Kerala State Trade Union Council, greeted the rally.

Members of the National Campaign Committee elected by the conference were introduced to the meeting by Bombay textile leader S. G. PATKAR. The workers greeted them with loud applause.

DUTTA DESHMUKH of the Mumbai Girni Kamgar Union moved a resolution condemning the police atrocities aga-



A view of the Conference in Session.

BY JANUARY 12

inst the striking textile workers in the city, which was adopted by the rally.

Patkar announced at the rally that the textile strike had been called off and workers would resume work on Monday, but if the employers did not pay three months wages as bonus (present offer is only 14 days) on December 21, then on December 22 the workers would meet and decide the future course of action.

The delegates session of the conference which started on December 13 was attended by more than 1500 delegates and several thousands of observers. About 600 delegates had come from other states.

The presidium of the conference consisted of S. S. Mirajkar, P. Balachandra Menon, P. RAMAMURTI, KEDAR DAS, S. S. YUSUF, PARVATI KRISHNAN, vice-presidents of the AITUC, INDULAL YAGNIK, Mohammed Elias, MPs, and Dutta Deshmukh. S. A. Dange inaugurated the conference.

Strike & Morcha

Nothing could have been more significant than the fact that the opening of the conference was preceded by two militant actions. One was that of more than 60,000 workers of 14 textile mills in Bombay going on a spontaneous strike in morning in protest against payment of low quantum of bonus.

The second was the 20,000 strong demonstration of the peasants and workers coming from various parts of Maharashtra, who marched from Shivaji Park to the Assembly demanding holding of the price line, fair price shops and increased rates for agricultural produce.

was started with a short statement by Mirajkar and the passing of condolence resolutions on the death of trade union leaders S. S. GURUSWAMI, SURESH SHARMA, B. V. WARPE, national leaders Dr. SAIFUDDIN KITCHELW, BABA KHARAK SINGH, Sardar K. M. PANIKKAR, M. S. KANNAMWAR, and the five top military officers.

Indulal Yagnik, leader of the Samyukta Kamdar Bangram Samiti which has brought a new surge of enthusiasm and determination among the Ahmedabad workers and has dealt serious blows to the INTUC Major Mahajan, greeted the conference.

He pledged full support to the conference and announced that on January 18 and 19 the Samiti would hold an all-Gujarat conference of trade unions, peasants and middle class employees on identical issues.

Inaugurating the conference Dange reminded delegates and observers that the number 13, generally considered ominous, was a lucky number for the tolling people though it really proved to be an unlucky number for government and monopolies. Three months ago, on September 13, there was the Great March and the Great Petition which brought forward gains to the working class. And today, three months after, this conference was meeting again on the same day of the month.

Dange described the conference as the "most important" adding that it was "meeting the work of the conference

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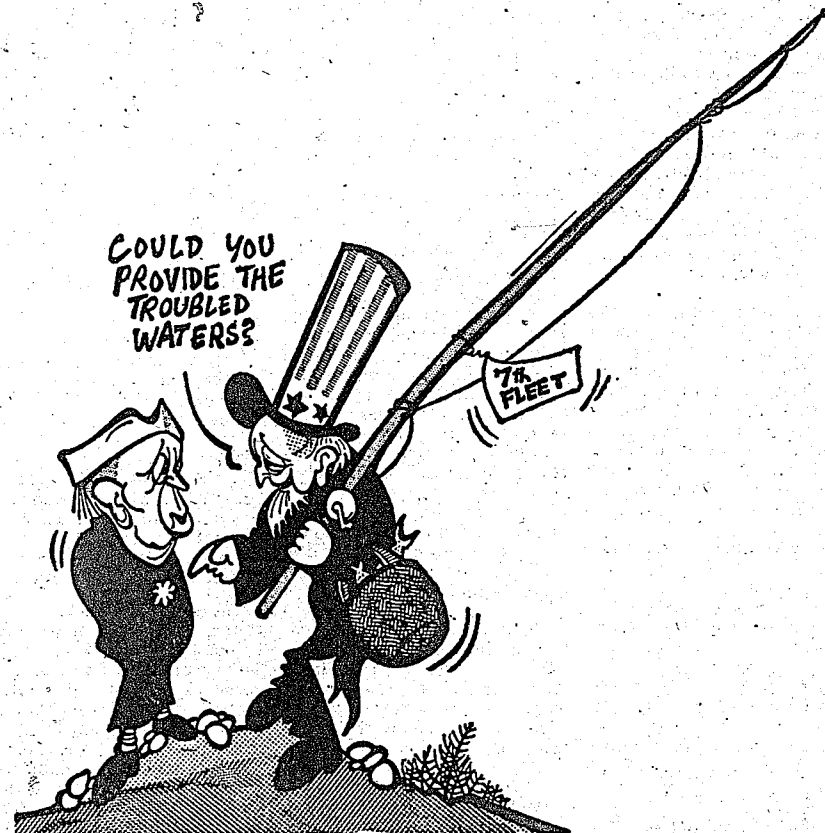
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* ON PAGE 18

BOMBAY CONFERENCE CALL



—by O. V. VIJAYAN, Courtesy: PATRIOT

CALL FOR A NATIONAL CAMPAIGN

Following is the full text of the resolution on national campaign for reduction in prices, increase in wages, dearness allowance and bonus, and for nationalisation, adopted by the All-India conference of trade unions in Bombay:

THE all-India trade union conference, convened by the AITUC to discuss certain immediate and most pressing issues confronting the working class and the toiling people of our country and to find practical ways and means for solving their burning problems which have assumed a countrywide character, has arrived at the following conclusions and decisions:

In the opinion of this conference, the biggest single issue with a countrywide impact on the day-to-day life of the common people is that of rising prices of food stuffs and essential commodities and the constantly rising upward curve of the cost of living of the masses, and this is happening despite the rise in national production and national wealth.

This development, has become even more pronounced and has assumed unprecedented proportions in the recent period. Prices have gone up by 15 to 40 per cent all over the country. No commodity or article which enters into the normal family budget of the working people has remained unaffected.

The prices of basic food-grains have spiralled to heights beyond the reach of the poorest sections of the community in both town and countryside, while an organised black-market flourishes as never before in sugar, rice, etc. In certain parts of the country, high prices have been accompanied by an absolute physical non-availability of foodgrains, resulting in near-famine conditions.

The suffering and privations of the toiling masses know no bounds. Their already modest living standards are being further depressed every day.

This conference is categorically of the opinion that this phenomenon of high prices and scarcity of the ever-rising cost of living and decline

in the real wages of all categories of workers and also the fixed income earners, is not mainly the product of natural causes, agricultural shortfalls, or climatic vagaries as the government seeks to make out. Where such natural causes may have arisen they have been further used by the anti-people profiteers for their selfish ends.

Man-Made Crisis

This crisis is essentially a man-made one. Its creators are firstly, the monopolies who control the decisive sectors of the country's industry, banking and commerce, and who are utilising their economic dominance to boost up prices of their products in a sheltered market, to create artificial shortage whenever their profits demand it, and even to obstruct and sabotage full utilisation of the productive capacity which is at their disposal, despite the requirements of the national economy and the people.

Secondly, the market in foodgrains and several crops is overwhelmingly dominated by the big wholesale traders and their combines, by all manner of profit-hunting middlemen and speculators, by hoarders and black-market operators who are permitted with impunity to carry on their anti-social and criminal activities, with the help of bank loans, the stock-market, LIC investments and other supports.

So daring and powerful have these interests become that they have engineered a major sugar scandal in the country, a major rice shortage in West Bengal with blackmarket prices ruling higher than during the Great Famine of 1943, and a sharp rise in wheat prices of more than 25

per cent even in wheat producing tracts in North India.

A simultaneous phenomenon with catastrophic consequences is the deprivation of the small farmer of fair prices for these very foodstuffs and crops of which he is the primary producer. The peasant is constantly defrauded by these very sharks and exploiters of his legitimate price for, and return on, his sugarcane yield, his paddy, wheat or raw jute.

Thirdly, this conference indicates the government, both at the centre and in the states, which is not only allowing the monopolists, price-racketeers, speculators and hoarders to play havoc with the necessities of the common man's life, but shows no practical inclination, apart from words, to use its sweeping emergency powers to protect the people from the robbery and exploitation of the profiteers.

Moreover, the government itself has contributed massively to the rise in prices by its inflationary budgets and its deliberate policies of adding to the crushing burden of indirect taxes which directly affect the common man's pocket.

The sufferings of the vast toiling masses can be easily gauged from the plight of that section which is the most united and best organised, the most experienced in class battles and the best equipped to defend its interests—the working class in our factories and mines, as well as the white-collared employees of commercial and banking establishments, all of whom have learnt to follow one trade union organisation or another.

Even this great and growing working class, directly engaged in the production of wealth, stands today virtually stripped of any effective protection against the rising price levels and consequent erosion of their real wages. All their gains in money wages, secured through numerous struggles, stand in danger of being completely wiped out if

the present price rise is allowed to go unchecked.

The Bombay textiles and a few other individual concerns are exceptional instances where the dearness allowance paid is not only adjusted on a sliding scale with the cost of living indices, but also affords full neutralisation for the rise in the index though only for the lowest-paid category of workers.

Dearness Fraud

But, generally speaking, the DA systems prevalent today are either fixed amounts at a flat rate or vary according to the cost of living indices but do not ensure more than 70 to 85 per cent neutralisation. In both these types of dearness allowance schemes, a very serious decline in the workers' real wages is taking place as a result of run-away prices.

In the public sector undertakings, where government is expected to act as a model employer, either no DA or very low DA is paid, and nowhere is it linked with the cost of living index.

Further, tens of thousands of workers are employed in

worsening the conditions of the workers. Reliance on them would mean, for example, that all those central government employees who are governed by the Pay Commission's award would scarcely be able to qualify for a DA increase on the basis of a stable 10-point rise in the index lasting for 12 months, which is the pre-condition prescribed for getting a higher DA. Actually, this 10-point rise in the index series based on 1949 is the equivalent of no less than 35 points of the old series based on 1939.

The struggle for exposure and correction of the fraudulent index figures is therefore assuming great importance and an all-India character.

This conference also notes with indignation how cynically the employers have torpedoed with governmental connivance the solemn tripartite agreement of August 5, 1963 to the effect that cheap grain shops should be opened throughout the country at every establishment employing 300 or more workers. Even such a measure for partial relief to the working class has remained on paper to this day both in the private and public sectors alike.

While the steady erosion of real wages is now an admit-

ted "profit-sharing" bonuses which the employers are compelled to pay wherever the trade union organisation and movement are strong enough. The workers' share in the surplus value which is the direct creation of labour is nowhere governed by equitable principles, and is subjected to all sorts of capitalist imposed preconditions or ad hoc awards based on a fictitious "profit and loss", as recorded by company balance sheets.

The whole position is one of uncertainty except where long-term agreements exist, and the claim for bonus has to be agitated afresh every year. In certain sectors of industry, no bonus is paid at all to this day.

Lakhs of public sector employees, including even those productive workers in the government-owned companies and corporations handling vital means of production, have so far remained excluded from the benefit of any bonus scheme, except such as lead to intensification of labour.

Even though the Bonus Commission was appointed to go into the question of bonus for both private and public sector undertakings, under its terms of reference several

(2) An all-round 25 per cent increase in the wages paid at present to all workers and employees of both the private and public sectors;

(3) Immediate linking of all dearness allowance with the consumer price indices on a sliding scale; where no separate DA is paid, the consolidated wage to be linked up with the consumer price index;

(4) Cent per cent neutralisation for every rise in the cost of living to be automatically ensured for workers of all wage categories through a sliding-scale DA;

(5) Correction and revision of the existing fictitious and fraudulent or wrong official index figures and their calculation, through the agency of suitable tripartite machinery;

(6) Immediate fixation, and wherever necessary, revision of minimum wages for industries and trade covered by the Minimum Wages Act, and immediate implementation of wages already fixed there under; adequate minimum wages for agricultural labour;

(7) Submission of the Bonus Commission's report by the end of 1963, and announcement of government's decision thereon within a month thereafter;



S. A. Dange Speaks

The demands for taking over by the state of wholesale trading in food grains and progressive nationalisation of key industries, commencing with the private banks, oil monopolies, sugar mills and the country's export-import trade, correspond to the most vital interests of the over-

the people's minds and hearts that once they begin to move and act unitedly, their voice cannot be ignored by the ruling classes.

This conference, therefore, decides to initiate and launch a NATIONAL CAMPAIGN for reduction of prices and taxes, for increase of wages and earnings, for DA and bonus, and for nationalisation.

The national campaign will be launched on January 1, 1964 throughout the country, and its opening phase will

kar, S. A. Dange, P. Balachandra Menon, P. Ramamurti, S. S. Yusuf, Kedar Das, Parvati Krishnan, Ranee Sen, T. B. Vittal Rao, Indrajit Gupta, K. G. Srivastava, Satish Loomba, K. T. K. Tangamani, Mohd Elias, Dutta Deshmukh, Barin Chowdhury (Assam), Monoranjan Roy (West Bengal), Durga Mohanty (Orissa), Ratan Roy (Bihar), Ram Asrey (Uttar Pradesh), E. D. Joshi (Delhi), Kartar Singh (Punjab), Prakash Kapatia (Himachal Pradesh), Swami Kumaranand

whelming majority of our people. Their fulfilment alone can bring the anarchy in the food market under control, destroy the grip of the speculators and hoarders, bring down and stabilise prices, and strike a decisive blow at the centres of capitalist economic concentration and monopoly power, which are used today to swell the private sector's profits, rob the country of its foreign exchange earnings and resources, and exploit the common consumer mercilessly.

This conference is well aware that its Charter of Demands cannot be had for the mere asking, and that its realisation, even in part will require the broadest possible unity and action of the toiling masses led by the organised working class. United, organised and disciplined action mobilising the vast masses for struggle on these common demands can overcome the powerful resistance of the reactionary monopolists and their patrons inside the government and ruling party, and compel them to heed the people's voice.

This is no easy task. At the same time, this conference reminds the people of the massive power of their united action, a striking manifestation of which was the Great Petition and March to Parliament on September 13 last, which played a decisive role in smashing the hated and extortionate compulsory deposit scheme, and making the government undertake a review of its policies and performance. This experience should generate confidence in

culminate in the observance of an all-India Day on January 12/13 (the choice of date to be according to local convenience) through mass meetings, processions and demonstrations for the eleven demands listed above.

The National Campaign Day of the TOLLERS of India will be observed by the working people in every town and village, in every factory and office. This conference hopes that the government will not sit tight and allow the situation to deteriorate still further, thereby leaving the masses no alternative but to launch direct action on an all-national scale in defence of their most elementary interests.

There is still time for government to pay heed to the people and to come forward with positive measures for the relief of the masses as outlined above.

Should the government and the employers fail to evince any response and make any substantial concessions to the working people, the National Campaign of the TOLLERS of India will be further continued with all peaceful forms of action including a mighty NATIONAL PROTEST STRIKE AND HARTAL throughout the country.

Committee Named

This conference appoints a National Campaign Committee consisting of the following members namely: S. S. Miraj-

such industries, mines and plantations where the separate category of dearness allowance does not exist at all, and the wage paid has no link whatsoever with the cost of living indices.

The situation is still further aggravated by the gross manipulations in the compilation of many of the official series of cost of living, or consumer price index numbers in different centres, as a result of which the real extent of the price rise is being deliberately concealed in order to deprive the workers of their rightfully due compensation in the form of higher dearness allowance on a sliding scale. For example, between September 1962 and September 1963, the all-India consumer price index moved up by 3 points only, during a period in which every objective source has estimated the price rise at between 15 to 40 per cent!

This monstrous fraud, obviously perpetrated by the bureaucracy and employers acting in collusion, has been well exposed by all the main TU centres with reference to the Bombay indices, and the great 'Bombay Bandh' strike of August 20 has compelled the state government to undertake an 'expert' review of its index figures and the method of their compilation.

Bogus statistics have become an important weapon for

public sector undertakings have been unjustifiably excluded from the Commission's consideration. This conference voices the growing impatience of the workers at the inordinate delay in the completion of the work of the Bonus Commission which has been sitting for two years and has not yet submitted its recommendations.

In many such cases, minimum wage-fixation committees have not been appointed despite all representations; in many more, the wages prescribed by such committees are not implemented by the employers concerned, and the government machinery does not enforce them. In still other cases such minimum wages fixed several years ago have become out of date and urgently need to be revised upwards, but no such action is taken.

Consequently the economic condition of this section of the working class which is normally not covered by wage boards, tribunals, or collective agreements is the worst prevailing in the country. This conference also expresses the profound dissatisfaction of the entire working class with the injustice and anarchy prevailing in the field of bonus payments. The tremendous profits which are being appropriated today by the bigger and organised industries on the basis of higher production in a protected monopoly market are not at all reflected in the so-called

public sector undertakings have been unjustifiably excluded from the Commission's consideration.

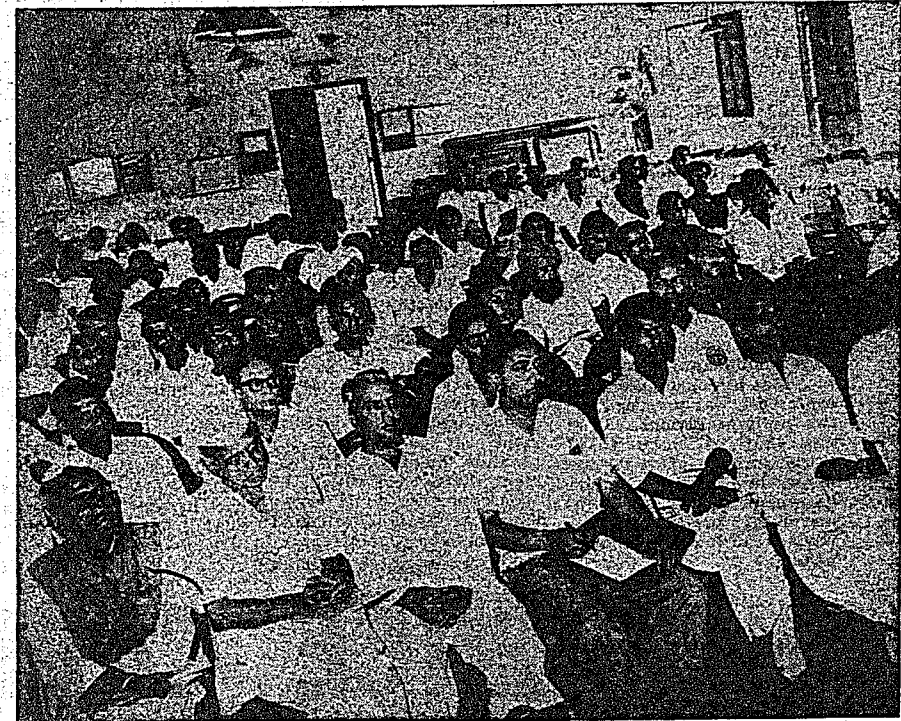
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Charter Of Minimum Demands

In this situation which is daily becoming more and more difficult for the working class and the toiling people in general, the need for immediate and substantial measures of relief has become imperative. This conference considers that the following minimum demands must be met by the government and the employers without further delay, and necessary legislative and administrative steps to fulfil them must be initiated at once:

(1) A 25 per cent general reduction in prices, especially in foodgrains and all essential commodities of life; reduction in those taxes which mainly fall on common peo-

FOR REDUCTION IN PRICES; FOR INCREASE IN WAGES, D.A., BONUS; FOR NATIONALISATION



The Conference in Session



At the dance recital given by Indrani Rehman for delegates to the Seminar. The Soviet delegation leader congratulates Indrani Rehman.

BROADEST AND MOST REPRESENTATIVE

* FROM PAGE FIVE

peoples in the rest of the world.

The Seminar put forward a programme of work and a series of initiatives which can, if implemented, blot out the stains of the last year and restore to the image of India, the lustre that it always had.

It is indeed an all embracing programme of work that has been suggested by the Seminar. As a matter of fact, the Seminar has set into motion a series of activities aimed at continuous study of international problems and at the same time at enabling vast masses to act in an informal way, in support of our peace policy and against its enemies and detractors.

Commissions' Work

Each of the five Commissions, which worked so painstakingly during the Seminar, have put forward in their reports, recommendations not only in regard to our policies, but equally in regard to concrete actions. The Prime Minister's call, during his inaugural speech, for action for peace and not merely talk, helped to give each Commission a direction, which has yielded useful results.

In the coming days, the initiatives taken by the Seminar will have to be implemented. The proposal of the Economic Commission for a National Conference to study the Economics of Peace and Under-developed Countries can assuredly lead to the most valuable results for our country and the world. The participation in the Commission's work of some of our best known economists led by Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao and Dr. B. N. Ganguli, helped the Commission to pose a number of questions, which require deeper study so that their results may be placed before the people.

The suggestion that a world conference for disarmament and international cooperation of all the various international and national peace organizations be convened at the start of the International Cooperation Year can have profound results, and corresponds to the urgent need to pool together the strength of all peace forces at this time.

A round table gathering of the world's writers—suggested by the Commission on International Cooperation could again be of considerable value to the cause of peace.

The Commission on Colonialism and Racism suggested the establishment of a Committee for Aid specially for the South African movement against apartheid and the freedom movement of the Portuguese colonies. It is high time that an effective move for material help for the struggles against colonialism and racism in Africa is launched.

Another Commission has proposed a conference of parliamentarians of nonaligned countries. This can again be a powerful contribution towards strengthening nonalignment, and bringing into action the united voice of the representatives of the peoples of the nonaligned countries of the world.

The steering committee of the Seminar, which is to act as a continuing committee has an immense amount of work to do. The fact that it will have the support of the many organisations, which participated in the Seminar and of the important leaders of opinion who addressed it, gives one the assurance that the Seminar's recommendations will be translated into action.

The Seminar on International Affairs and World Peace was the broadest and most representative peace assembly ever held in India. It was the most powerful contribution ever made by public opinion in the country towards strengthening our policy of peace.

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START PHYSICAL DISARMAMENT SOVIET PREMIER'S CALL

Delivering on December 13 a concluding speech at the plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, NIKITA KHRUSHCHOV devoted much attention to international matters as well as the foreign policy of the Soviet Government. He stated, specifically, that the Soviet Government was now considering the possibility of reducing somewhat the numerical strength of the armed forces of the USSR.

THE Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR further pointed out that "it is also planned to submit at the forthcoming session of the USSR Supreme Soviet a proposal to reduce somewhat the military spendings of the budget for the next year—1964."

"These peace-loving steps of ours," he stressed, "are a new contribution of the Soviet Government to the process of easing international tension, an impetus to which was given by the conclusion of a treaty on the partial banning of nuclear tests."

"We are engrossed in the fulfilment of tremendous creative plans," Khrushchov said. "But we wish to warn those who rely in their relations with the socialist states on the force of arms, who are intoxicated by the spirit of revanchism: the day when they dare unleash an aggression will be their last day. The Soviet Union has everything necessary, and even more than necessary, to curb any aggressor, to ensure the security of our people and the peoples of the socialist states."

"The policy of peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems is the only reasonable course in our day, for the pursuance of which the Soviet Union has invariably come out and continues to come out," Khrushchov said. The Soviet Union proposes to compete not in war preparations but in peaceful spheres.

"We would like to believe that a realisation of this will prevail also among the Western statesmen and that they will obey the call of the time, will meet the demands of the peoples—to get down to disarmament."

On its part, Khrushchov stressed, "the Soviet Union will not relax its efforts in the struggle to achieve this goal."

Recalling the statement by Dean Rusk at a meeting of the National Farmers' Union on December 10 to the effect that at present the United States could not feel itself secure separately from the rest of the planet, Khrushchov remarked: "Well said. We can only wish that there would be more such views, and what is most important, that such statements would be backed by corresponding actions."

Pointing out that the conclusion of the treaty on the partial banning of nuclear weapons tests as well as the agreement not to orbit vehicles with nuclear arms on board around the earth were "only the beginning," Khrushchov said: "The main thing is to embark upon the road of actual or, as it is termed, physical disarmament and to follow this road to the end."

"The Soviet Union," Khrushchov said, "is ready to do this today, just as yesterday, and if anybody in the West has doubts on this score, let him check the sincerity of our intentions. We are ready to conclude immediately an agreement on disarmament and to carry it out."

Khrushchov expressed surprise that even now, when the Western powers held that the NATO countries had more soldiers and conventional arms than the USSR and the Warsaw Treaty nations, they did not agree to the reduction of armed forces and armaments. He again confirmed that the Soviet Union moved to establish control over the fulfilment of this agreement.

"The foreign policy of our Soviet state is clear-cut and consistent," Khrushchov said. "We are doing and will do everything within our power for the development and strengthening of the world system of socialism."

"Promoting a policy of peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems, we will strive for the consolidation of universal peace and friendship among

nations, for the strengthening of the might and security of our great homeland. The CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government will continue promoting further this foreign policy, knowing well that it enjoys the support of our entire Party, of our people."

Nikita Khrushchov noted that the present plenary meeting would take a prominent place in communist construction. "The decisions of the plenary meeting, the programme of accelerated development of the chemical industry, are of tremendous importance," he said. He pointed out further that chemical industry was a key "which opens before us the doors leading to an abundance of material benefits."

Touching upon the evaluation of the work of the plenary meeting given these days in the world press, Khrushchov said: "For friends, the plenary meeting of the Central Committee is a matter of great joy... The enemies comment from their own positions. It is a mixture of perplexity and hatred. Those representatives of the capitalist world who have not lost their reason are forced, however, to admit that the Soviet Union is continuing the tremendous peaceful construction and that the Soviets, apparently, will fulfil their plans." Khrushchov noted: "They will fulfil them, gentlemen, without any 'apparently!'"

revolutionary Cuba are becoming ever more obvious and insistent. Khrushchov said the concoction about the discovery of arms in Venezuela which were allegedly brought there from Cuba was "an old trick of intelligence agents and aggressors."

"I WOULD LIKE TO SAY STRAIGHTFORWARDLY: MESSRS. AGGRESSORS, DO NOT PLAY WITH FIRE! ONE SHOULD CLEARLY REALISE THAT IF TENSION IS FANNED AND A THREAT TO CUBA IS CREATED THIS CANNOT BUT AFFECT THE ENTIRE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION."

Nikita Khrushchov said, "Encroachment upon the freedom and independence of Cuba would be a gross violation of the United Nations Charter, interference in the home affairs of revolutionary Cuba, aggression against a sovereign state. Such an aggression would affect all countries, including the Soviet Union."

"What is more, the Soviet Union has definite commitments with regard to Cuba. We have repeatedly stated and state again that revolutionary Cuba will not remain defenceless if she is attacked by the aggressive militarist quarters of the United States."

Khrushchov pointed out that the Soviet Union welcomed "the desire of the government of revolutionary Cuba to normalize its relations with the United States."

"We condemn the aggression, which is conducted by the American imperialists in South Vietnam," Khrushchov said. "Our sympathies are with the courageous patriots of South Vietnam, who are fighting for the freedom of their country. We believe that the people of South Vietnam, who are fighting for their righteous cause, will triumph."

Replying to such people, Khrushchov said: "Do you really think that in drafting the tremendous programme of developing the chemical industry the Soviet Union will make it depend on fortuitous, on whether the capitalist countries will give credits or not? Such naivete of yours, permit me to say, borders on stupidity."

Offer Of Trade

The First Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee pointed out that in drafting the programme of developing the chemical industry from the billions to the last kopek the Soviet Union relied on its own strength, on its own possibilities, on cooperation with the fraternal socialist countries.

"The fact that we approach capitalist firms who would like to trade with us and to profit by Soviet orders is just an additional factor for the development of chemistry," Khrushchov said. "It seems that in the West there will be quite a number of sensible businessmen who would like to accept our orders and to make money on them."

Khrushchov stressed that special attention would be paid to the ever fuller satisfaction of the requirements of the Soviet people. He stated that besides the growth of social funds (social insurance, medical services, pensions, free education, accommodation of children) steps would be taken to increase wages directly and lower prices on goods.

Being the first Soviet Ambassador in postwar Czechoslovakia, I saw for myself how this cooperation was established in all the spheres from the very early stages in the life of the Czechoslovak Republic, freed from the Hitler yoke. I cannot forget the

memorable occasion when on May 10, 1945, the very next day after Prague was liberated by Soviet troops under the command of Marshal Konev, the Government of the Czechoslovak Republic, headed by Zdenek Fierlinger, arrived in Prague by plane and was welcomed with enthusiasm by hundreds of thousands of the Prague citizens.

Already at that time it was clear to all of us, who had come together with the Government, that no force was capable of dividing the fraternal peoples of the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia and that friendship between our peoples, sealed with the blood of Soviet and Czechoslovak armies, would be eternal and unbreakable.

It is not fortuitous that the slogan put forth by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, "With the Soviet Union Forever," was and remains the most popular slogan with the Czech and Slovak people and is cherished as a firm basis of the relations between the two countries.

The new stage in the development of the Czechoslovak Republic, marked with the February events of 1948 opened up the bright prospects for fraternal friendship and cooperation between our states.

That is why the extension of the treaty concluded on December 12, 1943, for another 20 years, which was formalised at the time of the stay in the USSR of the Party and Government delegation of Czechoslovakia, headed by A. Novotny, first Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, on November 27 this year, was received in the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia with deep satisfaction. The firm will of our peoples to continue to march hand in hand towards the triumph of communism has found a vivid reflection in this act.

The unity and friendship between the peoples of the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and the other socialist countries are an earnest of fresh victories in the struggle for universal peace and socialism.



Soviet-Czechoslovak Alliance For Peace

* by Valerian Zorin
Deputy Foreign Minister, U.S.S.R.

DECEMBER 12, 1943 is a remarkable date in the history of Soviet-Czechoslovak relations.

The treaty of friendship, mutual assistance and postwar cooperation signed on that day between the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia was the first treaty of alliance between the two countries, a treaty which defined the obligations of the sides not only in the years of war, but also during the postwar years on the basis of complete equality and mutual respect for independence and sovereignty.

The treaty was concluded at a time when the Soviet army was waging a heroic struggle for the liberation of Soviet territory occupied by the Hitler hordes. The Czechoslovak Brigade, formed on the territory of the USSR, took part in this struggle, and Otokar Jaroš, a Czechoslovak officer, who fell in action was the first foreign national to receive, posthumously, the title of Hero of the Soviet Union.

In those grim war years the treaty between the USSR and Czechoslovakia laid a firm foundation for friendly cooperation both in the defence of peace in Europe and in economic development.

Speaking at the ceremony of signing the treaty in Moscow, M. I. Kalinin had said: "The treaty lays a firm foundation for the postwar cooperation of our peoples and for cutting short any attempts on the part of Germany to turn back to its old predatory policy of 'drang nach osten.'"

The historical experience of the two decades since the signing of this treaty has graphically shown that it is an important factor for preserving peace in Europe and that it serves the noble purpose of further strengthening the fraternal friendship and all-round cooperation between the two countries.

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memorable occasion when on May 10, 1945, the very next day after Prague was liberated by Soviet troops under the command of Marshal Konev, the Government of the Czechoslovak Republic, headed by Zdenek Fierlinger, arrived in Prague by plane and was welcomed with enthusiasm by hundreds of thousands of the Prague citizens.

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WORLD PEACE COUNCIL CALLS

NEW AGE last week printed the text of the Call to Action issued by the session of the World Council of Peace held in Warsaw, Nov. 28 to Dec. 2. Here we give the text of two important resolutions adopted by the Council:

For Active Solidarity With People Of South Vietnam

THOSE concerned with peace and justice throughout the world are very much disturbed by the gravity of the situation in South Vietnam due to the policy of aggression and intervention pursued by American imperialism.

Regardless of the agreements it has made, the Government of the United States has sabotaged the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam, has hindered the reunification of Vietnam, and has transformed South Vietnam into a military base and a new type of colony.

Despite the protests of world public opinion, including those of very many of the people of the United States, the American imperialists have set up in South Vietnam a fascist dictatorship of the most barbaric kind, unleashed an undeclared "special war" against the people of South Vietnam with methods of extermination which are both modern and medieval: napalm bombings, mass imprisonments, spreading of toxic chemical products.

Unspeakable Suffering

The people of South Vietnam has undergone unspeakable sufferings as a result: over 160,000 dead in nine years, 670,000 persons arrested and tortured, several millions interned in concealed concentration camps known as "strategic hamlets".

The military coup d'etat on November 1, 1963, in South Vietnam, set up and directed by the American imperialists, is only a clumsy and dangerous manoeuvre on their part, by which they have "changed horses in midstream" with the aim of intensifying the

So long as the latter continue their present policy of aggression, as long as the legitimate aspirations to independence, democracy, peace and neutrality of the South Vietnamese people are not respected, peace in South Vietnam and South-East Asia will remain threatened, and the entire responsibility for this rests on American imperialism.

The Council fully supports the just struggle for national independence and peace in South-East Asia and in the world which is being conducted by the heroic people of South Vietnam under the guidance of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, and the six-point Declaration of the NLF made on November 16, 1963, on the situation in South Vietnam.

The Council makes an urgent appeal to all peace workers and to all the peoples of the world to develop the movement of active solidarity with the gallant people of South Vietnam and to give it immediate and effective aid, both moral and material. The Council hereby decides to make December 20, 1963, the third anniversary of the foundation of the NLF, the "International Day of Solidarity with the Peace Fighters and People of Heroic South Vietnam."

★ that the imperialists of the United States should fully respect the spirit and the letter of the Geneva Agreements of 1954 on Vietnam, agreements which solemnly recognised the sovereignty, the national independence, the unity and the territorial integrity of Vietnam;

★ that the United States imperialists immediately stop their armed aggression in South Vietnam, that they withdraw from this country all their troops, military personnel, American advisers and all American war equipment; that the military high command in Saigon be removed; that the mopping-up operations, repressions, arrests, summary executions employed against the population of South Vietnam cease at once; that the use of toxic chemical substances cease; that the "strategic hamlets" and other concentration centres be abolished; that democratic rights, freedom of belief, and equality of religions be respected;

★ that the "protective" umbrella of the aggressive military bloc of SEATO over South Vietnam be abolished, and that this bloc itself be totally abolished too.

The people of South Vietnam must be allowed to handle its own affairs; the American imperialists have no right to intervene in them.

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YOUR QUESTIONS ANSWERED

QUESTION: With the great increase in imperialist investments in India and all manner of loans and grants, is it not true to say that the Nehru government has sold out the independence of the country to the West? (B. N. Misra, Calcutta).

ANSWER: This is not a new question. It was raised and became the centre of controversy during the discussions and debates that took place in the CPI prior to its April 1961 Vijayawada Party Congress. The unanimously adopted Resolution of that Congress clinched this issue.

It pointed to the heavy import of foreign capital from the West both in the public and private sector. Special note was taken of the danger represented by the PL 480 agreement and its enormous counterpart funds which are available to the US embassy here. The big increase in the number of schemes of collaboration between Indian Big Business and the foreign monopolists was emphasised. The heavy burden of repayment of loans already contracted was pointed out as also the large number of concessions made to foreign private capital.

In short, all the trends that are visible today and which some persons are continually harping on were taken into full account by the Vijayawada Party Congress. But what conclusion did it draw from this?

"Our national independence rests today on a firmer economic foundation than before." This was the categorical and clinching answer.

It went on: "The government of India has successfully resisted the pressure of the imperialists and their friends who wanted our country to abandon the policy of building heavy industries and to weaken the public sector..."

Then, noting the dangers that were developing and the weakened nature of government policy, it stated:

"From all this, it would of course, be erroneous to draw the conclusion that the government of India is becoming more and more subservient to imperialists or that our independence is being bartered away."

Rather than rush to the absurd conclusion of the country being sold out, the Vijayawada Congress resolution pointed to the specific nature of the situation that was developing.

"Imperialists, above all American imperialists are conscious that the feudal, elements and the pro-imperialist comprador section of the bourgeoisie lack a broad social base in the country and cannot, by themselves, halt the advance of the people toward economic independence and full democracy. Hence, the imperialists strive to find new allies, especially among the Rightwing of the national bourgeoisie."

"By utilising the economic difficulties which the country faces and by playing on anti-democratic sentiments the imperialists seek to forge alliance with the big monopolists who wield enormous economic power and are closely con-

nected with many leaders of the ruling party.

"These sections of the bourgeoisie, too, in their narrow selfish interest, often adopt a friendly attitude towards the monopolists in imperialist countries, strive to enter into collaboration with them, bring pressure on the government to give them more and more concessions."

"This process, which has been accelerated in recent years, can be ignored only at our peril. Strengthening forces of Reaction in economic and social, political and ideological life, it holds out a serious threat to our economic advance, to our national independence and to democracy."

All this is clear enough. But it can be asked, what are the facts that substantiate these formulations?

SOME FIGURES

Some comparative figures can be taken. British private capital, easily the biggest segment of private foreign capital, has increased from 206 crores in 1948 to Rs. 446 crores in 1960. Total private foreign capital had increased from about Rs. 571 crores in 1958. It should be noted, however, that a good part of this increase is to be accounted for by the reinvestment of profits.

As against this let it be remembered that in 1957-58 the top seven Indian monopolists owned or controlled Rs. 776 crores, with Tatas and Birlas having between them Rs. 600 crores. The total paid-up capital of joint-stock companies (including foreign subsidiaries) in the same year came to Rs. 1,059.5 crores.

Then take the public sector. In the Third Plan alone in the sphere of industries, minerals and power, the public sector investment will come to Rs. 2,425 crores. If we add to this the public sector investment in the same spheres in the First and Second Plans it comes to Rs. 4,104 crores in all.

Thus, if foreign capital has been coming in fast, much faster has been the growth of the Indian public and private sectors in the same period.

Then, take foreign loans and aid. It has been calculated that the total foreign assistance over the three five-year plans comes to Rs. 4,647 crores—a huge sum. But it has to be taken as part of the total investment which comes to Rs. 16,600 crores—foreign aid forming 28 per cent of the total. Payment of interest and repayment of loans will come to Rs. 100 crores per year—a bad drain. But our assets are also being built.

And of this foreign aid Rs. 380 crores has come from the socialist countries or nearly a quarter of the total foreign aid. This socialist aid on very advantageous terms has gone to develop the industrial backbone and sinews of our economy and given our country a far better bargaining position when it comes to demanding better terms from the imperialists.

As a result the imperialists have also been compelled to make a few concessions like investing in the public sector and in some basic segments of the economy in the form of loan and not the more dangerous equity capital.

Take trade. Between 1953-54 and 1961-62 the turnover of our trade with the socialist countries increased by over 1,600 per cent, while the trade with capitalist countries went up by only 42 per

HAS NEHRU GOV'T SOLD OUT ?

cent. In 1961-62 alone trade with socialist countries showed a rise of 44 per cent while the trade with capitalist countries actually dropped by 6.5 per cent.

Of course, the imperialist countries still form the dominant sector in our trade. But the developing trend and tradition of change is towards lessening India's dependence on the capitalist world market.

There can be no doubt about the strong positions of foreign capital in oil, tea, jute, soap, toilet products, vanaspati and tobacco. In chemicals, manganese, exchange banks, foreign trade and engineering industries also it has considerable influence.

Collaboration between Indian Big Business and foreign monopolists shows a rising trend—228 such schemes were approved in 1960 alone.

The food crisis, caused by failure to tackle seriously the question of land reforms, has also resulted in an estimated 17 million tons of food grain imports in the Third Plan period costing Rs. 608 crores. As stated before, these are most unhealthy features.

But as against this nobody can deny that the industrial base of our economy has become broader and stronger. Many articles formerly imported are

being produced within the country. Power and irrigation have expanded. A number of heavy and basic industries which are essential for economic independence, have been developed. Our defence needs are also sought increasingly to be met from within the country. Trained cadres have greatly increased.

A striking example of all this was provided by the story of the Bokaro steel project. The government's inclining to the West was shown in its yielding to the dilatory tactics of the US and in the manner in which it "allowed" the US to "withdraw".

Yet the final position is that the Bokaro plant will be going up, mainly with our own technical and other material resources.

This does not mean that the Nehru government has given up its policy of compromise with the imperialists or that the danger from imperialism has receded. Very far from it. The task of strengthening our independence and making it invulnerable is in the forefront of the national democratic platform advanced by the CPI.

The government when it adopts policies or measures that help the carrying out of this task has the full-throated support of the CPI. And when its own policy of compromise and

Rightist pressure from within and outside the government push it to further concessions to the imperialists, the CPI is in the forefront of the democratic opposition.

Numerous instances of this dual policy can be cited, e.g., the support to building Bokaro on our own and the opposition to the oil agreement with a private US firm Phillips are recent instances.

The big test as to whether India's independence had been strengthened came with the Chinese aggression. The threat was not only from China but also from the strongly entrenched Right forces who wanted India to go over completely to the Western imperialist camp.

Despite all vacillations, backed by the democratic movement and with the wise policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the government of India did not take to this path of national betrayal but maintained India's independence and national policies.

Overlooking of such patent facts and taking a one-sided view of the developments on the economic front has led to the confusion and totally wrong assessment contained in the question.

—MOHIT SEN



Paramount necessity for the formation of health

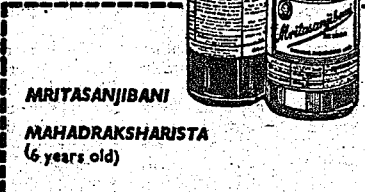
You feel tired to work... do not get energy to work or suffer from colds... or perhaps you have not a desire for food or what you take does not digest even.

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

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



Adhyatma Dr. Joga Chandra Ghose,
M.A. Ayurved-Sanskrit, F.C.S. (London)
M.C.S. (America) Formerly Professor
of Chemistry, Bhagipur College.



MRTISANJIBANI
MAHADRAKSHARISTA
(6 years old)

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

An American news agency (AP) report published in THE STATESMAN (December 4, 1963) says: "Mr. RAUL LEONI who pledged to oppose Dr. FIDEL CASTRO was elected President of Venezuela. Defying threats, bullets and bombs from Communist terrorists, 95 per cent of Venezuela's voters went to the polls on Sunday."

THE present Venezuelan elections were the culmination of a reign of terror let loose on the people of this oil-rich country by ROMULO BETANCOURT's military policy. Terror stalked the land. Hundreds fell victim to the bullets of the army, which was on a bloody spree, searching, arresting and shooting at will.

The jails of Caracas and other towns were full to the overflowing with the so-called pro-Castro elements and the "guerrillas" of the FLAN. Even the inmates of the prisons were not spared. On the pretext of "escape plots" prisoners were mowed down in the cells and barracks of Caracas jails.

This organised white terror which has raged for the last six months, to clear the decks for the elections, was unprecedented even in the strife-torn Latin America and was fully supported by the US oil companies and the government of the United States.

PATRIOTS BOYCOTT

All patriotic elements organised in the FLAN had boycotted the elections on the ground that there was not even a semblance of civil liberties in Venezuela on the eve of the elections. People were dazed and terror-stricken.

According to the NEW YORK TIMES (November 26, 1963) report, "the people were demanding military escorts to go to the polling booths on December 2, 1963 to cast their votes." The fact is that the people from factories, refineries and neighbourhoods were forcibly driven by the military police signals squads to vote for the government candidate Raul Leoni.

Though seven candidates were announced for the presidential election, everyone knew who was going to occupy the palace for this term. It was a colourless junior colleague of Betancourt, Leoni, who had supported the former in his deals with the oil companies and is known as the "little finger of Romulo." Betancourt could not be the president since the Venezuelan constitution prohibits a president from seeking re-election after the completion of his term.

Incidentally, Betancourt earns the distinction of being the first president of Venezuela who has completed his term of office. SIMON BOLTVAR, the father of modern Latin America and himself a Venezuelan once remarked: "In our America (South) constitutions are in paper, freedom mockery and election is fraud." It could not be more true than in the case of Venezuela of 1963.

Venezuela is known to be "the most ill-governed country in Latin America." From 1821 to 1930 she was a part of Colombia, but when the alliance with Colombia and Ecuador fell apart, she was left to her own.

At the beginning the country was ruled by a troupe of landlords, army and the church. This government could satisfy no one except the landed aristocracy and soon the country was in complete chaos.

Out of this chaos emerged the great dictator Guzman Blanco, who took over power in 1870 and ruled Venezuela with an iron fist. He suspended the constitution, crushed the democratic and liberal elements, and in cooperation with the latifundists set up a military dictatorship.

Again there followed a short period of chaos. The younger army officers now tired of political instability and with the moral and financial support of the oil companies staged a coup d'etat and formed a government under the companies' playboy Romulo Betancourt, the leader of the Accion Democratica party.

Again a rigged up election was held in 1949 in which Betancourt's Accion Democratica party won a "resounding victory" with 137 seats, leaving only 14 seats for others. As if this was not enough

VENEZUELA ELECTIONS HELD AMID BRUTAL TERROR

* LAJPAT RAI

After his violent death in 1935, he was succeeded by another Caudillo Juan Vincent Gomez, an illiterate cowboy "who ruled with no authority than what was conferred on him by his lust for power, blind and senseless cruelty, and an insatiate love for riches."

His rule was marked only by the grant of large oil concessions to the American and Dutch companies in which deals, he suddenly became a millionaire and acquired wealth which in his own words "could last hundred generations of Gomezes."

Gomez was followed by another soldier president, General Elezer Lopez Contreras. Under his rule a new constitution was drafted in 1936 and free elections held. In the meantime a political organisation known as ORVE (Organisation Venezuela) was set up which won 30 seats in the new elections to the Parliament.

This organisation represented all the patriotic and leftist elements and worked in cooperation with the Communist Party of Venezuela. Frightened by this portent the government banned the Communist Party and the President declared 47 leaders of the ORVE as Communists to be prosecuted under the new law.

During this period foreign capital, particularly the North American, began to control the entire economy (which revolves round oil) of the country, and also to exert powerful pressure on the government which derived about 75 per cent of its revenues from the oil royalties.

Two oil companies controlled 80 per cent of the Venezuelan oil and one American company got the monopoly of prospecting for ore in the entire northern belt. The US companies also invested heavily in the automobile, textile, public utilities and the inner-tube plant in Caracas.

The entire electricity and gas supply of the city of Caracas is now in the hands of a US Corporation which also supplies water and telephone services. In the 40s more US capital was invested in toilet, chemicals, pharmaceuticals, matches, dried milk, rayon and silk, bicycles, rubber goods and electrical goods industries. According to the Central Bank of Venezuela the total US investments in Venezuela in 1952 stood at \$799.5 million dollars.

These companies now exercised powerful influence on the country's political life and in the interest of their business wanted peaceful conditions prevailing in the country. Their choice fell on Romulo Betancourt, a right-wing socialist, but known to be a firm anti-Communist who had organised a party known as Accion Democratica.

After Lopez, his henchman Medinin was installed in the presidential palace through a fraudulent election as Lopez could not be elected a second time according to the constitution.

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another coup d'etat was staged in 1953 in which Col. Marcus Perez Jimenez took over power as the head of a military junta.

Jimenez's regime in turn was overthrown in 1958, and soon after a "popular" election elected Romulo Betancourt as the President. His election was hailed as the victory of oil companies, who in the meantime, had consolidated their position in the country still further.

Betancourt started rather heroically. Sensing a great sympathy for the Cuban revolution among the people of Venezuela, he declared support for the Castro regime and visited Havana. But soon he was "asked to behave" and not to "talk loose." Alliance For Progress dangled a big reward (50 million dollars) in the form of both military and economic aid before him. Betancourt took the bait and paid the price, which was to denounce Castro and break diplomatic relations with Cuba.

Thereafter his regime went more and more in the embrace of oil monopolies. Discontent in the country grew rapid and so did repression. A movement (FLAN) embracing all nationalist elements in the country was organised which was dubbed by the government as the "pro-Castro guerrillas."



Cuba fights ravages of recent cyclone. A photograph showing volunteers working in the fields.

The several repressions which preceded the present elections show that Betancourt government is on its last legs. A wave of nationalization is sweeping the Latin American continent. Be it Venezuela or Brazil, Chile or Ar-

gentina, people are demanding the end of foreign exploitation. No economic or political props shall now be able to keep a government standing for long which has lost the confidence of its people.

GANDHIJI AND THE REARMERS

THE Moral Re-Armamentors seem to have had a pretty nice jamboree in New Delhi after the cross-country airconditioned bus "march" they undertook. The star performer on the Indian scene for the MRA is RAJMOHAN GANDHI, grandson of MAHATMA GANDHI. He is the star performer only because he is the grandson of Gandhiji and nothing else. The propagandists of the MRA also make it clear by adding the suffix "Mahatma Gandhi's grandson" whenever Rajmohan's name is mentioned.

I am not interested in these aspects. What I would like to point out is the deception that these MRA-wallahs are adept in practicing. Rajmohan is reported to have said in New Delhi that if his grandfather had lived today, he would have been in the MRA fold. Deception can be no greater than this. The fact is despite all efforts of the founder-leader of the MRA: FRANK BUCHMAN and his then cohorts, Gandhiji refused to be inveigled into this business.

Gandhiji's HARIJAN had even written a signed piece in 1939 by MAHADEV DESAI condemning the MRA leaders' efforts to talk "peace" to the Indian national movement's leaders. Gandhiji was quoted in that article as having refused point-blank to sign an MRA appeal because it had talked about "admission of responsibility for the past." The "Father of the Nation" said: "All this has no application to me. The whole paragraph (in the appeal) applies to the exploiting nations, whereas India is an exploited nation...."

Let them (the West) shed their exploitation policy and their immoral gains first."

I feel that the situation has not changed much. All this talk of moral re-armament etc. is just eye-wash to preserve intact the ill-gotten riches of the imperialists in the name of universal love. The MRA-wallahs' soft corner for nazi despots particularly of the West German brand is well-known. Buchman himself said: "I thank heaven for a man like ADOLF HITLER, who built a front line of defence against the anti-Christ of communism." It is also a sort of a strike-breaking outfit. The MRA claims that by converting JOHN FIFFE (an American trade union leader), Buchman saved "American industry 500 million dollars." Obviously, the industry's gain was the workers' loss.

Of course, none of these things were given publicity in New Delhi, one should imagine by the press reports. But how can any self-respecting Asian or African forget that the arch-imperialist stooge MOISE TSHOMBE who was responsible for the heinous crime of murdering in cold blood PATRICE LUMUMBA was also an ardent admirer of Frank Buchman and MRA? Also, governor WILLIAM FAUBUS of the Little Rock notoriety was also an ardent supporter of the MRA concept. It is a pity that there are at least some Indians who fall into the MRA trap.

Madras T. S. RAGHAVAN

Readers' Letters

MORARJI AND GOA

A REPORT in THE TIMES OF INDIA (December 14) says that MORARJI DESAI said in Mangalore that Goa "must continue to be a Union Territory."

Anybody who takes the effort to look into the voting figures of the Goa elections would see that the Maharashtrawadi Gomantak, which had contested the elections with the sole demand of immediate merger of Goa with Maharashtra, has emerged with a majority. There can be no doubt that a majority of the people in Goa want its merger with Maharashtra. On the principle of linguistic states also, Goa's case for merger with Maharashtra is very strong. In this background, Morarji Desai's pronouncement can best be termed as utter disregard for the people's views—something which he had exhibited even before during his tenure as minister both in the then Bombay state and at the centre.

It also shows up the Congress professions of democracy (Jaipur brand) for all its hollowness. For those who have any more doubt, the defeat of the Congress candidate to the Lok Sabha from Panjim should be an eye-opener. PUNDALIK GAITONDE, the Congress candidate, got 20,349 votes out of 127,885 valid votes polled and lost his deposit. And he is the man who was nominated by the government to represent Goa in the Lok Sabha immediately after its liberation! What democracy! What socialism!

Madras T. S. RAGHAVAN

Bombay G. S. HUDDIKAR

NEW AGE

ULBRICHT WILLING TO MEET ERHARD

MOVE FOR RAPPROCHEMENT

★ From P. K. KUNHANANDAN

BERLIN, December 14: The West German Government has received coldly an offer of WALTER ULBRICHT, Chairman of the State Council of the GDR that he would be prepared to go to West Germany for talks with Chancellor ERHARD.

ULBRICHT answered "Certainly" when asked in a television interview last Sunday whether he would consider going to Bonn to discuss links between GDR and Federal Germany.

Though cold-shouldered by Bonn this new offer of Ulbricht has been received by West Germans with great hopes in regard to the national reunification.

The Bonn government and the West Berlin Mayor have dashed to the ground yet another source of hope for West Berliners that they would be able to visit their relatives and friends in East

Berlin, across the anti-fascist Berlin Wall, during the Christmas and New Year holidays. A few days ago the government of German Democratic Republic had submitted a proposal to West Berlin Senate (City government) for issuing entry permits to West Berlin citizens who wished to visit GDR capital during Xmas days. Ever since August 13, 1961, when the anti-fascist defence wall was erected and the GDR closed its open frontiers to prevent Nato subversion and economic undermining of the Republic, traffic across the wall has been restricted to pass holders only.



Londoners support Asturian Miners, Oppose Spanish Ministers' Visit. A demonstration held in November.

The GDR government told the West Berlin authorities that it was prepared to establish offices in West Berlin for issuing entry permits for East Berlin from December 15, 1963 to January 4, 1965.

This humane and friendly offer of the GDR government was received by West Berliners with wild joy and great hopes of Xmas reunion with their relatives and friends in socialist Berlin.

But Mayor Willy Brandt instead of negotiating directly with East Berlin authorities passed on this proposal to the West German government. West Berlin is no part of West Germany. This fact is recognised even by British and US occupation authorities of West Berlin. Brandt was obviously seeking to make political capital out of the GDR offer.

Xmas Reunion Offer

This way of dealing with this human question was directed inevitably to torpedo the GDR proposal and prevent West Berliners from visiting the GDR capital even for the Xmas and New Year celebrations.

On receiving this note from Brandt, Bonn government immediately attached political strings to it, turned it into an action of cold war and tried to foster its claim that West Berlin was part of the Federal Republic, while geographically and according to international law it is a territory within the sovereign state of GDR (now occupied by the three imperialist powers).

Over a million West Berliners would have used this opportunity to visit their relatives had it not been for the improper and inhuman interference of the Bonn government.

Instead of pursuing the matter without Bonn interference Willy Brandt in a talk told West Berliners not to let their hopes run too high!

The GDR side has, however, not given up the negotiations. GDR authorities have sent a fresh message to Brandt requesting him not to stand in the way of West Berliners who wish to visit their relations here. Negotiations are still going on. A last minute agreement is possible if Brandt would act wisely keeping the Bonn government out of this Xmas reunion gesture. Over there in West Berlin among the people in general there is great appreciation for the GDR Government's gesture.

This GDR offer now being torpedoed by Bonn is a step towards German reunification. The readiness of German Democratic Republic to negotiate any time with the West German government is well-known. Friendly relations were several times offered by the State Council. Walter Ulbricht's Seven-Point Plan advanced last January for a German compromise was turned down by the Adenauer administration. In a recent interview with West German weekly, Stern Ulbricht said that formation of a German confederation is the inevitable transitional stage for overcoming the division of Germany. Ulbricht wants to talk it over and is ready to receive Federal Chancellor Erhard in Berlin if the latter shows willingness to negotiate.

Two days ago addressing the heads of diplomatic missions in the GDR, Chairman Ulbricht declared that liquidation of the remnants of the second world war in Germany was a necessary precondition and guarantee for lasting peace in Europe. He pleaded again for normalisation of relations with West Germany. He said the GDR was strengthening its relations with nonaligned states.

According to Ulbricht, any policy of nuclear armament of West Germany would only complicate understanding between two German states and endanger international peace. Referring to the recent opening of official West German missions in Poland, Hungary, Rumania and other socialist countries Ulbricht said the Bonn government was finally reducing the Hallstein doctrine (claim to be the only spokesman of 'whole Germany') to an absurdity. In setting up official representations in these countries where GDR is represented by ambassadors, West German government itself is recognising the existence of two German states which it always has been denying.

In USSR and Poland, West German diplomats in diplomatic functions clink their glasses and mix with other envoys. But recently when the Belgian embassy in Warsaw invited the GDR Ambassador to a reception in honour of visiting Belgian Foreign Minister SPAAK, Bonn became angry and sent a protest note to Brussels. The Belgian foreign office (NATO partner) gave a cold reply to West German attempts for dictating to the Belgian ambassador in Warsaw as to whom he should invite to official receptions.

Never before had there been on an all-India scale such a conference for devising a plan of action embracing the entire working class and other sections of the toiling people. Never before was there an open warning of this

national protest. The demands as embodied in the Charter hardly brook any divergence of opinion in the trade union field and it should not be too much to expect all trade union organisations to render their support to this movement.

Memorial To Spanish Martyr

A street in capital of German Democratic Republic was last week named after the Spanish hero Julian Grimau who was executed by Franco Fascist hang men on April 26, 1963.

Several Spanish citizens and personalities of Berlin were present at the ceremony attended by a large crowd. A telegram sent to Mrs. Angela Grimau reads "By honouring our dead comrade we at the same time want to express our solidarity with the Spanish miners and their wives, with intellectuals who courageously raised their voices against barbaric Franco regime". There is also a Tagore road in socialist Berlin.



Housewives in GDR pack warm clothing for Spanish sufferers of Franco's brutal regime. Solidarity with Spain is a continuing movement.

Indian Workers' Biggest Struggle Planned

★ By Sadhan Mukherjee

1920 TO 1963: It is a long period in which the militant working class of our country has advanced step by step towards attainment of some of its demands. In the teeth of combined opposition from the employers and the government and despite terrible repression, significant concessions were secured.

SIMULTANEOUSLY with the struggle for better economic and social conditions, the working class had to fight in defence of its hard-won rights.

The all-India trade union conference in Bombay from December 13 to 15 was a manifestation of our workers' determination to resist further encroachment on their earnings. Seeking a more lasting solution to the constantly recurring problem, it also demanded nationalisation of vital sectors of our national industry so that monopolists' control of these is broken and earnings from these sources can be diverted towards the development of the country.

National Protest

Never before had there been on an all-India scale such a conference for devising a plan of action embracing the entire working class and other sections of the toiling people. Never before was there an open warning of this

nature to the monopolists and government—that unless the unbridled attack on living standards was halted there would be a decisive step taken in the first week of February for the observance of a National Protest Strike and Hartal on a specific date.

The conference bore the unmistakable mark of Indian working class having come of age. The plan of action that has been worked out embodies principles on which all trade union organisations of the country can join together and unitedly strive to win the demands. This is going to be the mightiest action of the Indian working class ever envisaged since the inception of the trade union movement in our country.

The demands as embodied in the Charter hardly brook any divergence of opinion in the trade union field and it should not be too much to expect all trade union organisations to render their support to this movement.

Congress Party and P. D. Act

THE extent to which one can forget one's past, and how when saddled in power bureaucratic thinking replaces national and democratic sentiments is revealed in a note on the Preventive Detention Act circulated among its members by the Congress Parliamentary Party.

To the visible embarrassment of Congress members in the Lok Sabha, Kenu Chakravarty quoted extensively from this document to show that according to Congress thinking preventive detention has become a part of our 'tradition', that it should continue and be kept ready for use as soon as emergency ends and that even the premise that a man is innocent until proven guilty is not sacred in the eyes of the ruling party.

We are giving below a few educative extracts from this note of the Congress Parliamentary Party. "The concept of 'preventive detention' was not new to this country — or even to UK or USA. In India, the East India Company Act 1793, the various provincial regulations, the Defence of India Acts during the two World Wars and the Rowlett Act, 1919 had in one form or another, embodied the idea."

"The Constitution itself envisages the need for the power of preventive detention" and use of that power in India, unlike in USA and UK, has not been explicitly contingent upon a state of emergency. Rather, the adoption of this concept pre-

supposes an intermediate state between normalcy and emergency — in other words, existence of a special situation requiring an effective weapon to forestall the arising of internal emergencies. "The main thrust of preventive detention is against those who seek to exacerbate the manifest tensions within Indian society. It is intended to counter a singular threat — the threat to social cohesion posed by persons deliberately acting to foment national division."

"...the ordinary criminal laws of the land — founded as they are upon the premise that a man is innocent until proven guilty and designed to ascertain and assess facts and not to proceed on suspicion, are undoubtedly deficient". "The state of emergency is not a permanent phase and sooner or later it may be terminated. Although some of the persons who would have been normally detained under the PD Act may now have been proceeded against under the DF Rules, this cannot be an adequate argument to prove that the powers under the PD Act should not be held in reserve so as to be available for timely application the moment the state of emergency formally ceases."

"The theory of communal division that is being propagated by some Congress leaders to explain their defeat is a dangerous theory. The vote was a political vote. The Marathi sentiment was more political and strongly felt than the communal and hence

That the crisis of shooting prices is the biggest single issue with a countrywide impact on the day-to-day life of the common people and that it is essentially a man-made one—these were the central conclusions the conference arrived at. This was incorporated as the first item in the eleven-point Charter of Demands adopted by the conference.

The jugglery of price indices and the fact that in most of the industries the dearness allowance is not linked with the cost of living were two other important points in the Charter.

The fraud of indices was exposed in the conference by a number of speakers. According to rough calculations available, it was found that due to manipulation of indices, the Bombay workers every year lost about Rs. 6 crores and Ahmedabad workers about Rs. 4½ crores.

The data about the entire working population of Delhi as a whole were not available but the Kapra Mazdoor Ekta Union which had carried out

a study on this issue showed that while government index in 1961 (194=100) was only 179, the actual index was 234.46 on the basis of prevailing market prices. There are obvious components which the government does not take into account while computing the family budgets.

For example, in Delhi warm clothing has no place in the budget according to government!

According to government data a cup of tea in Delhi costs only 7 nP while nowhere in Delhi for years now has such a cup been available for less than 12 nP.

There are other issues which the conference included in its charter after thorough discussions. These are enumerated elsewhere. These are urgent and vital demands, the fulfilment of which will benefit not only the working class but also other sections of toiling people and take the country towards prosperity. The National Campaign Day on January 12-13 will be the culmination of the opening phase of the nationwide move-

ment for achieving these demands and if, by January 31, government does not concede them, the National Campaign Committee will meet in the first week of February to finalise preparations for the observance of the National Protest, Strike and Hartal.

The all-India conference has clearly indicated the direction to all trade union functionaries and formulated concrete demands for an all-India action. The winning of these demands will be the biggest triumph in the trade union movement of our country.

Those who had come together to take part in the conference have gone back to their respective work places with an understanding and a clear approach to the problems. Above all, they were able to visualise what a united movement of the workers can bring about and in this context the participation of Indulal Yagnik and Dutta Deshmukh, and the representatives of a number of fraternal unions in the conference was significant. (Dec. 18)

Goa Must Merge With Maharashtra

★ From Front Page

Puran is also in Marathi. Religion cannot be the basis of such classifications as we have already learnt from history. Hence, the demand for merger with Maharashtra was quite natural and inevitable.

At the same time, one cannot shut one's eyes to the reality of the situation. Some sections of the Goan people, being under the influence of the Catholic Church which did not relish the prospect of liberation and the destruction of the Portuguese rule—though among those who suffered for liberation were many well known Catholic patriots—were not very strongly attracted by the demand for merger in Maharashtra. Most of these people voted for the United Goan Party under the influence of the Church, the landlords and remnants of the pro-Portuguese elements.

It is unfortunate that Pandit Nehru and the Congress leadership have refused to accept the verdict of the electorate and spoken against merger.

Dangerous Theory

The Maharashtravadi Gomantak secured the majority of votes as against the United Goans' (1,00,117 for MG and 74,081 for the UG and 43,100 for the Congress). It is said that this division is mainly based on communal considerations. They say that the M.G. Party is Hindu and the U.G. Party is Christian and they voted as such. But it must be noted that one Parliamentary seat won by the Gomantak went to a Christian candidate, Peter Alvares.

The theory of communal division that is being propagated by some Congress leaders to explain their defeat is a dangerous theory. The vote was a political vote. The Marathi sentiment was more political and strongly felt than the communal and hence

it got the majority. Otherwise the strong pull and organisation of the Catholic Church would have carried the day. In fact, the Congress, by standing aloof, helped the Maharashtravadi Gomantak to defeat the United Goans and themselves and their vacillating policies, though the Congress leadership in Goa and some of it in India is more in love with the United Goan Party on the basis of class-affiliation and class-interests.

It is unfortunate that Pandit Nehru and the Congress leadership have refused to accept the verdict of the electorate and spoken against merger.

Pataskar Formula

The qualifying clause "at present" is a dangerous clause. Because it will mean that there must be further struggle between the Maharashtravadi Gomantak people and the United Goan Party on this issue, in which the Congress leadership may side with separation and hence with the United Goans. If that happens, there will be worse disaster.

Let no one compare this with the struggle waged by the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti for the separate states of Maharashtra and Gujarat. There no religious, communal or caste cleavages were involved. There the leading force was the united Bombay working class with its revolutionary traditions. There was no Marathi-Gujarati enmity.

Communal Threat

But in Goa, there are dangerous communal elements who will use the movement as a pretext to fan Hindu-Christian clashes, with the ex-Marathi and the hierarchy of the Church standing by. Hence, the attitude of the

Congress High Command to the problem of the merger of Goa must be formulated with greater understanding and vision, and not the usual pig-headedness of vested interests, which want a separate preserve of exploitation.

In fact, such erstwhile colonies of imperialism, as Pondichery, Mahe, Daman, Diu, Goa, Nagar Haveli, all ought to be merged in the neighbouring territory, which is their natural companion or brother or parent by language, culture, tradition and history.

Pataskar Formula

But the Congress leadership, led by its bourgeois and landlord moorings, is unable to see this question of the sub-national boundaries of the states of India, which ought to be drawn on the basis of village as a unit, according to the Pataskar formula, from the point of view of the development of the democratic masses.

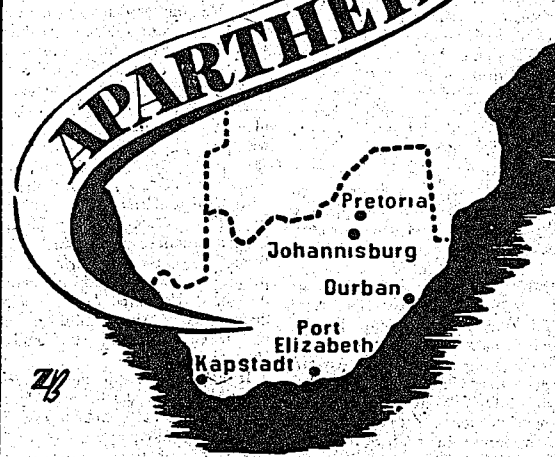
They rejected and fought against the demand for Samyukta Maharashtra for fear of displeasing the millionaires of Bombay. They now oppose the Goan merger for fear of displeasing the Church hierarchy and the landlords of Goa.

The Goan people, however, must refuse to be divided as Hindu and Christian, but unite as workers, peasants and toiling people and decide their future in consonance with their historical past, so far as the issue of merger is concerned.

Their future, of course, lies with the democratic masses of the whole country, who want, not the path of capitalists and landlords but the path of socialism.

Westdeutsche Monopole in Südafrika

- Mannesmann AG
- Friedrich Flick AG
- Otavi Minen-und Eisenbahn-Ges.
- Henschel-Werke AG
- Salzgitter Maschinen AG
- Deutsche Bank AG
- Bayer AG
- Farbenfabriken
- DAL Deutsche Afrika-Linie GmbH u. Co.
- Gewerkschaft Brunhilde
- Siemens u. Halske AG
- Volkswagenwerk AG
- Stolberger Zink AG
- Rosenthal-Porzellan AG



WEST GERMANY'S BIGGEST TRADE PARTNER IN THE AFRICAN CONTINENT: Close cooperation exists between West Germany and the hated Verwoerd regime: for years now the so-called Republic of South Africa has been, of all the other African countries, its biggest trade partner. The West German "Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau" (Credit Bank for Reconstruction) in Frankfurt-Main granted in summer 1963 a credit of 120 million Marks to the South African Government. West German monopolies have entered almost all fields of South African economy and are working hard to keep and extend these rich sources of profits and raw materials. For them apartheid is a guarantee to maintain their position.

★ From Page Nine . . .

not as an assembly for theoretical discussions, not to assess international situation and national economy, but for formulation of concrete action on the vital demands of the toiling people.

He challenged those who expressed doubts about the strength of the AITUC, to "come and see this mighty gathering and witness this vision of toiling people organised and united, and always ready for united action

on issues of common interest and to struggle to achieve them".

He said the conference was meeting in a situation of all-round crisis. In September the Great March compelled the bourgeoisie to meet at least a part of the demands. But since then the crisis has deepened. The crisis created by the rise in prices has grown much larger and there was greater discontent among the masses of people. There was break-

JAY WORKERS FIGHT FOR BONUS

from Ajoy Dasgupta

CALCUTTA, December 15: When these lines reach the readers more than 7,000 workers of the JAY ENGINEERING WORKS LTD., Calcutta, the makers of the famous USHA brand of fans and sewing machines will have gone on strike.

THE immediate cause of the unrest among the workers has been the refusal by the management to pay even last year's amount of bonus although profit in this period has increased. They also have many other long standing grievances, among these the unilateral scrapping of the management of the general agreement for a long time and the virtual de-recognition of the union.

The Jay Engineering Works is one of the most profitable concerns of the well-known Lala Sri Ram group. It has been making fabulous profits and as an exporter of fans and sewing machines it has been earning special "import entitlement" licences; out of sale of these too they are also earning a lot of money—the tune of nearly a quarter of crore of rupees.

FRAUD BEHIND REFUSAL

This year the management has denied the workers even that quantum of bonus which they paid last year. They say that profit has gone down. But they had to admit during the talks with the union that the profit for the Calcutta works would be much higher if the loss for the new factory at Hyderabad was taken separately. Moreover the union has pointed out various sins of omission and commission on the part of the management which have been responsible for reducing the visible profit. The company has deducted Rs. 11.65 lakhs for payment of arrears provident fund, which they have now to give according to Supreme Court decision, but everybody knows that the same amount is to be distributed over five years.

They give huge selling commission and discount to USHA SALES PRIVATE LTD., another Sri Ram concern, and in 1962 a new agreement was arrived at as a result of which the selling commission went up by Rs. 44 lakhs in one year. What is more glaring and strange is that the selling agents have no deposit with the supplying company; on the contrary the manufacturing company have kept Rs. 250 lakhs of sales money with the selling agents, saying that they earn an interest on that. How much of interest has been earned on that is not shown. And on a sale of Rs. 13.03 crores in 1963 the commission paid is Rs. 2.59 crores.

The company further argues

that the workers of the 'Jay' earn hell lot of more money than other engineering workers and hence need not be paid any more. Yes, it is a fact that the workers do earn something more than other workers. But how? that is the question.

WORLD STANDARDS

The General Manager of the Works told a meeting of Production Engineers in 1958 that the productivity of his workers is no less, and in some cases more than workers in highly industrialised countries like England, Switzerland, Germany and others. Not only that! This very gentleman told a seminar in 1960 that while the wage bill of the Jay workers had increased four times since 1954, the production had gone up 12 times.

By putting in their maximum efforts the Jay workers do earn some thing more than the average workers elsewhere. It is also a fact that they have given much more profit to their masters. What is more, now with the limit of productivity reached, the workers' wages are not increasing, even if there is the provision of annual increase in the wage rates. This is done by the device that if the income of a worker due to production bonus goes up more than 150/- per month then he loses the increment. So long the workers were raising their productivity and with it the norm was also increased. So for the last 3 or 4 years, many workers find that their annual increment is completely nullified.

The company with such enormous sales, profits and huge assets is also not granting any gratuity to the workers. The company does not give even the production bonus item to the production workers when on leave, though non-production workers get it. There are many more anomalies, where an unskilled worker earns more than a highly skilled worker.

The Company has gone further and has now abrogated the general agreement with the union. All attempts to come to amicable settlement on the above grievances have failed due to the unresponsive attitude of the management. Faced with the stubborn refusal of the management to settle the matter through negotiations workers have decided to go on strike. The enthusiasm of the workers has to be seen to be believed. Hundreds of volunteers have been enrolled, a strike fund is being collected, scores of meetings have been held in departments and localities and there was a very big demonstration on November 30. The whole area is agog with activity; the workers are determined to win their just and legitimate demands.

OUR PATIENCE IS EXHAUSTED WORKERS TELL GOVERNMENT

down in almost all spheres of life.

It has broken out in the political field in a crisis inside the Congress organisation. There was a crisis in the ideological field too and the whole thing was in confusion, Dange said.

It was not a small matter, he said, that the conference was meeting in the context of such all-round crisis which involved the country as a whole and reflected the sufferings of common people to alleviate which immediate steps must be taken.

"The ruling class", Dange added, "is trying to tide over this crisis in their own way. They are encouraging a capitalist economy. While national wealth has grown, production has grown, what has not grown is the share of the toiling people in the increased wealth of the country. The share of the workers, middle classes and the peasants is falling. Their growing discontent is manifested in strikes and protests."

Dange said that it was being asked whether the AITUC was preparing for a battle. He said: "The battle is already on. Every hour of exploitation is a battle of the bourgeoisie against the working class. But the working class is a realistic class. It will wage its battle in a peaceful way."

Dange said that when government was called upon to resolve the all-round crisis, they asked people "to wait for the definition of socialism, and thereby tried to hump-up the toiling masses". He said it was an attempt on the part of the ruling party to confuse matters. The trouble is not with the definition of socialism because that was very easy. The real problem was the concentration of wealth being allowed in a few hands.

He said what was required in this situation, and which is the only way of solving the problem, was to increase the share of the toiling people in the national wealth. This would increase consumption, production and productivity and raise living

standards. For this, workers' wages must be raised and concentration of wealth should be checked.

All these problems would be discussed by the conference, Dange said and declared: "We will tell the bourgeoisie, if you do not act or negotiate, we will act." He exhorted the workers that the tempo of the movement should begin immediately.

The second day of the conference began on a sombre note with the news that two of the workers injured in the police firing on textile workers demonstrating against the low quantum of bonus, were in a critical condition in the hospital.

The conference adopted a resolution condemning the brutal police firing on the workers. It demanded immediate judicial and open enquiry into the wanton firing on peaceful workers who had assembled to protest against the inadequate bonus.

The resolution congratulated the workers of other mills who had come out spontaneously on token strike action protesting against the police firing. It also demanded compensation to families of injured persons and punishment of police officials who indulged in excesses.

RELEASE DETENUS

A resolution on the release of detenus protested against the continued detention of political and trade union leaders particularly in West Bengal, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Manipur and Tripura. It said the conference was of the opinion that there was no justification whatsoever for keeping these persons in detention in the name of emergency which has virtually ceased to exist.

The resolution also said that the unconstitutional nature of the detention powers under the Defence of India Rules had been exposed and established. The state governments which were not

releasing the prisoners were misusing their powers for vindictive purposes to serve their narrow party interests, it said and demanded immediate release of all political prisoners. The conference also demanded cancellation of all external and other restrictive orders.

The conference further viewed with concern the government of India's move to extend the life of the Preventive Detention Act beyond December 31 and condemned it as "an attack on civil liberties and fundamental rights of the citizens of India". It demanded that the government should give up this move and withdraw the extension Bill.

Another resolution on the ending of emergency said: "It is universally admitted that conditions in the country today are such that emergency has practically ceased to exist."

The continuation of the emergency has degenerated into just a weapon to be used against the working class and democratic movement rather than being used against the activities of anti-social vested interests. The resolution demanded immediate lifting of the emergency.

Dange then moved the main resolution on the national campaign for reduction in prices, increase in wages, dearness allowance and bonus and for nationalisation, which was earlier adopted by the general council of the AITUC.

The resolution, by which national campaign committee was also set up to implement the decisions of the conference and carry forward its work, was adopted by the conference after discussions. The conference made certain minor amendments to the original resolution placed before it by the AITUC general council. (Full text of the resolution given on centre pages in this issue—ed.)

The delegates session came to a close amidst slogans proclaiming the workers' unity and determination to achieve their demands.

ANTI-HIGH PRICES CONFERENCE

INDORE: A two-day anti-high prices conference was held in Indore city on November 30 and December 1 under the auspices of the Indore City Trade Union Council.

Representatives of 24 trade unions belonging to the Post and Telegraph, income tax, insurance, bank, textile, bidi, vegetable oil and other industries participated in the conference.

The delegates session was held on Saturday, November 30. It was presided over by RAMAKRISHNA SANGLE, leader of the Post and Telegraph employees. More than 700 delegates participated in the session, which adopted a number of resolutions.

The main resolution on high prices exposed in detail the

continuously increasing pressure of huge taxes, sky-high prices and the scandalously high profits made by the capitalists at the expense of the workers and the consequent deterioration in the people's living standards.

The resolution demanded nationalisation of banks, food trade, export-import trade and oil companies to curb the monopolies. It also demanded a 25 per cent wage increase as immediate relief to the working people, revision of the formula of computing the consumer price index, linking of dearness allowance to the index in all industries and provision for full neutralisation of high cost of living.

A specific resolution demanding nationalisation of banks was also passed at the session. A resolution demand-

ing upgrading of Indore city and another for provision to recognise trade unions on the basis of secret ballot were also passed.

The delegates session was addressed among others by HOMI DAJI MP, general secretary of the Madhya Pradesh Trade Union Congress. On Sunday, December 1, a procession started from the Mahatma Gandhi Hall to the Janata Chowk where a mass rally was held. More than a thousand workers took part in the procession. The rally was addressed by M. S. KIKRE, PRABHAKAR ADSULE and Homi Daji.

Through an amendment to the main resolution on high prices adopted at the delegates session, the mass rally suggested to the MPTUC to convene a state level conference on high prices.

BOMBAY GENERAL INSURANCE EMPLOYEES TO GO ON STRIKE

★ From Our Correspondent

BOMBAY: The General Insurance Employees Union (GIEU) has decided to call a general strike of general insurance employees in Bombay in support of the demands of the employees of the South India Insurance Company, managed by the House of Tatas.

BRISK preparations for the strike are going on, and demonstrations are being held daily in front of the New India Assurance Co., another Tata firm.

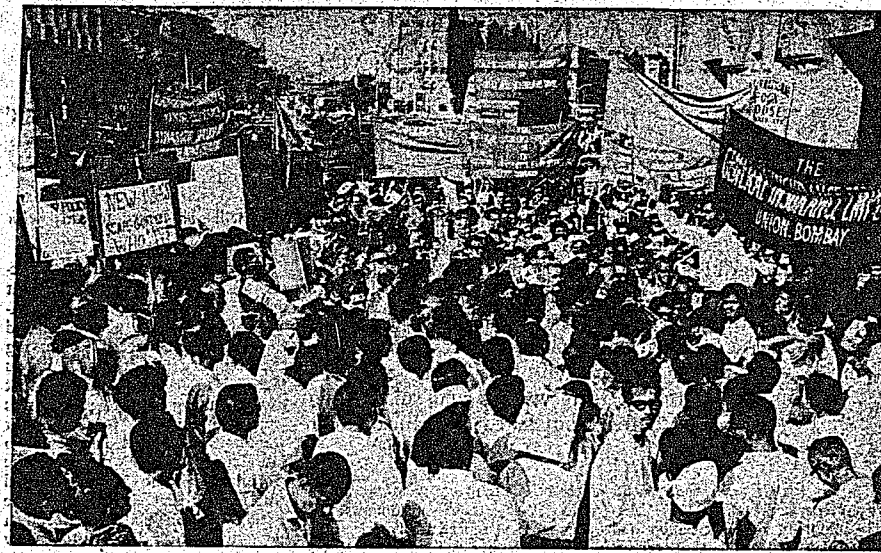
The dispute between the management of the "South India" and its employees has an interesting background. The New India is the parent and giant in the general insurance business in the country, having one-third of the total premium income of all

Indian insurance companies in its bag.

Over and above this, it recently swallowed three more general insurance companies—"South India", "Bombay Fire" and "Sentinel". In January 1963, these three companies were amalgamated into one company, named South India Insurance Company.

The employees of the old "South India" were members of the New India Assurance Employees Union and had the same service conditions as the New India employees. But the employees of "Bombay Fire" and "Sentinel" had different service conditions, through settlements arrived at between the managements of these companies and the GIEU of which they were members.

After amalgamation of the companies, the GIEU



A View of the General Insurance Employees' Demonstration

demand standardised service conditions for all the employees. But the management did not agree to this.

Following the management's refusal to agree to uniform service conditions for all its employees, the GIEU submitted a charter

of demands on behalf of the transferred employees of "Bombay Fire" and "Sentinel."

After much persuasion, the management of the "New India", which had negotiated on behalf of the "South India", drew up a memorandum of settlement. But when the time came to sign the settlement, the management went back on its word and refused to sign it.

The management then put forward the argument that the New India Assurance Employees Union should also become a party to the settlement. It was claimed that the NIAEU had agreed to two conditions put forward by the management namely increase in working hours and abolition of sectional holidays.

The GIEU challenged the management to produce the written agreement from the NIAEU to these conditions, in which case, they would also agree to these conditions. The management failed to produce any such agreement.

The conciliation officer also has advised against making the NIAEU a party to this dispute

because it had a subsisting agreement. But the management is insisting that it should also be a party to the fresh agreement. The irony of the situation is that the NIAEU itself is not coming forward to sign the settlement.

The aggrieved employees of the "South India" staged demonstrations in front of their office at Modi Mahal, Churchgate, continuously for 22 days.

On October 10 and again on December 7, more than 7,000 general insurance employees in Bombay staged demonstrations in front of the "South India" and "New India" offices to express solidarity with the South India employees.

The insurance employees of Bombay are not surprised by the volte face of the management of the "New India" since they knew the Tatas and their bleak record in relations with their employees, but the manner in which the New India Assurance Employees Union under the leadership of Nath Pal MP has behaved during this dispute has come as a revelation to them.

SCHOLARSHIP OBSCURED BY PREJUDICE

ALL those who know Dr. R. C. Majumdar as a scholar of History may not be aware of the fact that he is a staunch adherent of the RSS ideology.

He is a great admirer of Hedgewar who founded the RSS, and also of Golwalkar, its present *fuhrer*. Presiding over the concluding function of a three-day camp of this organisation on January 3, 1960, Majumdar said: "All the programmes and activities of the RSS have been visualised with a great aim and plan by its creator, the late Dr. Hedgewar for whom I have got extreme respect."

About RSS boys and their leader at present, Majumdar said: "The young Swayamsevaks are the future of the nation and I pray to Almighty to give them vigour so that they may fulfil the task undertaken by Shri Gurujii." Majumdar is a votary of the RSS cult of Hindu Rashtra. He said:

"Hedgewar rightly declared that the Hindus are the true nationals of this great country." (ibid.)

Unfolding this very thesis, Golwalkar says that Muslims, Christians and other non-Hindus are "aliens" in India; their position is that of "thieves in the house." Further, he pleads that the Muslims of India should be treated as traitors for having given up Hinduism, and having embraced Islam! Being an avowed admirer of Golwalkar, Majumdar is surely aware of it, and subscribes to this too.

But the people of India whose mind is not warped by the reactionary obsession of "a Hindu past, Hindu History, Hindu Culture, Hindu Civilisation" as the exclusive glory

of Bharat, as Dr. Majumdar's is, have a different name for what the RSS is clamouring for they call it COMMUNALISM!

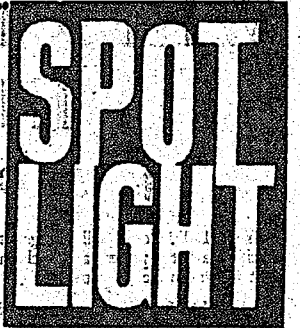
That the "Hindu Rashtra" obsession is nothing else is, oddly enough, testified to by another exponent of the Sangh's philosophy, G. R. Malkhani who has this to say on the subject:

"Hindu Communalism is another word for Hindu nationalism and Hindu patriotism of the purest kind. It wants to insure against betrayal and treachery! It is directed mainly against the Muslim minority." (Organiser, August 15, 1957).

It will be seen that the RSS mind on the subject of India's great cultural heritage is stuffed with pure cow-dung. It only seeks to divide and disrupt the striving of the Indian people for a better life by propagating the false thesis of two parallel cultures—Hindu and Muslim. Against the ideal of a democratic, egalitarian society, free from exploitation, it offers the outdated and obsolete caste-society.

But the clock of history has to be put back by a long chalk in order to restore the Varna society. And the cult which seeks to put back the clock of history is identified as Fascism. It is not fortuitous that there is such an identity of organisational pattern and cult between the RSS and the Nazi storm-troopers, and Golwalkar once expressed appreciation of Hitler.

But the RSS too, like the Nazis, can only generate a lot of violence without ever succeeding in attaining its goal of reactionary revival. That is a lesson of history, which at least a historian of Majumdar's eminence must be aware of. RSS, which he admires, can



only sow the dragon's teeth and reap an inglorious death for its false ideals and itself!

Majumdar's pro-RSS ideology has already landed him in a blind alley as a historian. His new book, the "History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol. I", contains two singularly perverse interpretations of the facts of history.

It seeks to show, on the basis of factual data, firstly, that the outbreak of 1857 was no "war of Independence" (a case of losing sight of the wood for the trees!), although he concedes that its memory inspired the subsequent movements for freedom.

Secondly, it propounds the thesis that Hindus and Muslims have been "two fundamentally separate nations, thereby vindicating, as RSS does, Jinnah and the Muslim League! A queer coincidence?"

RSS props up the outlook that communal revivalism alone can ensure a bright future for society. Apart from other things, it is a singularly myopic outlook. How blinding it can be for its dupes can be seen from the fact that a scholar of history of Dr. Majumdar's calibre fails to see a patent fact of modern history, viz:

Reactionary revivalism only leads to national suicide. The most powerful nations in the world today rise not on the basis of revivalist ideals but on the foundation of socialism, and socialism alone.

Socialism alone can preserve the glorious heritage of the past also.

—GARUDA

WEST BERLINERS WILL GO EAST

★ From P. K. Kunhanandan

BERLIN, December 17. The Berlin wall will be opened for visiting West Berliners during the Xmas and New Year days according to an agreement signed between representatives of the GDR government and West Berlin city government.

This is the first time after the anti-fascist wall went up in August 1961 that West Berlin city government negotiated a settlement of the transit question though GDR government had made several proposals before.

In protracted negotiations the GDR side scored on two counts; one, Willi Brandt had to give up his obstinate position that he won't negotiate with the GDR which the West does not recognise as a government.

Brandt has also had to agree that passes will be issued by GDR postal authorities in West Berlin territory to which he had objected earlier.

Nearly a million West Berliners are expected to cross

the Wall and see their relatives.

Visitors can come according to the agreement from December 20, 1963 to January 5, 1964.

A GDR spokesman said this is a first step towards normalising relations with West Berlin.

Brandt said both sides were hopeful about the future. The protocol signed today is being hailed throughout the world as a great step towards normalising relations between East and West on the West Berlin and the German questions.

The initiative came from the GDR in series of offers made to West Berlin and West German governments.

The latest is Ulbricht's offer to go to Bonn to talk to Chancellor Erhard.

People on both sides of the Wall are jubilant today. West Berliners thank the GDR for its magnanimity and peace loving efforts.

(See Page 16 for earlier message)

COMPANIES' BILL AMENDMENT AND THE BIG BUSINESS LOBBY

The affair of the Companies (Amendment) Bill in the Congress Parliamentary Party last week had all the ingredients of high drama plus a partisan rally to prevent a Rightist putsch. Power changed hands so quickly and in startling succession that the short-lived coup had died even before it could collect its casualties. The snipers from the back-yards of the Birlas and the Tatas slunk away to lick their wounds and sulk in the company of the Swatantras who shared the pain of their defeat.

AS the roar of the battle reverberated through Parliament's lobbies, the Lok Sabha had to adjourn twice on that fateful day of December 12, 1963 for want of a quorum. In the general body of the Congress Parliamentary Party the battle was raging fierce over the fate of government's authority challenged by a powerful private sector. And it has to be acknowledged that it was largely due to the boldness and vigilance of a few Congress MPs that the challenge was met and the lobbying pressures of big business withstood.

Ever since the Companies (Amendment) Bill had been introduced before Parliament with its provisions for a Tribunal to deal with malpractices and frauds in the management of companies, regulation of voting rights attached to shares held by trusts and above all the right of government to convert loans given to companies into shares there had been lobbying by big business to get concessions and dilute the provisions of the Bill.

Opposition of the private sector was particularly concentrated on the clause relating to conversion of loans into shares and it was demanded that it should not be applied retrospectively and that government should have this right, if at all, only for future loans. While Swatantra leader MASANI was leading the charge from outside, one could pick up threads of big business links leading into the Congress Party doing the same job. It was their rear guard action that finally led to the rumpus in the Congress Parliamentary Party.

In the light of later happenings, one could attach some significance to the fact that it was R. R. MORARKA from the Congress benches, an industrialist himself, who opened the attack on the Bill when it was first discussed in the Lok Sabha. It was also he who moved for referring the Bill to a Select Committee, a demand which T. T. KRISHNA-MACHARI had to accept.

The Select Committee heard evidence from some of the foremost business associations in the country like the Associated Chambers of Commerce of India, Tata Industries Private Ltd., Indian Merchants Chamber, Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry and Indian Chamber of Commerce.

CONGRESSMEN AGAINST GOVT.

The arguments advanced by the representatives of the big business before the Select Committee that if government converted past loans into shares it would amount to a violation of contract and that this will spoil the reputation of the government here and abroad as one which honoured its commitments were later to be repeated by some Congress members both in their own party and also in the House. The Congress members in the

Select Committee were so influenced by these arguments of company representatives that they, except for one, AMARNATH VIDYALANKAR, voted for changing the original clause in the Bill even knowing that the Minister was opposed to the change.

The Prime Minister was later to remark in the Congress Parliamentary Party that this action of Congress members in the Select Committee had caused embarrassment to the Minister and he criticised the influence of outside pressure and lobbying on Congress members.

A question was later raised in the Lok Sabha why the Minister did not write a minute of dissent if he did not agree with the majority report of the Select Committee. The explanation was that he was given to understand that the convention was that a Minister could not write a minute of dissent. While the Speaker ruled there was no such convention, R. R. Morarka handsomely acknowledged that it was he who gave the Minister this wrong idea.

DISSENTING NOTE

Amarnath Vidyalankar and INDRAJIT GUPTA in a joint minute of dissent to the majority report of the Select Committee said:

"We do not agree with the proviso inserted by the Select Committee to the proposed sub-section (4) of section 81 in clause 5 of the Bill, in as much as it restricts the operation of that sub-section only to cases of default continuing after notice has been served in the matter. We think the government should be given unrestricted power to take action in respect of loans granted even prior to the commencement of the Companies (Amendment) Act, 1963, where the Government deems fit to do so in the public interest.

"Considerations of public interest may not be restricted to cases of default only but may apply even to cases where in the opinion of the Government the larger interests of the community consistent with the socio-economic objects of the State demand conversion of loan into equity capital; the Government should, therefore, be armed with adequate powers under the law in this behalf."

Knowing that the Minister was opposed to the change made by the Select Committee and that he might come up before the House with amendments to reverse the Select Committee's recommendation, the die-hards in the Congress Parliamentary Party's Executive moved swiftly and called a meeting of the Executive where they took the unprecedented step of approving the Select Committee report. It was clearly a move to tie the Minister's hands, and put some kind of a Party mandate on him so that

he will be forced to sail with them.

A vigorous, though not successful, fight against this was put up in the Executive by BHAGAVAT JHA AZAD who debunked the argument about observing the sanctity of contract. He is reported to have pointed out that the loans given to companies were from public funds and it was not a contract between two individuals but between the nation and some individuals and therefore in the interests of the nation action should be taken to convert these loans into equity capital.

He later emphasised this in his speech in the Lok Sabha during the discussion on the Bill. Azad said that for a contract to be effective it is not only the consent of two parties that is required, but also operation of law. In this case the House was laying down the law for the operation of the contract. He asked whether two black-mar-

ket deals could be made from the Cabinet. The Executive was asserting!

But this time the Rightists were not to go unchallenged. Immediately after the Executive meeting, Azad and his colleagues who had lost the first round, set to work and collected twenty signatures from Party members on a requisition for a general body meeting.

The general body which met the next day was stormy and decisive even without a formal vote. Quite a large number of members took part in the discussion and the overwhelming opinion was to stand by the original clause in the Bill and reverse the recommendation of the Select Committee.

The fact that B. K. P. SINHA, who is identified with the Rightist lobby, moved the resolution to leave the dispute to the Prime Minister for his decision and that the latter promptly reversed the Party Executive's decision would indicate that a vote in the gene-

ral body would have brought the same result with disastrous consequences for the Rightist-dominated Executive.

SWIFT ACTION

K. K. WARIOR from the Communist benches congratulated the Finance Minister for his success in getting the Bill through in its original form. When Masani interrupted with a remark "birds of the same feather", Warior retorted that the Swatantra Party can also find birds of the same feather in the Congress.

Discussing the provisions of the Bill, he suggested that action

WHEN RIGHTISTS ROSE IN OPEN REVOLT

★ by Our Parliamentary Correspondent

ral body would have brought the same result with disastrous consequences for the Rightist-dominated Executive.

It is learnt that a suggestion made at the general body that the matter be referred back again to the Executive was shouted down and members were for a decision on the spot. Those who spoke against the Select Committee's recommendation included SHIVAJI RAO DESHMUKH, Bhagavat Jha Azad, Amarnath Vidyalankar, Bibhuti Misra, SHIB NARAIN, Dr. M. M. SIDHU and RENUKA RAY. Against them were ranged G. S. PATHAK, Raghunath Singh, Mahavir Tyagi, SACHIN CHOUDHURY and K. SANTHANAM.

While Raghunath Singh's association with shipping interests in the country are well known, Tyagi's tantrums in the Congress Party has caused quite a few comments among observers. It is recalled that when the Companies (Amendment) Bill was introduced in the Lok Sabha Tyagi had said that the Bill was a "practical step towards socialism" and it was a particularly "clever" act on the part of the Finance Minister to have provided for the conversion of loans given to companies into shares.

There were also other recollections of a paper which Tyagi had submitted some months back to the Party Executive more or less on the same lines as the present Bill in relation to trusts and conversion of loans. The Executive had, it is learnt, forwarded the paper to the government. When Tyagi was reminded by some of his colleagues about this, he is reported to have claimed that in his old paper he had raised only the question of trusts.

The victors in the Executive were jubilant. There was even talk that they had "defeated" the Cabinet and shown how "democracy" works. It was the same "democratic" process enacted last year by the same people when the Prime Minister was pressurised to remove the then Defence Minister KRISHNA MENON

BUSINESS LOBBY

While Pathak raised legal arguments against the proposed measure, Santhanam found a new angle to oppose it by saying that it was a wrong principle for the government to own minority shares in a private concern.

For the first time the veil was raised and members openly spoke about the existence of a business lobby in the Party. Some are reported to have said that Congress members who swore by socialism could not be allowed to oppose every measure that restricted the power of vested interests in the country.

They had ample reason to feel concerned about the existence of this business lobby in the party, for apart from the well-known associations of quite a number of Congress MPs with business houses, this particular incident had shown the worst lobbying in the party in recent times. No less than a top brass of the Birla House had thrown a big party before the general body meeting and quite a number of Congress MPs had participated in it.

The episode had ended in the defeat of this lobby. When the

must be swift and surprising where malpractices by companies are noticed and the machinery provided also should be suitable for that. In this connection he demanded that the Tribunal's interim orders should not be appealable. From the government side it was explained that interim orders will not be appealable.

Warior further suggested that the final orders of the government on the findings of the Tribunal shall not also be appealable, especially as far as facts are concerned. He pointed out that there was right of appeal to a court of law against the orders of the Tribunal and government's orders come only after the court has given its verdict. There was no need for another opportunity of appeal.

Supporting the Bill and the conversion clause were JOACHIM ALVA, C. R. BASAPPA, BHAGAVAT JHA AZAD, VIDYALANKAR etc. from the Congress benches. Feeling uncomfortable about it and still casting doubts on the advisability of this provision were Morarka, Sachindra Choudhury, HIMMATSINGKA and some others.

TTK came forward with a concession that any government order proposed to be issued for the conversion of a loan into equity will be laid on the table of the House for a period of thirty days so that any member can raise a discussion on it and get the House to change it or move for its withdrawal.

An important disclosure made by the Minister was that this law would primarily affect only the two steel companies who had received Rs. 10 crores of government loan and not paid back anything so far even towards the interest on the loan. He said that loans given by the Industrial Finance Corporation or by the National Shipping Board would not come under the scheme and only loans given directly by the government would be covered by the new provision.