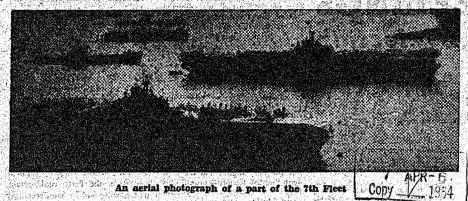
# U.S.SEVENTHEET



THE BATTLE AGAINST THE SEVENTH FLEET'S ENTRY INTO THE INDIAN OCEAN IS ON. PROTEST DEMONSTRATIONS ARE BEING ORGANISED IN COUNTRY AFTER COUNTRY. GOVERNMENT LEADERS ARE MAK-KNOWN THEIR OPPOSITION TO THE US AUTHORITIES.

L AST Saturday, Prime Minister NEHRU read out Minister NEHRU read out a statement in the Rajya Sabha, which went somewhat beyond his earlier regrettable efforts to underplay the significance of the US decision to extend the operations of the Seventh Fleet to the Indian Ocean. The Prime Minister made at least one categorical statement:

gorical statement:

"To prevent misgivings,
however, I would like to
take this occasion to state
emphatically, that while we emphatically, that while we are glad to take assistance from friendly countries in our define build-up, there is no question of any foreign ships or foreign troops or foreign aircraft partaking in the actual defence of the country. This defence will be effected only by the Indian armed forces and the people of India."

### Attempt To Underplay

This was a welcome assurance. That it had to be given was a sign of the realisation by government, however be-latedly, of the deep conster-nation that the Prime Minister's earlier statements had-created not only in India, but all over the world

The Prime Minister's statements in the Rajya Sabha also indicated that govern-

ment had not yet said the final word on the question of the Seventh Fleet's activities in the Indian ocean. It was considered important that the Prime Minister emphasised that "if more information that "if more information becomes available, we shall certainly consider the matter further in the light of such information."

The only "information" which the government of In-

aghast at the self-imposed blindness of the authorities. For months on end, all gov-ernments in the region have been sounded about the US proposal to extend the operations of the Seventh Fleet. General Maxwell Taylor made a special mention of the Seventh Fleet's new operations in a conversation with the Prime Minister himself. What was the ne

necessity

# COMMUNIST PARTY WEEKLY

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cruise, which government would have us believe that

### Misleading Argument

Again it is to mislead the people of India to describe an operation by the Seventh Fleet as one by "a few US naval ships." The record of the Seventh Fleet is sufficiently with the seventh Fleet is sufficiently with the seventh sufficient to the seventh s ently well known to the Prime Minister for him to under-stand its special role and dis-tinguish its operations from those of just some naval craft or the other. The argument that

The Baltimore Sun (De ber 23) gave a clear indica-tion of the "conditions" which the US imperialists wish to impose on India in return for their "aid". Apart from surrender on Kashmir and surrender on Kasamir and the grant of virtual mono-poly to the USA in supply of defence needs, the "condi-tions" include, ominously enough:

"Some willingness to join with the United States in containing Communism in South East Asia."

The Baltimore Sun knows the US imperialists' mind. If the Government of India does and clearly in the earliest future, denouncing the entry of the Seventh Fleet into the Indian Ocean, other governments and peoples in South East Asia will certainly con-sider that India is virtually giving its assent to the US move, and thus acting as a willing partner in the imperialists' designs in this region.



dia insists that it has receivdia insists that it has received is that of "a cruise by a few US naval ships in the Indian Ocean"(1), as the Prime Minister stated last Saturday. The object of this cruise: "becoming acquainted with the seas in this receipt"(1) with the

The Prime Minister's statement makes it clear that government would reconsider its attitude if it received "information" that it was not just a "cruise" but the "continuous presence of US naval forces in the Indian ocean, of a task force with nuclear potential, permanently posted there.

Indian people are

al this consultation and high level sounding, if it is only a single "cruise" by "a few US naval ships"? Surely the Prime Minister and his advisers in the Ministry of External Affairs know well enough that there would have been no for any elaborate consultations over so many months, if it were just the normal kind of pleasure

ocean outside our territorial waters is "open to the naval vessels of the United States as to the naval vessels of any other country"—is again, to other country"—is again, to say the least, fantastic. Who claimed that the ocean was not legally "open"? But this argument seeks in fact to justify and endorse the Se-venth Fleet's advent into the Indian Ocean.
THE GOVERNMENT OF

### **Keep India's** Image Clear

India's image must not be blackened. No grist must be provided for the anti-Indian propaganda mill.

If those in authority refuse to do their duty by informing the US government

# INDIAN OCEAN



Courtesy Times of India

MUST THAT ITS DANGEROUS ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE SEVENTH FLEET HAS BLACKENED ITS IMAGE IN ASIA AND AFRICA AND ALL OVER THE WORLD.

### Chinese Propaganda

The Chinese press has been quick to suggest, as always, that India's hesitations and vaciliations on this urgent question arise from the offers of US "aid". And the latest of US "aid". And the latest news from the USA of plans for long-term military "aid" for India will not help to counter the Chinese propagands, which has been given a new fillip, following the government of India's weak hard helfort attand on the and hesitant stand on the Seventh Fleet.

keep the Seventh Fleet out of the Indian Ocean—then the Indian people must take this duty upon themselves.

 Let every patriotic son and daughter of this land son raise his or her voice against the menace of the Seventh Fleet. This land is ours, It is NOT for sale.

We refuse to be black-malled and pressurised into selling our honour and our sovereignty, our indepen-dence and our basic policies.

Let Uncle Sam know now: India shall never join the US imperialists in "containing" the fighting peoples of South-East Asia. On the contrary, India will join hands with all other peoples of the region, in "conples of the region, in "con-taining" US imperialism and all that goes with it.

Romesh Chandra

GAUHATI: The victory of the Congress candidate in the Nowgong by election to the Assam State Assembly held on December 15, though impressive by the number of votes polled by the winning candidate is no indication of an absolute Congress hold on the electorate or of Opposition's total weakness:

THE disunity in the Opposition ranks, the exploitation of communal and caste feelings by the Congress were factors which outweighed policy considerations and principles and helped the Congress and helped the Congress were according to the seat of the seat of

In reality, the victory of the In reality, the victory of the Congress in Nowgong was not a victory for the declared policies of the party but a victory for such trends and forces against which the Congress is publicly committed to fight.

This byelection, caused by the death of MOTIRAM BORA, an ex-Finance Minister, had roused wide-spread interest, firstly because it was the first byelection in the state after the declaration of emergency and secondly because the fight was mainly between the Congress and Communist candi-dates. (see also NEW AGE dated November 27)

Out of an electorate of 57,588, the total votes polled were 36,371, of which 1,325 were rejected. The Congress candidate RUPRAM SUT. Congress candidate RUPRAM SUT, who belongs to the ministerial group in the Congress, secured 1936s to toes while his immediate nival, the Communist candidate

The Congress had picked up its candidate from a community which has got a sizable number of votes in the constituency. And in its election campaign, the Con-gress openly canvassed votes on communal lines for its candidate, taking advantage of the caste senti-

## Intimidated

The Congress also wooed votes of the linguistic and religious minorities, of Bengaless and Muslims, on the one hand by threats and intimidation and on the other by assurances of government. ment favour and guarantee of their security if only they voted for the Congress candidate. The heavy polling in favour of Con-gress in those particular areas in-habited by the Sut community, immigrant. Muslims and East-

Memorandum

C. ACHUTHA MENON. secr

tary, Kerala State Council of the Communist Party has submitted a

memorandum to the Presiden

requesting him to withold his assent to the Bill. The memoran

Achutha Menon has therefore

requested that assent should not be given to the present Bill and that instead the suspended Kerala

Agrarian Relations Act of 1960 should be revived and included in

the Ninth Schedule of the Consti

Kerala Land Reforms Bill

## AGITATION MOUNTS UP

Plan To Hunger-Strike Before Rashtrapati Bhawan

\* From S. SHARMA

TRIVANDRUM: The Committee for the defence of the Agrarian Relations Act at its meeting held in Trichur on December 16 has called upon all kisan organisations and those who support progressive land legislations to send telegrams to the President of India appealing to him not to give his assent to the Kerala Land Reforms Bill recently passed by the state Assembly.

THE Committee has further decided that its leaders P. R. MADHAVAN PILLAI, B. WELLINGTON and VISHNU BHARA. TIYAN would go on hunger strike in front of the Rashtrapati Bhavan in New Delhi to invite the attention of the President and Parlia. tion of the President and Parlia-ment to the reactionary, anti-

tion of the President and Parliament to the reactionary, antipeasant character of this legislation.

The Committee has pointed out that the Bill was prolandlord and had been opposed inside and outside the legislature by all organisations of kisans and all political parties excepting the ruling party. Satyagraha was conducted before the Secretariat and before the colectorates when the Bill was before

the legislature.

The Bill could be passed only with the vote of the ruling Congress party and that too with a vote of 58 in a House of 127.

All other parties had opposed the passage of the Bill.

This is not, however, to deny

In this election the ruling party brought to play all foul means of administrative pressures financial resources sures, financial resources of money bags and casteism and communalism. The Congress workers even resorted to paro-chial appeals to the electorate taking advantage of the fact that, the PSP candidate was an "out-sider" to the constituency

This is not, however, to deny that Congress has got a sizable following of its own among the electorate. But the chances for the opposition and particularly the Communist candidate was no less brighter, had there been unity of all the opposition forces. In this connection, the role of the PSP the role of the PSP

The PSP had not contested here in the last general elections and in previous general elections, because it had no base in the constituency. The PSP candidate in the 1959 by-election, when PHANI BORA had won, had forefeited his deposit. This time the PSP tried to take This time the PSP tried to take advantage of the fight between Congress and Communists but the edge of their attack was directed against the Communist candidate rather than the Congress. Using the issue of Chinese aggression they carried on a virulent anti-Communist propaganda, mostly to

The PSP depended a lot on the anti-ministerialists in the Congress, who of course fetched them quite a good number of votes. Also the way in which the PSP tried to use the issue of Pakistani infiltration into Assam in collaboration with the Hindu communal forces like the Jan Sanghis, and the dissident Rightist Congress group, only helped the Congress to win immigrant Muslim votes en bloc.

### CPI's Platform

The Communist Party, in spite of being faced with such odds and put in a difficult position

when national, political and economic issues were blurred by disruptive slogans and appeals based on casteism communalism and parochialism, fought the election scrupulously and with considerable credit to itself. It tried its best to make the issues of antional interaction. of national integration, planned economic development and defence of the country the main sought to forge the unity of all

the Communist Party got from the RCPI and other democratic forces principled and progressive stand. The fact that in spite of virulent anti-Communist propaganda let loose by both the Congress and the PSP on the issue of Chinese aggression, the Party could retain its following and its bases remained invincible is a big success for the Party. The manner in which the RCPI cooperated with the Party the fact that the prospect of unity of democratic and progressive forces is not bleak but brighter.

Whispering allery

### W HEN I sit at the type MAN-EATERS' writer to complete the unfinished TTK pro-BEST FRIEND—II file, I get a feeling that I am riding a tiger. The

copyright of this expres-Delhi he spends most of the time at TTK's residence, playing bridge—or is it rummy? And tracking Goenka has been TTK. As far as I am concerned, it is difficult to get paying proposition for them in as much as they get correct clues to the share movements.

know that, a 4,000-

rupee ICS-walla is on forced leave? He is D. L.

MAJUMDAR. He was the

head of the Company Law

good work he was doing

with hardly any powers.

if this is not the case.

tycoonis.

is the most powerful minister in the Union Cabinet after the wrote a 10-page letter to his colleague NANDA. And Nanda

H OW many people colleague NANDA. And Nanda colleague NANDA. And Nanda was flattened. The Home Ministry had issu-

sion, of course, is that of

off TTK.

the Tamilian Marwadi. His EXPRESS had crossed the permissible limit in writing under

emergency conditions.

Readers will remember that it was his Delhi edition that avenge the death of her dear husband, sent deliberately by Menon unshod, unclad and un-

Menon unshod, unclad and unarmed to Thagla.

The whole thing was beautifully cooked up. When Ramnathji was questioned, he promptly blamed the editor and the poor chap went back to the TIMES OF INDIA from where he had migrated to the EXPRESS earlier.

Cooke was easin caucht and

Goenka was again caught and warned. He was to lose a lakh of rupees in government adver-tisement. TTK interceded and Nanda bolted. The warning was

withdrawn.

By the way, the same Goenka is the chairman of the Punjab National Bank, one of the giant banking companies in India. He muscled in when his relation muscled in when his relation SHANTI PRASAD was caught in the foreign exchange racket. How could TTK nationalise

banks if the measure hits such dear friends. Since TTK became dear friends. Since TTK became the Finance Minister, thanks to the Kamaraj Plan, the Bears and Bulls in Dalal Street and Lyons Range have been following care-fully the share market opera-tions of Goenka. Indian designers. It did an excellent project report

know that while in for Bokaro which was highly commended by the Soviet engineers at Bhilai.

Steel Minister -STIRRAMAN. YAM insisted upon appointing Dastur & Co. as Bokaro's consultants. But the Finance Minis sultants. But the finance Minister would not touch it with a barge-pole. TTK insisted upon an American or British firm. The old comprador habit, eh! Plus some of his hangerson could also make a neat pile in commission.

Administration. So me good work he was doing Goenka is a great in at least bringing out chum of TTK. But the one dacoity out of a other day Ramnathji's widow in a letter demanded the blood of KRISHNA MENON to daily by our industrial an unkind cut at their patron—unwittingly.

After a post-dinner chat with the Prime Minister, TTK announced the abolition of the Company Law Administration. It was brought within the bounds of the TTK zamindari with hardly any powers. The chain's Washington cor-respondent revealed that Krish-namachari had prior knowledge of the U.S. decision to convert of the U.S. decision to convert the Indian Ocean into an American lake. When he was in the Dollarland, with cap in hand, in May last, he had been sounded about the nuclear

In its place, TTK has set up an Administrative Board. But the Board has been barred from handling the Pindaris of the big business; house unless prior consent is obtained from the Finance Minister. Let TTK deny if their part the cree. If he hadn't known issue a contradiction at least to the Goenka chain? That way I should say the AYYANGAR is honest about his convictions. The Home Ministry offered the displaced Majumdar the secretaryship of the Works-Housing Ministry. He refused.

He does not like the Russian Migs. And the day after he talked to MAXWELL TAYLOR. Housing Ministry. He refused.

talked to MAXWELL TAYLOR, his aversion was spread out in cold print in the far away WASHINGTON. POST. This paper's New Delhi man, SELIG HARRISON, is not an illiterate. He knows what's happening around here. After all, it was he who broke the story on the Seventh Fleet's Indian Ocean debût.

-INSIDER

# Let All Patriotic Indians

The Central Secretariat of the Communist Party of India issued the following statement on December 22.

HE Communist Party of India strongly condemns the decision of the IIS government to extend the operations of its Seventh Fleet to the Indian Ocean This sinister move has rightly been opposed by all peoples who stand for peace and the national independence of the countries of this region.

To bring the Seventh Fleet into the Indian Ocean is to threaten with the most dangerous features of the cold-war the countries of Asia and Africa, whose shores are washed by the Indian Ocean. The fact that the aircraft carriers and destroyers, which are to be sent into the region, are equipped with nuclear weapons, only underlines still further the gravity of the US decision.

The entry of the Seventh Fleet into the Indian Ocean is a threat to the sovereignty and independence of all the countries of the area. The entire record of the Seventh Fleet is a record of aggression, of use as an instrument for intervention and pressures on the Asian countries and peoples bordering the Pacific.

This notorious fleet has been used and threatened to be used to bolster up US puppet regimes in Taiwan, South Korea and South Vietnam, to maintain and strengthen US bases in the region, such as the one in Okinawa in Japan. It has been used to supply arms and lend assistance to reactionary pro-imperialist forces seeking to undermine nonaligned independent governments, as in the cases of Indonesia and Laos. The Seventh Fleet has become a symbol of imperialist aggression and interference in the internal affairs of peoples in the region in which it has operated till now.

The decision to extend its field of operation to the Indian Ocean has been taken in . violation of the wishes of the peoples and governments of the region. It has been taken with a view to create in the Indian Ocean permanent US military bases, from which pressure can be exercised on the independent countries bordering the ocean. The decirialist tide which is sweeping Asia and Africa and which is successfully defeating the US conspiracies to drag more and more countries The Seventh Fleet in the Indian Ocean will be used to bolster up the recialist fascist Party firmly believes that only by strength-

attack on them by the newly liberated gov- while adhering to our policy of nonalignment ernments of Africa.

The Communist Party of India appeals to all sections of patriotic Indian opinion to exercise the greatest vigilance against this new move of US imperialism. There is no doubt that one of the principal targets of the US Seventh Fleet in the Indian Ocean is the nonaligned policy of our country. The US government has not ceased its devilish efforts to

can India defend its integrity and inde-

The Communist Party deeply regrets that Prime Minister NEHRU has not joined his voice of protest to that of other heads of governments in this region. The failure to denounce the US decision unequivocally seems to have been taken by the imperialists as almost go-ahead signal

## **CPI Central Secretariat** Statement

subvert our foreign policy and to drag us, directly or indirectly, under its "umbrella" and into its system of military pacts. These actionary forces inside India, reached a new height during the last one year and more, ever since the Chinese aggression. Through the VOA deal, through the joint air exercises and suspicious proposals of air umbrellas and supersonic aircraft, through pressures and blackmail over economic "aid" as in the case

Demand Keep

of the Bokaro project, the US imperialists have desperately tried to reverse our policy of nonalignment and to tarnish the image of India before all progressive mankind.

their vigilance and their protests have prevented the efforts of the imperialists and and Right reactionaries from succeeding. The VOA deal was scotched. The pressures over Bokaro resisted. There was no surrender to the continued pressure over Kashmir.

The new move to bring the Seventh Fleet into the Indian Ocean must be seen in the background of the imperialist conspiracy against India's sovereignty and independence, and must therefore, be opposed as the newest and most dangerous attack on India's sovereignty and our policy of nonalignment.

The argument that the Seventh Fleet will sion is aimed at holding back the anti-impe- 'help to "defend" and "protect" India from aggression is a totally false argument. This country has declared that it will never accept an "air umbrella" because such an uminto the orbit of its aggressive military pacts. brella would mean sacrifice of our independence to so-called protectors. The Communist rulers of South Africa against the growing ening our independent defence potential,

The image of India has been blackened by this failure on the part of the Government of India to declare its forthright opposition efforts, aided and abetted by the Right re- to the entry of the Seventh Fleet into the Indian Ocean.

> The new US move comes on the heels of the visit of US General Maxwell Taylor to our frontiers to "examine and inspect" our defence. This visit has itself been a source of humiliation to the dignity of our country and the object of ridicule and hostile propaganda by our enemies. Which independent country, not a party to imperialist war pacts, allows its defences to be inspected by an alien imperialist general?

> The Indian people rightly ask: Have we become a colonial army again-with a US general replacing the old British ones, to whom our national movement gave the quit

> The Government of India must join all other independent nonaligned Afro-Asian governments in protesting against the new US threat and demanding that the Seventh Fleet operations are not extended to the

The Communist Party of India calls on all its members and units, all its sympathisers, on all Indians of all parties who cherish our independence, who stand for peace and for our policy of nonalignment, to launch the most vigorous campaign to demand that the Only the will and unity of Indian patriots, US governmnt keeps its imperialist fleet of war and death out of the Indian Ocean.

> Fleet of War Out of Indian Ocean

# BATTLE LINES FOR lisation of banks for the present, despite the resolutions of PCCs and the speeches of a large number of Congress MPs. BHUBANESWAR

It is no secret now that the monopolists have placed lakhs of rupees at the disposal of the Right reactionary forces inside the Congress, to ensure that there is an overwhelming majority at Bhubaneswar against any overwhelming majority at Bhubaneswar against any overwhelming majority at Bhubaneswar against any chairman of the Planning Commission ASOKA MEHTA.

Faitorial ending... What a crowd of events rush past the

recalls what India and the world have seen in 1963.

Sino-Indian tension, the Right reactionary forces grew stronger in the first half of 1963 than they had ever

been before. It was a steady rise in strength: the byelections of Kripalani and Masani were warning

signals to all who love India, of the grim dangers to

Indian honour and sovereignty, to our basic policies,

But 1963 was equally the year of the biggest counter-offensive against the imperialists and Right re-

action. 1963 was the year of the Great Petition and

Great March—the mightiest all-India campaigns ever

conducted and led by the Communist Party. 1963 was

the year of Bombay Bandh and the Calcutta one-day

general strike. And 1963 ends with the preparations

for the greatest action ever in the history of the

Indian working class—the struggle for dearness allow-

ance, bonus, against rising prices and for nationali-

1963 saw major victories for the working people.

The sacking of Morarji Desai and Patil gave new

confidence in their strength to the democratic forces.

Inside the Congress, the struggle against Right reaction

was waged more effectively and purposefully than ever before. The Jaipur session of the AICC and the pre-

parations for the Bhubaneshwar session of the Indian

National Congress brought into the forefront and gave organised shape for the first time to the anti-

1963 saw also the launching of the counter-offensive against imperialism and Right reaction in the field of

foreign policy. Three major national assemblies held

in November and December (the All India Peace

Congress in Amritsar, the Seminar on International

Affairs and World Peace in Delhi, and the Fourth

National Conference for Afro Asian Solidarity in

Jaipur) marked decisive new achievements, each of

them being in every way an outstanding and unprece-

dented success, broader, bigger and more useful and effective than any peace gatherings ever held before-all pledged to uphold the policy of non-alignment

The world saw in 1963 the signing of the partial

nuclear test ban treaty—a victory for the forces of

Right forces inside the Congress.

against its enemies and detractors.

which the Right constitutes.

Feeding on the Chinese aggression, on continued

T HE Jaipur AICC session was evidently not to the liking of big business. In their desperation at the growth of opinion inside the Congress, in favour of such easures as nationalisation of banks, the monopolists are setting up a screeching howl.

The Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry has had to come out with a detailed comment on the AICC statement on democracy and socialism. This comment is a contribute of the statement of the contribute of the statement of the sta crude attack on socialism itself:

ing the spirit of individual enterprise for common goals."

The FICCI warned that "undue



controls will only jeopardise "democratic values and the forces of economic growth."

mirror of memory, as one

Birla's HINDUSTAN TIMES (December 24) has editorially demned the "anarchic elem in the Congress, who are "mono-tonously pressing empty ideologi-cal nostrums on a harassed leader-

faction that "the intense pressure that was worked up on the ques-tion of nationalisation of banks, has, for example, been resisted." The same issue carried a special

article by K. SANTHANAM titled "The Dangerous Craze of Nationalisation."

1963 - 1964

ed forward.

peace, of decisive importance for all mankind. The

year saw the birth of new nations to independence,

the further break-up and disintegration of the colonial

system. The struggles of the peoples against colonial-

The Soviet Union and the socialist world marched

to new victories, symbolised by the conquest of space

by the first woman cosmonaut Valentina Tereshkova.

The working class movement all over the world march-

The desperation of the imperialists at their success

sive defeats was witnessed graphically in the assassi-

nation of President Kennedy. In a flash, mankind saw

the grave perils which exist for the progress of the

The attacks on the world Communist movement

launched by the dogmatist Chinese leadership in

1963, helped only the imperialists and reactionaries,

who seek to split the forces of peace, democracy and

socialism. But the unity of the world Communist

movement could not be destroyed. The year ends with

ever new efforts by the Communist Party of the Soviet

Union and other fraternal Communist Parties to

strengthen this unity, which is a shield for all peoples

1964 must bring new victories for peace. The test ban treaty must be followed up by popular action for further steps towards general and complete disarma-

1964 must see the end of colonialism and racialism

1964 must bring for India peace with honour, a settlement of all disputes with our neighbours, the

acceptance of the Colombo proposals by the Chinese

The battles of the working people must succeed.

The threat constituted by the entry of the Seventh

Fleet into the Indian Ocean must be fought back, and

non-alignment strengthened against the reactionary

1064 must make firmer the growing unity of the

ONWARD TO NEW VICTORIES FOR INDIA

MAY 1964 BE A YEAR OF PEACE AND PRO-

national democratic forces against imperialism and

world towards disarmament and peace.

aganst imperialism and war.

everywhere.

Covernment.

ism and neo-colonialism reached new heights.

The panic of the m sure inside the Congress is mounting for a halt to some at least of the anti-people policies.

Bhubhaneshwar must see this pressure in action, despite the paid hirelings of the monopolists. The battle lines are being drawn

which feeds the monopolists at the expense of the working people; the other which sacks to curb the monopolists to some extent at least.

Which way will Ehubaneshwa take the Congress?

## Colombo **Proposals**

T HE NASSER-CHOU EN-LAI joint commu-nique's reference to the

WISHES ALL ITS READERS A HAPPY

NEW YEAR

India-China dispute has been the subject of much comment and speculation. about a peaceful settlement of the border dispute through direct negotiations."

Premier Chou En-lai, at the Premier Chou En-lai, at the press conference before his departure from Cairo, repeated the usual Chinese position in regard to the acceptance of the Colombo proposals "in principle". He went on to claim that the initial measures taken by China on the Himalayan frontiers "already exceeded those demanded by the Colombo proposals." And yet he went on to emphasise that the proposals were "recommendations" proposals were

The truth has to be faced that the Chinese government refuses to accept the Colombo proposals. to accept the Colombo proposals. It was obviously Premier Chou En-lai's insistance which kept the very word "proposals" out of the joint communique. Only a few days earlier, at the Warsaw session of the World Council of Peace, the Chinese delegation violently, though vainly, opposed the inclusion in a document ninese delegation h vainly, opposed in a document the inclusion in a document adopted by the session, of a reference to the Colombo efforts.

Despite the withdrawal of Chinese troops in the eastern sector, the fact remains that the Chinese leaders refuse to accept and allow implementation of other parts of the Colombo proposals particularly in the Western sector.

World public opinion must make itself felt to persuade the Chinese government to accept the Colombo proposals without reser-vations. The continuation of the tension is only helping the perialists to strengthen t selves in Asia.

The IIS decision to extend the operations of the Seventh Fleet to the Indian Ocean would probably never have been made, were it not for the US government banking on India-China tension and the consequent severe breach in Afro Asian Solidarity.

-Romesh Chandra

The relevant sentence in the communique lends support to "the peaceful efforts initiated at the Colombo Conference for dissipating the tension between India and China and for bringing

> host to the first Solidarity Conference; it had been the first national organisation of the movement; it had always taken a leading part in the work of the inter-national bodies of the soli-darity movement.
>
> And yet, the frequent fall-

people's movement of solidarity.

movement was decided upon at the Delhi conference

that has now grown into the powerful tree which is the Afro-Asian People's Soli-

darity organisation of today.

In some ways, the Fourth National Conference of the

Indian Association for Afro-

Asian Solidarity (Jaipur, De-

ing of age of the Indian sec-

which embraces so many countries of the two conti-

ents.
The Indian organisation was the original sponsor of

Romesh Chandra

the movement; it had been

of the mighty movement

ures and mistakes on a gov-ernmental level in regard to the key problems of Afro-Asia at times tended to weaken the prestige of our country in the movement despite the fact that the Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity always tried its best to make up for the weaknesses and failures of official

actions.

The last one year had seen the full blast of anti-Indian propaganda in Asia and Africa, and the image of India often lost its anti-India often lost its anti-imperialist sharpness in the eyes of our friends in the two tinents The Right reactionary offensive often drow-ned in its rancorous clamour, the true voice of anti-imperialist peace-loving India.

had played a heroic and courageous role during this period. Its magnificent work, particularly at the Moshi conference and later at the Nicosia executive meeting of the solidarity movement, had helped to restore its original sharp to the image of

ceived for the conference and students Planning Minis-from anti-imperialist perso-nalities and organisations in is President of the Rajasthan Britain and other European Branch of the Association, countries, helped in empha-sising the fact that the solidarity movement is not a movement but one

Member of the fraternal Soviet delegation Rasul Raza

Aruna Asaf Ali (centre), Dr. Anup Singh and Dr. Wickre-



**DECEMBER, 29, 1963** 

### The Afro-Asian solidarity movement was born in National Unity for India only a few days before the Bandung Conference. It was at the Asian Countries Conference in Delhi in April 1955 that the decision was taken to set up a Independence & Peace ND it is the seed sown The ordeal of the last one fhen—the very word year had helped the Indian "solidarity" to describe the Association to mature. And it movement was decided was this maturity which was

AFRO\_ASIAN SOLIDARITY MOVEMENT COMES OF AGE

delegates at the conferenceand again, it is not Afro-Asian Solidarity against the world which we seek, but Afro-Asian Solidarity with states were also well repre-sented with Delhi in the lead with over fifty delegates.

The interest which the conthe world against war and ference commanded inter-nationally was evident from

so evident at the Jaipur Con-

the participation of important personalities from abroad

and other countries attended.

The presence as observers

The presence as observers of representatives of the Cze-

lovok and Polish embas-

There were over a thousand

ference.

imperialism.

The Jaipur conference marked a decisive advance in broadening the active parti-cipation in the movement in The conference was inaugurated by the UAR Ambassadar in India Ahmad Hassan El-Feki, who stressed the im-India This can be seen in the representative, influential and united character of the El-Feki, who stressed the importance of the solidarity movement, which has its headquarters in Cairo. A powerful delegation came from the Soviet Union. From Ceylon Dr. S. A. Wickremasinghe, MP, Chairman of the Communist Party, and Philip new executive committee and office-bearers elected at Jaipur. But it was also evident from the very start of the conference. Jaipur was the first confer-

ence of the movement to re-ceive a message from Prime Minister Nehru. And it was Gunawardhane, MP. addressed the conference. A large number of African students from Ghana, Nigeria, Uganda not a formal one either.
The Rajasthan participation was remarkably wide and

representative: there were several MLAs, Congressmen and Communists, indepen-dents, trade unionists, leaders sies, as also the messages re- of mass organisations, youth

is President of the Rajasthan Branch of the Association, Speaker of the Liegislative

Assembly Ram Nivas Mirdh:

and Deputy Speaker Narayar Singh Masuda (who was Cha

irman of the Reception Com-

mittee) were among the lead-ing participants. Chief Minis-ter Sukhadia gave a dinner

conference. MPs and ex-MPs like. Giani

Gurmukh Singh Musafir, Dr. Anup Singh, Arjun Arora, Chatur Narain Malaviya and

doctors, teachers and social workers, actively participated

It was not only the broad participation which marked a new advance in the Indian

movement. It was also the

NEW AGE

ions in regard

which were taken.
The discussions in to the advent of the s

which seeks the support of all in the common cause of peace and national independence.

As was emphasised again and again, it is not Afrothe extension of operations the fleet to the Indian Ocean and said:

There is no doubt that by the Jaipur conference in this regard will help greatly to win support and sym-



UAR Ambassador Ahmad Hossan El-Feki addressing the

rity movement has consis-tently opposed the stationing of foreign troops and esablishment of foreign bases military pacts and alliances and foreign intervention. In conformity with this unequivocal stand, this the ostensible American plea that the proposed move is designed to stabilise peace in this region. The conference, on the con-trary, firmly believes that the move would inevitably accentuate prevailing tensions, and create new probthe U.S. government to reverse this ominous deci-sion immediately."

"The Afro-Asian solida-

Several speakers referred to the Seventh Fleet in the commission meetings, in the public meeting at the end of the conference. A cable was sent to the permanent Secretariat of the movement in Cairo requesting it "to mobi-lise opinion against this dangerous move and to call for observance of a day of

pathy for India among all anti-imperialists in the two continents. Another decision

significance taken by the con-ference is the establishment of a National Campaign Compices of the Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity. This committee will "canalis all forms of assistance—moral and material—to the movements against colonia-lism and recialism, particu-larly in South Africa and the elected chairman of

committee.

At the centre of the discussion was the question of non-alignment. The principal resolution adopted by the conference is the Jaipur Appeal in support of the policy of nonalignment, which says:

"This policy is in the best interests of our Mother-land; and equally, the pur-suit of this policy by India is a significant contribution

Arjun Arora M.P. speaks at a commission meeting as Baren Ray listens attentively.



PAGE FIVE

AND ALL HUMANITY!

## YOUR QUESTIONS ANSWERED

How would you define the character of Soviet aid How would you define the church of not help to the nonaligned countries? Does it not help to GHOSE. preserve capitalism in those countries? (D. K. GHOSE,

AID WEAKENS

IMPERIALISM

A First of all, it is not the Soviet Union alone among the socialist countries that gives aid to the nonaligned countries, including China, do so though, of course, the Soviet Union took the lead in this matter and makes the largest contribution. This only coes to confirm its van took Still later STALIN led the and CPSU in a successful ideological stream as a paint TROTSKY and his group who advocated similar camp anti-Leninist ideas. Revolution is not for export, Stalin said in a tes it, telling phrase, basing himself, on the law of the uneven development of capitalism and of world differ-This only goes to confirm its van-guard role in the socialist camp guard role in the socialist camp but there is nothing unique about Soviet aid which demarcates it.

Soviet aid which demarcates it, let us say, from Chinese aid.

Both these socialist countries are giving aid, but in very different quantities, to Nepal, to give only one example. Obviously it cannot be said that Soviet aid to Nepal is strengthening capitalism. While Chinese aid is strengthening socialism! Therefore, the question itself is incorrectly

posed.

The basic character of socialist aid to the nonaligned countries is anti-imperialist. It is
meant to help these countries meant to help these countries break their dependence on the imperialists for each and every type of economic and military

But does socialist aid weaken imperialism?

Take the Aswan dam in the UAR. It is essential for Egypt's growth and knowing this the US tried blackmail, refusing aid unless Nasser cancelled his arms agreement with Czechoslovakia. The Soviet Union not only stepped in but gave such effective backing that NASSER nationalised the Suezi Canal, rebuffed the imperialist invasion and with Soviet help again, ran the canal services.

Take Ceylon and its effective opposition to the blackmail of the US government acting as the open agents of the nationalised oil monopolies. Again Soviet aid in the form of oil supplies proved decisive. It is meant to help these coun-It is meant to help these countries to eliminate as quickly as possible the terrible economic backwardness which is the curse imperialism left behind and which it exploits in order to further its neo-colonialist designs. Once these countries have advanced industriations of the contribution of the contribution of the countries have advanced industriations. the troin of on supplies provide decisive.

Take Cuba, which the US hoped to starve to death by cancelling the long standing sugar delivery agreement. But the sugarcane did not rot in the fields and Cuba did not starve—the Soviet Union and other socialist countries expend in trial-agrarian self-sustaining econialist strategy is smashed.

## ECONOMIC FREEDOM

What has to be realised is that Union and other socialist countries stepped in.

Take our country. Whether it is the development of the steel industry or heavy machine tools, or heavy coalmining machinery or oil or pharmaceuticals in the public sector—all so very necessary for our economic independence—in all cases Soviet aid is decisive, while other socialist countries are also pulling their weight. for the overwhelming majority of Afro-Asian and Latin American chief task confronting the peoples independence and national re-generation, of breaking their unequal and in many cases, depen-dent relations with the imperialist world market and the continuing grip of imperialist mono-poly capital.

PAGE SIX

weight.

It might be mentioned here that the long term Indo-Soviet trade agreement signed on February 2, 1953 was the signal for the development of a whole series of agreements between the Soviet Union and the other trade independent countries. poly capital.

The main burden of the struggle needed to accomplish this task falls on the national demotask falls on the national democratic movement of the countries concerned. Various classes, parties and individuals have to be united and enlightened and led for the completion of the national democratic revolutions.

Moreover, in today's world there are two alternatives newly independent countries.
Peaceful coexistence acquired newly independent countries.
Peaceful coexistence acquired new dimensions, the economic basis of the nonaligned, antiimperialist trend in international politics, was laid.
Certain aspects of aid from the socialist countries need emphasis.

It is given mainly for the development of basic indust-

there are two alternatives before the peoples of these countries as they embark upon the ardnous task of national regeneration. Will they choose the capitalist oath or the nonries in the public sector and the credits have a very low interest rate, repayable in instalments over the capitalist path or the non-capitalist path? A fierce class struggle develops in these coun-tries around this question.

These are matters of the inter-

strugge tries around this question.

These are matters of the internal development of these countries in which the socialist countries cannot and do not intervene.

This is a matter of principle long accepted by the Communist movement, as long as ENGELS's statement, in the closing decades of the 19th century that the vicinity to repay the credit through the delivery of commodities usually exported by the borrowing countries.

The carmarked credits of the socialist countries of the maximum participation of the maximum participation of the countries.

Later this became a practical struction ssue with the success of the Apart fro October Revolution in 1917. Very soon after this LENIN had to

perialist character

perialist character.

Some quarters allege that such aid is only a form of joint enterprise together with the US imperialists. On the contrary, however, the US and other imperialists never bothered about the question of economic aid to the newly independent countries till the Soviet Union made a spectacular breakthrough in this field.

Then, reluctantly and in a niggardly fashion some funds did flow into some basic industries

flow into some basic industries in the public sector in some countries. Even then the terms in the tries. Even then the terms in the shape of interest rate, repayment conditions and training of local technicians are not nearly so advantageous as those offered by the socialist countries.

the socialist countries.

And every now and again the imperialists sabotage whole projects for which earlier promises were made. A glaring instance is the Bokaro steel plant.

Only a thoroughly perverted mind can see in the concessions that the imperialists are now forced to make on occasions.

forced to make on occasions, thanks to socialist aid, some joint conspiracy of the socialist and imperialist powers.

It must also be stressed that But does socialist aid weaken mperialism?

socialist aid greatly raises the prestige of the socialist countries and of socialist ideas among the masses of the underdeveloped

The very process of industrial and economic growth, which this aid facilitates, helps to create and enlarge the ranks of the working class, without which working class, without which socialism will remain an utopian

socialism will remain an utopian dream.

Socialist aid helps the rallying and the unity of the national democratic forces by shattering anti-Communist anti-socialist prejudices. It helps the growth of

anti-imperialist consciousness.

All these factors acquire very great significance when the people of a given underdeveloped the choice of the choice of the take country confront the choice of the path of development to take capitalist or non-capitalist.
Socialist aid becomes part of the
living experience of vast masses,
for whom experience alone is the
ultimate teacher and guide.

### TWO MISCONCEPTIONS

There are two misconceptions to be avoided when examining the question of socialist aid to underdeveloped newly independent countries.

dent countries.

The first is the wrong notion that except for countries which have gone on to socialism as part of their freedom struggle, anti-

of their freedom struggle, aminimperialism is only a pro-capitalist factor.

That is to say, it is wrong to hold that aid which strengthens the anti-imperialist, independent economic foundations of a newly free state led by the national bourgeoiste only helps capitalism. Anti-imperialism should not be

equated with pro-capitalism.

We should remember that for a non-capitalist path of develop-ment, industrial growth, public sector extension, independent foreign policy, etc., are also essential. Anti-imperialism is a crucially important segment of the programme of non-capitalist

development.

The second is the wrong notion redit, the socialist countries usually provide for the opportunity to repay the credit through the delivery of commodities usually exported by the borrowing countries.

The second is the wrong notion that the forces of revolution can only be increased and rallied through the delivery of commodities usually exported by the borrowing countries.

The second is the wrong notion that the forces of revolution can only be increased and rallied through economic breakdown and catastrophe. This is a variant of the notion that it needs the disconting of war to engender revolution. Actually this notion is more in the nature of a slander to depict Communists and other fighters for socialist revolution as persons bent on creating misery and chaos as the

sands upon thousands of technical cadre—for the training of whom also the socialist countries provide plenty of opportunities.

All these factors taken together give meaning to the formulation that aid from socialist countries is essentially of an anti-important of the class struggle matures and the least, been impeded by socialist essentially of an anti-important of the class struggle matures and the least, been impeded by socialist essentially of an anti-important of the class struggle matures and the least, been impeded by socialist essentially of an anti-important of the class struggle matures and the least been impeded by socialist essentially of an anti-important of the class struggle matures and the least been impeded by socialist essentially of an anti-important of the class struggle matures and the least been impeded by socialist essentially of an anti-important of the class struggle matures and the least been impeded by socialist essentially of an anti-important of the class struggle matures and the least been impeded by socialist essentially of an anti-important of the class struggle matures and the least been impeded by socialist essentially of an anti-important of the class struggle matures and the least been impeded by socialist essentially of an anti-important of the class struggle matures and the least been impeded by socialist essentially of an anti-important of the class struggle mature and the least been impeded by social structure.

essential background for their plots and coups.

The class struggle matures and rises through the contradiction inherent in capitalist development which nothing can conjure away. It is the duty of all those who have a scientific approach to socialism to link up the class struggle with each phase of the contradictory development of The class struggle matures and rises through the contradiction inherent in capitalist development which nothing can conjure away.

It is the duty of all those who have a scientific approach to socialism to link up the class struggle with each phase of the contradictory development of capitalism and to point to the socialist perspectives. It is their duty to lead mass struggles in each phase of capitalist development so that the people through their own experience, come to desire the end of capitalism.

Passive waiting for capitalist

when good relations between our country and the socialist countries began to develop quickly.

What did great damage to the class struggle and mass actions was the Chinese aggression, which put on the garb of "leftism" and a "revolutionary" approach to the ruling class in India. Passive waiting for capitalist breakdown is hardly the atti-There is a lesson in all this for all who want a socialist India. preakdown is hardly the atti-tude any revolutionary worth the name can adopt.

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Gauhati

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Facing a volley of critical and searching questions in Parliament last week—before it adjourned till the next hudget session—the Prime Minister in fact gave a clean chit to the US move to send her Seventh Fle to the Indian Ocean beyond the territorial waters of India. His manner indicated that he was totally unconcerned by this move and whereas members could see a big cloud in it, the Prime Minister could hardly WHAT was even more intri- thing about it. In fact, we first

guing was his statement saw it in the newspapers here, in the Lok Sabha that the which reproduced, I think, US Chief of Staff, Gen. Max-some message from America, well Taylor who was with the Minister for half an hour only briefly mentioned just to keep acquainted, as I the subject when he was going away and the Prime Mi-nister himself does not think "When Gen, Maxwell Taylor

some newspapers there, about was told

week in parliament

apprehensions voiced by members and the press also about the possible danger to the policy of nonalignment pursued by India and other aggravation of international ion by this action of the US Government, the Prime Minister could dismiss the whole thing in a casual manner He thought that the extension of the US Seventh Fleet's operation to the Indian Ocean was "probably just to keep acquainted" with the

In response to a calling attention notice, the Prime Mi-nister told the Lok Sabha on December 19: "There have heen newspaper reports to est that the United States

operational sphere of its

Seventh Fleet from the China Sea to the Indian Ocean area. We had no information on

this subject and we had at no

US Government in the mat-

"When Gen, Maxwell Tay-lor called on me on the 17th

December, among other matters mentioned he told

me that they were consider-ing the advisability of some

units of their Seventh Fleet

cruising these areas with the object of getting acquin-

ted with the seas in this region, but no decision had

matter with the US Government.

In complete contrast to the apprehensions voiced by this; it has not been finally decided yet, but it was being considered, as I have said, that some ships, some part of the Fleet should come to these waters and perhaps may even go to Africa and roam about so.
like this. He did not say anythe coming to our

P. K. Vasudevan Nair asked ports, anyhow in our terri-torial waters. That was all".

"no objection" from us as

The Prime Minister replied that so far as he knew there was "no question of any exer-

cise anywhere". "There is no

matter to us. It depends on what they are going to do. We

When P. K. Vasudevan Nair

(Communist) asked whether

they were coming for "sight seeing", the Prime Minister's response was: "Yes, I say it is

sight seeing, seeing the waters

Vasudevan Nair: How can

Renu Chakravartty (Com-

Prime Minister: It is just

possible to impress the countries roundabout that the are there. Some justification

there may be. But they are not coming to India. The Indian Ocean is a vast area;

it spreads right from Africa

pons!

the war ships come here for sight seeing?

do not know yet", he added

n of their referring the

It necessary to take up the came to see me, he did not

HARISH CHANDRA MA-THUR (Congress) asked whether it was the attitude of the Government of India that any country has access to the Indian Ocean or the Arabian Sea and can take their war ships there and have evereises without consulting the countries in the region and without a sort of

military strategy and the are strategically important

> he could not quite under-stand what the member wanted. Was he to ask the IIS Government what their future intentions were? When Azad repeated his question, the Prime Minister said: "No Sir, we have not asked. They told us they were coming just once here.
>
> I do not know what they will do in future". Hem Barua (PSP) wanted to

ATTACK ON

7th FLEET

bably be coming to the Indian Ocean in a month or two's time. I suppose the obvious inference is that they are doing this to let it be that they are there. Renu Chakravartty. It is

Prime Minister: I do not know how far that report in

the papers about nuclear war-

heads is correct or not. May be. I understand from the

statement made by Gen. Tay-

lor, on his going away from India today, that an aircraft

carrier with some destroyers if they decide so, would pro

whether the government thought that the presence of the Seventh Fleet in the Indian Ocean will only help to increase tension in the area and cause concern in the minds of the independent countries in the area. If so he wanted to know whether the government would convey this feeling of this country to the IIS Government

Prime Minister: I do not think that any particular

the countries here. If the hon. Member takes the

countries one by one, most of the countries in South-

Homi Daji (Communist):

The Ceylon Prime Minister has expressed grave concern.

Prime Minister: I do not say

all, but most of them are and some of them are not. It is possible that some people may feel a little nervous about it.

asked whether there was any truth in the report that Gen.

Taylor offered the aircraf car-

rier coming along with the Seventh Fleet as an "air um-

been no offer and no proposal

of this kind or of any other

kind. He merely referred to

The Prime Minister repeat-

Bhagavat Jha Azad (Con-

gress) asked if in view of re-ports in American and British

brella" to us.

this matter.

"Some People

Feel Nervous"

such aggressive action by the Indian Ocean, the government would ask for a clarification. IIS government Curiously enough, A. D.

The Prime Minister said Mani (independent) interrupte could not quite underted to say, "Some of us welstand what the member come the Seventh Fleet". if he was prepared to give an assuranuce that "his Communist friends in China" would torted: "I am not here to

know whether the coming of as the Rear Admiral of the the Seventh Fleet into the Seventh Fleet. We know Indian Ocean would not be an invitation to other countries to do a similar thing.

Prime Minister: I doubt very
Prime Minister: Yes, quite much if that would be such an invitation. I doubt very much if there is any other power which is capable of sending a considerable numher of shins round about here. also said

### "Not To Our Detriment"

Ananda Namhiar (Comit is the policy of the government of India not to protest when naval forces of another country decide to cruise in a big way in the vicinity of our nehru's weak defence away from its shores, without our asking for such protec-tion?

> Prime Minister, No. it is not the policy of ours at all. We see; if the thing is obviously to our detriment, we protest; if it is not, we do not.

The issue figured prominently in the Rajya Sabha too on the same day when Bhupesh Gupta, who given notice of a motion for papers on the subject, rose to demand that the clarifying the government's

ocean outside the terri-torial waters of India is open to the naval vessels of the United States as to the naval vessels of any other wrong to suggest that a cruise by a few US naval ships in the Indian Ocean either threatens our freedom or imperils our policy

A Congress member Sudhis

our country. You are not here

Seventh Fleet....We know how to defend our country".

Later on Saturday the

Prime Minister made a state-ment in the Rajya Sabha in

response to Bhupesh Gupta's motion for papers. Besides re-peating what he had already stated in the Lok Sabha, he in

the course of his statement.

emphatically, that while we are glad to take assistance from friendly countries in our defence build-up, there is no question of any foreign ships or foreign troops or foreign aircraft participating in the actual defence of the country. This defence will be effected only by the Indian

### PM Must Reconsider

position and its reaction to warned that the coming of the US move. Bhupesh said the US Seventh Fleet into the that the Afro-Asian countries were alarmed by this vate the political situation in

### \* From Our Parliamentary Correspondent

to extend the operation of the Seventh Fleet to the Indian Ocean.

the government what steps they are taking to prevent such a thing. It is a question of policy. The voice of India should be raised by the Prime ed that Gen. Taylor had told him that it was only being considered whether a part of Minister himself that we would not tolerate the presence of the US Fleet in the freedom of our country and demands it. Therefore it is not good for the Prime | Minister to say that these are not ter-

newspapers about some sort of continuing presence of the He warned that we shall be move.

move of the US Government the area and increase tension. to extend the operation of The US had no business to be the Seventh Fleet to the in the Indian Ocean, 7,000 miles away from her shores. He cited the protest made by Ceylon and Indonesia and he said that the US move was build-up.

> Bhupesh reminded the Prime Minister that he had in the past objected to the extension of the operation of ed to the Prime Minister, as the leader of a great non-aligned country, to reconsider the whole matter and raise his voice against this US

ritorial waters", Bhupesh said.

clearly intended to link up the NATO and SEATO military

been taken in the matter.
Some naval vessels of the
Seventh Fleet might be used

-MOHIT SEN

The Keu

ssues

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"If the US Government munist): With atomic weadecided to do this, all that we need say, today, is that out-side the territorial waters of India, the ocean is, naturally, onen to them, as to the naval vessels of any other country".

> according to the Government of India's assessment, were the motives and reasons behind motives and reasons behind down to the South Pole and this US move. Was it to prototo the west up to the Atlantic vide a deterrent to the Chinese or to emphasise the indecan go round all that area. nese or to emphasise the inde-pendence of the US Govern-ment of those countries which today have given them mili-

Nath Pai (PSP) asked, what

The Prime Minister expressed his inability to answer the question. He did not want to rmice "But all I can say",

Renu Chakravartty referrated to press reports that it was not just one or two ships coming into the send whether a part of the Seventh Fleet should be sent to tour the Indian Ocean and it has not been decided yet finally. and aircraft carrier

ships coming into the Indian Ocean, that it was a task force of the Seventh only that it is a sight seeing

### NEW AGE

# GUNBOAT, TYPES DIPLOMACY

"New Delhi has not desisted

the world on the ground that a power vacuum' exists, New Delhi is seemingly content to

After pointing out that the US decision is not one of making casual visits to the Indian Ocean

but a fundamental one with far-

reaching consequences on which the Americans have been planning and sounding the reactions, of

"Has this crisis and the China

problem caused such a sea-change in New Delhi's posture in world affairs? We are assured that it has not but the facts, such as they

The paper called upon the Prime Minister to think again on the problem. "New Delhi must ask it-

self seriously whether the course it is following against its better judgment will really yield divi-dends in the long run."

Criticising the utterances of India's Ambassador in Washington on the same subject, THE TIMES OF INDIA wrote on Monday: "In a matter of such considerable moment and which the Prime Minister is obviously

handling with extreme caution the Ambassador in Washington would better serve the country's

interests by keeping mum; whigh, incidentally, is what President Johnson has done."

are, indicate otherwise."

ENDORSING

U.S. MOVE?

NOWEVER much the Prime Minister has tried to play down the importance of the proposed extension of the operational sphere of the United States' Seventh Fleet to the Indian Ocean and however reassuring he has tried to be before Parliament by declaring that it was no threat to our freedom or nonalignment, the issue has snowballed into one of public discussion and those who first expressed serious concern over this US move have continued to feel more convinced of its sinister designs and harmful consequences.

"The theory that there is no point in expressing disapproval since the United States has the Government of India's apathy and indifference which could be interpreted as even quiet acquiescence to the Pentagon's brazen attempt to act as policeman on the high seas in this part of the world has only deepened the enigma for many. Of course, there are some others who have which right, as any other power has, to enter the Indian Ocean makes nonenter the Indian Ocean makes non-sense of much that is essential to meaningful diplomacy. When SEATO was organised and India's views on the subject of military alliance were emphatically express-ed, were these views irrelevant or undestrable simply because India to find a virtue in the eu, were mese views irrelevant or undesirable simply because India could not prevent the formation of this alliance?

THE TIMES OF INDIA which earlier also wrote strongly against the US move to extend the opera-tion of the Seventh Fleet to the Indian Ocean has continued to criticise the move and to call upon New Delhi to wake up. On last

"Clearly the attempt to soft-pedal a decision of considerable significance has been unavailing and New Delhi, for its part, can-not overlook the need, once and for all, to clarify its attitude. The pretence that nothing important is involved was never convincing and is now rapidly wearing thin.

"Over the past one year it has been fairly widely known on an unofficial basis that the US navy was nourishing ambitions of establishing a presence in the Indian Ocean and, in support of this objective, dark hints were suitably released from time to time on the subject of Chinese submarines and the 'vacuum' created by the with-drawal of British naval power.

Asian governments, the paper warns that 'New Delhi's silent acwarns that 'New Delhi's silent acquiescence will, not unreasonably, be interpreted as an oblique endorsement of the US project, with irreparable damage to India's image in South-East Asia'. United States interias to do mediately but—what is likely to develop from an American naval presence in the Indian Ocean. This is at the heart of the matter "The quibble over America's right to operate outside Indian territorial waters completely ignores the truth that the Seventh Fleet is to be used as a political weapon in support of what Washington considers is or will be in the interests of South-East Asia. This is something which it is inconceivable New Delhi would have silently accepted before the October-November crisis of 1962. and not such technicalities as that the Indian Ocean is free for that the Indian Ocean is free for anyone to enter or that Ameri-can naval ships will not be fuell-ed or serviced at Indian ports. Nor is it material in any way to argue that only 'one or two ships' are involved.

### THIN END OF WEDGE

"Once it is conceded that a part f the Seventh Fleet has the right eriodically to patrol the Indian Ocean this concession in effect periodically to patrol the indian Ocean this concession in effect justifies the presence of the entire Seventh Fleet. What we have here is the thin end of the wedge which implies, that the wedge itself is less pertinent than the purpose it is to fulfil.

Washington, and more specifically the Pentagon, presumably supposes that the climate created by the border dispute is as promising a context as any in which to 'take over the Indian Ocean as a successor to the British navy. This is surely something which New Delhi cannot dismiss by claiming that it has no information, that India can do nothing about it, that it has not been consulted, or that Indian territorial waters will not be violated.'

On Saturday, the paper again wrote under the headline THINK AGAIN PLEASE':

PAGE EIGHT

In a second editorial the PATRIOT wrote last Friday:

"We will not be able to prethe American navy doing what it likes. But we can protest. Our government can clearly and cate-gorically tell the American government that this is a most un ment that this is a most unificating act; that we do not require American protection. We can further indicate that if America persists in spite of our protests we shall have no other course but to regard America as an openly imperialist power. We can refuse to take any further aid from America and begin returning whatever is due to her..."

"The present American decision is exploratory in character. It is a test of the political integrity of the

"By failing to oppose the Seventh Fleet's proposed operation in the Indian Ocean, India is weakened diplomatically, without making any immediate gain which can paye the way for a peaceful solution of the border dispute with China."

MORE LOVAL

But the NATIONAL HERALD of December 21 okays the US project and rules out any idea of protest by India in the matter. It said:

there is an intention to equip the American naval units with nuclear weapons." "For the rest, there is little enough that India can do in words or in action which will not embarrass friends or comfort foes."

THE STATESMAN is also of the THE STATESMAN is also of the view that there is no ground for our raising objections at this stage to the proposed US project. The Indian Ocean is not yet under a Nehru doctrine, and even if India had the strength to rig up one she would hardly be justified in imposing it in this case." imposing it in this case."

by India in the matter. It said:

"The old complexes are not at work now; Chinese aggression has changed the situation. It would be puerile of India to protest platonimitation."

"But specifically in the context of containing China, the naval tour still invites the objections that politically it could be unwise, militarily ineffective, and in both

## OMINOUS SHADOW OF SEVENTH FLEET

"New Delhi has not desisted in the past from defining its attitude towards a number of international problems although neither Indian consent nor approval was technically necessary or even legally relevant. Yet when American military power is to be established in this part of governments or Southwast metable ing our own. If we take it without demur and pretend that nothing serious has happened we will be inviting a new form of domination, one which is more insidious than the one from which we have es-

The BLITZ newsmagazine of December 22 called the US move gunboat diplomacy and said:

"Whatever be the motive of this latest American bravado, it must cause, New Delhi mighty reassment. And its ti malignancy is manifest in its announcement from American quarters at a time like this when China and Pakistan are busy raising so much controversy about our nonaligned independence in the world in the context of the projected conference of

### PROVIDING A HANDLE

"India is facing a serious Sino-Pak challenge to the nonaligned conference, which we are firmly backing up. A more handsome gift to the Chinese and the Pakistani from Washington could not have been conceived at a moment like

"New Delhi has, therefore, no "New Delhi has, therefore, no alternative but to repudiate the project. The most practical form of protest would, in our opinion, be the immediate extension of our territorial waters limit from six to

The AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA

"If India's objective is to find peaceful solution of the border spute without resort to arms, but from a position of strength, the US Seventh Fleet's presence in the Indian Ocean can hardly be of any avail in the hard game of pati avail in the hard game of patient waiting and slow accretion of internal strength. On the other hand, it will give handle to Peking's propagandists who have started sowing the seeds of discord among India's traditional friends in Africa and Asia, whose combined political influence far outmatch their mili-

cally, for the pleasure of others, against an exercise which poses no threat of any kind to her and is a warning only to a country which has committed aggression against her. At other times, the US Seventh has committed her. At other tim Fleet or any other fleet indulging in exercises beyond its legitimate limits would be considered a dan gerous pastime, but no Indian alive to the Chinese danger would advocate academic protests."

THE INDIAN EXPRESS also is not averse to the US project. On last Thursday it said: "Since there is no question of India becoming a participant in whatever plans the USA may have, her own conscience should be clear." It added that India is "rightly interested in not promoting a scare in her neighbourhood."

"The Seventh Fleet has remained "The Seventh Fleet has remained close to the Chinese mainland for years without inviting disaster. By sending a few ships through the Indian Ocean the Seventh Fleet may be depended upon not to cause a frightful havoc."

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES wrote on December 17 that "A great deal of excited comment has appeared in some sections of the Press" on this subject. Its own reaction is not excited. It said that India must make it clear that she is not involved in this US project and also she should protest "very firmly if

respects inferior to the alternative—aid for India's strength—towards which the West has grown surprisingly cool."

-Saniaua

### CORRECTION N the feature "Your

Questions Answered" nublished in New Age of December 22, 1963 Dage 14. second column the figure of private foreign capital in 1948 was inadvertently dropped. It was about Rs. 256 crores. This has increased to Rs. 571 crores in 1958, as noted in the fea-It should also be noted

that the figure of Rs. 380 15) has taken a new turn, crores of aid from socialis THE bustee people had petitioned DR. S. RADHA- Commissioner of Singhbhum KRISHNAN, President of In- Sometime back, had ordered countries mentioned in the ame column forms nearly dia, in January this year urg-ing him to take measures to a quarter of the foreign aid RECEIVED TILL JANUARY redress the plight of the bus-1961. The words emphasised tee dwellers Dr. Radhakrishnan had requested the state government to institute an were dropped by mistake. The errors are regretted. enquiry to ascertain the cor- the statements filed by the of the grievances of \_\_Edito the applicants

## PEACE, FREEDOM AND SOCIALISM

(WORLD MARXIST REVIEW)

No. 11, 1963

CONTENTS INCLUDE:

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

G MAURER: Inviolable Foundation of Unity of Internation

NEW AGE

**DECEMBER 29, 1963** 

The Supreme Court by a majority judgment on December 5, held Rules 148 and 149 of the Indian RailNav. Establishment Code unconstitutional. being inconsistent with Article 311(2) and violative of Article 14, of the Constitution.

NDER Rule 148 (since renumbered as 149), the appropriate authority was empowered to terminate the services of permanent employees after giving them notice for the specified period or paying them salary for such period in lieu of notice.

The Surgery Cauta shall be stablishment Code was, in fact, hanging like a sword of Damocles over the heads of the employees. Since a number of cases under which Rule 149 was invoked fell within the category of alleged victimisation (the majority being

within the category of alleged victimisation (the majority being trade union activists), the demand The Supreme Court, upheld the trade union activists), the demand contention of the unions that for repeal of this rule was very

## Central Govt. Employees Demonstrate for Higher DA

\* From Our Staff Correspondent

NEW DELHI: Over ten thousand Central Gov-ernment employees at the call of the Confederation of Central Government Employees (including P&T, civil aviation, CPWD), Centarl Secretariat Clerical Association, Civilian Defence Employees Unions de-monstrated before Parliament on December 19.

ATER they marched to Parliament House he residence of Finance Minister T. T. KRISHNAMA-CHARI and waited in bitter cold for more than an hour ration, K. G. SRIVASTAVA, for the return of the minister. Krishnamachari received the memorandum of the employees and assured them consideration of their issues.

NATH PAI, chairman of the Confederation of Central Government Employees, RENII men's leader K. ANANDAN DAJI MP addressed the assembly of employees near control on prices.

The demonstration was led

Joint Secretary, All-India Defence Employees Federation, GNANIAH of P&T Federation, JANARDAN SHARMA and N. N. MANNA of CPWD Work-ers Union, and UJAGAR SIN-GH of Secretariat Employees

Association.

The memorandum listed four main points of grievance concrning questions of dearness allowance, fall in incomes, revision of consumer price indices and demanded control on prices.

310 and must be construed strictly.

From the point of view of the rights of permanent employees of the Government, the Supreme Court judgment is significant.

JUSTICE GAJENDRAGADKAR cold in his judgment. CHAKRAVARTY, Deputy LeaThe memorandum listed
der of the Communist group four main points of grievance
in the Lok Sabha, Railway concrning questions of dear-

TISCO Tenants'

Claim Justified

REPORT OF ENQUIRY FINDINGS

sometime back had ordered M. BAITHA, Magistrate 1st class at Jamshedpur to undertake the enquiry. The magistrate has submitted his report

The magistrate held that

to the DC a few days be

the effect that whenever asked by the company they

would vacate the land Th

evictions are not under Chotanagpur Tenancy Act as reported in paragraph

10 of the report.

The lawyer has pointed out that in fact under the

C. T. Act no eviction is

allowed if the tenants have

been residing on a piece of land for more than twelve

We are thankful to our

-Fditor

JAMSHEDPUR: The attempt of the Tata Iron & their construction etc., were

\* From Our Correspondent

Steel Company to evict its tenants from East Plant

and Mohulbera bustees (see NEW AGE, December

CORRECTION

A lawyer from Jamshed- ment with the tenants to

A pur has written to us pointing out two mistakes

in our report on Jamshed-

pur that appeared in our issue dated December 15.
The first mistake is that

the new lease of the land was given to the Tatas by the then British govern-

ment and not the Congress

government as stated in paragraph 5 of our report.

tion proceedings in court

The second mistake ointed out is that the

strong from the workers side.

It was argued on behalf of the Railway administration before the Supreme Court that every civil servant held office during the pleasure of the President or the Governor. Although it was true that this pleasure would not be evergical contriculty as aminth. public servants, who are sub-stantively appointed to a permanent post. Once the scope of Article 311 is duly determined, it must be held that no Rule framed under that this pleasure would not be exercised capriciously or unjustly or unfairly, the doctrine of pleasure inevitably imposed a stamp of precarious character on the tenure enjoyed by the civil servant and, therefore, whether

vant and, therefore, whether Rule 149 was made or not, it would be open to the President or the Governor to terminate the

services of any civil servant whose cases fell under Article

The Railway administration also

The Railway administration also advanced the plea that it was necessary to construe Article 310(1) and Article 311 in such a manner that the pleasure contemplated by Article 310(1) did not become illusory or was not completely obliterated. It was argued that Article 311(2) was in the nature of a provise to Article

the nature of a proviso to Article
310 and must be construed

correct. He further observed that the demand of the affec-

ted people "... either to give them proper compensation by the Tata management or to

get the similar type of houses

It was further held by the

will be uprooted. In such circumstances, government may be pleased to consider

their grievances and the

Following the submission of

the report of the enquiry, the residents of these bustees preferred a further petition to

the President requesting him to take action in the matter and order the TISCO to stop

further eviction proceedings

Meanwhile the TISCO unde

terred by the enquiry report, has asked for execution of the

TISCO management may be instructed accordingly."

constructed" was

said in his judgment:

Plea of

"Pleasure"

Art. 311 of Constitution

Authorities Take to New Subterfuge

that no Rule framed under Article 309 of the Constitution can trespass on the rights guaranteed by Article 311."

The court further observed:

"At this stage, we ought to add that in a modern democratic State, the efficiency and incorruptibility of the public administration is of such importance that it is greaterial to portance that it is essential to afford to civil servants adequate protection against capricious action from their superior. action from their superior.

authorities. If a permanent civil servant is guilty of misconduct, he should no doubt be proceeded against promptly

Article 311(2) is intended to ance with the requirements of afford a sense of security to Article 311.

public servants, who are sub. This decisions are substantively appointed.

This definition of the rights of employees, as enshrined in the Constitution, from the highest Constitution, from the highest tribunal in the country has been a distinct gain for the trade union movement. The likely reper-cussions of the judgment on cer-tain provisions of the Conduct Rules of the Central and State Government employees are now being closely examined.

## Attack

But a recent report from Chittaranjan workshops indi-cates that on December 11, six days after the Supreme Court judgment, S. N. De, an activist Chittarania

## Metal & Eng. Workers to Confer at Hyderabad

\* From Our Correspondent

A meeting of the extended working committee of the National Federation of Metal & Engineering Workers of India held in Bombay on December 16 under the chairmanship of S. A. DANGE, president of the Federation decided to hold its 2nd all-India conference on February 1-2, 1964 at Hyderabad.

HE conference will deliberate upon questions of setting up a Wage Board for engineering workers, speeding up of work of the Wage Board for iron and steel workers, and other issues like prices, dearness allowance etc. The conference will also formulate an

all-India plan of action in the event of Government of India turning down the demand for setting up a Wage Board for engineering workers.

A number of fraternal delegates from abroad are expected to attend the con-

under the relevant disciplinary rules subject, of course, to the safeguard prescribed by Article 311(2); but in regard to honest, straightforward and efficient permanent civil servants, it is the point of view of the State that they should enjoy a sense of security which alone can make them independent and

### magistrate that ". if the eviction of houses by the TISCO management is effected, the whole busti people Possible . Abuse

truly efficient.'

The court was much concerned that the wide powers Rule 149 might be abused:

that the wide powers under Rule 149 might be abused:

"In our opinion, the sword of Damocles hanging over the heads of permanent railway servants in the form of Rule 148(3) and 149(3) would inevitably create a sense of insecurity in the minds of such public servants and would invest appropriate authorities with very wide powers which may conceivably be abused."

It was also held by the court that there was no doubt that the pleasure of the President had lost some of its majesty and power because it was clearly controlled by Article 311 and so the field that was covered by Article 311 would be excluded from the operation of the absolute doctrine

decrees awarded by the civil been made to the Chief Min-ister of Bihar by SUNIL MUoperation of the absolute doctrine of pleasure. The pleasure of the President would still be there but it had to be exercised in accordWorks Labour Union, was dismissed from service under the special powers of the President under Article 311 of the Consti-

tution.
Under proviso (c) of Article
(11(2), "where the President or 311(2), "where the President or Governor, as the case may be, is satisfied that in the interest of the security of the State, it is not expedient to give to that person such an opportunity" (a "reasonable opportunity of showing cause against the action proposed to be taken in regard to him"). Invocation of these special 311(2).

Invocation of these special powers of the President, in the existing circumstances, especially after Rule 149 has been struck down by the Supreme Court has concern in trade union circles. There have been some earlier instances of action under Article 311 against some employees, where even Class IV staff was dismissed, invoking the special powers.

cial powers.

The TU circles hold that the special powers of the President are meant to be used in extraordinary circumstances and no Class III employee could possibly pose such a threat to the security of the State as could not be dealt with under the provisions of the normal disciplinary rules and other legal enactments. Attention is now focussed on the manner is now focussed on the act in the light of the Supreme Court judgment, in the matter of disciplinary proceedings.

—(IPA)

vears.

on the alleged ground of out the inaccuracies.

court at Jamshedpur.

PAGE NINE

**DECEMBER 29, 1963** 

NEW AGE

action has been taken by gov-

ernment to stop eviction pro-

# QUESTIONS BEFORE THE T. U. MOVEMENT

Why have we called this meeting of the leading workers and the trade unions. party members working on the trade union front? Is there any special problem that has to be put before a TU fraction of this character?

ernment, in the sphere of in-dustrial law and industrial relations, that is, in strikes,

courts, industrial tribunals and tripartite bodies, etc.

As a party of the working

class, the Party in its general political line does lay down the strategic and tactical line

for the working class and its relations with regard to the other classes in political and

But we are not dealing with that general problem here. In trade unions, we only consider

the concrete application of the general political line of

the Party. Hence, such a meet-

ing as this does not go into the discussion of the general

We concentrate mainly the specific problems of the defence of the working class

in its struggle with the deve-loping capitalism in a country like ours, which is a newly-

liberated country, an under-

developed country which, as such, has to face the dangers of neo-colonialism from the

imperialists but has also a friend in the powerful socia-

eral framework.

general framework, no houbt. But this framework

itself keeps on changing, developing, sometimes for the worse, throwing up

new features, without un-

least. We think, we are now

equires a good review with

eference to the working

class and its trade union struggles in the industrial sphere, which inevitably

throw their reflection in the

We are sorry we have not

the discussion of a long docu-

which

TU problems within

dergoing any very

and have been for time, in a situation

political sphere.

We have to consider our

mic matters

SPECIFIC

PROBLEMS

OU know we had a convention of Communist Party members working in the TU movement which met Calcutta on May 20-22, 1952. Some three hundred Party workers who were TU functionaries attended that convention, from all over the made to the convention which endorsed and were publish ed by the Polit Bureau of that period on September 27, 1952.

As you are aware, there was a completely new situa-tion in the country and also in the Party in that period The calling of the cenvention of Party TU workers was a very helpful step.

Then eggin in May 1953. that is a year later, an all-India TU fraction meeting was called in Poona to dis cuss specially the problem of TU unity, particularly with reference to the INTUC and

The TU Sub-Committee of the Central Committee sun med up the discussion, on which there was unanimous agreement. This was published as a document in a Party Letter dated July 8, 1953, by the Polit Bureau.

### ORGANISATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS

Thereafter, in the new organisational developments, the fractions on the mass fronts were abolished. The main reason for this was that mittees and open sessions, the Communist delegates were an overwhelming majority and the calling of fractions as such became superfluous as inconvenient and

Where an organisation had where an organisation had a multiplicity of parties and groups in its composition of leaderships, the policy in those bodies was discussed either at the CC level or an attention of the composition of the ad hoc fraction was called to discuss the problems. Since 1960, several such ad hoc fractions composed of Party members who are trade union functionaries in various united and composite TU fe-

We have had trade union we have nad trade union sub-committees of the Nation-al Council. But they were too small to replace wider con-

Hence the Secretariat de-cided to call you to this meeting so that the CEC and the idea of the problems the working class in the spe-cial field of trade unionism and in the concrete applica-tion of the general line of e Party therein.

In the trade union field, the working class is in direct con-frontation with the national bourgeoisie and the foreign monopolists in the day-to-day

But we may pose a few ques-tions and look for their ans-wers in brief. A more com-prehensive session and disussion may be thought of It also comes in direct conthe representatives of the national bourgeoisie in the gov-

### FIVE MAIN **OUESTIONS**

The first important question

During the last twelve years, that is of the two and half Plans, as we may call them, has there been any basic or important change in the industrial structure of the country? What is the direc-tion and class-nature of this

The second question would

If there has been such a change, how has it affected the working class? In what respects has the change shown itself? Size, number, composition, trade, language

The third question would

3 What is the growth and strength of the TU organisation, what have been its principal features, achievements and failures in the re-

The fourth question would

What ideologies are being pushed on to and adopted by the working class? And what is the position of the Party in the TUs?

The fifth question would

The immediate problems before TUs in the struggle for wages, D.A., bonus, nationalisation and TU rights.

We think we may limit ourselves to these five questions which by themselves cover a very wide field and are of fundamental importance.

The answers to these questions, if they are to be very exhaustive will require a longer reporting and debate. But just now, at this stage, we should try to bring out broad ment or a comprehensive review of the whole national the development of the strusituation as it affects the ggles and trade union organi-

Ushabai Dange addressing women textile workers,

sation of the working class. We may, therefore, indicate here those broad conclusions for your consideration.

There is no doubt the industrial structure of the country has undergone big changes. These changes have been remarkable and of deep sig-nificance during the Second Plan period and the two years of the present Third Plan, which now is facing a crisis and is being reappraised.

The main direction of this change is that the semi-colo-nial economy of British India based on backward feuda agriculture and semi-proces sing raw materials for the monopolists of the imperialist countries has taken steps to break through its shackles in the last eight years.

When the Second and Third Plan decided to establish heavy industry, new iron and steel plants, the machine too units, foundry forges, oil ex-ploration, heavy electricals, transformers, diesel engines, transformers, dieser enightes, mining machinery manufacture, heavy machine-building plants, high-pressure bollers, fertilisers, chemicals, ball bearings, heavy plant and structurals, automobiles, pharmaceuticals, etc., it was a designer to appropriate the yery hasis cision to change the very basis of the old Indian econ

### ECONOMIC . DEVELOPMENT:

The eight years' develop-ment of all the projects, complete and incomplete, has been changing the face of India's economy in a positive and progressive way. It has created new forces of production, new means, which were totally absent in the old British India. The very names of the pro-jects, some of which are al-ready completed and some are under way, were un-heard of before and could only be read in the litera-ture of the imperialist or

advanced socialist countries.

many vital weaknesses in this changing structure. Some of the plants depend on foreign supplies for their renewals and spare parts and on fore-ign technicians for their know how. That is still the basic structural defect, as was seen in the breakdown in Rourkela and DVC. But once the heavy tools, structural plate, alloy steel and foundry forge base generating". That will release it from the inhibiting hand of foreign technique and foreign

These new instruments of production right on our own soil and wielded by our own working class and intelli-gentsia can be transformed into instruments of people's prosperity from their present state of being instruments of capitalist prospe-rity, under a real democra-

One may also point out the increasing value of industrial production in the total naalne of industrial

TAKING into account the fact that the working class and the trade union movement in the country have to face serious problems affecting the country and the life and living of millions of toil-

ing people, the Secretariat of the Communist Party decided to call an all-India fraction meeting of the trade unions.

Each State Committee of the Party was asked to depute one or two leading party members working in the trade unions. Party members, who are on the General Council of the AITUC or are its office bearers were also called for the meeting. It was also decided that all the Central Secretariat members should be present to study the issues on the spot and give guidance as a whole.

In all 32 members were present in the meeting, which met in Bombay on December 11, 1963 on the eve of the All-India Trade Union Conference convened by the AITUC to prepare and launch a National Campaign for reduction in prices and taxes, for higher wages, DA and Bonus and for nationalisation.

S. A. DANGE, placed before the fraction meeting a document on behalf of the Secretariat.

All participants in the discussion agreed with the main points of the documents and also suggested certain improvements, after which it was adopted. The Secretariat has now released the document for the guidance of Party members on the trade union front. SECRETARIAT Z

Coimbatore, Hyderabad, Bho-pal, Bhilai and a host of places in UP and Madhya

Pradesh will bear witness to the change, which mu studied by us carefully.

factory, the bourgeois rela-tions of production right in the midst of whole agrarian

areas create a tremendous impact on the peasantry, the rural petty bourgeoisle and particularly on the agricultu-

ral labourer or the landless

ons go on to organise the construction sites, as in Bara-

uni or Gauhati or elsewhere

we must take notice of this aspect of the matter in fram-

Wherever the factory or the

What are the relations of

production that are develop-ing in these new conditions of national independence and

the industrial growth follow

sphere are relations of capita-

list production, that is, of capitalist exploitation.

developing capitalist economy
—the state sector and the
private sector. The private

sector is frankly and openly a capitalist sector, working

There are two sectors of the

has sprung up, there the new working class has inevitably

dam or electrical insta

When we of the trade uni-

WORKING CLASS IN

**NEW CONDITIONS** 

must be

Another aspect of this change in the physical structure of the economy is the distribution of these new industries in the various states.

The planting of vast new in-The planting of vast new inin the country is the capital
diustries in areas, where only
distribute formerly prevailthe state power also. Thereagriculture formerly prevailed, has had a radicalising effect on the countryside as well as the various classes. The vast industrial complexes of Bihar, Bengal, Bangalore,

fore, the state sector becomes a state capitalist sector. Tho-ugh the industries are owned by the State, they from part of and serve the capitalist



should not be confused as socialist state sector.

italist sector Being in foreign private capital and imperialist pressure.

STRATEGIC INDUSTRIES

The state sector industries are establishing those lines which are strategically valuable for building up the back-bone of an independent economy of a newly-liberated, under-developed country, viz., steel, machine tools, heavy foundry forge, oil, etc. The imperialists do not like the newly-liberated countries to be industrialised. But the socialist countries like them to he industrialised. Hence the help rendered by the socialis camp to the strategic state sector industries in India i not relished by the imperialist

imperialist countries are fordustrial schemes of India and give it loans and supplies. But the methodology of imperia-list camp does not accelerate or strengthen our economy

We have to remember that

lation, the state sector in the context of the existence of the socialist camp, can play an accelerating pro-gressive role.

But the bourgeols state is administered by the bureau-cracy. Hence, the state sector industry suffers from several evils common to the private sector, in the matter of rela-tions with the workers, the trade unions, wage policy, corruntion, etc.

> dence and state power, the national bourgeoisie diverted to its pockets a large part of the wealth that was being drained away by the imperia-lists. And when state power gave them the power to build new industries, the private capitalist sector began amassout of the surplus value produced by the working class and also from the expropriation of the pea-

DIFFERENTIATION AMONG BOURGEOISIE

The concentration and cen-The concentration and centralisation of capital in the new development was accompanied by concentration of money and capital in the hands of a few big bourgeois houses. The growth of industry and the national bourgeois to be accompanied by sharp sie is accompanied by sharp differentiation in the ranks of the bourgeoisle. It has grown in numbers. It has deeloped monopolists of quite a pronounced character, though few in number. It has a big bourgeois strata, and also have their inner contradic-

They are all our exploiters so far as we as workers are concerned. But each one uses his power, economic, po ideological against us in his own way. Hence, we too use differentiated tactics in struggles with them.

As a capitalist class, the Indian bourgeoisie, by past tradition and its inherent character, is tied up with and dependent on the advanced italism of the imperialist countries. As a bourgeoisie of an under-developed country, it has little of its own capital umulation Hence it has to accumulation. Hence it has to depend on the import of capi-tal goods, technique and know-how from the imperia-list countries or advanced socialist countries.

Then the question is raised: Knowing that India is deve-loping industry on capitalist basis, knowing that Indian As a capitalist class, it is ore attracted by and feels economically safe with the capitalists of the other from the capitalist-imperialist countries and knowing that capitalism exploits the workcountries. But as a weak bourgeoisie, it is afraid of being swallowed by the neo-colonialists. Hence it seeks the help of the socialist countries also. It tries to play between the two and build its own independent with it and thereby strength-

Formerly, the British impecials robbed the national country help capi bourgeoisle of most of the grow? country help capitalism to gains it made from exploite DIRECTION OF

The delegate session of the TU conference in Bombay

after independence, imperia

lists try to take away a big share of the surplus extracted by the national bourgeoisle,

in the form of high prices for

capital goods, spare parts, royalties and know-how, tech-

The national bourgeoisie na

turally resents these inroads into its surplus. But it agrees to it with the hope that once

it achieves independent capa-

city of expanded reproduction

on its own technical base, it can get rid of the tribute to the imperialists whom it has taken into private and public

Knowing this, the imperia

lists do not give the full

know-how and fixed capital goods (that is long-term fore-

ign loans, as they are descri-bed in financial terminology).

Hence you find every new fac-tory here going up to 95 per cent production of an article

but never to its full compo-

As a class, the bourgeoisie is attracted to foreign capital but in its own self-interest

as a class, it resents the in-roads on its profits. It wants "foreign participation" and yet speaks of anti-imperia-lism. It wants American help and yet criticises its terms and conditions. This is the

weakness of the capitalist de

velopment and the national bourgeoiste in India. But it is able to go forward, because in times of crisis and deadlock,

it uses the help of the socia-

list countries who do not dic-tate such terms and who ge-nuinely want India's develop-

ment on the basis of heavy

capitalism is also taking help

ing class, should a socialist

country give goods and credits to a capitalist country, trade

en capitalism which, after all,

industry.

CONFLICT OF

**CLASS INTERESTS** 

nicians' and experts' cha

SOCIALIST AID The question is a genuing

one. In order to answer it, we must see the process of liberation in the new epoch of socialism in its proper

The attainment of freedom by the former colonial and semi-colonial countries of Asia and Africa means their poli-tical liberation from imperialism. Over fifty countries got politically liberated after the second world war. Why was this possible? Because in the presence of the victory of the Soviet Tinion and the hirth of the socialist camp, the imperialist system got weakened A part of it was shattered. Hence their subject countries began to revolt and fall off from their clutches.

Though politically free, the newly-liberated countries are omically backward. They have to develop their econo-mies. From where should they get help?

If they turn towards imperialism, they became economically subject to them, though politically free. That is neo-colonialism. If they turn to the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, they have no fear of neo-colonialism But they are afraid it may encourage socialism in their own country.

But if the socialist camp refuses to help on the ground that these newly free countries are capitalist countries they will inevitably fall back into imperialist hands. If the socialist camp dictates the condition for such help that they must all become socia-list, they will resent such dictation and imposed revolution. If they do not take help, they cannot develop. Then to go to imperialism and neo which also they do not want to do. And they cannot remain static or stagnant either.

But their develop even as capitalism is help-ful to world liberation, be-

CPI Secretariat Report Part: I



cession of workers coming to take part in the mass rally on the concluding day of the conference.

They

But that does not mean that the State capitalist sec-tor is the same as private the hands of the state of a developing backward economy, recently released politically from the clutches of imperialism, this state sec-tor helps quicker development it has the capacity to

It also has the possibility being subjected to democratic criticism, if not actual control from the elected Parliament In a developing economy of an under-deve-

forward and is always a source of conflict, crisis and danger of reactionary influences.

without the defeat of fascism and the weakening of the imperialist system as a whole, there would not have arisen so swiftly that vast belt of liberated countries, which we have seen after the second world war. And there would also not have been that inde-pendent development of economy which many of these countries including ours are building. This lesson has got to be conveyed to the working class in all our TU work, on the basis of concrete facts.

The private sector capita lism was developing even under the British rule. But it was a stunted growth. With

# QUESTIONS BEFORE The growth of the engineering and chemical, pharmaceutical and other ancillary industries has brought up a new worker to the forefront in the

canso it weakens imperialism. Socialist help keeps them nonaligned or neutral and prevents them from swallowed by aggres-

Thus the capitalism of the developing countries has two aspects. As capitailsm, it is that is our task. But as de tively anti-imperialist. When ing capitalism, it is objecsocialist countries help India, they do not help it as capita-lism in order to beat the They help in order to stren-

gthen anti-imperialism, weak-en imperialism and enable the working class to push the development on to the sociadepending on its strength.

There would be no nonalignment, and a wide peace-camp and strengthening of the libe-ration front without this antiimperialist policy of socialist help to the trade and indus-

### TWO-FOLD APPROACH

It is therefore necessary for the trade union leadership to study each new plant from the point of view of its place in production, its financial structure and its technological standard. We must equip our workers too with this knowledge, in order to streng-then their class-outlook, their anti-imperialist national ap-proach and also their prolerian socialist class approach.

Have the trade unions also a two-fold approach to the industrial development, its capitalist basis, both in prirate and state sector and to the national bourgoisie which dominates them? They have.

We support the line of in-dustrial development of the it is capitalist development.

Firstly, because, our industrial development weakens

technical prerequisites for steps towards a democratic

capitalism. And our support to the development is not as if some other alternative were available but we reject it purposely and prefer ca-pitalism. We have been thrown into that historical stage of development by the objective laws of the history of our country. Thus we support not capitalism but the anti-imperialist, liberanist role of the newly de veloping industry as com-pared to our previous status of a colonial country. living the orbit of imperialist development and colonial

At the same time, we as a working class must not fail to remember that we are the exploited class, in whose labour, capitalism is building itself. Hence we have a class contradiction with the bourgeoi-sie, which continuously tries to enlarge its gains by extensive and intensive exploitation of labour. Hence, while sup-porting national development of economy, we have to de-fend our class interests, both in the state and private sectors from the onslaughts of

While discussing the rise of the new industry and the composition of capital, one has to pay attention to the role of foreign capital and its relative strength vis-a-vis Indian capital. Who has grown stronger in the last fourteen years of indpendence?

canital.

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The obvious answer based on facts and figures of gross block, or paid-up capital as well as the lines of strategic importance in the developing economy, is that while the influence of foreign capital is not negligible and its volume has grown, yet comparable rates of growth of Indian ca-pital show it to have grown many times more both in volume and stratgic importthe hold of imperialism on a ance. The entrenchment of world scale, strengthens independence and crates the tinues in oil, tea, jute and

some lines of heavy engineer-ing is a national menace, non-capitalist nath or a socialist path, depending on the strength of the working class relative to the bourgeoisie.

cally, they are bases of right reaction. We are not out to build All this development when All this development when considered in relation to the needs of the people is extremely insufficient. Due to the inhibiting or retarding factors of the profit-motive which alone drives capitalist production and the absence any democratic control bas on working-class participation and rights in planning. fers from inherent capitalist crisis of production and dis-

Along with growth in production, there is scarcity, sometimes artificial, sometimes real, monopolist rob-bery of the people through high prices. Along with growth in the working class. there is unemployment. Instead of the economy surging forward continuously for the benefit of the masses of the sabotaging onslaughts of private profit and a bu-

acts as a factor hamnering

our independent growth and serves as channels of drain-ing national wealth. Politi-

The developing capitolism India has brought into existence a bigger and newer

composition of the class. A very big sector of construction workers on the new pro-jects has come up. With no permanency or continuity of job, roaming from project to project, he is quite a new element in the situation.

A very large part of the new engineering and other work-ers have educational qualifia characteristic which has come up after in-dependence and the spread of education. As a result, books and newspapers have acquired new strength as medium of propaganda and they now enter as an element in the new family budgets! Education in school follow-

ed by employment in engi-neering and such other in-dustries has added the town petty bourgeois young worker drawn from middle-class fa miles to the old classical ruined peasant-turned worker. This new, in a way, pettyonce drawn in, he can provide good cadre and intelligent grasp of the issues. But he is also subject to violent chan-ges of temperament and behaviour, from timidity to anarchist violence.

Another noteworthy addi-Another noteworthy addi-tion to the composition is the new motor transport worker. Motor transport has grown to such an extent that at one time, a Railway Minister took it as an affront to his trade means of production. Since office and trade workers as office and trade workers as well as engineers and technicians, like the workers, do cluded in the working class As to who constitutes the working class has been the subject matter of international discussion in the recent period and the conclusions ar-

Formerly, there was the opinion that none but the worker who directly produces surplus urplus value by handling the working class. But greater attention estion, its theoretical nological and social develop-ments have given us a better

Another noteworthy feature of the composition of the new working class is the entry into it of the young woman worner. -big cities, she is found do nharmaceutical, chemical and even engineering con-cerns. In many cases, they are forced to quit, as soon as they marry. This young woman worker on the as-sembly line and in the offices is a contribution mainly of the newly developing

Thus the composition of our working class in the matter of size, trades, skills, sex, edu-

# Trade Union

numbers though production in those industries has in-creased as, for example, in jute where it has shrunk absolutely. In textile, it has shrunk relative to production. That means, in these old established industries, the rate of exploitation has gone up due to rationalisation. But in most other industries, the working class has grown in numbers. On the eve of inployment recorded the figure of 2.3 million. In 1961, it was shout 4 million. This excludes

The working closs has not only grown in numbers. It has changed in other vital res-

The old multi-lingual, multi-caste, muti-religious com-position continues as be-before. In fact, the entry of fresh elements from the peasant and petty bourgeoisie strata has enhanced the role of the caste, language or region (not so much religion) in the behaviour pattern of surance and such other bran-the new workers who have ches has been quite remarknot been soldered togeher by mmon class struggles.

The most striking new quality of the new working class is that proportion of the technical cadres, or

class has become bigger in it. Then he found that both daily undergoing changes of size than before. But in some are part of the same national old established industries, it economy! The life of the road has shrunk in size, that is, transport worker is extremely unstable, migratory and coudesperate, individualistic and unstable in organisation. At the same time, the trade makes him intelligent, not badly paid, technical-ini and capable of leader towns or states, he acquires quite a new vision of things and life around.

Apart from the production

worker, the growth in the services, maintenance and distributive trades has been at a faster rate than in any lic sector in civilian employment has grown to 7.66 million by September 1962. Empolyment in Posts and Telegraphs has doubled in the ten years of 1951 to 1962, from 1,73,302 to 3,87,641. The number in commercial establishments rose from 2,26,000 in 1951 to 4.04.000 in 1961. The rise of the salaried employee-worker in the banks, life in-

Herein, we apply the defi-nition of the working class to all those who live by wages or salaries and are in some form the common tasks connected with the / labour

great significance. And these changes create new and complicated problems for the movement

### ARMY OF UNEMPLOYED

As is inevitable under capitalism and especially of an under-developed country, the growth in industry and emrising unemployment. The ruling Congress Party, its planners and philosophers all admit this fact. They are unable to provide enough jobs

The developing capitalism converts more and more pea-sants and the petty bourgeoisie into pro wage-earners and throws employment market At the production fails to grow enough to absorb them all. working conditions, the capitalist system tries to disrupt his struggles with the pres-sures of the unemployed on the labour-market. The emhis unemployed brother in

# workers engaged in new engineering production process has risen quite high. The new class composition in some of the big industrial centres is no more dominacentres is no more dominacentres is no more dominacentres.

The Secretariat of the Andhra Pradesh Council of the CPI has unequivocally condemned the decision of the Andhra Pradesh Government to hand over the state-owned Rajahmundry Paper Mills to the private sector. It felt that this action was against the declared policy of the country and undermined the confidence of the people in the policy of nationalisation.

reasons advanced in support of the Government's action that the mill was not running at a profit and that it was not prepared to invest crores of rupees needed for the expansion of the mill for the expansion of the mill for its previous adamant position.

But it could also be a ruse to

the expansion of the mill for making it a going concern, were surprising in view of the fact that all paper mills in India were running profitably.

If the paper mill at Rajahmundry was running at a loss, the Secretariat said, it was the duty of the government to investigate the reasons for this and to chalk out remedies for making it a profitable concern instead of trying for the paby along with the throw out the baby along with the

at the reported decision of the Congress Legislature Party giving full powers to the Chief Minister in the matter instead of directing him not to dispose off the mills. In the mean time, the state NATIONALISE ==

insurance business. MADAN MOHAN, vice-president of the

Nagpur opening the conference said that certain quarters tried to

discipate him from coming to th

conference by raising communis bogey, but as he considered that the trade union movement had

vital role to play in the national development and also in minimis-

ing the political strife in the country and that the All-India

Insurance Employees' Association (AIIEA) would play a worthy part

The Working Committee's report

enumerated the activities of the Association during four years since the last conference and recorded

the last conference and recorded the big victory of the LIC em-ployees by which they won a 25 per cent wage rise the advance made by the general insurance employees in many companies

made by the general insurance employees in many companies in securing wage increase and betterment of service conditions as well as the problems of rise in prices, high taxes and erosion of the real wages of the employees and nullification of the victory in principle of the interview of the real wages of the employees and nullification of the victory in principle of the interview of the real ways.

of linking dearness allowance with the cost of living index by the

the one hand business

the increase and on the other hand during last four years more than 50 companies have closed

The report also dealt with the

Important

Victories .

a retreat by the government from its previous adamant position.

But it could also be a ruse to lull the public and then present it with a fait accompli. The CPI's stand is well known as also that of opposition to this move for de nationalisation.

Moreover, Chief Minister
SANIEEVA REDDY told the

Congress Legislature Party meeting that the cabinet would take a final decision ing that the cabinet would take a final decision about the set up of the mills by January 2. And even if outright sale is not decided upon he might accept the proposal of floating debentures to raise the finances required for the same of the same the expansion of the mills. This is a notorious instance of is a notorious instance of an at-tempt at back door denationali-sation, akin to the proposal to float shares of public sector

Insurance Employees Resolution at Conference

\* From AJOY DAS GUPTA

NAGPUR: The Fifth general conference of the All- Bank, P&T, Central Govern

cluding retrenchment of staff, with-out being able to eradicate mal-

outhorities growing anti-labour

The conference through various resolutions demanded stabilisation of prices and opening of subsidised shops, revision of the unreal cost of living index, change in the

government's taxation policy and withdrawal of additional surcharge

on annual income upto Rs. 9,000 per year, nationalisation of banks and other key industries and wholesale trade in food grains.

The conference disapproved of

The conference further urged

communist creasing percentage of investment idered that in the private sector and the LIC

attitude.

at Nagpur from December 17 to 20 decided to launch a

movement for correction of the fraudulent index numbers,

and to take energetic measures to fight back the anti-

labour policies of the Life Insurance Corporation of India.

THE session was attended by The report dwelt at length on the possible effect of LIC's entry into general insurance business and expressed concern that

Association presided.

T. G. DESHMUKH, Mayor of Nagpur opening the conference aid that certain quarters tried to discussed him from coming to the

NAGPUR: The Fifth general connectance of the Fath pextile, and others. Dr. C. D. India Insurance Employees' Association which was held DESHMUKH, B. K. KAUL and

CPI PROTEST ON

# DENATIONALISATION IN ANDHRA PRADESH

## Congress High-Ups Unperturbed

In the discussion of this issue at the congress Legislature party meeting some members—including the state INTUC leader—not only vehemently insisted upon the transfer of the mills but declared frankly that they had no faith in the public sector. There is no report that lic sector. There is no report that the Chief Minister or any of the

the Chief Minister or any of the other cabinet ministers present pulled up these speakers or rebutted their arguments.

Champions of the public sector were, however, also present. One of them said that there were contradictions in the government's

P. A. GOPALKRISHNAN, present

and previous chairmen of LIC were among those who sent messages to the conference.

HALL under the presidentship of CHANDRASEKHAR BOSE, vice-

president of the AIIEA.

RAJNI PATEL and SAROJ

CHAUDHURI have been re-elected

esident and general secretary for

companies which raised a storm contention regarding the transfer An interesting sideling of protest at the time of the proposals. At first the government strength of McCarthylte said that the mills were a white some of the universities elephant, then it said that money state was provided by for expansion was lacking and now it talked of debentures.

But such approaches do not seem and Pro-Chancellor of A to have made any impact on the Chief Minister and the leading members of the government. It Marxist literature may be ke members of the government. It may be that some of these speeches may be that some or these specifies were factionally motivated but they served the purpose of injecting some ideology into the gathering of Congress MLAs, than whom a more indifferent group it would be difficult to conceive.

It is significant that till the time of writing there are absolutely no indications of what comments the Andhra PCC plans comments the Ananra PCC plans to make on the Jaipur draft on socialism and democracy. Sanjeeva Reddy is reported to be saying that the less one is committed the better one's chances to get up the Congress hierarchy! He is said to be sure of a GENERAL INSURANCE

place in the new Congress working committee, because of his close friendship with President:

He has reshuffled his cabinet recently but not in any significant way. He retains the portfolio of general administration which in general administration which in this state covers a multitude of sins and which has overriding powers over all other ministries through the control of the state secretariat. His plea of "meet the

the conference.

The open session of the conference and mass rally of the insurance employees of Nagpur was held on 21 December at the MORE What has, perhaps, happened is that he has set at rest the struggle for the second position within his for the second position within his own faction by appointing BRAH-MANANDA REDDY, the finance minister, as the leader of the As-sembly. The people of the state are scarcely interested in all these very

versy in Andhra Universi P. V. G. RAJU Education Minis

Immediately inspired reports were circulated in the press that the education minister wanted the university libraries to be stocked

Marxist literature may be kept in

the university library

### -From-MOHIT SEN

with pro-Peking literature. Rumou has it that the Vice-Chancellor of Andhra University did nothing, at least, to scotch these reports.

P. V. G. RAJU has now stated that these reports were a travesty of the truth. He said that he had given no ruling about so-called pro-Peking literature. It was most unfortunate that prejudices were being worked up. What he had Das Kapital were historical facts.

They had a rightful place in the library as any other literature as source material and should be source material and should listed. Indeed, Marxism was a part of the human heritage and sh learning.

It is a sign of the begotted ignorance that prevails in certain so-called high and academic quarters that the education minister had, at all, to defend a simple and

## **NO SOCIALISM** IN PRACTICE

HE Congress Party which had after the achievement of independence given the slogan for the establishment of a "cooperative society" at the famous Avadi session. No explanation was given by the Congress at that time as to what they found wrong with the blocking of "congression". objective of "cooperative common-wealth" and as to why the objec-

The conference disapproved of the government's decision of LIC's entry in general insurance business and demanded imme-diate nationalisation of general insurance business and absorp-tion in LIC of all general in-surance employees who might be retrenched due to nationalisation. wealth" and as to why the objective of "socialistic pattern" was adopted.

In the post-Avadi period never was the term "socialistic pattern" precisely defined. In terms of policies practised by the ruling Congress party no change was discernible anywhere.

The Industrial Policy Resolution of years and the recommendations

The conterence further urged upon the LIC to open negotiation on matters like medical aid, housing scheme, subsidised canteen and trade union rights etc., without trade union rights etc., without any delay. The recognition of the first Five Year Plan for building a public sector and certain land reform measures were was also demanded along with acceptance by the LIC of Code of Discipline in its original form.

Messages of greetings were received from trade union organisations of USSR, GDR, France, Belgium, Italy, Japan as well as Trade Union Internationals of WFTU and ICFTU; from AITUC, other unions and federations of the Industrial Policy Resolution of 1948 and the recommendations of 1948 and the recommendations of the First Five Year Plan for building a public sector and certain land reform measures were accepted long before the Avadi session of the Congress. There was no radical twist either to this broad policy after the Avadi session.

Now the Jaipur Congress has produced the above of democratic socialism which concept is to be elaborated which concept is to be elaborated at the coming Bhubaneshwar session of the Congress. Here again, other unions and federations of the speculative and antisocial enterprises which lead to concentration of wealth in fewer hands and monopolistic growth in the leading financial and business circles which wanted to concentration of wealth in fewer hands and monopolistic growth in the leading financial and business circles which ead to concentration of wealth in fewer hands and monopolistic growth in the national economy.

It is not accidental that the leading financial and business circles which wanted to concentration of wealth in fewer hands and monopolistic growth in the national economy.

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It is not accidental that the lead to concentration of wealth in fewer hands and monopolistic growth in

NEW AGE

socialism" from the "socialistic pattern" or why the latter is being discarded in favour of the former. At a press conference a few months ago Prime Minister Nehru defined socialism as a sys-

Readers' Letters

tem in which there is equal oppor tunity for all.
In his broadcast of October 11

In his broadcast of October 11
Finance Minister T. T. Krishnam achari, who will be playing a key role in the evolution of "demo-cratic socialism" by virtue of his being the Finance Minister, defined socialism by saying "... to me, however, socialism, far from curbing the individual, seeks to stimulate and reward individual initiative and enterprise."

No amount of pray "... will convince the people of the will convince the Congress in their professions of socialism. One concrete step in this direction will be worth a hundred resolutions.

In the Jaipur session when a few delegates demanded that celling be fixed on individual income, the Prime Minister turned it down the Prime Minister turned it down to the scientists and technicians. If it is really so, why could the Prime

Socialism never aims to curb the individual but it does mean to curb the speculative and anti-social enterprises which lead to concentration of wealth in fewer hands

But what about the speculative, profiteering, hoarding, underinvoicing and over-invoicing activities of the financial magnates which they term legitimate individual enterprise? Is it this type of individual enterprise as well which will continue to be rewarded?

No amount of play with words will convince the people of the sincerity of the Congress in their professions of socialism. One concrete step in this direction will be worth a hundred resolutions.

In the Jaipur session when a

scientific and technical

How can the people Congress professions of socialism to be true when it is not even operative commonwealth," or "so-cialistic pattern of society" or "democratic socialism," it seem to KRIPA SHANKAR

PAGE THIRTEEN

than 50 companies have closed down thus rendering nearly 1,500 employees unemployed. DECEMBER 20, 1963

nal production sufficient to sup-ply the textile industry, not only the presently installed capacity but what is to be installed in the

but what is to be installed in the future, according to the plans for expansion of the textile industry-in coming years, which demand at least 30,000 tons annually.

The national cattle industry suffered a sharp drop at the beginning of the Revolution due

30,000 tons annually.

On the Fifth anniversary of the Cuban Revolution, NEW AGE is proud to present to its readers a condensed version of an article by CARLOS RAFAEL RODRIGUEZ, Minister for Agriculture of Cuba, till recently President of the INRA—the National Institute of Agrarian Reforms. Rodriguez, currently touring the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, is a most eminent and most respected Marxist-Leninist of the Western hemisphere, and a member of the leadership of the Integrated Revolutionary Organisation. The cultivation of kenaf (a fibrous plant) and oleaginous seeds has also been undertaken to any extent only since the Revolution.

The Cuban Agrarian Reform entered its fifth year on May 17 last. Although it is still too soon to undertake an evaluation of all its results, enough time has elapsed for us to be able to discern its general lines of develop-

clative—or products, the imperialist products, the imperialist products, the imperialist production its counter-revolutionary cohorts spoke of a supposed crisis in Cuban agriculture as a result of the Agrarian Reform. But when production figures are analyzed we see that, as Fidel Castro has eaid, this is the only agrarian should properly be used for growing diversified crops.

The state sector of agriculture bectares of land

reform, we have to examine the Cuban economy as a whole, the forms of utilization of the land, forms of utilization of the land, the new crops, the increase in yield per acre in the traditional crops, in short, everything characterizing agricultural and livestock production in Cuba since the Revolution.

Since the victory of the Revo-lution, over 400,328 hectares of land have been cleared of brush and turned into farmland. The Revolution has also freed flooded land for agriculture. Fidel Castro's personal interest has resulted in

URING 1962, taking advaning the shortages—sometimes absolute and sometimes relative—of certain agricultural products, the imperialist press and its counter-revolutionary cohorts and a counter-revolutionary cohorts and a counter-revolutionary cohorts.

not drop with the reform.

This is true until the end of 1961, and it is true of agriculturallivestock production as a whole, except for sugar cane, until 1962.

To evaluate the results of the reform, we have to examine the Cuban economy as a whole, the

This means that crops in This means that crops in this sector today encompass as much land area as the total area dedicated to diversified crops in the whole agricultural sector of the economy prior to the Revolution, despite the fact that state lands encompass only 40 per cent of the total land area.

The Revolution has developed new crops, particularly industrial crops. This is true of cotton. The plans for development of the cotton industry call for a natio-

€ 0, 18 m

To preserve the cattle supply and facilitate the development of

haphazard, unhygienic way. In 1960 and 1961, Cuba imported 10,000 sows of different breeds (Landrace, Yorkshire, Polland Chine), and with the establish-1960 and 1961. Cuba imported 30,000 sows of different breeds (Landrace, Yorkshire, Polland Chine), and with the establishment of proper sanitary measures and the introduction of planning, it can be stated that the period of real development of hog raising has just begun, to such a degree as to guarantee breeding by the state sector of almost 200,000 hogs. This figure will jump to 1,000,000 in 1964 and turns the application of all these measures will strengthen the work of the Cuban Agrarian Reform and there will be even greater possibilities of increasing to the production. Thus—as established in the introduction to the growing demands of our population and increase both the surpluses available for export,

to 1,500,000 in 1965.

A decisive effort is being made to increase our production of corn, millet, oil cakes, beef and fish meal, and other livestock feed. The areas of pastureland and forage crops will also be increased in order to bring about an increase in intensive and semi-intensive grazing as well as in haymaking and silage.

Research is being conducted to as demanded by our country's economic development, and our means of supplying our agricul-turally-based industries, which turally-based industries, which must also grow constantly, just as the consumption cauacity of a society based on the fundamental law of socialism will grow constantly. Research is being conducted to determine the type of forage crops best suited for our climate



to the indiscriminate slaughter carried out in the years 1960 and 1961. With the increase in the buying power of the population and the lack of control over the slaughter, it reached an estimated figure of almost two million head of cattle in those two years.

It is evident that our cattle It is evident that our cartle industry was not prepared for this sudden rise in slaughter figures (an increase of 300,000 head of cattle a year). In order to meet the demand, it was necessary to slaughter young steers, cows that could still bear young,

To preserve the cattle supply and facilitate the development of beef cattle in such a way as to be able to substantially increase the per capita consumption of meat in the future, the Revolution had to take two decisive steps. The first was to prohibit the slaughtering of cows able to bear young and the second was to set limits for the slaughter, according to the industry's real capacity.

The cattle census of 1961 totalled 5,776,358. At the end of this year we should have 6,381,250 head of cattle. The development of the cattle industry on this basis (including the use of artificial insemination), assures an index of growth that will make possible by 1965 a minimum per capita beef consumption of at least 56.6 pounds a year.

Hog production before depended almost entirely on the criollohogs which were raised in a rather haphazard, unhygienic way. In 1960 and 1961, Cuba imported 30,000 sows of different breeds

The application of all these

economically, when they de prived it of fuel, spare parts, agricultural machinery and means of transport, they believed they were strangling the Revolution. But, as comrade Fidel Castro has said on somany occasions, the help given us by the socialist countries, with the Soviet Union in the forefront, the indomitable energy and boldness of our people, make it possible for us to resist. and soil and the breeds of beef and dairy cattle that fare best under our conditions. The great mass of farmers and The great mass of tarmers and farm workers are with the Revolution in a militant manner, that is, incorporated into "mountain battalions" and the "rural militia," aiding in the pursuit of CIA agents and fighting, as at Playa Girón along with the workers.

Aid For The Small Farmer In the future, that resistance will become victory, for the progress of the Cuban economy is assured through the improvement of our leadership, our greater experience in planning, our better methods of organization. Thus, Latin America will regard the Cuban Agrarian Reform, as well as all other achievements of the Socialist Revolution, as an example—not just because of its partiaiding the small and middle farmers is carried out through Socialist Revolution, as an example—not just because of its particular characteristics, but rather-because it demonstrates that a people can eliminate all vestiges of semi-feudalism, semi-colonialism and backwardness, and be victorious over enemies that are seemingly all-powerful.

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NEW STORM CLOUDS OVER THE CARIBBEAN Romulo Betancourt has demanded from the OAS "to consider the severance of diplomatic relations with the Cuban government as compulsory for all members of the regional body."

her. In a 'victory' celebration ein Caracas, according to the New York Times, he has announced: "Should the organisation of the American States not take measures against Cuba" he would resume the color of her birds if the take such to himself the take such

Betancourt has promised to produce evidence of Cuban intervention by showing to the OAS commission the markings of the Cuban shield on some of the weapons captured from the FALN guerrillas.

The OAS has acted fast. On December o an "Investigation Commission" appointed by the organization reached Caracas and after conferring with Betancourt immediately left for Paraguana Peninsula where the latter alleges it found a load of Cuban wearons. Storm clouds are gathering over the Carribbean once again. The Venezuelean elections have let loose the FOLLOWING BETANCOURT'S American States (OAS) approved a proposal of the Venezuelean some supplies to the forces of FALN, the Armed Forces For National Liberation, on December 3 the Organisation of the Mutual Assistance Treaty. It also

The Cuban government has denied all charges of interference in the affairs of Venezuela. On December 7 speaking in a rally

decided to send a "research commission" to Venezuela against Cuba.

Romulo Betancourt has demanded from the OAS "to consider the severance of diplomatic relations with the Cuban government the hemisphere.

FIDEL CASTRO stressed that the However, Castro warned that weapons found in Venezuela were produced by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) of United the banks upon the military resources of USA, Castro pointed out. Actually "he is instigating the hemisphere, the hemisphere.

He openly declared that "sub-version and rebellion cannot be promoted from abroad." As an example he cited the case of Cuba where all efforts to subvert the present regime and incite
internal rebellion had not succeeded in overthrowing or even
weakening the present popular

In his frank and characteristic manner Fidel Castro said "the Venezuelean rebellion is being blamed on Cuba "for reasons which are easy to understand. The real reason is that the country is being plundered by Yankee monopolies. They take away from the Venezuelans their iron, their oil, their natural resources, and it is logical that the people must be in disagreement."

Referring to Betancourt's threat that should the OAS not threat that should the OAS not take measures against Cuba he would do it unilaterally, Fidel Castro warned that "if all the lackeys together would invade the country they would not last even 24 hours in the struggle against the Cuban revolutionary forces."

\* By Lajpat Rai

Referring to the "weap plied by Cuba" Castro they were supplied by anti-Cuban plot. "The C Cuban weapons, in many cases from deserters. They are weapons stolen by people who have be-trayed the Revolution."

### **MILITARY** In his frank and characteristic MANOEUVRES

Another ominous development which is taking place in Latin America is the unprecedented military manoeuvers known as "Operation America" in Colombia. The countries participating in these manoeuvers are USA, Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Venezuela. Mexico and Brazil rejected the invitation to participate.

on November 26, are divided into three parts: (1) Assault by air-borne troops. (2) Amphibious dis-embarkment reinforced by para-chutists, and, (3) Land attack by penetration, which should allow contact with air-lifted and amphibious troops.

It is estimated that at least 10,000 US soldiers are participat-

Many Colombian democratic organizations have voiced their opposition to these manoeuvres.

This has provoked a wave of repression in the country. The coordinating committee of Latin American Trade Unions meeting in Santiag de Chile on Novembe

These developments are causin great anxiety and tensions in Latin America. Rightist ultras in US are active again and are putting all possible pressures on the Johnson administration to

liberation movements in Latin American countries are becoming

Argentina has nationalized the American oil companies. Brazil is going to pass legislation to nationalize certain American assets including public utilities. In Vene zuela nationalization of oil has been the main demand of the

It is now quite clear, that if a It is now quite clear, that if a new aggressive action is taken against Cuba, the Soviet Union will not stand by watching indifferently. The policy of US intervention—is being—opposed by all democratic people in the Latin American continent. The Mexican Foreign Minister MANUEL TELLO declared in Mexico city on Describer 2:

"We shall support measures to strengthen democracy only if they do not involve intervention tney do not involve intervention in the internal affairs of other countries. The OAS must go slow and act cautiously. ...we shall oppose any act of intervention."

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## INSPIRED TALK OF EXCLUSION FROM NON-ALIGNED MEET SLATED

\*FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

FIDEL WARNS...

forces of war and intervention in Latin America.

should be excluded from the second nonaligned meet.

"The big problem facing the sponsors of another nonaligned conference", according to the Times of India (Dec. 22) ix—guess what—"how best to keep Cuba out". The big problem, you would have thought, was how to win maximum support for this idea of a second Belgrade, how to foil the insidious Peking Pindi campaign launched against the idea, how to defeat the efforts of imperialist blimps and ultras to prevent the proposed conference from making its contribution to the march of national independence in all its manifold aspects—political, economic, cultural, etc.

from making its contribution to the march of national independence in all its manifold aspects—political, economic, cultural, etc.

No. These, according to Times of India, are not the big problems facing the sponsors of another nonaligned conference. "The big problem" facing them is how to exclude Cuba! You would have thought they had some sense of proportion.

One might ask these brilliant people, what are the changes that have taken place since the in October 1962. The threat only receded thanks, to a very large extent, to the sanity of the two top leaders of the two superpowers. One of these has in the meanwhile been nursed his very sanity as a grievance against him.

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No other newly independent country has been subjected to such blatant pressure, threats and persistent intrigue. No other people of such a small country have shown such strong nerves under threat of total extinction with which no other country has been brought other country has been brought face-to-face as Cuba had been

threat till the US administration Kennedy's murder, when they did gathers sufficient courage to their worst to shift the blame on arrive at a fundamental under to Cuba.

Somebody, rather mysteriously, somewhere in New Delhi—more precisely inside the bureau of the Times of India—is having some brilliant ideas about the next non-aligned conference.

SEEKING to impose on this country the motto so dear to Big Business, where national and larger interests are concerned—bie. "How to Make Enemies and Alienate People"—these brilliant people are suggesting that Cuba should be excluded from the second nonaligned meet.

"The big problem facing the sponsors of another nonaligned conference", according to the Times of India (Dec. 22) is—guess what—"how best to keep Cuba out". The big problem, you would have thought, was how to win

It is as part of their game of isolating Cuba that this red herring across the preparations for the next nonaligned conference has been drawn. It will be the first success in regard to this conference of the enemies of national independence and non-alignment if ever this proposal of excluding Cuba comes to be seriously raised by anybody.

Such a move is sure, on the Such a move is sure, on the other hand, to strengthen the hands of the enemies of non-alignment on the other side as well.

Let India's name never be link-



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woman member of the National Militia

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## NEW PERSPECTIVES IN WORLD PEACE MOVEMENT

The World Peace Council meeting at Warsaw advocates of general and constitutes a big success for the forces of peace all over the world. Its deliberations led to a clear verdict in r of the line pursued by the World Peace Council and rejected the alternate line proposed by a section

forces of peace all over pendence.

world and cemented the missational unity of the called for the greatest the world and cemented the organisational unity of the world peace movement. It underlined the inalienable unity of the struggle for peace and the struggle for national

For India, the session had an added importance. For the first time, it took note dispute and lent its support to the Colombo proposals.

Those who opposed the line meeting than they were at its beginning.

The plenary session on the

opening day passed a resolution, despite Chinese opposition, condoling the death of John F. Kennedy and sent messages of sympathy to Mrs. Kennedy and the new U.S. President, Lyndon Johnson. After the resolution was passed, the Chinese delegation insisted on the right to speak president was forced to con-

cede time to them.

The session heard the report of its President, Prof. J. D. Bernal, who was absent due to illness In the course explained the policies of the WPC and called for an intensified campaign to achieve

Prof. Bernal stressed the necessity of building up presee that the relayation of tension, which had come about during the last months of the Kennedy administration is continued. He nisation and Development.

### Disarmament: Immediate Tasks

On disarmament, he pointed out that the sks are to see that the 18ence resumes its work with a will for peace, certain persons greatly increased sense of are bent on implementing urgency and proceed to definite measures of disarmament. He reiterated the product of their erroneous line in the world peace movement. They do not oppose the enemies of ment. He reiterated the proposal for calling a summit meeting of all nations for the banning of nuclear weapons hasised the importance of a non-aggre pact between the NATO and the Warsaw powers, the ur-gency of setting up a nonnuclear zone in Europe and in other parts of the world and the limitation of military

Speaking about decolonisation, Prof. Bernal called for support to the various natioliberation movements and for an end to colonialism and racialism. As regards de velopment, he- pointed out that what prevents development is neither lack of know ledge, nor lack of capital but the definite recalcitrance on the part of the governments capitalist states to v for any developm

T further consolidated the that promises any real inde-

unity in the movement. the greatest measure of mutual support and cooperation between it and the movements working for the same objectives.

Three other reports were formed the basis of discussions in the commissions which were constituted under the same names. The first report was presented by Jacques Madaule of France on "The Danger of Thermo-"The Danger of Thermo-nuclear War and on the Struggle to Prevent such War and for General Disarma-

### — by —— SATISH LOOMBA

The second report by J. B.

The Struggle for Peace and National Independence" and the third presented by Alberto Casella (Argentine) was on "Ways of International Cooperation in Economic, Scientific and Cultural Fields." A question of "Prospects of the World Campoign of Peace, Activities in and Strengthen-ing of the Peace Movement, Joint work and Cooperation with all Forces for Peace"

Leaders of the various dele-gations also addressed the plenary session on the opening day. Among them were A. Kornichuk (USSR), Liao Chang-Chih (China) and Arjun Arora (India). It will be useful here to note the speech of Liao since it is sented a line alternate to line of the WPC and formed the basis of the approach of the Chinese delegates in the work of all the commissions.

Liao expressed deep concern that "contrary to the world peace, do not support the movement and do not rely on the struggle of the people.

He accused "certain nerrican national chauvinism which give aid to U.S. resorting "to the voting machine by following the example of the U.S. controlexample of the U.S. control-ling the United Nations"; of not permitting "full dis-Council of Peace, following somebody's baton, and going further and further along a

lists may completely, thoroughly and totally disarm and lay down their arms volun-tarily, also want the oppressed peoples and nations to dis-pose of the arms with which they defend themselves against imperialist aggres-sion...For anyone to tell all oppressed nations and peo-ples to dispose of their arms against foreign aggression while the imperialists headed by the United States are step ping up their arms drive and aggressions, would be tantamount to doing away with their anti-imperialise

gle and compelling them to submit to the imperialists." The second fallacy according to Liao was: "The tripar-tite treaty concluded in Moscow a few months ago runs counter to the desire of the eople for the complet abltion of nuclear w and serves the interests of U.S. imperialist nuclear arms expansion...Contrary to the hopes of all peoples of good-will, this treaty is not a first step towards peace, but a step towards increasing the

danger of nuclear war."

The third fallacy: The "important role of the national independence movement solemnly demands of all peace workers that in order to defend world peace, it is sary to support the nation independence movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America honestly and not hypo-critically, by deeds and not merely by paying lip service. Facts have shown that there in the world peace movem who would invariably set the national independence ment as against the movement. They maintain that the spread of the national movement would endanger world peace and try every

means to suppress the natio-nal independence movement." This erroneous and slande-

of the Chinese was repudiated by speaker after speaker in the plenary session the end when the document "Call to Action" was put to vote, the Chinese put forward

### Chinese Line Rejected

The voting revealed the verwhelming support of the delegates to the WPC line which was approved by 392 votes to 42 with 9 abstentions. The Chinese cument was rejected by the same majority. Those who voted for the Chinese document included besides them, the delegates from Albania, N. Korea and N. Vietnam. The Indonesia and the Japanese abstained from voting.

imperialists, this particular area of tension had been created due to the activities of a government which was part of the camp of pe Hence it should be solved according to the accepted principles of the peace movemen Such a solution was possib by the unreserved acceptance the Colombo proposals which had been put by the six nonaligned nations and had been further clarified by the spokesmen of the powers. It was a matter regret that the government of the People's Republic of China had not accepted them. The Indian government, on the other hand, had long ago sig-nified its acceptance of these propos

roposais. He reiterated the desire of the Indian people to have the the WPC to take note of the fact that if the dispute not resolved, delay would lead to fostering conditions in



commission on "The Struggle for Peace and National Independence", the Indian representative on the commission nut the matter for considera-

tion of the commission.

It was pointed out by him that whereas other areas of tension had been created by

As pointed out earlier, it which imperialists and reacwas the first occasion when tionaries found a suitable cli-the WPC took note of the mate to subvert the national Sino-Indian dispute. In the policies of peace and non-

This speech was replied to by the Chinese who accused the Indian government as being pro-imperialist, accused SR of giving aid to a pro-imperialist

\* ON FACING PAGE

## Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference

\* FROM PAGE FIVE

to Afro-Asian solidarity and

world peace."
Another resolution extended support to the proposed conference of nonaligned gov-

were supported and the conference appealed to world public opinion to persuade the Chinese government to accept and implement the proposals. A resolution on Kashmir and Indo-Pakistan relations condemned the blackmail and pressures by the Western powers to compel India to acquiesce in the ac-ceptance of solutions not con-sistent with India's sovereignty and integrity and with the recognised constitutional po-sition with regard to Kash-

mir. cussion among delegates". There were several other "It, indeed, grieves us", he important resolutions—on said, "to see the World disarmament, on economic questions (which deals with neo-colonialism) and on solidarity with the anti-imperia-According to him, this parts of Asia and Africa.
wrong path consisted of the following fallacies: First "The

Southern Rhodesia, South lighted the urgency of the movements in these parts of the world. In addition, the resolutions regarding struggles in other countries of Asia and Africa, adopted by the Moshi conference and Nicosia executive were endorsed.

Of particular interest were the recommendations of the resolution on cultu-ral relations. It has been proposed to organise an Afro-Asian Artists' Confer-ence in 1964, and also an Afro-Asian Cultural Festi-

The conference ended with the election of new office-bearers and the holding of a public meeting in Ramilla Grounds, presided over by Aruna Asaf All. Dr. Tara Chand, MP, the

There were several other noted historian and former noted historian and former Ambassador in Iran, was elec-ted the new President succeed-ing Smt. Rameshwari Nehru, who insisted on retiring on account of ill-health. The conference sent a letter to Smt. Nehru requesting her region from the special resolutions on South to agree to be the first patron ing fallacles: First, "The Africa, Portuguese colonies, of the Association and thank-

ing her for all her work. The letter said:
"You are the founder and

darity movement. It was you who began this movement, which today has become such a powerful fac-tor for peace and indepen-

"Your name is a symbol throughout the world for the best causes of all humanity.

At the public meeting which brought the conference to a close, those who had helped all these years to build the movement could not be blamed if they had at least a lump in the throat. It had been hard going—but the results of patient and painstaking work were at last making themselves felt.

With the Jaipur conference the Afro-Asian solidarity movement in India took giant stride forward. It help-ed to strengthen that national unity of patriotic and proour independence and of our march forward to a better life.

## 270 PER CENT IN TEN YEARS

New Year brings new hones and new expecta-

a sound planned prosperous

year are highly exaggerated.

Central Committee and session of the Supreme Central Committee and the session of the Supreme So-viet which chalked out the

The recent meeting of the

plans for future develop-ment and adopted the bud-

get for the next two years

world once again the health, solvency and vitality of So-

viet economy and also the

humane principles of public

What is behind this steady

Seventh Fleet Move

\* From Our Correspondent

LONDON: The news of the United States proposing to set up a special naval force for the waters around the Indian subcontinent produced no small excitement in British political circles who traditionally have been used to considering themselves the rightful heirs to

mainly to intimidate Pakistan and to take it to task for hob-

and to take it to task for nou-nobbing with China without US approval or directly to bring pressure upon India in which Pakistan will be expect-to play its appointed role,

reaction concerned itself with the question whether the fleet will enter Indian territorial waters. It

Psst!

1 am

here

velops.

been used to considering themselves the rightful heirs to

m the week, after direct enquiries at Washington and knowing that the Government of India was going to play it down, they came out with a mild welcome for their Atlantic partners taking up a more active role in the Indian occan.

Which Pakistan will be expected to play its appointed role, the primary aim is certainly to hedge in India and hope to restrict her freedom of action. Unfortunately, it seems a common occan.

ble claim that this task force is sevicent that will modern meant to deter any possible tanker facilities the fleet need Chinese invasion by patrolling not call on any Indian port at all. What is important is that the Arabian Sea, their primary aim will be to make their presence felt on the countries of this after the earlier failure of the earlier failure of the earlier failure of the earlier failure of the countries of the strength of the earlier failure of the earlier failure of the countries of the earlier failure of the countries of the earlier failure of the countries of the countries of the earlier failure of the countries of the countri

will be to make their presence felt on the countries of this region.

It is openly stated, as pointed out in The Times, that in the case of aggression between India and Pakistan the victim will be able to look to the sea for help. These are the clearest possible indications of American plans of interfering in the internal affairs of the subcontinent on a scale far greater than ever before.

Whether the task force is

-Courtesy Free Press Journal

IN DEEP WATERS

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such responsibilities in those areas.

HILE the initial reaction

was one of surprise and disapproval and of eagerness to know which way the Government

of India was going to react, later in the week, after direct enquiries at Washington and knowing that the Government of India was going to play it down, they came out with a mild welcome for their Adaptic particles.

It is clear that while the

Americans will make the ostensi-ble claim that this task force is

netrated to the whole

tions. For the Soviet people they are based on the

economy which is developing at a rate unpreceden-

HE steady rise in living sult of the bad harvest this

reliable foundation of

ted in human history.

standards continues as production and productivity

are continuously rising and there is more to be distributed

among the people in the form

Moscow. There are more goods in the shops. Thousands of

new houses have gone up, there is more to go round, people are better dressed, happier, confident and more

In the streets one sees peo-

ple loaded with parcels and packets of New Year presents

or carrying the Yolkas, New Year trees, for which many open air bazars have cropped

the shops including bread and one can buy as much as one

wants. The reports in the

apitalist press about hard-

There are lots of goods in

More shops have opened in

of goods and services.

## USSR's Tempestuous Industrial Growth

\* From Masood Ali Khan

years of the current Seven the end of 1963 it has become by 58 per cent whereas the rise planned was 51 per cent. Machine-building and metallurgical products produced in 1963 were four times that of 1953.

boom and rising standards? Hard facts and concrete rea-lities and not propaganda The high temps of development of the Soviet economy is changing the correlation of forces in the economic com-petition with the USA: in 1953 Soviet industrial producspeeches and election pro-mises. Nowhere in the world has total industrial produc-tion gone up by 270 per cent or nearly three times in ten tion was only 33 per cent of the American level; in 1962 it years, as it has in the USSR. If we take the last five was 63 per cent and now at

Year Plan we find that 65 per cent of US production.
during the years 1959 to 1963
IN THE NEXT TWO
industrial production rose YEARS when the Seven-

ted, a further 17.5 per cent increase is expected so that the rise during the seven years would be 86 and not 80 per cent, as plan

AT THE END OF 1965the Soviet Union will have
the same level of industrial
production that the USA
had in 1958 or three fourths
of the present US production. After that in a matter
of next five years the great of next five years the great race will be won and the Soviet Union will have become the world's first industrial power.

welfare.

At the beginning of this year 22.5 million people were receiving pensions and 5.5 million mothers allowered. Britain Resentful Over

suffer the colossal destruc-tion of the war, that the Soviet Union did, but actually became richer because of it.
The Soviet Union had to re
Allocation build and develop further its industrial and power base at an unprecedented rate. Electric power for example during the last ten years jumped four times and provides now the means for developing the chemical industry and in-

creasing consumer goods pro-

were a gap in its military chain. This new move will fill it. Although the US presence may start with occasional visits, duction on a vast scale.

The Soviet budget also premay start with occasional visits, the Navy Department — as was stated in Washington soon after General MAXWELL TAYLOR, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, had discussed the proposal with Prime Minissents a picture of vigorous growth. As always it is a balanced budget where income is more than expenditure and there is no resort to deficit financing or large scale borrowing, etc., the permanent feature of capitalist countries. to put it on a more permanent Income for 1964 will be above 91,000 million and for It is to be noted that in spite of the present budgetary strin-gency, great importance is attach-ed to the new expansion and according to THE TIMES Special Correspondent in Washington, the Navy is understood to be pre-pared to reduce its commitments 1965 more than 101,000 mil-lion roubles. Now the structure of the revenue account reveals features which are characteristic of the Soviet

system—a steady decrease in the share of taxes levied on the population in the total budget revenue.

Twelve years ago the taxes accounted for every sixth rouble in the revenue. Now they account for only every 13th rouble. The lion's

the new budget is composed of the accumulations of the socialist economy the state and cooperative en-

terprises and organisations. If on the other hand we see expenditure on social and cultural needs the picture is ears would be 86 and not reversed. Both in absolute and per cent, as planned. relative growth the appro-AT THE END OF 1965 priations have increased. Twelve years ago they were 25 per cent of the budget, now they are over one third or 36 per cent. 32,8000 million will be spent now on public

And one has to keep in dents received stipends. mind that the USA did not Women have 100 days fully paid maternity leave.

As has been noted all over the world, the Soviet budget for 1964 cut the allocation for defence by 600 million roubles. It is thus reduced from 16.1 per cent in 1963 to 14.6 per cent in 1964

Thus, by not accelarating the arms race but on the contrary unilaterally slowing it down, the Soviet Union has made its contribution to continuation of the detente and relaxation of tension signing of the Moscow ban treaty. The Soviet people really hope that the Western powers would meet them halfway so that the tempo of the improvement of relations is maintained and the New war and the establishment of real and secure peace on

relaxation and hope and confidence in the future and goodwill for all mankind that the Soviet people light up their New Year trees, wish everyone all the best and everyone all the best a toast the New Year 1964.

### Environmental Command

This new move is also to be This new move is also to be seen against the background of the internal debate over fundamental strategy that had existed between the Pentagon and the Navy. The former reportedly was in favour of what is termed as mission oriented forces consistence. mission-oriented forces consist ing of forces of one or more services combined under a special command for a specific purpose as against the Navy's idea of a fleet deployed in specific areas like the Sixth Fleet in the Mediant of the Sixth Fleet in the Mediant of the Sixth Fleet in the Sixth Fleet in the Mediant of the Sixth Fleet in the terranean or the Seventh Fleet in the Pacific, which is termed

Fleet on temporary duty that will cruise in the Indian Ocean, but clearly the expanse of the water from the African coast to the China coast is so vast that the argument for a new environmen-tal command will easily win the

In fact the American strategy seems to be that while a certain balance of forces is maintained in Europe, American military intervention can only make any possible advance. military intervention can only table Sino-Indian border con-make any possible advance in flict and earnestly desire a take peripheral areas and no resolution of the dispute in the wonder the Navy believes the spirit of peaceful coexistence. aircraft carrier is the ideal The initiative taken by the weapon system for such a task. six nonaligned Afro-Asian

NEW AGE

### World Peace Council nations in Colombo has evok-

\* FROM FACING PAGE

the clarifications

In a hard-hitting and co-gent speech, Arjun Arora effectively replied to these accu-sations. He pointed out that the Indian governmen was not a pro-imperialist government, that the U.S. aid was, in fact, not much of an aid and emphasised the importance and significance of Soviet aid

As a result of the discussions, the following statement was passed: "The peace-loving peoples of the whole world feel concerned over the regret-table Sino-Indian border con-

and said that it was the Government of India which prevented negotiations by countries which should lead to a peaceful settlement of Colombo proposals along with the clarifications. the meeting was led by Arjun Arora M.P., and con-sisted of the following: Rana Jang Bahadur Singh,

H. D. Malaviya, Kunhunni Nair MIA; Kalyan Dutt, Kakani Subbaramaiah, Chi-tto Biswas, O. P. Paliwal, Tulsi Ram, Kanahiya Singh, P. N. Bhalla and Satish Arjun Arora was elected to

the presidium of the session H. D. Malaviya presided over the deliberations of the Commission on "Cooperation in Economic, Scientific and Cul-Bahadur Singh acted as a vice-president of the fourth

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# ITALIAN POLITICS to these questions by setting forth an analysis of the real situation in the country. The CC, in fact, stressed that "the new disposition of political forces should not be considered an observation of political forces should not be done.

## IN FERMENT

The new centre-left government led by SIGNOR those conservative elements who ALDO MORO that was formed after nearly thirty days of laborious negotiations, has two fundamental charac-

In the second place its weakness arises partly from the fact that the real men of the centre-left politics (FANFANI, LOMBARDO and LA MALFA) have preferred to stay outside this government, and more-over from the different interpreta-tions of the programme and of the structure of the government that structure of the government that are presented by the Christian democrats on the one hand and the majority of the Rightwing of the Socialist Party on the other.

It is interesting to underline that of this operation by participating sections who may have participating in militant actions during this very period against the rise in the cost of living and against the eco-

of Italy stated that the pro-gramme and actions of the new government directly runs against the reality of the problems of the country and in the first place against the demands and the needs of the working class and the common people.

One catches a glimpse then—
this question is also raised by the
Communist document—of a new
period of profound contradictions
and acute political and class conflicts from which can and ought It is interesting to underline that thick from which can and ought to spring up a new and more in the midst of indifference and skepticism in public opinion where as important sections of workers have demonstrated their defiance of this operation by participating in militant actions during this extensive who may have participating in militant actions during this extensive who may have participating in the content of the present water and the defiance of the present water and the defiance of the present water and the defiance of the present water and the present wate

responsibility on the part of the Rightwing of the Socialist Party in a government dominated by Communist, Party of Italy replied

To the first place it has the desire to follow the traditional centrist line of status quo both in internal affairs as well as in matters of foreign policy.

The desire to follow the traditional contrist line of status quo both in internal affairs as well as in matters of foreign policy.

The desire to follow the traditional working class.

It is rightly on the basis of the working class very great difficulties and at the same time new tasks and new possibilities.

Particularly serious is the man-oeuvre of the Christian Demo-cratic leadership to provoke a split in the Italian Socialist Party. This perspective moreover seems to find accord with the ideas of the Socialist leaders of NENNI's views.

What are the perspectives of the Italian working class movement to-day? Is it that the new situation will prevent the working class from regaining its initiative and develop a united movement of the masses?

These are the natural questions

today and the workers are asking hich for straight forward answers to such questions. Above all these monoments of the such questions are asked by the socialist workers who have seen in the Communist electoral successes in April the indications of a real possibility of bringing about a genuine turn to the Left in the Italian internal

considered an obstacle in the deve-lopment of united actions etc., much less should we take the sec-tarian position of infantile extrem-ism. The urgent need of seizing the initiative once again and develop-ing a united movement for an effective turn to the Left arises effective turn to the Left arises directly from the present situation. This urgency is fully realised by the workers and the socialist voters, by the ranks of the catholic

### Workers On March

It is not by chance that even at the moment when Signor Moro presented to President SEGNI the list of his government, 4.50,000 textile workers came out on a general strike. While Nenni on a general strike. While Nenni was putting his signature at the bottom of the programme of the new government, the socialists of AOSTE formed the regional government with the Communists and the Catholics of the Union Valdotaine.

After this came the refusal of After this came the refusal of the socialists of Sardinia to the Christian Democrats' invitation to form a government of the island on the basis of centre-left participation. It is no longer by chance that the Catholic trade unions and the social democratic ones are forced by the pressure of the working masses to give their sup-

## DINO PELLICCIA

port to the move for the strikes. port to the move for the strakes against the rise in the cost of living. These strikes are planned in a series to take place town by town in all the major cities, in Italy.

### Anger Of Conservatives

anger of the conservative groups who dominate the Christian Demo-cratic Party and at the same time has also worried the Social Democrats. This explains the attempts of these parties at splitting the PSI into two sections in the hope of preventing the development of these movements.

ments of the most influential members of the Communist Party of Italy, the recent Socialist congress and the participation of the Socialist workers in united militant movements clearly indicate the Socialist workers in united militant movements clearly indicate that one must not consider the present attempts to 'social-demo-cratise' the Socialist Party of Italy as an irrevocable affair.

On the contrary, one must ope-rate in a way so as to evade the

## NATO Bosses' Side-Swinger

From P. KUNHANANDAN

BERLIN: The Communique published after the Paris session of the NATO ministerial council on December 17 advocated improvement in East-West relations.

ministers 'assembled in Paris did not only stress the importance of seeking limited measures of detente but also the mportance of seeking genuine and undamental improvements in East-West relations. It was learned that difficulties had cropped up when formulating this passage as not all NATO members had shown will-NATO members had shown will-ingness for steps of detente, espe-cially West Germany.

The communique, however, re-peated the unrealistic conception of NATO, concerning the solution of important problems. It was asserted in this connection that the Soviet Union was obstructing relaxation in the West Berlin and the German issues, a false pretext of imperialism to bloc negotiations.

The communique spoke of an increase in military strength of NATO but said nothing about the disputed problems of a multilateral nuclear strike force and the mili-tary strategic conception of NATO. Recently NATO parliamentarians had rejected this proposal.

In the December 17 session of the Paris NATO Ministerial Council the American Secretary of State DEAN RUSK, the West German war minister VON HAS German war minister VON HAS SEL and Nazi General HEUSIN-SEL and Nazi General HEUSIN-GER, Chairman of the NATO military committee had come forward as zealous champions of a multilateral nuclear strike force.

Rusk expressed the hope that the talks on setting up the NATO nuclear strike force now taking

place in Paris and Washington would solve the problems still un-decided. The West German war minister spoke several times during the session and set forth Bonn's

The military thesis demand making the principle of forward strategy binding for the whole of NATO. Hassel was supported in this by Heusinger who expressly lateral NATO nuclear strike force

This year's autumn session of the NATO ministerial council which terminated on Dec. 17 in Paris was originally intended to be continued for another day. Politi-cal observers say that the fact that the standpoints of member states of NATO were too far apart is the

HE convention was presided over by Asha it described as totally bogus. The convention also demanded a 25 per also, All-India Trade Union Congress.

The convention unanimously adopted a resolu-The pressing decisions on the future direction of the military alliance had been postponed and there had been in fact no actual mously adopted a resolu-tion fully endorsing the decisions of the trade union conference held rediscussion on the contradictory political and military attitudes ently in Bombay on prices,

It was further underlined that dearness allowance, bonus and nationalisation. It was further underlined that an open divulgence of these atti-tudes was to be avoided. The NATO partners wanted to seek a lessening of these differences in the separate talks to be held by leading politicians during coming The convention demand-ed immediate revision of the current Cousumer

Congress candidate has been declared elected in Morena byelection of MP Assembly. But the opponents The Morena byelection are found congratulating the Communist Party and its

THIS is not surprising considering the background to this byelection and its voting results. There are not a few who feel confident to forecast a Communist victory in the next general elections in this constituency after this byelection. The voting pattern in the byelection is shown by these figures:

Communist candidate GENDALAL had polled 5,700 votes and was declared elected. But later on, the wrong recounting by the Returning Officer, placed him in the second position and the PSP candidate was declared successful by two votes. On the petition by the Communist candidate GENDALAL had polled 5,700 votes and was declared elected But later on, the wrong recounting by the Returning Officer, placed him in the second position and the PSP candidate GENDALAL for was declared elected. But later on, the wrong recounting by the Returning Officer, placed him in the second position and the PSP candidate GENDALAL for was declared elected. But later on, the wrong recounting by the Returning Officer, placed him in the second position and the PSP candidate GENDALAL for was declared elected. But later on, the wrong recounting by the Returning Officer, placed him in the second position and the PSP candidate was declared successful by two votes. On the petition by the Communist candidate GENDALAL

In this byelection, the PSP put up the same candidate but polled 600 votes less than the previous time. Jan Sangh caught hold of a money bag who was a Congress sarpanch only a week before the nomination date. They were bank

tries.
The convention also de-

The convention also de-cided to take out a mass deputation of over 15,000 textile workers to the Union Minister for Labour,

GULZARILAL NANDA to

present a -harter of de-mands to him on Janu-ary 13, 1964.

In the last general election, the

issues confronting the workers.

presided over by Asha Ram and inaugurated by

60,539

30,414

**Textile Workers**<sup>9</sup>

**Special Convention** 

Held In Delhi

tile and silk mills and hosiery factories of Delhi met in a special convention in Subzimand, Delhi,

on December 22, to discuss some of the burning

HE convention was Price Index Series, which

Over 800 delegates from the various cotton tex-

Total votes

Congress . Jan Sangh PSP

Total votes polled

HARI SINGH, and SOHAN SINGH JOSH also attended

THE secretariat expressed its deep concern at the continued rise in prices and the government's total failure to control the situation. It noted with satisfaction that the people in the state were giving organised expression to their resentment as shown by the large number of public meetings and protest demonstrations.

In this connection, the secretariat welcomed the initiative of the procession of the secretariat welcomed the initiative of the procession as also in the ruling party.

At the same time the secretariat

noted the fact that some of the dissident Congressmen were lining up with the reactionary and com-

up with the reactionary and communal parties whose aim is not to fight corruption and maladministration so much, as to make use of the anti-Kairon sentiments of the people for subverting nationally accepted policies such as nonalignment, strengthening of public sector etc. It is not without significance that these parties were not coming out against the anti-people

Communist Candidate

Polls Well In Morena

→ From Motilal Sharma

the meeting on the second day.

In this connection, the screen tariat welcomed the initiative of the Communist Assembly Group in demanding a special session of the Assembly to discuss this urgent issue. It sharply criticised KAIRON for his refusal to accept this just

demand supported by as many as 65 MLAs belonging to all groups. The secretariat decided to fur-

the secretaria dectore to the intensity the campaign against rising prices and mobilise public opinion for compelling the Government to take effective measures such as state trading in foodgrains and other necessities of life.

Congress managed to silence the independent Harijan candidate.

the first test case for D. P. MISHRA's cabinet. So all the MISHRA's cabinet. So all the resources of state power and organisation were exploited for the Congress campaign. Chief Minister himself encamped in the Constituency for two days. Cabinet. Ministers, specially the Food Minister GAUTAM SHARMA had settled down in Morene for two weeks Morena for two weeks.

The Food Minister called a meeting of grain merchants along with businessmen and sounded a warning that the defeat of the Congress would do against their interests. Wherever the Food Minister went, he summoned teachers and other government employees in the villages and told them that action against them could be saved only if the Congress won the ballot.

Then there was a host of MLAs drawn from all over the state. The government machinery was used without any scruple. More than 50 jeeps, supplied by Birla's J. C. Mills and Maharani, Gwalior were engaged in the campaign.

In the face of such a huge mobilisation of Congress resources, the Communist party had to depend on the hard work of its cadres only. Of course, the Ian Sangh was no less lavish in spending money. Tractors from Rajasthan were brought by them. Jeeps and about a dozen of MLAs combed out the whole constituency. Their top leader Atal Behari, Bajpai also came to their help but could not save them.

### JAN SANGH FAILS

The way, the Jan Sangh had organised and built their positions in the city, anybody would believe that highest poll will be by Jan Sangh. But the results showed the reverse. To the surprise of Jan Sangh, it was seen that the businessmen supporting them, when they found their interests identical with the Congress, walked over to the Congress. The Congress very successfully made inroads into the

# Govt's Inactivity Condemned \* From Our Punjab Correspondent

rising prices.

A meeting of the secretariat of the Punjab State Council of the CPI was held in Jullundur on December 13 and 14. Besides the members of the secretariat, MASTER

The secretariat expressed the hope that the majority of the dissidents, as also democratic-minded Congressmen inside the Congress will not fall a pray to the game of reactionary and communal parties which are being guided by the arch-reactionary Swatantra Party leader MASANI as revealed at the Karnal Akali-Conference.

The secretariat hoped that they would come out boldly in support of the nationally accepted policies on the one hand and on the other against the anti-people policies of the government which feed mono-

policies of the government and the black-marketeers responsible for rising prices.

The secretariat expressed the hope that the majority of the dissidents, as also democratic-minded Congressmen inside the

The secretariat, by a resolution.

The secretariat reiterated its strongly criticised the postponeview that the continuation of ment of already over-due municiKairon as Chief Minister was pal elections and it rejected the The secretariat reiterated its view that the continuation of Kairon as Chief Minister was responsible for the deepening crisis in the ruling party and was bringing grist to the mill of the reactionary forces in the state. His further continuation may even lead to a situation in which President's rule in the state—an undesirable development—becomes inevitable.

The secretariat hoped that the strongly criticised the postpone ment of already over-due municipal elections and it rejected the arguments advanced by the minister in-charge as mere excuses to cover up the fact that the Congress Party was not prepared to face the electorate at present. The secretariat development development in the government the power to postpone local bodies elections at its discretion.

## RECEPTION TO SOVIET LEADER

retary of the All- of the AITUC. Trade Unions, USSR, who came to India to participate in the Seminar on International Affairs and World Peace at New Delhi and the Conference of Indian As-

T. NIKOLAYEVA, sec- Delhi State Committee

A large number of trade union functionaries from various factories and mills were present at the recep-

Next day Nikolayeva had a long talk with K. G. Sri-wastava and Satish Loomsociation for Afro-Asian ba, secretaries of the AI-Solidarity at Jaipur, was accorded a reception on about trade union situation December 22, by the in India.

Jan Sangh and PSP areas of the city. That was why, contrary to the expectations of the Congress, it could poll almost 50 per cent of votes in the city—4.400 out of 0,116. The Jan Sangh and PSP polled only 1,600 and 1,400 as compared to 2,300 and 2,100 polled in the general election.

The Congress never counted ine Congress never counted on more than 3,500 votes in the city. Similarly Congress gained in the villages where Jan Sangh and PSP were claiming to be strongly entrenched. But the Congress could not, in the least, make any headway in the strongholds of the Communist party.

### MORE VOTES

In spite of all slanders and accusations against the Communist party, the CPI polled far more votes than in the last general election. At every polling booth, the Communist candidate Gendalal increased his vote. In the strongholds, the Communist candidate sometimes polled 80 per cent of votes polled in the booths. Here are a few instances:

	CPI	Congr
Laxman	358	50
Doraoli	375	53
Dhanela Madan	419 282	62
Madan Jainagar	 687	26 26
Bharond	252	35

proved in the city where its candidate could poll only 900 votes

This gap proved to be too big to be filled by the margin in the candidate made up 2,200 votes. It is true the CPI increased its votes in the city itself, but it was very insignificant. This is just to say that the CPI did not decrease its votes at any booth

In the review meeting of Morena District Party which was addressed by BAL KISHAN GUPTA, Secretary of Madhya Pradesh Committee of the CPI, all agreed and decided that the Party has to build up and strengthen its base in the city along with consolidating its hold in the villages. The defeat in the the comrades at all.

## READ HAYAI

WEEKLY of

THE COMMUNIST PARTY

7/4 ASAF ALI ROAD NEW DELHI 1

### 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 vears old).

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



PAGE EIGHTEEN

Adhyaisha Dr. Joges Chendra Ghose, M.A. Ayurved-Sastri, F.C.S. (London) M.C.S. (America) Formerly Professor

MRITASANIIBANI MAHADRAKSHARISTA (6 years old)

Calcutta Centre : Dr. Nares Chandra Ghosa,

DECEMBER 20, 1063

### SCANDAL IN CAPITAL

# Congress Bosses, Coops and Profiteering

\* From Our Special Correspondent

DELHI, December 23: Capital city of Delhi has recently felt the worst ever scarcity of essential commodities like sugar and gur, despite the fact that quantities released for sale are much larger than ever before (Delhi's quota has gone up from 60,000 to 80,000 bags per month).

ORNERING of stocks and smuggling out of Delhi have assumed alarming proportions. Wholesale traders and other vested interests as usual have been wholesale traders and other veet ed interests as usual have been fattening with impunity on the exorbitant profits made out of artificial scarcity conditions creat-

arthicial status, ed by them.

But what has really shocked the people all over the country are the allegations of profiteering in gur by the Delhi State Central the allegation gur by the Delhi State Central Cooperative Store. This "Cooperative" is headed by the virtual "dictator" of the Pradesh Congress, CHOWDHURY BRAHM

gress, CHOWDHURY BRAILING FERKASH, MP.
Out of roughly 1000 tons of gur allotted to Delhi for November 1963, 300 tons were allotted to the Store, which having paid a declared price (allegedly on the high side) of Rs. 50 per quintal sold it at Rs. 85 per quintal.

This price. according to a

old it at Rs. 85 per quintal.

This price, according to a statement made by Chowdhury Brahm Perkash in the Lok Sabha, was fixed as a part of "business strategy", when on the same dates another syndicate was selling gur at Rs. 67 per quintal.

So scandalous became the conduct of this cooperative store that the matter was repeatedly raised and debated in Parliament as well as in the Delhi Municipal Corporation In fact, in the minds Corporation. In fact, in the minds of the people, scarcity of gur and profiteering by the Cooperative and the Congress bosses have become synonyms.

Questions have been correctly posed: Will profiteering by the Stores be overlooked because it is

Stores be overlooked because it is a Co-operative Society? Or because influential Congress leaders are involved? Or because it is a "business strategy" worked out by a cooperative society to fleece the people and profiteer on their misery?

Small traders, on their failure on which the price lists had

to exhibit the price lists, had been arrested under the Defence of India Rules Will the cooperative store and its: Congress bosses be treated differentially and leniently?

miently?

Members of Parliament and the Delhi Municipal Corporation were restive and wanted a clearcut policy statement to the effect that the cooperative store will not be spared that

both legal and administrative action will be taken against it, that no amount of political pressure of the Congress bosses pressure of the Congress bosses will be permitted to shield the

culprits.

And the entire Opposition joined hands and, together with joined hands and, together with certain Congressmen, were able to secure these assurances from the Food and Agriculture Minis-ter, SWARAN SINGH, from his Deputy, from the Home Minister as well as from the Chief Com-

as well as from the Chief Com-missioner of Delhi.

A case has since been registered and handed over to the Special Police for investigation under the Essential Commodities Act.

But this has as yet failed to meet all the doubts raised earlier not only because proceedings have not yet been initiated, but also because, from the names mentioned in the press, the real culprits in chief seem still out of

The story of the gur scandal of the cooperative store is a story of alleged contraventions, crimes and contradictions. The coopera-tive store dedicated to hold the price line, is itself accused of in order to find a scapegoat!

profiteering and of immoral and. The store is an association of illegal conduct, of being restindividuals described as a compossible for artificially raising pany under the Essential Comprises and indulging in black modifies Act (Section 10) and as

prices and indulging in hlack-market:

It is alleged that gur was, actually purchased from Muzaffarnagar and Barot (in UP) at Rs. 45 to Rs. 52 per quintal, when receipts and records show a purchase price of Rs. 59 or so. It is alleged that the freight paid at Rs. 7 to Rs. 8 per quintal over a distance of about 50 to 60 miles, is unreal despite the corruption money that may have been paid and was pald according to Chowdhury Brahm! Perkash for having the railway wagons allocated.

Confused by the onslaught and the exposure of its misdeeds, officers of the store have been making contradictory statements.

whereas Chairman of the Store, Chowdhury Brakin Perkash in his Lok Sabha speech on December 4, and subsequently at his press conference on December 6, assumed full responsibility for the high sale price as a strategy, the Managing Director of the store, RAMLAL, a member, of the Corporation however, declared that it was a case of genuine mistake hy way of miscalculathat it was a case of genuine mistake by way of miscalculation and that some employee responsible for the same had been sacked. The lady secretary of the store, of course, pleads ignorance; her alibi is that she has to carry out the orders of the Board.

monthes Act (section 10) and as such it is the store, its directors, who have to be legally proceeded against. It is hoped that no one who has connived at the offence will be spared.

The gur scandal of the constitution of the

operative store has however, merely brought into the head-lines, allegations of persistent, shady deals in most of the other commodities in the distribution of commontes in the distribution of which the store has enjoyed near-monopoly. Distribution of steel, camphor, coal, sugar, butter, certain imported goods by the Store—all have at various stages been associated with various scandals.

And it is thus the demand of all sections of opinion in Delhi that a thorough probe is required into the affairs of the Store, its working and all commodities entrusted to it for distribution. It is well known that coal, gur, steel have not been sold by the store to consumers, but also have found their way into the black-

The Delhi State Council of the Communist Party, in a letter addressed to the Prime Minister on December 13, demanded a high level inquiry. All opposition members in the Corporation had earlier supported a resolution erse inquiry. All opposition mem-bers in the Corporation had earlier supported a resolution moved by Communist leader Prem Sagar Gupta, demanding a tho-rough probe into the affairs of the Store. And various other parties' and organisations in the City have repeated the same request:

## STRUGGLE AGAINST **ERODING WAGES** CAMPAIGN STARTS IN KERALA

🖈 From S. Sharma

As the clarion call from Bombay reverberates throughout the length and breadth of the country demanding control of price of essential articles, increased DA and bonus and nationalisation, the stirrings of a movement in the distant villages and towns of Kerala are being felt.

public meeting held under the auspices of the Kozhi-kode mandalam committee of the kode mandatam committee of the trade unions in the city appealed to workers, peasants and middle classes to unitedly agitate and demand the supply of essential articles of foodstuffs at controllabilities though the supply of t ed price through fair price shops and cash compensation to the working population to offset the rising cost of living.

The meeting criticised the complacent attitude taken by the state and union governments in this regard.

In Quilon district, a broad-based movement under the joint auspices of the Communist Party and the Revolutionary Socialist Party, the trade unions of the AITUC and UTUC affiliations, is rising against the steep rise in

Batches of leaders of these organisations, ranging from 10 to 101, will demonstrate in front of the collectorate, taluq and village offices by going on a token one day fast on December 23. In these demonstrations and fast, elected members of the local panchayats will take a leading part.

The Ernakulam district council of the Communist Party and the trade unions of the AITUC are launching a campaign with an

inaugural rally and demonstration on December 29 at Ernakulam.

inaugural rally and demonstration on December 20 at Ernakulam.

In Trivandrum, the capital of Kerala, as many as 500 delegates to the Seventh All-India Conference of Telephone and Telegraph Employees Union set the pace for this campaign by staging an impressive and colourful demonstration throughout the city with placards and slogans echoing the above demands among others.

The rally was conducted as part of the concluding session of the joint conference. The open session of the conference was held under the chairmanship of V.S.R. ANJANEYALU, and inaugurated by ALEXANDER PARAMBIT-HARA. Speaker of the Kerala Assembly.

Anjaneyalu touched upon the parables of the form the form the form the

Anjaneyalu touched upon the irning problems facing the orking class such as increased Anjaneyau rouched upon the burning problems facing the working class such as increased DA and bonus, cancellation of increased victimisation, and democratisation of administration.

Member of the P&T Board Sen

Member of the P&T Board sen
Gupta who participated in the
conference assured that before
the ensuing budget session, a
final review of the cases of
victimised P&T personnel will be
made by the Board sympathetically.

The conference adopted resolutions demanding effective steps to control prices increased DA and scientific basis for the fixation of the cost of living index.

### BURDWAN BYELECTIONS

## Victory Of Correct Policies CPI GREETS ALL VOTERS

The Central Secretariat of the Communist Party of India has issued the following statement on December 25:

THE Communist Party of India sends its hearty congratulations and thanks to the voters of the Assembly and Parliament constituencies in Burdwan who have returned the Communist candidate Benoy Chowdhury to the As-sembly and the indepen-dent Communist-supported candidate N. C. Chatterjee to Parliament, Both seats were previously held by the Congress.

the Congress.
These victories are victories for the national mass policies of the Communist Party. They are the decisive answer to the Right reactionary attacks

on our Party.

The electorate has refused to be swayed by anti-Communist lies and demagogy. The correct policies pursued by the Communist Party and its patriotic service of the nation and of the people have been endorsed by the Burdwan

electorate. The Burdwan vote is an indictment of the anti-people policies pursued by the Congress governments.

The victories in Burdwan are victories spe-cially for the positive slogans and demands of the Communist Party in regard to the key issues today facing the pea-sants, the working class and other patriotic sections of people in our country.

The peasantry, compelled to sell its paddy at Rs. 10 to 12 per maund, was bitterly indignant to see that there was hardly any that there was hardly any upper limit to the price of rice when sold to the consumers in Calcutta. It had helplessly watched the vast profits being grabbed by middlemen and rice-millers. It enthusiastically responded to the Party's slogan of fair price to the grower and elimination of profiteering in people's

The mass of people were rine mass or people were fed up with the rapidly worsening conditions of their lives and saw the way out in the Party's call for mass mobilisation, mass actions for bonus, dearness allowance and fair prices are allowance and fair prices as allowance and fair prices as immediate relief and the adoption of the policy of nationalisation of banks, export and import trade, etc.

The victories in Burdwan are also an endorse-ment of the demand raised by the Communist. Party throughout the country for the imme-diate release of all Communist detenus still in prison.

prison.
The Burdwan victory should give greater confidence to all progressive elements, including, those inside the Congress itself, to whom it must mean the strengthening of the fight against reaction inside and outside the Congress, and for new policies which lead to tangible advance in the status and life of the common people. mon people.



Insurance employees' demonstration, Nagpur (Page 13 for report)