# NEW DELHI: THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE EXPANSION OF THE ACTIVITIES OF THE US SEVENTH FLEET INTO THE INDIAN OCEAN IS GETTING INTO STRIDE. THE LEAD HAS BEEN GIVEN BY DELHI WITH A TWO THOUSAND STRONG DEMONSTRATION BEFORE THE US EMBASSY ON DECEMBER 31.



THE demonstration WAS organised by the Delhi state committee of the Communist Party of India and the All India Trade Union Congress. The Delhi Youth Federation also participated in th in it.

Workers belonging to the Kapra Mazdoor Ekta Union and the Delhi Hotel Workers Union participated in large numbers in the demonstration.

The demonstrators carried placards and banners con-demning US designs in the Indian Ocean and the injection of cold war manoeuvres into a hitherto peaceful area. They should slogans like

Keep the fleet of war out of the Indian Ocean and Seven-th Fleet, threat to India's nonalignment

M. FAROOQI, secretary of the Delhi state committee of the Communist Party, sub-mitted a memorandum to the US Charge d'Affaires, JOSE-PH M. GREEN, in the absence of Ambassador CHESTER BOWLES, on behalf of the demonstrators.

The memorandum urged the Ambassador to impress upon the US government the necessity to "give up its gunboat diplomacy and annul its decision to extend the activi-ties of the Seventh - Fleet to

Indian Ocean". It said: "The US govern-ment must realise that the Indian Ocean is not an American lake; that it is

The ATTUC statement add-ed: "We are constrained to find that the Government of India has refused to make a forthright protest against this step. Our own indepen-dence cannot be defended by forder howers forign powers. We have to



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ocean of Afro-Asian nations and that the Americans have no business to be in this area.

Meanwhile, reports of the mounting protest against the sinister US move have been coming in. The AFTUC has issued a statement terming it as "full of possibilities of in-

srengthen our own national defence. And in our efforts in this direction, this objective can hardly be realised by any help from the USA in view of their open arming of Pak-istan and the encouragement cluen to that country to bols.

"The working class of

**\*** From Our Correspondents

creasing cold war tension in this region". The Asian coun-tries have raised their objection and protested against it fully realising the danger, it said. India which has on all occasions stood in the i front of the struggle for for independence of our coun-try strongly objects and and protests against this move



A section of the demonstrators before US Embassy in New Delhi.





M. Farooqi presenting the memorandum. Sec. Car



of the US government to send their Seventh Fleet to the Indian Ocean and urges the Government of India to join other Asian countries in opposing this move."

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Nearly a thousand workers of the Communist Party in Delhi held a meeting on De-Definition a meeting on De-cember 29 at the N. M. Joshi Hall and adopted a resolu-tion denouncing the proposed operations of the US Seventh Fleet

The resolution termed it as "a threat to the sovereignty and independence of the

mulated by the conference.

Afro-Asian nations" and said that this step of the US im-perialists was in particular directed against the liberation struggles of the African peoples

The All India Peace Coun cil and its Delhi state uni unit held a meeting on December 21, presided over by Rana Jung Bahadur Singh, to pro-test against the move. The resolution passed at

The resolution passed at the meeting said: "The entry of this notorious war fleet,

\* ON PAGE 4





# TTK's Gopen Door? Call defininged. Awhere Wa' the

TTK, whose statement Parliament on the country's economic situation had forewarned us about the proximity of his views with those of the monopolists, has again expounded his ideas and this time in a manner that leaves no doubt about his purpose.

In a speech before three In a speech before three annual economic conferences in Bombay he has set forth his objectives for the coun-try's planning, and these, shorn of their verbiage, are hard to distinguish from those of the FICCI or any other big

usiness organisation. 'TTK has called for opening he doors "wider" for foreign the doors "wider for lottigat private investments on the plea that the "presence" of a "vigilant" public sector in most of the "vital areas" pre-cludes the possibility of such investments dominating the scenomy He of course did investments dominating economy. He, of course, not elaborate his stateme but its meaning is clear. The public sector, accord to him, should, after attain controller level be no m did statement,

according iing particular level, be no m a handmaiden for the growth of private enterprise, not only indigenous but also foreign. The Plan has how-

prices in March next.

cember 20.

The decision was announc-

ed by HEM SINGH CHOW-DHARY, secretary of the Nag-aur district Kisan Sabha at a

The rally rounded off a conference of kisans attended

January 25-26.

set up.

boning

T HE organisers are en-rolling fifty thousand workers as members of the

the confernce and a five-

thousand strong workers' volunteer corps is being

The conference will dis-

cuss the pressing issues facing the workers in Gu-

jarat as the demand for

higher DA, correction of the fraudulent index and

Reception Committee

**KISANS AGITATE** 

🗴 From Our Gorrespondent

kisan rally in Nagaur on De- surcharge on land revenue.

**GUJARAT CONFERENCE** 

★ From Our Correspondent

Sangram Samiti of Ahmedabad workers, a Maha-

gujarat Kamdar Conference has been convened on

Under the auspices of the Samyukta Kamdar

most fraudulent of all and the INTUC leaders

who have so far been claiming to represent the interests of the local

textile workers had silen-tly acquisced in this colo-

The Sangram Samiti is

lations in

al frand committed on

ON JANUARY 25-26

ever, assigned no such role to the public sector, which, as it has clearly stated, should reach has clearly stated, should be the the 'commanding heights' to direct the country's develop-ment towards' socialism. TTK has emphasised the need for 'consolidation' rather

than 'advance' during the Fourth Plan. The understanding behind this emphasis is also the same — that the public sector on reaching a certain level, should halt its 'advance', while the facilities, created by it, are 'consolidated' in favour

of private enterprise. TTK is, however, not being original in making this sug-gestion. The World Bank and monopolists—both Indian and foreign — have already made

it umpteen times. TTK has also harped on the virtues of an 'income oriented', instead of 'investment-orient-ed', plan. What he means to ed', plan. What he means to suggest in plain parlance, is that the workers, peasants and the salaried employees should be content with their meagre share in the national wealth, while the bulk of it continues cornered by a few to be

nonopolists. He is bothered neither by the economic debility such a course will result in, nor by the social unrest it will create. He is concerned only with making the Plan an instrument for fattening the purses of a

# sympathetic hearing overseas, few people in the top brackets. TTK's re-entry into the cabinet was supposed to have tolled the bell for the "man-

eaters". But as he gets into strides, the bell looks like tolling more and more for the Plan's objectives, while the 'maneaters' continue to be on the prowl.

TTK is, however, not alone in scuttling the Plan objec-tives. He has even an avowed socialist to assist him in this game. Along with Asoka Mehta — who has now been hounded out of his own party — he has formed a diumvirate which has been acclaimed by which has been acclained by the big business press as a new enlightened "brains trust". The attributes of this 'trust' are 'flexibility', 'pragmatism' and 'freedom from doctrinair-ism', all of which are dear to the heart of the hig business.

to enable the price internation to function more freely. It is nothing short of an irony that a socialist' Asoka Mehta finds these outrageous ism, all of which are dear to the heart of the big business. And why not, if all that they point to is complete freedom of the 'trust', flaunting them, form on business to the Plan suggestions worthy of 'con-sideration' and wants the country to pay heed to them. from any loyalty to the Plan and its objectives? Asoka Mehta doled out his profound 'ideas' before Parlia counsels respect for the Com

ment's Consultative ( mittee a few days back. World Bank's 'advice' its foreign investors and eivers, he said, were losing the country's representatives continue givers, he said, were losing confidence in the country's economy. The World Bank too was disappointed at our lack of appreciation of its periodic counsels. With these friends not only to pour scorn on our policies but also baseless allegations against our country.

ing excavation of tanks and repairs of wells which would provide not only work to the people but also help in easing the water scarcity.

**AGAINST HIGH PRICES** The resolution demanded that sales tax be abolished on essential commonses foodgrains, and coarse cloth. Materials like cement, gyp-JAIPUR: The Rajasthan by about 5,000 kisans from all JAIPUR: The Rajastnan by abut both both abut the start an agitation against ber 19, was presided over by MOOL CHAND CHOWDHARY. be brought within easy reach of the common people, it said.

The conference demanded The conference pointed out through a resolution reduc-tion in land revenue; scienti-fic methods of calculating land revenue; abolition of the that the gap in the govern-ment's income when tax reductions were made could be made up by nationalisation of banks, export-import trade, general insurance and whole-It demanded relief works in the famine-stricken vil-lages of Rajasthan, includtrade in foodgrains.

The conference demanded in sugar and gur distribution in sugar and gur distribution the textile workers. Over between cities and villages be 15,000 textile workers would put an end to, and black- march to present a memoran-marketers and hoarders be dum to the Union Labour punished exemplarily. Minister on this day.

Another demand made by the conference was that idle land around the Rajasthan Canal and other project areas be given to landless agricultural labourers instead of auctioning them which is the current practice.

A colourful demonstration was held next day before the Nagaur district, headquarters, in which more than 2000 ans participated.

The rally which followed was addressed by LIKHMA RAM CHOWDHARY, a prominent Congressman of the area, who gave his wholeEconomic noies

MALAGMAN ART. SEC. 170 VITH

and where was the hope of our making any advance eco-nomically without getting our mead from abroad? This was the burden of Asoka Mehta's peroration. Like

TTK, he was not worried by

its present course. Even in its latest report this institution has taken exception to policies intended to reduce inequalities of income and wealth and secure balanced regional deve-lopment. It has also asked for abolition of control over prices to enable the price mechanism to function more freely.

arta de la terra de la compañía de l

While / Asoka Mehta

One of them is reported to have said at a meeting, organave said at a meeting, orga-nised by the School of Advanc-ed International Studies John Hopkins University the United States, that "the my of East Pakistan was being adversely affected by the flood control and/or irrigation schemes of neighbour-ing India". The Financial Express which

TTK, he was not worthed by the fact that what he said bore family resemblance to what the big business organisations had so frequently said. As for the World Bank's 'advice', he must have known that this is no 'advice' but a call for reversing the Plan from its present course. Even in its latest report this institution carried this report said that this allegation would have this allegation the feathers of any Indian if he were present at the meeting. The Bank repre-sentative was not, however, content with this allegation. He is also understood to have ved that "Pakistan has made faster economic progress than it would have if its territory had remained a part of India". These allegations and in-

sinuations betray the World Bank's malice towards our and for a very good country, and the avery good reason. We have not allowed our policies to be dictated by its 'advisers'. And yet, it is to them that Asoka Mehta wants us to listen lest they lose confidence in our economy and -ESSEN December 31

# **DELHI PREPARES FOR** DEMANDS DAY

### \* By Our Correspondent

The Delhi State Committee of the AITUC which met on December 28 has charted out a plan to mobilise the widest sections of the working people around the slogans of the Bombay Conference of TUs on DA, honus and nationalisation ...

OR the observance of the cussions on the questions of rising prices and the demand for compensatory rise in DA are being organised in which Delhi STUC President, B. D. Joshi and General Secretary A. C. Nanda, have reported on the decisions of the Bombay Conference.

Giving his impressions of

stated that in a number of meetings addressed by him recently, there was impressive participation of people other than workers since the issues which are being discussed about price rises concern all equally.

tion for famine and drou-ght in Rajasthan. A sug-vention on January 5, to dis-cuss steps for effective mobi-single for achiev-The engineering workers in gestion he made for achiev-ing this purpose was the establishment of a desert sation of their demand for a Wage Board,

> The Corporation employ 27 to back their demands have decided that on January 13, demonstrations would be organised before all zonal offices of the Municipal Cor-

THE seventh fleet of the sion 41 Polaris submarines. carry-ing 656 nuclear missiles by 1966. Many of these have already been coupies a far more impor-mentsioned like Son Hourton occupies a far more impor-ommissioned like Sam Houston, tant position than its name suggests in the aggressive and imperialist designs of that country around the Ethan Allan and Lafayette.

among the navy. But in practice it covers almost one-fifth of the world's. ocean area. The seventh fleet supports: the SEATO military alliance and safeguards. American supports the SEATO mintary alliance and safeguards American. F8U Crusader fighters, 14D on y-interests in the whole of the ray and F3H Demon jet fighters Pacific and South East Asian and A3J Vigilant attack planes, all of them of the supersonic

The strength of the US navy, range. according to figures given in the 1958 US budget proposals, was 805,000 men including 175,000 marines, 9820 planes all of them capable of carrying nuclear wee-pons and 864 ships of which 390 were attacking warships. Not much change in its strength or composition has taken place since then except the addition of more and more nuclear submarines.

The exact number of the sub-marines with the US navy is not marines with known. Besides the convention submarines which are in plenty, it had in October 1961 six Polaris submarines at sea carrying a total of 96 missiles and dozens of ntinental hallistic miss according to Roswell Gilpatric, US deputy defence secretary.

The navy had plans to commis-



D EENDAYAL UPA-DHYAYA, old RSS leader and general secretary of the political organisation set up by it, paid a visit to Uganda and Kenya on his way back from his tour of "States" as Uncle Sam's dear guest.

In Uganda and Kenya, a few of the Indian ders, on whose vested interests RSS philistinism fits like the 'fez' on pre-Kemal Tarkish heads, have a 'shakha' of this set up obscurantist organisation Unadhyaya was a guest of this gentry.

Arya Samal, Hindu Union, presidents of Jain temple and Shiva temple, Patel Samaj, Punjab Hindu Association and similar other bodies arranged welfor him. He was also passed on to some local officials, as an important Indian He made speeches on subjects like "How one can live a-better life" and

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MANUARY STIRAS

world. Technically, it is only one among the many fleets of the US we have a set of the US world anong the many fleets of the US among the many fleets of the US we have a set of the US We h craft carrier Enterprise under commission.

under commission. The navy is equipped with all-weather FGH Phantom II and

### Nuclear

# Submarines

The strength of the seventh fleet was given in May 1962 as 60,000 men, 650 planes and 125 ships including five aircraft car-riers. The aircraft carriers include attack purpose carriers Hangcock, Shangrila and Bonoom Richard and the anti-submarine carrier

Many of the world war second Victory ships were converted into floating armories and assign-ed to the seventh fleet in 1962. These floating armories carry These floating armories carry trucks; tanks, artillery and muni



If this report is true, the Indian envoy is a stupendously ignorant person as our ambassador who knows next to nothing about the India he is supposed to be representing abroad, India, as people know it, is proud of her progressive

ideals and wishes to build herself as a democratic, casteless and classless soclety leaving out all that is evil in its historic heritage and taking everything that

Defenders of the caste system, of communalism, of feudalism and capita-lism, of the Birlas and Tatas and of ties, with

Tatas and of uss, why the imprialist West may, of course, be very true representatives of cer-tain narrow interests, but how can they be hailed as real ambassa-damed India? It was, therefore, very amusing to find the same Madhok halling the Parishad's merger move as a "victory of the forces of national integration." How dors of India? indeed do words change Only an ignoramus who their meaning with these elements. The plea for na-tional integration or the does not know his job can do 50. demand for the repeal of Article 370 of the Consti-tution means only one thing\_somehow to subvert or sacrifice the valley be-cause it is in Madhok's words, ted." Muslim-domina

on subjects like "How one can live a better life" and the "Role of opposition" in all went very well, all the above. Any number-and I am sure that a good of his statements can be round of fetting and feast-cited on, these, subjects, ing to this leader of none - And the Indian govern-too-high a stature in his ment whom Tandon, H-own country did not come presents curus be well, as too great an anti-elimax whites the petting heize-could the latter express is has shirt to get a stature in whom states. How then auco detroi GARUDA VIIII Ils noon beller Varen'



the various localities and the that the discriminatory policy largest of them all will be of the textile workers. Over

> The State Convention of Trade Unions on DA, Bonus and Nationalisation has been scheduled for the third week of January. Meanwhile, sultative meetings and dis-

sions and d

manded a permanent solu-

ght in Rajasthan. A suging this purpose was the

He warned the government month's time, the peasants would start a statewide agi-

# development commission. that unless the demands of demonstration on December

# the campaign, B. D. Joshi

sector-wise a day of proces-sions and demonstrations. As many as twenty processions have so far heen nlanned in

# All-India Demands Dav on January 13, it was decided, the unions should organise



submarines, the Besides ordinary submarines, the seventh fleet has a squadron of nuclear, submarines also, though their actual number is not known. their actual number is not known. In January 1963, the US request-ed and Japan "agreed in princi-ple" to allow US nuclear sub-marines to call at Japanese ports. The number mentioned in this instance was eight. These eight submarines were of the Nautilius class, all equipped with nuclear weapons, and attached to the seventh fleet.

Some other nuclear submarines known to be with the seventh fleet are Sage, Swordfish, Halibut and Sea Dragon. These four sub-marines are equipped with Aster uclear torpedoes.

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### Manila

## Base

The fleet has its base at Manila. Its: ports of call normally are Yokosuka and Sasebo in Japan. Yokosuka has large repair yards, oil storages and ammunition. storages



ceived in America as one- such an astoundingly atrocious views? Will some one in the External Affairs Ministry explain this?

THE Praja Parishad during this round of THE Praja Parishau functions. The Sangh press reports, during one has now formally merged with the Jan Sangh voy in Kenya, R. K. has been a notoriously TANDON hailed Upadh-communal organisation communal organisation from the very beginning. A glorifier of the feudal

Dogra rule over Jammu and Kashmir its one obsession has been to end by hook or crook the muslim-majority character of the state. For this, it is prepared to go to any length not stopping even at the sacrifice of the val-

The Parishad had launched some years back a satyagraha movement for securing "full accessio the state with Kashmir Valley, if possible, and even without it, if neces-sary." This fact is recorded in Balraj Madhok's booklet KASHMIR PRO-BLEM.

depots: Sasebo supplies the seventh fleet with fuel and ammunition. The air arm of the seventh fleet is based at Atsugi and Iwakuni.

The seventh fleet is under the Pacific General Command, which Pacific General Command, which has its headquarters at Pearl Harbour. The PGC was reorganis ed in 1959 after which it has under it 500,000 men, 7000 planes and 400 warships which give its support to the seventh fleet.

The seventh fleet is also supported by the US fifth air force (two divisions in Japan and one Obinawa and Obinawa and transport the seventh fleet left wessels of the seventh fleet left. ported by the US fifth air force (two divisions in Japan and one division each in Okinawa and South Korea) and the US thir teenth air force deployed in Philippines, Taiwan and Guam. There are 70,000 men under these two commands, and 1800 planes half of which are fighters and the rest bombers. The seventh fleet has under its the transport vessels of the seventh fleet left. Formosa to "patrol the Laos coast". The provocation was that the US puppet regime off Boun Oum was being threatened in Laos. On May 12, 1962 a carrier task force of the seventh fleet "steamed into the Gulf of Siam, off Thailand and Cam-bodia, to be in position for what

control also the Japanese navy bodia, to be in position for what (30,000 men, 42 destroyers, five ever military moves might./be anti su submarines, 200 anti-submarine craft and 200 aircrafts) Taiwan craft and zoo aircrafts) laiwan navy (17,000 men, 30 destroyers, 14 minesweepers, 123 other ships and 500 aircrafts), South Korea, Thailand and other SEATO coun-thailand and other SEATO coun-thailand and other SEATO coun-thailand and other SEATO coun-

The history of the seventh fleet is the history of US crimes in South East Asia against the people's struggles for indepen-dence and better living conditions. Just as the sixth fleet moves in Just as the sixth fleet moves in the direction of anti-imperialist conflagrations in the West Asian and Mediterranean region, the seventh fleet moves to wherever US imperialists and their pupper US imperialists and their puppet regimes are threatened in South East Asia.

The seventh fleet sprung in notoriety when it was ordered by the then US President, Harry S. Kai-shek in June 1950. That was the time, when the Chinese revolution achieved glory and the reactionary Chiang clique was forced to flee to Taiwan.

Theoretically the seventh fleet was acting as a "buffer between the Communist and nationalist forces", but actually it was protecting the Chiang menagerie, from the wrath of the Chinese people and propping up the pup-pet regime in Taiwan.

In February 1953, immediately after his ascendancy to power President Eisenhower "modified" the role of the seventh fleet. If hereto its role was to keep the here forces apart, President Eisenhower declared that from then onwards the role of the seventh fleet would be only to protect Taiwan from Communist attacks.

# Legalised

retaliation. In actual prac tice, the retanation. In actual practice, the bury officer states meta-towar seventh fleet went farther; it in a maritime theater of 28 mil-helped the Taiwan authorities in lion square miles?" launching many provocative sor. This being the history and the ties against the People's Republic aim of the seventh fleet, it is of China. of China: All these however had not

presence of the seventh fleet in the South China seas and the naval base on Taiwan.

The heinous role of the seventh fleet does not end with giving protection to Chiang Kai-shek; whenever US imperialism and its puppet regimes have been threatened with overthrow in the South East Asian countries, the seventh fleet has moved in that direction. Some of the recent examples are:

ever military moves might, required." This was the reflect of the "US concern at deteriorating Laos condition".

the seventh many as 3000 US troops parties of US crimes cipated in it.

On April 22, 1963 the seventh fleet again took "precautio-nary measures in the Gulf of Siam", which included manoeuvres in waters near Thailand, This was at the time of the crisis in Laos.

On November 1, 1963, the seventh fleet: was seventh fleet was "ordered towards the area of South Vietnam" to "take necessa to "protect Americans country".

This was the time of the South Vietnam coup, and the move-ment was clearly in support of the resurgents against the Diem regime, which the same seventh fleet had been protecting all along: since 1961 it was charge of patrol duties for South Vietnam coastline.

# Dream Of U.S. Navy

The aim of extending the opera-tions of the seventh fleet to the Indian Ocean has also been revealed by American sources. The NEW YORK TIMES editorially commented (international edition, December 25): "The establishment of an Indian Ocean fleet has been a paper dream of some United States navy officers for Indian Ocean fleet many years. Now, in modified form, the idea has been tried out in New Delhi."

Legalised Banditry This meant, literally, that the the mainland without any fear of retaliation. In actual practice, the in a maritime theater of 28 mil-lion square miles"

astonishing that some of our leaders, including ... Prime Minister All ithese however had not: leaders including. Prime of our first provide the second s

PAGE THREE SIGON HORY

# BHUBANESWARAND NATIONALISATION

The Congress Working Committee has released a sion will be judged by the pro-revised draft resolution on "Democracy and Socialism" for the Bhubaneswar Session. This draft has generally been draft a complete change in assessed as an advance over the Jaipur AICC draft: it is practice. more categorical and some of the vagueness has been removed. fight the Right and the agents of the monopolists inside the ruling party mean any positive relief for the working masses? This is the question which is asked by all who cherish and work for a genuine socialist so-ciety.

ciety.

BUT the Working Committee's draft must be judged by the Indian people not in comparison only with the Jaipur draft. It must be assessed in the light of the actual needs of today and the living reality as the New Year

The post-Jaipur developments aside the ruling party have been the focus of interest: several PCCs have put forward comparatively radical proposals for incorporation in the Bhubaneswar resolution; in the Bhubaneswar resolution, inside the Congress Parliamentary Party, the anti-Right elements control over the administration, of have asserted themselves on more the relentless pressure and black-mail of imperialist capital on our the Bhubaneswar sesthan one issue. Would this new effort to

# THE HAZRATBAL THEFT THE DASTARDLY

Editorials crime committed by anti-national forces / by stealing the sacred relic

of Prophet Mohammed from the Hazaratbal shrine in Srinagar has been condemned by all patriotic forces in the country. It is to be hoped that the stolen relic will soon be discovered, and the men responsible punished severely.

The manner in which Pakistan government leaders are seeking to utilise the crime to fan anti-Indian hatred and foment communal feelings is wholly reprehensible. Inside Kashmir fortunately, the situation appears now to be under control, and sensible and responsible leaders are asserting themselves against the attempts to whip up frenzy.

To attempt to give a communal turn to this affair is the desire of traitors and enemies of our people.

The working masses of India will not permit the reactionary forces to utilise the situation for disruptive communal purposes. They demand that a thorough enquiry be made into the crime and the subsequent developments. The relic must be found and restored to its original place. The guilty must be punished.

**Quick Work-Dirty Work** 

THE President is reported to have given his assent to the Kerala Land Reforms Bill, which seeks to replace the Kerala Agrarian Relations Act of 1960, which had been introduced by the Communist-led government.

The haste with which the Congress government has sought to push through this retrograde measure and thus to prevent the implementation of the progressive Agrarian Relations Act does not redound to its credit. On the one hand, the Congress is talking of implementation of land reform legislation; and on the other, the one Agrarian Act which really corresponded to the avowed aims of this country, is sought to be annulled and replaced by a measure which rejects the best features of the original Act.

It is well known that Parliament is already seized of the proposed Constitution (17th Amendment) Bill which would include the Agrarian Relations Act in its ninth schedule.

A mass united movement of all kisan organisations in Kerala has reached new heights in recent weeks in opposition to this Congress Bill and in support of the Agrarian Relations Act.

The speed with which the government has thought fit to act only underlines the necessity for intensifying popular mass action. The fighting kisan movement of Kerala can count on port of the entire democratic movement. ent of Kerala can count on the sup-

(January 1, 1964)

practice. The refusal of the Working Committee to include in the draft resolution a positive and categori-cal directive for the nationalisation of banks (demanded by so many PCCs themselves) is a warning



signal that the struggle inside the Congress against the Right and the monopolists is far from even ary victories: preliminary victories. What makes the omission of this

key issue of nationalisation of banks from the Working Committee draft even more າກດານຮ is the now open secret that the argument used by T. T. KRISH-NAMACHARI, MORARJI DESAI and other spokesmen of the Right, to justify this omission was that nationalisation of banks would result in "drying up the wells of aid" from the USA and Western Europe. And the evidence for this view was that of notoriously pro-American officials like the Indian Ambassador in the USA.

dew w-Ambasador in the USA: Finance Minister Krishnam-achari has during the last few weeks made a number of pro-nouncements which have delighted the hearts of the monopolist and reaction. His reported stand, in is ind collusion with Morarji Desai and others, inside the Congress Work-ing Committee marks him out as stepped into Morarija shoes in more senses than one. It would, however, be a serious this "-be to consider that the Work-draft resolution is "-be to consider that the

the Congress masses. The Right is mustering strong

at Bhubaneswar to prevent any further advance. The anti-Right forces inside the Congress must continue the struggle with renew-ed vigour at Bhubaneswar.

MASANI THE MESSIAH

the unity of all the Rightist parties must "come nearer to forces. Speaking at Rajkot one another and marshal last week-end, Masani said their ranks." Ghosh called he would "welcome a merger for work in concert by of his party with the Jan parties with similar aims and Sangh, the Socialists, the Praja Socialists and Congressmen who wished to follow MAHATMA GANDHI and

not MARX." -(UNI) HOL MARA. (UNI) Masani had evidently taken heart at the stand taken by the Morarji-dominated Gujarat PCC, which, in discussing the Jaipur resolution, thought it fit to declare their faith in Gandhiji and their tion of Marxi No other PCC had taken as

reactionary a stand as the Gujarat PCC on the main issues Gujara FCC on the main issies being discussed inside the Con-gress today. And Masani and his Swatantra allies saw an excel-lent slogan in the counterposing of the Father of the Nation to Marxism.

# **UNHOLY LINKS**

G UJARAT was also not accidentally the venue of the annual conference of the All-India Jan Sangh. The presidential address of DEVA PRASAD GHOSH MINOO MASANI has also called for the unity of called once again for the Right: All "nationalist" ideals both inside and outside the legislatures, and for electoral understandings.

The attack on the Congress Inte attack on the Congress leadership and particularly on Prime Minister Nehru was for "leading us all down the slip-pery slope of communism." He warned that a "ceritable Congress-Communist axis is in the offing."

All this nonsensical jargon was An time nonsensient Jargon was spiced with war hysteria against China and Pakistan, and an open call for a change in foreign policy through closer alliance with the imperialist powers.

The Jan Sangh call for closer

# COUNTRY-WIDE PROTEST AGAINST 7TH FLEET

\* FROM FRONT PAGE

equipped with nuclear wealist move. pons, would bring cold war tension into this region and constitute a threat to the sovereignty of all the countries of Asia and Africa bor-dering the Indian Ocean.'

The executive committee of the Delhi Youth Federation at a meeting on December 28 termed the move as "bringing the cold war to our doorsteps and polluting the waters of the Indian Ocean with nu-

CALCUTTA: The news of the US Seventh Fleet's pro-posed entry into the Indian Ocean has roused great indig-HYDERABAD: T nation among the people. The Communist Party is trying to give expression on this indig-

A mass meeting was held on December 29 at the B. K. Kaul Park in North Calcutta where resolutions were adop-ted strongly protesting against the US move and demanding firm action by the Government of India against it. BHOWANI SEN, secretary of the West Bengal POC of the Communist Party, addressed the meeting. The Calcutta district coun-cll of the Communist Party

cil of the Communist Party has called upon all party NEW AGE

cember 29, has planned for a

The Palebat district council of the Communist Party has protested against the entry of the seventh fleet into the Indian Ocean and requested all anti-imperialist forces to raise their voice against the sinister move of the US imperialists.

LUCKNOW: The indignation and wrath of the people of the state capital against the intrusion of the seventh ficet into the Indian Ocean found a vociferous expression in a demonstration in front of the local USIS office on December 29, organised by the Lucknow district council of the Communist Party.

After parading the streets, led by BABU KHAN, secretary of the district council, held a meet-ing before the USIS office. The meeting was addressed by KALI SHANKAR SHUKLA. secretary of the state council of the Communist Party.

The meeting passed a resothe Communist Party called upon all party TRIVANDRUM: The execu-bers and supporters and tive of the Kerals state coun-Indian Ocean.

# PUNJAB'S NEW MUNICIPAL BILL IV The Punjab Municipal Bill 1063 does not merely seek to deay real power to the elected members by vesting it in the government appointed chief officer; it also seeks to take away the right of the people to elect all the members of the nagar subhas. DEMOCRACY

Sixteen years after independence, the urban local Urban Local Bodies Conference to bodies in Punjab continue to function on the basis of the British-made, highly undemocratic Punjab Municipal Act, 1910. The leaders of the ruling Congress Party in the state have been promising to replace this Act by a more democratic one, which would give more powers and responsibilities to the municipal committees and place greater resources at their disposal to discharge the same.

112)

The state government seeks

cancel its confirmation of any e-laws at any time (section 278).

At present, against the order

of the deputy commissioner suspending the resolution, the committee has the right to

appeal to the state government. Under the new bill, no appeal is allowed. It may be mentioned that a resolution of a committee

may be suspended by any of these authorities even though it

may be perfectly legal and within the powers of the nagar sabha to adopt.

bill to remove any member are

much more sweeping and capable of greater abuse than under the present Act (section 22)

It is well known that the state

government has been using its present powers to remove members with a view to help the Congress

with a view to help the Congress party or a particular group within the Congress party. However, in many such cases the high court has set aside the orders of the government; and restored the mem-bers. The new bill seeks to give more sweeping powers to the

nt: under th

the

power

THE Punjab Municipal Bill, interfere in the day-to-day work-1963, now before the state ing of the committees, and to the legislature, throws overboard all government to remove members these promises. In all essential and supersede the committees, All these promises. In all essential respects, it is much more undemo-cratic than the present Act. This is easily proved by even a brief examination of the basic features these powers have not only been retained in the bill but in many cases have been made more sweeping. Here are only a few examination of the new bill.

### Basic Features

**a** the state government seeks **a** to retain the power to impose taxes in the name of any nagar sabha even though the sabha may be against such imposition (section In the name of separating "the executive from the deli-berative functions of the nagar sabhas", the bill vests the entire executive power in the hands of chief officer. berative functions of the nagar sabhas", the bill vests the entire executive power in the hands of chief officer. And in the name of "provincial-isation of certain key posts", the hill provides that the chief officer is not to be annointed by the

is not to be appointed by the is not to be appointed by the nagar sabha but by the state government. The posts of the municipal ment. Besides this existing power,

The posts of the municipal engineer and the medical officer of health have also been "prothe new bill seeks to give government the additional po

incialised." It is not difficult to see that as a result of the above, the nagar sabias will be little better than debating societies and the president will be merely a chairman to preside over the meetings. The bill seeks to take president will be merely a chairman to preside over the meetings. The bill seeks to take away from the elected represen-tatives any real powers and is authorities-state government, de-puty commissioner and the inspec-tor of local bodies (section 316). thus very retrog

In almost all the municipal corporations in the country, country, corporations in the count the executive and deliberat functions are separated and the functions are separated and the executive power vests in the government-appointed municipal commissioners while mayors elect-ed by the corporators are there merely to preside over the meet-ings. The experience of all these corporations has been quite sad. The will of the elected representa-tives is often very successfully thwarted by the executive head. There is continuous conflict betous conflict between the executive and delibera-tive wings as a result of which the work of the corporations suffers e The proposed powers of a much.

The scheme of things which has proved a complete failure in case of the municipal corporations is sought to be introduced by the Punjab government in all the municipal committee in the state. What is worse is that the Punjab What is worse is that the Punjab government wants to do this des-pite the unanimous opposition of the Urban Local Bodies Confer-ence and its standing committee headed by a veteran Congress leader, DURGA DASS, president of the Amritsar Minicipal Com-mittee

more sweeping powers to the government making high court intervention more difficult. The conclusion is inevitable that the government no longer f The bill retains the powers' trusts the people in the towns f of the state government to and does not want to vest any supersede any nagar sabha (secsupersede any nagar sabha (sec-tion 322). real power in the represen elected by them.

It is worth noting that all these II The present Act is noticious undemocratic provisions have been made not withstanding the un-

democratic-minded people to cil of the Communist Party, give a fitting expression of which concluded a three-day protest against the imperia- meeting at Ernakulam on Delist move. The Bengal Students Fede-ration has also issued a state-ment protesting against the fieet into the Indian ocean. US move to expand the activities of its seventh fleet. AHMEDABAD: The central

Annicipality in the central executive committee of the Nutan Mahagujarat Janta Parishad, meeting under the presidentship of INDULAL YAGNIK, MP, protested aga-inst the move and called upon the provide to reject their part the people to raise their po-werful voice in defence of In-

HYDERABAD: The Andhra Pradesh Trade Union Con-gress has protested against the move and called on all its affiliated unions to join with other democratic sections of the people to campaign against the operations of the Seventh Fleet in the

Indian Ocean. In a statement, K. L. NA-RASIMHAM MP, president of the APTUC, said that "this action of the US government is nothing but interference and use of pressure tactics on Asian countries bordering the ocean".

PAGE FOUR



the contrary.

For instance, the Urban Loca Bodies Conference held at Simla a few years ago under the presi-dentship of no less a person then the then minister in-charge unanimously demanded that the state government should have no power to remove any mem-ber without a judicial enquiry and it should have no power to supersede any con long as majority of its members are still functioning. The state functioning. The state ent has cared little for government has cured mine, the views of the Urban Loc Bodies Conference in regard.

III Lack of adequate resources is the constant headache of the municipal committees at present. When forced to introduce local self-government in our coun-try, the British tried to ensure that it was limited to the maximum it was limited to the maximum possible extent. One of the means adopted to realise this objective was to deay adequate resources to the committees for proper and successful discharge of their duties duties.

Various committees appointed by the government to go into the question of the local finances have recognised that resources at the disposal of the municipal committees are inadequate and need to be augmented.

Their recommendations include the handing over of such taxes as are essentially of local nature to the committees or at least sharing the income from such taxes a the income from such taxes as entertainment tax, motor vehicle tax, passenger tax etc., by the government with the local bodies. Recently, at least two states have taken some steps in this direction.

The Punjab Municipal Bill, 1963 does nothing of the kind. It does not give effect to any such recomns. It also mendations. It also does not accept the recommendations made by the standing committee of the Urban Local Bodies Conference that to help the urban local bodies in the matter of finances a local sector should be created and some items of business like that of brick-kins should be reserved for the account

### No Financial **Benefits**

To put the whole thing briefly, the financial position of the nagar sabhas under the new bill will be no better than at pre ent. This is not to say, that the bill no changes as compared no changes as compared with the present Act. Only the changes are not very welcome ones. ed wih the

For instance, the new bill seeks to make the imposition of house tax obligatory for all nagar sabhas and to raise the cimum limit of its rate to 20 per cent of the ani ual rental value (section 108). Under the present Act, municipal commit-tees can impose house tax but if is not obligatory for them to т регт do so. The maximum permissione rate of house tax at present is 12% per cent of the annual rental value. One has only to keep in mind the property tax, the marla tax, etc., to realise how iniquitous is this provision in the new Bill.

This is done by providing for coopted members who shall have "all the rights and liabilities of elected members" except that they shall not have the right to vote for or stand as candidates for any elected office of the nagar sabha" (section 12). This means that the coopted members shall have the full right to vote on all the reso-lutions except by which Vice-President etc., are to be elected.

means that a nagar sabha with a total of 20 elected members may

the fact that the bill which is thoroughly undemocratic is sought to be provided with an outward democratic look by providing for direct election of the president by all the coten in the town instead of by the municipal commissioners from amongst themselves at present

# **Beal**

## Character

This however, has not suceeded uding the real character of t

In the first place, giving all the executive powers to the govern-ment-appointed chief officer President etc., are to be elected. And how are these members to be coopted? The government will decide the number of members to be coopted which will not exceed one-fifth of the total and will not be less than two (section 12). This

Secondly, the system of direct election of the president by all the voters has proved a failure in U.P. More often than not, its rebave four coopted members may have four coopted members. Co-option is to be done by elected members but only "from amongst a panel recommended to it by the commissioner." The panel will not be less than three times the mem-bers required by it and shall be

# Satyapal Dana

Chairman, Chheharta Municipality

prepared by the commissioner "after taking into consideration the recommendations made by the deputy commissioner in this be-half" (section 13).

It should not be difficult for anyone to see that this system of cooption is hardly better than nominations and can be used to convert a majority into minority vice-versa.

Suppose in a nagar sabha of 16 elected members the majority consists of nine members and the minority of seven members. The state government may order that three are to be coorder that three are to be co-opted. The commissioner will send a panel of nine. All the nine names may be such that any three selected out of them by the nagar sabha will side with the minority. The result will be that the majority group of nine will be reduced to minority while the minority group of seven will swell to ten and will become the majority group. Surely this has nothing to do with democracy.

This. however, is not all. Under the present British-made Act, every voter—and there is adult franchise—has the right to be elected a municipal commissioner with the only qualification that he must be at least 25 years of age.

The new bill, besides this qualification, provides that a candidate must also posses "such qualifica-tions as may be prescribed (by the state government) in that he the state governmen half" (section 19). t) in that

Those acquainted with the pre-sent trend of thinking in the state government have no doubt that this power will be used by it to provide educational and even property qualifications, depriving a majority of voters of the right to contest elections to the nagar sabhas. Not daring to provide such qualifications in the Act—fearing too much opposition—it seeks to arm itself with powers to do so later on.

All this is more than enough to out is highly undemocratic in all essential aspects. The bill contains many other, undemocratic provi-sions such as power of the govern-ment to postpone electronic ment to postpone elections but it is not necessary to go into all these: What is necessary to note is

in Punjab it will prove mor

Thirdly, the system of direct election of the president especially in big towns will give considerable in oig towns will give considerable advantage to the rich. In some towns the number of voters who will elect the president will be as many as in two or even three Assembly seats put together.

Fourthly, the system of muni-Fournay, the system of muni-cipal commissioners being elect-ed by the people and they electing their own president is really more democratic as in this system the president alone can-not thwart the will of the majority. It is also in accordance with the system of parliamentary democracy which our country has adopted.

The system of direct elections of the president provided in the new bill has not found much sup-port because of these reasons. In any case, it has not succeeded in hiding the reactionary nature of the bill against which all demo-cents much relia their whice crats must raise their voice.

It is heartening to note that the standing committee of the Urban Local Bodies Conference-a big majority of whose members are Congressmen — has unanimously characterised the bill as highly undemocratic and has demanded that it be redrafted.

W AGE
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# Three Important Gains For Workers

The continuous fall in real wages in the context pattern, though not on simiof rising prices and the need for effective measures to counter this trend became the main issue which dominated the proceedings of the Standing Labour Committee which met in New Delhi on December 27.

which by arbitration.

mistakes in its compilation and these should not be des-cribed as a "fraud".

tification, it was being per-

had repeatedly demanded governmental action but

no attention was paid to

this demand.

government.

The Expert Committee

to submit its report within

two months but government

gave them two more monhs

Even so, the report has not

yet been submitted, Dange pointd out.

The ATTUC and HMS de-

manded at the Standing Labour Committee that there

should be automatic adjust-

ment of D.A. as per the re-

port of the expert body on

the industry in each case. All the wage boards which have

OPPOSITION

THREE important deciservations. According to them, the industry "cannot bear it". Committee. Firstly, it was Government also appeared to agreed "in principle" that "D.A. should be linked with the consumer price indices. It Minister, disputes on this subis for the wage-fixing autho-rities to take note of this tripartite decision.

Secondly, over the "mis-takes" in the computation of the index which artificially essed D.A. and, in effect that there could be genuine of nullified the principle of linking DA. with the index, the Union Labour Minister



Guizari Lai Nanda stated that such mistakes establish inquiry should be corrected within "days and weeks" and "not months". On behalf of the AITUC, S. A. Dange de-manded that the deadline for the correction of the index should not go beyond Janu-ary 31, 1964.

Thirdly, over the imple-mentation of the tripartite decision on opening of fair opposition price shops by employers in Il undertaking employing over 300 workers, two mo months time was given and it was officially stated that if about 95 per cent of such in-dustries were not covered by fair price shops by February 29, the decision, would be statutorily enforced, through an amendment of the Facto-

## LINK UP D. A. WITH INDEX

With regard to the linking of D.A. with the index, and the revision of D.A. in line with the rectification of the faults in the index, the em-

lar lines in respect of extent of neutralisation as well as determination of the period when D.A. revision bcomes admissible. For the cotton textile industry, it was officlally stated, government is considering the appointment of a second wage board. share this view and accord-ing to the Union Labour

The peculiar manner in which the Pay Commission ject should be resolved by bipartite discussions, failing has reported on the subject of D.A. revision for Central Government employees and the Government's equivocal The Union Labour Minister, stand in relation to the apin the course of the discus-sions on the index, remarked plication of the principle linking D.A. with the index regarding its own employees came up for criticism in the meeting. AITUC representa-tive, K. G. Sriwastava, pointed out the iniquity of the present situation in which even after a 10-point average rise in the index having been when, despite sharp pro-tests and demands for recrecorded, there was no com-mitment on the part of the government to give a rise in D.A. automatically. The re-marks of the Union Labour petuated. Dange said that the errors were first pointed out in 1940. No action was taken by government. In 1963 when the mistakes Minister were duite cryptic on this score; he said "it was were becoming increasingly obvious, the trade unions

delibrately done", Two announcements were

made in the Standing Labour Committee by the Union Labour Minister, G. L. Nanda: 

TWO **ANNOUNCEMENTS** 

-Government is working on a scheme to provide for a family pension scheme for workers who are members of the Employees Provident Fund and Coal Mines Provident Fund. It is proposd to create a fund out of the difference between the old rate of contribution at 61/4 per cent and the enhanced rate of 8 per cent. Out of this fund, a minimum family pen-sion of Rs. 25 per month is proposed to be paid to the widow or minor children of members of the fund who die prematurely. The scheme is more or less on the lines of the recent announcement made about revision in the pension scheme of Central Government employees.

found necessary. With regard? to fair price shops, Government claimed that in 58 per cent of the undertakings covered under tripartite agreement of August 5, 1963, the decision has been implemented. In public sector undertakings, it was claimed, there were about 100 consumer cooperative stores. The employers in leading industries and states have not, by far, done anything to carry out this decision.

Even in public sector under-takings, it, is learnt, in most cases no new stores were opened after August 5 and what is claimed is the number of those stores which were existing in the plants, for time. In the case of departmental undertakings, the authorities in some cases have even disclaimed knowledge of the tripartite deci-

However, it has now been agreed that employers would open the fair price shops forthwith and before February 29. Employers' represen-tatives claimed that workers were not cooperating in establishing consumer cooperative stores. It has now been clarified that employers would not wait for the forma tion of consumer cooperatives but should establish the fair 2 If the report of the Bonus Commission is unanimous, government would enforce the recommendations of the when these are formed. sight in Delhi wherever people congregate, whether it be offices or shopping areas. It is quite natural for anybody who has to go any place to wait for the bus, sometimes for a full hour.

In such an industry losses

we hear of over-crowding in

The DTU has a total out-lay of Rs. 51 crores. It has

a fleet of 845 buses which

ply on 55 routes. And such an undertaking is showing

an annual loss of Rs. 50 lakhs!

shown in the 1963-64 bud-

get of the DTU is Rs. 1.23 lakhs a day, but it was only Rs. 1.13 lakhs a day in June

1963. In September this in-come came further down to Rs. 1.06 lakhs, which meant a

loss of Rs. 17,000 a day. 2 Total number of passen-gers carried by the DTU.

dropped from 168 lakhs in the month of June 1962 to 165

lakhs in the month of June

3 In June 1963 out of the 845 bus fleet of the DTU

come

B EFORE the city transport rates that any bribe, mone-**B** service was nationalised, tary or political, is consider-the buses in the capital were ed to be not too high owned by a company called In such an industry, G.N.I.T. The people tired are more difficult to of waiting at the bussistops across than snowmen i of waiting at the bus: stops across than snowmen in tro-had nicknamed it "GOES pical jungles. Lots of times NEVER IN TIME"

The nationalised under-taking was called Delhi tor has even complained of Transport Service (DTS) for any loss in running any route. tor has even complained of some time, but in recent years it has come to be called D.T.U. (Delhi Transport Undertaking). It has also earned a new nickname from the new initials: "DON'T TRUST US".

That the DTU, run by the Delhi Municipal Corpora-tion, has not risen in popu-Imposing List lar esteem despite the change in ownership and Not only that, a recent enmanagement is not merely a complaint of the six lakh bus passengers in the Inquiry by the Citizens Council of Delhi brought out the following capital scandals; capital. It is a scandal 1 Estimated income set on wheels, and as many allege, a criminal conspiracy

to discredit nationalisation and the public sector. For a route permit in those areas still monopolised by

private motor transport comnanies, there is much competition and political pull is needed to get it. In some states, the issue of a bus route permit might even lead to a political crisis because of the high returns involved. Private road transport owners never cease to stoop level to garner such only 590 were on the road! In permits, be it even for a five-

June 1962, there were 601 Profits are assur-ured at such high total fleet of 729. mile route. Profits are assur-Govt's Adamant Attitude

# Karnatak Students' Strike Continues

1963

### \* From Our Correspondent

In the old Mysore part of the state 25 per cent of the students at the PUC 'level, 30

percent in the degree course and 50 per cent of girls both at the PUC and degree levels were

having freeships. This year the government . reduced this to

15 per cent for PUC degree

BANGALORE, December 28: Over 30,000 college students in the old Mysore area and Coorg part of this state affiliated to the Mysore University have been on strike since December 12.

I T has been the biggest strug to the outbreak of this mighty gle waged by the students in students' struggle was the sud-Karnatak. It covers all the colleden order of the government ges in Bangalore. Mysore, Tum-kur, Shimoga, Chitradurga, Has-scholarships in the old Mysore tru, Mercara and in many other in the entire state. Tum, Mercara and in many other in the entire state. tru, Mercara and in many other centres. It was a spontaneous struggle which started in Banga-lore in one college and then spread to all the colleges. The struggle is being led by an Action Committee which consists of stu-dent representatives from various The demands of the

colleges. The students are:

 a Restoration of the college fees as it prevailed in 1960-61:
 b Restoration of scholarships
 c Cancellation of the enhance ment of fees for the Law was a clear violation of the college students and also extend survive given by the government last year when they enhance College students and also extend, assurance given by the govern-ing the scholarship concession to ment last year when they enhance

ing the scholarship concession to the law students;
Cancellaition of Part VI cancellaition of students;
Cancellaition of Part VI that the object of raising the descent of the college fees and declared that the object of raising the fees was to give additional freeships and scholarships and thus encourage poor students. Hence the NCC cadets;
Withdrawal of rustication Mandva College;
Withdrawal of prosecution against eight students in Shimoga;

Withdrawal of prosecution the student leaders then to meet against eight students in the Chief Minister, but in vain. Imoga; Restoration of College Unions; Education on December 16. The attitude of the minister was un-

attitude of the minister was un-Providing adequate staff and compromising and the students laboratory facilities in the came back disappointed.

**IANUARY 5, 1964** 

# **Red-Tapism In Asansol Provident Fund Office** Workers Harassed, Money Remains Unpaid FROM QUR CORRESPONDENT refund of their money in the

ASANSOL: When the Government of India approved of the recommendations of the Coal Mines Provident Fund Board of Trustees, that a regional office be opened at Asansol to decentralise the Coal Mines Provident Fund Organisation for improving the efficiency and administration convenience, the workers of the Asansol-Raniganj Coal belt welcomed the decision thinking that their difficulties and harassment will end.

vident fund money but uptil now they have not been paid Despite so many letters and office, no action was taken. Then the matter considering the capacity of the industry in each case. All

reported so far have recom- office, no action was taken. **3** in Matu Bhuiya and vident Fund-mended variable D.A., on this Then the matter was taken Jagdish Bhuiya applied for take note of it?

beginning of 1962. On July 19, 1963 the PF office wrote to them that the claims were under scrutiny and would be settled early. When asked about this delay, the PF office replied that the refund ap-plications of Jagdish and Matlu have not yet been received!

for refund of his money December 1962, After some GM/PF/3-M/69 stating that Ganesh Chamar has not received the money but the PF office did not care to reply

SUBMIT BONUS REPORT IMMEDIATELY

PAGE SIX

NEW AGE

JANUARY 5, 1964

4 Ganesh Chammar applied

**B** UT this regional office is functioning in a most in-efficient way. This PF office has become the centre of priving untrue and incorrect informations to the unions and also to the members of the Trustee Board. Here are of the Board. At that time the PF office replied to Surya Rao, vide their D.O. letter NO. CPF/16/Misc/2855 of Decem-ber 12, 1963 that they have received refund applications of of October 1963(1), which is no further and incorrect informations to the unions and also to the members of the Trustee Board. Here are provident function of the com-tion of the Board at all.

It was indicated in the committee that government strenched in the month of the principle of linking DA, with the index in all some of the colliery sent all some that all anary 1963. The manage PF office for taking that the principle of linking that all anary 1963.

# the Bombay index. The em-ployers representatives did cases would be worked out by the wage-fixing authorities



# ★ By Our Special Correspondent

The number of break- to buy proper spares and downs in June 1963 was tyres and is therefore at the 4 6348 while it was only 2003 in

6348 while it was only 2003 in mercy of a particular June 1962. Company to give them 5 trips increased in one company is understood year from 547 to 1563. The shoving their sub-se ratio of missed trips increas-goods which have be carded by others on from 6.5 per cent to 16 per cent and went up still fur-ther to 22.5 per cent in Sep-raised their fares by ther to 22.5 per cent in Sep-tember 1962. 6 The strength of the ad-ministrative staff was

ministrative staff was only 637 in October 1962. It was 1053 in September 1963.

The failings of the DTU do not end with these. It has failed to show the announced profit of Rs. 20 lakhs; it has failed to contribute the Rs. 20 lakhs as promised to the Delhi Municipal Corporation's general budget.

The DTU has also failed to pay the annual instalments of its loan from the union vernment

The major share of the allocations under the heads "spare parts", "tyres" and "fuel" were consumed by September 1963, with six months of the financial year still to go. The DTU has now no funds

opposition. But the government did not yield on any issue. Their game was to harp on uniformity and thus try to disrupt the unity of the students. But the student leaders effectively rebutted all the s of the govern were no they opposed to the same concessions being given to the students of the Karnataka University also.

The agitation continued with processions and meetings every-day addressed by students them-selves. Then they gave a call for hartal on December 22 and also decided to take a Morcha to the Assembly. The hartal was a com-plete success and even the cinemas were closed that day. apart from all the shops and other establishments. It was a peaceful protest against overnmen

The student leaders met the Chief Minister on December 22 and explained to him their demands. The Chief Minister promised to place the same before the cabinet and meet them again on Decem-

ber 27. The cabinet met and the Ine cannet met and the decision of the government has now been announced. The government has conceded the freeships and scholarships as it prevailed last year, rescinding the recent order, and extended the same to the entire state. freeships and scholarships as it prevailed last year, rescinding the recent order, and extended the same to the entire state. Now it is X'mas holidays and They have also granted refresh-ments to NCC cadets, and pro-before the X'mas holidays were mised to consider sympatheti-to commence the government had cally the other demands. But on ordered the closure of the colleges the issue of fets they have refused to budge. Students view to disband the students and have rejected these offers of the government and have decid further. Four students B. LAKKAPPA, sympathy and admiration of all

tyres and is therefore at the mercy of a particular tyre company to give them extensive credit. The particular company is understood to be shoving their sub-standard goods which have been dis-carded by others on to the

Some months back the DTU raised their fares by a flat rate of two naye Paise. It was an atrocity committed on the common people of Delhi to charge two nave Palse more on both a five naye Paise ticket and a 45 naye Paise ticket. It resulted in a one per cent rise in the living cost of the bulk of citizens in the capital.

What did the people get in return for this? Longer and longer waits at the bus stops. With its standard of service deteriorating every day, nay, every hour, the DTU can very well be the Number One demoralising factor in the capital.

Recently the DTU secured the services of two fleets of buses from the nationalised transport undertakings in the neighbouring states of Punjab and Uttar Pradesh. This has perhaps resulted in buses running to schedule on the routes on which these U.P. and Punjab buses (DTU ope-

ration) are plying. But it has certainly not im-proved the service of the DTU on the other routes. Peoe have to wait for the buses as long as they did before the services of U.P. and Punjab buses were secured.

# Manhours

Last

It would not be exaggeration to say that the number of manhours lost because of the chaotic schedules and the irregular service of the DTU would be several times more than the total loss of manhours due to all the indus trial disputes which might have taken place in the capital in any given year.

The labour relations of the DTI is another scan dal. The DTU management is yet unsure whether this nublic sector undertaking is bound by the industrial truce resolution signed by representatives of labour, employers, and government

PANNA and B. V. RAMACHAN-DRA have gone on hunger strike since December 27 and hundreds of students from all over the

rrovioung anequate scan and compromising and the students ca to continue their struggle on in most disciplined and peace laboratory facilities in the came back disappointed. The issue was repeatedly raised Four students B. LAKKAPPA, sympathy and admiration of all The immediate cause which led in the State Assembly by the P. KRISHNA REDDY, D. KEM-sections of the people.

immediately after the

emergency was declared. The management is resort ing to useless litigation to deprive the staff of legitimate rights. It pays scant respect to the code of discipline There is no security vice. The drivers have to put in as many as three years at the extremely low dai wages to earn permanancy.

No wonder, under these circumstances the DTU should experience a shortage of operating staff. despite the steady increase in the streng-th of the administrative staff. The harassment, and anti-labour activities management are driving away the workers.

The accidents caused by the DTU buses is another major scandal in the capital. The DTU bu tal. The DTU buses have caused the largest number of accidents and also deaths in the capital, according to figures given in Parliament recently

This is the story of the DTU. This remarkable white elephant is said to be administered by a transport committee of the Corporation Beyond issuing statements about how the whole trans-port problem in the capital would be solved within a matter of days and levelling within a wild charges against the workers of "sabotage" and the like, the committee has done little else to improve the transport service.

There are reports that the busybodies of the transport committee are more interested in placing their men by the dozen on the payrolls of the DTU. There seems to be some credence to these reports considering the rate increase of the administrative staff of the undertaking. It is already groaning under the deadweight of the top-heavy bureaucratic apparatus.

Simultaneously, plans are being hatched by interested parties to hand over the capital's transport system to private sector. The first step in this direction would be to introduce private buses on the Delhi roads in the name of improving the DTU services. But this "lending" of private buses-to the DTU could only be like the poverbial camel in the Arab's tent. There is hardly a day when

the capital's newspapers miss a letter to the editor on the failings of the DTU. The DTU workers' union (ATTUC) has en consistently a probe into its affairs. The Citizen's Council has also demanded such an enquiry. But all these have made little impression on the DTU management or the union government.

People are now wondering what drastic steps would have to be taken, to wake them up from their pretended slumber. Have they to resort to some DELHI BANDH programme

# \* FROM PREVIOUS ISSUE

The trade union organisation of the working class in India has made great strides in the last few years. The most important and basic change is that today no single trade or section of the working class is ignorant of the trade union as such. Almost every trade has a trade union organisation. We had over 11,000 registered trade unions in the country in the year 1960.

conscious. To many the union united action and leadership is a temporary agent or mid-dle-man to talk to the employer or the law-court concerned for his grievance. Even in spite of this great shortcoming, the present shortcoming, the present situation seems to be that every sector of employm including the small, unor iorganised industries have had an experience of a strike-struggle. And every such struggle does bring the union to the consciousness of the worker.

Almost the entire largeindustry, trade and erce as also governce, as government employment has some form of TU organisation. Such was not the case before

### Trade Union Structure

Most of these organisations are based on the principle of not on narrow craft divi-sions. Craft unionism is a backward form of trade unionism and it still dominates even an advanced ates even an advanced capitalist country like Eng-

In the last few years, most of the trade unions have de-veloped into all-India TU federations. Where a trade is regionally confined, they have regional federations. As one knows, federating is a higher of consciousne and organisation than single unit trade unionism.

TU organisation has also taken taken the form of an all-national centre of the class as a whole, irrespective trade divisions (viz. AITUC. INTUC. HMS etc.).

This development started far back as in 1920 when it got strengthened after in-dependence. The growing strength was, however, weakstrength was, however, weak- The persistent refusal of ened by the split in the move- the bourgeoisie and the gov-ment and the rise of several ernment to recognise the all-national TU centres. While some splits were due to our mistakes. the main driving force behind the disruption is the policy of the bourged sie to keep the working cla divided and thereby weaken and prevent its class-conso-lidation Even then, the allnational class organisation has become a powerful weapon in the hands of the working class

There is still a tendend in some sections to keep their trade federations independent from the all-national centres. Sometimes, the indecentres. Se pendent federation grows out of a desire to avoid the effects of disunity in the central organisation and the political implications of join ing the national centres. Some federations (viz. government employees) are prevented from joining the national

THIS does not mean to say The absence of a single that the majority of united national centre pre-workers are in the unions or vents the worker from con-that they are all union- fronting the employer with of the class as a whole...

In times of acute crisis the commonness of de-mands moves the workers so powerfully that they unite from below, while the top leadership of various central organisations remain divided, as has been in many general strikes in the big centres of Bombay Calcutta etc.

With the growing discontent over the rising prices and the fall in real wages, the urge for common action is growing stronger.

So far in the history of the Indian TU movement, there have been big strike actions of the whole class on a local regional level like the Bom-bay general strike of July 28, 1958 and August 20, 1963, or the strikes in Calcutta. A general strike on an all-India level of a whole industry or trade has become a poss lity like the strike in all the banks. To strike on an in-dustrial basis has become possible for the workers and their trade unions on an allnational level in many sectors of the working class.

# Need For

# **All-India Action**

developing even an all-na-tional action in some of the biggest organised sectors such

class has not reached that high pitch, where it can take an all-national class action even for its immediate and urgent economic demands.

unions which have a popular backing but which are not to their liking, has been the biggest source of disruption and division. Recognition of union is recognition of the collective will of the employee, that is of the class. Hence. the bourgeoisie resists it.

When it is no longer pos-sible to resist it, the government and the employers veaken the recognition by imposing conditions of a kind which try to prevent the union from being a real reresentative of the workers. In fact, in India today, the union which is declared "most representative" by law "most representative" by law concessions, wage-moreases presents unity in action from below is of all Indian people. But and by recognition is in most and legal pronouncements unity in action from below is of all. Indian people. But cases, unrepresentative, guaranteeing some protection growing.

cases, unrepresentative, / But the very fact of recog-nition by law compels the workers to enter into such unions, which gives them a fictitious mass character. But in times of crisis, such unions

become ineffective in serving outlook of the worker, unless and thereby help industrial the bourgeoisie by preventing the leadership of the unions, growth forward and to keep mass actions. As was seen in keeps class-consciousness it free from the inroads of mass actions. As was seen in keeps class-consciousness many cases, the AITUC alive in other ways. mions led the movement and A creation of a body of in-when the employers had to dustrial law replacing direct signed agreements with the collective bargaining be the concede the demands, they signed agreements with the TNETTIC

This situation however is not uniform throughout the country. The ATTUC has powerful unions in various industries which are recognised by the employers.

Despite the existence of many national centres and rival trade unions, sometimes as many as five or six in a plant, a certain amount of unity at the national level takes place through the tripartite conferences and the all-national industrial wage boards.

## Anarchy In Wages

Capitalism in India tried to continue the traditions of the British period even after in-dependence in the matter of anarchy of wage-rates, anarchy of industrial law, absence of an all-national standard of an all-national standard of wages, rights and laws, absence of uniform contracts, absence of a standard rate for the standard job.

All these affected the bargaining power and unity of the working class. The capitalists used this in two ways First, to fight the workers' unity and secondly, to fight their own internal competi-tion against each other by tion against each outer s, utilising the uneven condi-tions in the production of surplus value and the price surplus value and the pri of labour power or wages.

Because a series of strug-But we are still far off from and also because of its own needs, the bourgeoisie and government have been mov-ing towards accepting in principle an all-national biggest organised and principle as engineering or iron and principle steel or railways. Even the minimum need based wage 1960 government employees' and an industrial wage-rate Secondly, because the exis-strike failed to bring out the on an all-national scale. The tence of TU organisations who railways on a national scale, installation of the various are not unmindful of the wage boards has helped in danger and who seeing the mifting the workers on an ineffectiveness of bourgeois toology to render lasting relief the bourgeoisie towards fur-ther concentration of capital. In many industries, as a result of the wage board awards, both workers and employers in an industry have been made to confront each other on a national (scale. This has been a dis-tinct gain for our class and must be given an organisational form.

Along with the tripartites and the wage boards, the gov-ernment has created a body of industrial relations law which has two contradictory aspects. By curbing the right to strike, by forcing almost compulsory arbitration (tho-ugh called 'voluntary') on the workers through tribunals, boards, etc., the worker is gradually pushed away from direct class-action against bourgeois compulsions.

At the same time, by some wage-increases conc ssions, and legal pronouncements miley in action near below is guaranteeing some protection growing. to the rights of the worker. In the near future, the stru-the weaker organisations and ggle for higher wages and sections of workers are en- the fight against their erosion

collective bargaining by tri-bunals, judges and trade, union lawyers, and lending the power of the bourgeois state machine for enforcement of such laws mainly against the workers in leading to conditions wherein the tribunal and the talking lawyer are becoming substitutes for trade unionism and trade

union action. Not militant workers but good-tongued lawyers are swamping the unions and become top office-bearers of unions, without having the least connection or responsi-bility for day-to-day work or struggles of the workers. No. doubt, we do recognise their services and the need for them. Many of them are good. leaders also But one cannot ignore the danger of such a development where the worker comes to replace the union by the lawyer and the tribunal. The union ceases to be an organ of class-struggle and becomes court-battles. the organ of

### Class-Line To Be Kept

We have to keep the worker on the basic classline, without a sectarian rejection of ALL tribunals, arbitration and legal solutions of disputes and also without the reformist substitution of class actions by UNRESTRICTED adherence to compulsory arbitra-tion, tribunals, etc.

Fortunately, the reaction-try section of the big bourary section of the big bour-geoisie itself resents and torpedoes the laws and tribunals and boards, thus helping to destroy the illusions which their own state leadership

law to render lasting relief to the workers, are prepared to take positive class-actions. reformism and bourgeois ideology are not the domiideology are not the domi-nant trend. Yet we have to ger of both reformism and Though they speak of the sectarianism.

In short, in the last ten years, the TU movement has when you analyse the whole attained higher levels of class-organisation. It has made po-thing but a liberal, humaniorganisation. It has made po-sitive gains for the working class in the matter of the defence of its rights. It has helped to create a uniform fining what a class is and all-India body of laws and what the state-power is and awards, which in the main going to be. They sidetrack have taken the worker forward but they also pose-positive dangers for the future, if non-violen not used properly. The worst features in the exploitation practices of the bourgeoisie have been curbed. But the absence of TU unity is the greatest drawback in the present situation, though

abled to make a few gains. by high prices, the struggle In the long run, however, to curb monopoly by means this tends to blunt the class- of nationalisation measures,

nialism' would the attention of all trade unions.

### Two Ideologies

The question of ideo that are being pushed for-ward on to the working class ward on to the working class is a very important matter. Our working class being new, carries with it the rem-nants of the feudal ideology, the strongest expression of which is the caste ideology Despite the levelling influences of capitalist pro and particularly the factory and town life, feudal ideology of caste and heirarchy are very strong among the workers

In order to retard classmity, the bourgeoisle, des-pite its programme of de-mocracy and equality does not hesitate to use the -factor to disrupt the working class. Appoint-ments. promotions. engagement for hire, etc., are governed in many sectors by caste considerations. The logic of the capitalist order, however, militates against its continuance and domination.

The ideology of the bourgeoisie is bourgeois nationa-lism, denial of class-contradiction and affirmation of class harmony, abstract hu-manism, human relations in industry, doctrine of trustee-ship and welfare state. All All

these must be combatted. The ideology of the work-ing class is that of scientific socialism, of proletarian internationalism, of Marxism-Leninism. The working class takes a long time to become conscious of it, though it is its own product. It is not necessary to state

here the fundamental principles of scientific socialism. The three main principles of scientific socialism can learnt from the classics.

It has now become an urgent task to carry these principles of scientific sociasm to the working class, because the Congress Party and its ideologues are debating the definition of socialism the definition of s and its true meaning.

the state sector as the four dation of socialist order, yet it is notarian bourgeois order at its best. They speak even of a class-less society, without degoing to be. They sidetra the main issues by raisi questions of violence and and or morality and ethics in the abstract The Congress Party has been selling the developing capitalism as the march of incoming socialism or socia-list pattern, being built by a welfare State for the benefi huge wealth of the profiteers the falling real wages, the anti-social consparies of the magnates of sugar, textiles, coal, tea, jute, etc., the stink-ing corruption in the top

ruling circles, the dictatorial administration of bureau-crats, culminating in the re-cent crisis in political, economic, ideological and moral mic, ideological and moral field forced the ruling circles and ideologues of the bour-geois philosophy, to whom the name of Marx is anathe-ma, to begin to question their own so-called definition of recololiers" which they were "socialism" which they were supposed to be following. The attempt to sell capitalism as socialism has failed. Now a

new offensive with the same old ideological weapons will be launched. We must utilise this crisis, this confusion in the bourgeois ranks. We must tell the people what mini-mum programme they must follow to curb the monoronow to curp the mono-poly development of capi-talism and to bring in a democratic non-capitalist. The shortcoming has been social order to begin with. due to the fact that some We must put before them people think that it is only the principles of scientific the job of the "theoreticians" socialism, of Marxism-Le-binker theore theore the source theoretic theoret theore the source the source theoretic theoretic theoretic theoretic theoretic theoretic theoretic theoretic theoret theoretic ninism.

The trade unions which directly connected with day-to-day manifestation the class-struggle with udal and capitalist ideolomust be given and acti ear understanding and perctives.

ongress Party and other

It has been our shortcom-ing that while the TUs have to struggle every day with the false notions of bourgeois false notions of bourgeoin economics in the matter of wages, prices, wage-price spiral, profits and surplus bonus, productivity, rate of interest and profits, taxes and depreciation rehabilitation and expansion, functionaries are not provid with the Marxist understand-

of the Central Committee to study the theory of Marxism-and that it is the job of the TU functionary to do day-to-day practical work, lead strikes, etc., according to the

parties preach to their

leadership all sorts of ideolo-

gles, we have not done enough to give our own workers the understanding of the princi-

ples of scientific socialism.

sometimes from fear of dis-rupting TU unity, which real-ly does not help.

"given line". Such un-Marx-ian "division of labour" has led to disasters in the past and will lead the same way It has been a shortcoming if we do not change our me-n our work that while the thods and approach.

The Party has from very and the ruling party.

TU

ing of these concepts, which of the means of production. they mean nothing more than alone can help us to approach Long ago, the ATTUC accept- attaching some humanitarian and unmanitarian and unions of with an attractive foll to any the old trade unionism of the scheduling of the scheduling of the scheduling of the scheduling to school to give up its policy an intense educational cam- ne of sectarian isolation, craft- paign in the working class, or e narrowness and bourgeois differentiating our continuities of the social scheduling of the social s ed the definition of trade ethical-moral labels to capiits papers, which you can read.



old times, since it became a sation, the raw material has Formerly, we alone spoke

force in the trade unions by leading the mass struggles of 1927-28, when for the first time trade unionism acquired a real mass base, has been taking scientific socialism and Marxism to the rank and file worker.

in its aims and objects, spoke of the socialist Republic of India and the socialisation

Formerly we the significant TU movement. of socialism. alone were force in the Formerly, neither British im-perialists nor the Indian bourgeoisle pretended to preach sociali

Things have changed in 

been placed before you for discussion. We need not dilate on it here unless some queson it here unless some ques-tions are raised for clarification. A draft resolution outlining the demands and slo-gans of the immediate future is being placed before the oll\_Tridio trade union conference, which is meeting on December 13, 1963. The conference. the

# **CPI Secretariat Report, Part II**

The problem now has gone a stage further in the new crisis of the bourgeols order

As regards the fifth que tion of the struggle against high prices and taxes, for higher wages, DA and bonus, higher wages, DA and bonus, for correction of the fraudu-lent index, and for nationali-

mands and the struggles envisaged, if the demands are not met, will not only carry the working class and the trade union movement forward. It will also provide a democratic corrective to the growing concentration of mo-nopoly wealth and the crisis of the national economy. The working class by this inter-vention is not only satisfying its own class-demands. It helps to provide the solution of the problems of all tolling people and the country as a whole.

(The text of this resolution was published in the New Age on December 22, 1963) (Concluded)



on eve of bhubaneswar

able suggestion rejected often in the past by opposing to it cliches like planning being a continuous process and so on.

With Bhubaneswar drawing near, the Congress Mehta have in recent weeks all attempt to define its concept of socialism is the subject of immediate and intense interest to the press. The perhaps quite inadvertently their schism in the ruling party, the arguments around the question of nationalisation of banks, planning etc. have grown more conspicuous and the mouthpieces of the private sector are kept busy fighting the new trend for radical changes in the economic policies of the government. Recent utterances by the Finance Minister in Bombay have given them new hope. economic conferences in Bom-bay. According to the paper, The Finance Minister has asked the right questions, in the light of the experience of the last twelve years'. It approves 'TTK's plea for a period of 'consolidation' in planning. This is an important and valu-able succession rejected often

GAINST this is the more insistent and strong voice of the progressive section of the press which looks to Bhubanes-war with hope and calls for determination in the fight against

reaction. Typical of the attitude of the monopoly press on the eve of Bhubaneswar was the editorial in THE HINDUSTAN TIMES of December 24. It said:

Thinking in the country on current economic problems pre-sents some curious features. This 'His advocacy of an 'open door' policy for foreign private capital is refreshingly different from the customary attitude of his pis aller. His robust confidence in the is particularly true of the ruling party in which the struggle be tween the constructive and anarchic elements has acquired a new intensity. The Congress, in the recent past, has been more than usually afflicted by a schizo-phrenic split in its economic thinking leading it to speak in two voices, one of which, in the words of a famous parody. 'is of the deep' and the other, 'of an old half-witted sheep'. The latter, voice has been

'The latter voice has been particularly shrill and strident, particularly shrill and strident, monotonously pressing empty ideological nostrums on a harassed leadership trying to do its duty by the economy. But the voice of reason is not en-tirely drowned in the noise. tirely drowned in the noise. Those who have to manage the I nose who have to manage the conomy of the country have hearteningly shown that they at least are not going to allow themselves to be stampeded into action that will do irreparable damage to the economy'.

# 'Saner Voice' Plea

After referring to the govern-Atter inwilling to nationa-lise banks, TTK's policy statement in Parliament, and the 'new indi-cations of realism' in the state-ments of Asoka Mehta, the editorial said:

Though political postures of rying degrees of hypocricy may months by the ruling party, its basic patriotism will dictate the pursuit of an economic policy which flows from the premises that Mr. Krishnamachari and Mr. Asoka Mehta recently spelt

Time spent on doctrinal definitions of the nature of socialism could be better spent in thinking on the practical steps, to get the economy on its legs so that expanding production can enlarge the area of well-being in the country'. Suggesting the need for 'a kind of thinking far removed from logic-chopping about social. nitions of the nature of socialism sm, the paper said: It is there-fore of the utmost importance that the party's same voice gets heard above the ideological din likely to be raised at Bhubanes-war'. On Friday, THE HINDUSTAN TIMES wrote commending TIK's speeches at the joint 'AGE TEN

THE INDIAN EXPRESS wrote on December 26: In hinting at the possibility that in the initial period of the Fourth Plan we might have to devote more attention to the problems of consolidation, Mr. Krishnamachari has provided new evidence of the consolidation. Mr. Krishnamachari has provided new evidence of the pragmatic outlook for which he is well-known. He has not, how-ever, foreshadowed a break in planning, and has indeed em-phasised the need for continnity, and it is to be presumed that the process of consolidation does not clash with continuity.

Again on Monday, THE INDIAN EXPRESS in an editorial

on the Bhubaneswar session the Congress wrote: 'One week before Bhubanes the picture remains almost as vague as it was at Jaipur. The PCCs' response has been disrccs response tressingly slow.'

'Opposition to socialism is out of fashion, though there is a big hiatus between, for instance the Delhi Predesh Con-HE report on the Delhi coop scandal in NEW AGE (December 29) has touched upon only some aspects of the racket in co-operatives which has grown in recent years. A serious malady rest Committee's demand for urgent drastic action for funda-mental changes in the owner-ship and management of pro-ductive processes and the Guja recent years. A serious malady afflicting the cooperative move-ment today is that it has become rat, PCC's warning against a general policy of nationalisation which it says will be blind, big business. Big businessmen and political leaders have started countimely. impracticable and

cooperatives by the governmen and cornering the profits. While there is apathy among. Congressmen in general, the hot-gospellers of allout nationalisa-tion have been extraordinarily active which is indicative of the The big business nature of coops today is best illustrated by CHOWDHARY BRAHM PER-KASH himself. He has under his

TYP

Obviously such a consideration loes not worry Mr. Krishnama chari'

The people, and those who under-stand their aspirations, want it to stand their aspirations, want it to be more pervasive than it is at present, while Mr. Krishnama-chari and Mr. Asoka Mehta seem to be determined to frustrate remarks, complimentary to one another, reveal the emergence of an economic brains trust in Delhi which has the ability to their efforts. The issues are join the day, examine then with an open mind and pronounce them It is now for the Congress and open mind and pronounce them boldly. This is a most welcome development and could be the beginning of a new economic leadership so urgently needed to breathe life into the Plan'. the people to decide'.

isolate the essential problem

Open Door

Commenting on TTK's call for consolidation, the paper wrote: This should be a useful correc-

for Loot

its own sake.'

TOO

MANY

HERE

SCANDALS

operatives with the sole aim of utilising the benefits given to

On Saturday again, the paper wrote:

Write: Without a clear statement by the Congress as to what it means by socialism and how it means. to achieve the targets set for socialist policies, there will always be opportunities for clever people in authority to pretend that they are moving towards socialist ideals when in fast they are sabotaging them. fact they are sabotaging them.

### Clear Definition

Ins should be a useful correc-tive to some of the flights of imagination that the drafting of the Fourth Plan has inspired...... Throwing open the door to foreign private investment too is but no means undersubat how foreign private investment too is by no means undesirable; but what the country need is a cata-lytic import of technology and not mere inflow of foreign capital for Such mischief can be prevent-ed only if socialism is defined in terms of what the State proposes to do in all the departments of to do in all the departments of the economy and how soon what is considered necessary will be PATRIOT takes TTK to task for his Bombay speeches. On Friday the paper wrote under caption 'End of Planning?': done.

The paper then refers to the letter by K. D. Malaviya to the AICC members. What is imme-diately necessary according to him are land reform, state trading 'Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari's Mr. 1. T. Krishnamacharis speech before the three annual Economic Conferences is so full of ideas contrary to our natio-nal objectives that it is diffi-cult to mark out any one of them. for particular notice..... him are land reform, state trading in food grains, fixation of prices for farm produce, nationalization of banks, curbs on speculation and a dominant position for the public sector in both heavy and consumer industries. then for particular notice..... each of these makes his address read like the reproduction of a

read like the reproduction of a Big Business memorandum rather than a statement of policy by the Finance Minister of a government committed to socialism. PATRIOT also commends Mala-PATRIOT also commends Mala-viya's suggestion that Congress-men should sign a concretely socialist pledge. It says that 'it is largely because there is no indi-vidual commitment and no clear directive to administrations that people, like Mr. S. K. Patil can socialism. Commenting on TTK's emphasis on 'consolidation' instead of 'advance' PATRIOT said: This understanding is shared by Indian

Recently, I came across the list

Recently, I came across the list of promoter members of another cooperative society in the capital. In the list there were names of members, of the Congress High Command, army generals, high-placed civilians, maharajas, busi-ness magnates. Altogether it was an imposing list and hence I am giving some of the names:

gress Socialism' and Mr. Krishna-machari give verbal twists to financial policy that threatens to rob the Plan almost entirely of its socialist content."

# Asoka Mehta

The MAINSTREAM weekly also wrote strongly against TTK and Asoka Mehta.

Occupying key positions in the Union Government now

is to prevent India's becoming a socialist country.

and its perform site direc

-SANJAYA

"supply" in the name does not mean that the society is interested

like to motorists. Its business is running of bus routes. The society has the monopoly of the Delhi Jaipur route which is the most paying of all the bus routes operated from Delhi.

With so many "stars of co

operative movement concentrated in one society, no wonder that the Auto India has secured the best of bus routes for itself. One

best of bus routes for itself. One can also understand the govern-ment's reluctance to nationalise the route despite persistent de-mands to nationalise it for the benefit of the people and income for the state.

New Delhi

HYDERABAD. December 29: The agitation against the additional land levy, which will culminate in a mass savyagraha, rolls across the state. An energetic campaign of explanation and enrolment of volunteers is on in the various districts.

admit that the Commu

steps" of satyagraha would

He promised consultations

with the leaders of the oppo-sition, which he claimed had

become a tradition in the

state. Yet in the same breath

could be no question of with-

drawing the additional land levy as it would set off a chain reaction. He appealed

to the opposition to cooperate for the "welfare of the state"

for the "welfare of the state" and at the same time said that there could be no ques-tion of the government yield-

What was the point of this

tradition of consultations if the Chief Minister had made

the

he announced that

ing on policy matters,

hoped that the

he avoided.

Yielding

T ENNETI VISWANADHAM, He tried the argument VAVIIALA GOPALAKRI that additional taxes were SHNAYYA, C. V. KRISHNA essential for development RAO and SRI KRISHNA have been touring the state on be-half of the Action Committee. Large audiences have not only listened with enthusiash many among them have ap-proached/the speakers, narrated their story of suffering and given notice of their determination to compel the government to yield.

The speakers have not only No minted to the enormity of the burden—from six to eight crores of rupees—but to its niguitous nature. They have pleaded for a graded income tax with exemption for the smaller landholders. They They have pointed to alternative sources of revenue-end of wastage, collection of arrears and the scrapping of prohibition.

In addition, they have pointed out that the Andhra government was a part of the Congress machinery of power. Hence it could exert pressure on its central leadership to implement radical democratic measures, like nationalisation of banking, state monopoly of food grains trade, stopping of privy purses to the prince and compensation to the landlords. Part of the additional revenue accruing from these measures would be available to the various state governments, who could ease the hurdens on the con The impact of this agitation

is already being felt in official quarters. This was evident from the recent press conof Chief Ministers SANJEEVA REDDY Quite a bit of his time was taken up in a futile hid to polemise against the land levy stir.

up his mind not to consider changes in policy was not clear to anybody. Sanjeeva Reddy said that urbing of wasteful expendicurbing of ture would yield only lakhs of rupees and could not make up for the government's expectation of three to four crores of rupees from dditional land levy. He conveniently side stepped the problem of how much would accrue from collection of

arrears of revenue, since most of this is due from the large landed interests.

- ARCIIS

JANUARY 5. 1964



Readers' Letters

The venture has been floated only recently and has its office in the Theatre Communication Buildings. The society has been promoted with an "initial" capi-tal of rupees one crore. Anybody can imagine how much this coop will strive for the benefit of the common man and how many members of this one crore busi-ness coop are common people.

lists and the World Bank, claim to talk on behalf The Plan is at the cross-roads. T.T.K. &

the Union Government now are two persons who appear to be working in perfect harmony towards ensuring the continued dominance of the private sector in the national economy to the ultimate detriment of the publie interest.

The two are Finance Minis-ter Krishinamachari and the Planning Commission Deputy Chairman Asoka Mehta.

Between them, the Finance Minister and the Deputy Chair-man of the Planning Commission man of the Planning Commission are doing their very best to strengthen further the powerful combination of indigenous and foreign monopoly capital whose aim, not a secret by any means.

These which the Congressmen assembl-ing at Bhubaneswar early next. month must pay serious attening at Bhubaneswar early next, month must pay serious atten-tion. If they honestly mean to stand by the pledge of bringing socialism to this country, they should consider to whom they should entrust the tasks of monotone the country's first snouta entrust the tasks of managing the country's fiscal "affairs and of streamlining the planning machinery and the administration as a whole, so that the ideological professions of the ruling party and its p may cease to be in opp tions'.



From MOHIT SEN

And he was absolutely silent on the question of lift-ing prohibition which is a particularly absurd piece of hypocrisy since the licensing of neera shops. But how could he say anything about this since; only a few days ago, he had been paying court to MORARJI DESAI and his game of prohibitionists. Who gang of prohibitionists. Who knows what promises are being made and what alliar forged on the eve of the Bhubaneswar session?

The Chief Minister tried to ne kudos by claiming win some kudos by that his letter to the Prime Minister asking for the take over of the investment expenses of the Nagarjunasagar Project by the Centre, had had some effect.

The Prime Minister had ed distress that the state was not in a position to spend more funds on social schemes like health and eduon social cation because a large chunk of its finances had to be earmarked for major irrigation works. TTK was due for a visit and some satisfactory arrangement might soon be worked out

The Communist Party has long been demanding that the Centre take over so large a project as the Nagarjuna-sagar, which costs the Andhra treasury more than Rs. 10

crores annually. It welcomes the pressure the Chief Minis-ter is bringing to bear on the Centre on this issue.

But this energy and pressure could also be used for demanding that the Centre initiate the scheme of radical democratic reforms outlined above: Why is energy and pressure lacking with regard to these matters?

# Eve on

Bhubaneswar

Part of the answer to this question was provided by the laconic manner in Sanjeeva | Reddy which dealt with the draft plat-form on democracy and socialism scheduled for discussion , at Bhubaneswar in a few days.

He stated that the APCC while giving general approval to the draft had laid emto the draft had phasis on the need for im-plementation. When and where the APCC did all this remained a mystery and any hopes raised by the stress on implementation evaporated when he went on to state that there was nothing new in the resolution as socialism ; had been defined quite satisfactorily at Avadi.

The implication was clear.

Saniceva Reddy felt that all the dust and din going on in the Congress now was a lot of unnecessary fuss. The main thing was to carry on, to keep the status quo going. It is rumoured that such was the approach suggested to him by Morarjibhai during their re-cent confabulations. Expression of general support to a sufficiently vague resolution combined with a general con-demnation of too much ideology\_this, was the safest course.

It is reported that kind of "theory" is also about to be concocted. Factional squabbles are said to be a part of the Indian tradit In any event they are family affairs with possibilities of jumping from one faction to another and for all manner of deals In this way factions do not lead to any fund mental break up of unity. funda-

Once ideology is injected into the Congress then factions may harden into opposed groups with differing platforms and this would mutual accommodation <sup>:</sup> im possible! Such unabashed de-fence of lack of principles and of unalloyed power might be difficult to pronounce in public but the difficult to the whispers are going



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NEW AGE



Regardless of whose stand is correct, is it not a fact Regardless of whose stand is concerns in the world Com-that the origin of differences in the world Communist movement lies in the 20th CPSU Congress held in 1956 and the Camp David talks and the Tass statement of 1959, as the CPC states? (M. K. REHMAN, Madras).

The 20th CPSU Congress is of historic significance A because it ruthlessly criticised the Stalin personality cult and initiated the new course of the world Communist movement which was later authoritatively elaborated in the Moscow Declaration (1957) and the Moscow Statement (1960). This only illustrated the vanguard role of the CPSU in the international Communist movement.

All Com

Historical Experience of the Dic-tatorship of the Proletaniat, pub-lished in April 1958, the Com-munist Party of China declared: "The struggle against the cult of the individual which was launched by the 20th Congress is a great and courageous fight by the Communists and the people of the Soviet Union to clear away the ideological by the people of the source clear away the ideological obstacles in the way of their advance... The CPC congra-tulates the CPSU on its great in this histori achievement in this historic struggle against the cult of the individual... We must learn from the struggle of the CPSU against the cult of the indivi-dual and continue our fight actions the determine against doctrinairisn

CPC Congress.

PAGE TWELVE

The report of the Central Com-mittee to the 8th Congress of the CPC stated: "The 20th CPSU Congress, held last February, svas an important political event of world significance. It not only world significance. It not only drew up the Sixth Five Year Plan, decided on many important policies and principles for further development of the cause of so-cialism and repudiated the cult of the individual which had grave conservation that the test of the serve consequences inside the Party. ... also advocated further promotion uso advocated turue. of peaceful coexistence and inter-, national cooperation, making an outstanding contribution to the

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munist Parties, without Thus, the CPC cannot now say All Communist Parties, without exception, hailed the decisions and line of the 20th CPSU Congress. In its authoritative article On The Historical Experience of the Dic-tatorship of the Proletariat, pub-lished in April 1956, the Com-munist Party of China declared: "The struggle against the cult the provision in its Party Congress in for a congress every five tion for a Congress every

## Moscow Declaration

Moreover, the CPC signed the Moscow Declaration of 1957 with-out any reservations and even now claims to be upholding, it. The Declaration has the following formulation: "The bistoric decisions of the Book and the same collection, again, SOONG CHING-LING said that

"The Testoric decisions of the 20th Congress of the CPSU are of tremendous importance not only to the CPSU and to the building of Communism in the USSR; they have opened a new stage in the world Communist movement and facilitated its further. development along Marrist-Lennist lines." further development along Marxist-Leninist lines." What the 20th CPSU Congress

opened out were not differences in the world Communist move-

in the world Communist move-ment but a new stage in its deve-lopment-such was the view of all CPS. The CPC, however, claims that another origin of the differ-ences-strange that there should he is the origin of the the should ences-stringe that there should be two origins-lies in the Camp David talks between KHRUSHCHOV and EISEN-HOWER and the capitulation of the former to the latter. Here again let us recall what

origin of ideological *differences* 

Above all, the CPSU had also

"The Secretariat of the National

In his speech to the 81 Parties

As Ajoy Ghosh stated in the

Somewhat earlier the Central

Chinoso

Rehaviour

CPC said about this event in October 1959 in a collection of articles dedicated to the tenth anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China.

# Authoritatice

CHOU EN-LAI wrote : "thanks CHOU EN-LAI wrote: "thanks to the might and unity of the socialist camp headed by the great Soviet Union and the growth of the struggle against aggression and war by the peoples through-out the world, the forces of peace and progress are ever more clearly gaining the upper hand over the forces of war and reaction. This fact found clear new expression in the success of Comrade Khrush-chov's visit to the United States." CHEN YI, in the same collec-tion of articles, went even further: minated in open aggression, in October 1962. The CPSU had to consider the position of India as a nonaligned country, a part of the peace zone, as had been stated in the 1957 Moscow Declaration. to take into account the stand of the CPI. The CPI certainly did the Gri. The Gri certainly hid not consider the Longu incident as "armed provocations of the reactionaries of a capitalist coun-try." On August 30, 1959 the Secretariat of the National Council CHEN YI, in the same collec-tion of articles, went even further: "The joint communique issued after the talks between Comrade Khrushchov and President Eisen-hower of the US mentioned that both sides agreed that interna-tional disputes should be settled not by the use of force but by the nearcful means of nerotiation. 

not by the use of force but by the peaceful means of negotiation. The US has persisted in the dis-play of military force, and has carried out its so-called 'positions of strength' policy. Now, it, too, has to agree that international dis-putes should not be settled by force. This undoubtedly deserves to be welcomed." Council of the CPI fervently hopes that immediate steps will be taken by both the governments concern-ed to settle all controversies with regard to the border mutual discussions."

Khrushchov's visit to the United States 'is a victory for the main principle that underlies the foreign policies of all socialist nations jointly and separately: that coun-tries of differing social and poli-tical systems can and must co-exist on peaceful terms, and that the friendlier these relations are, the more benefits the people will derive." Khrushchov's visit to the United

In his speech to the of Fatues Conference in 1960-converging the unanimous views of the Indian delegation and which was approv-ed, by the subsequent National Council meeting-AJOY CHOSH related that he had written a letter derive." This correct assessment based on a correct assessment was based on a correct theoretical formulation contained in the re-port of the Central Committee of the CPC to its 8th Party Conto the CPC on August 20, 1959 urging a settlement of the border differences. The CPC did not reply to this leter. the CPC to its din Party Con-gress: "Even inside the ruling circles of the United States, there is a section of more sober minded people who are becoming more and more aware that the policy of After the Longju incident he again wrote to the CPC urging negotiations, "Once again the Chinese comrades neither replied to our letters nor paid any heed war may not, after all, be America's advantage."

Nobody can quarrel with this formulation or the assessment of the Camp David talks based to our requests. Against this background and knowing the views of the CPI it would have been the grossest breach of proletarian international-ism had the CPSU taken upon it-self the wrong role of siding with China not only against a non-aligned country but also against the CPI. the Camp David talks based upon it. Only now the CPC leadership has completely repu-diated its own stand, without saying so in so many words. Now it not only quarrels with its own previous evaluation but loads inecctives against all who remain consistent on the issue and says that the Camp David talks are another starting point of the differences!

taiks are another starting point of the differences! Still another "origin" of the differences is said to be the Tass statement of September 9, 1859 issued after the clash in the Longju area and the tension following from it. It should be remembered Somewhat earlier the Central Executive Committee of the CPI (September 1960) had come to the conclusions that the deterioration in India-China relations was "not just an issue between India and China. It was on this issue that the CPC's new assessment of the role of the national bourgeoiste of India found its sharpest and most decentating astronom. This the Camp David talks, before the Camp David talks, which, as we have seen, the CPC positively evaluated at the time. The Tass Statement regretted the incident, noted the fraternal relations between the Chinese and Soviet peoples as well as the friendly cooperation between India and the USSR, emphasised, the friendly cooperation between India and the USSR, emphasised, the use imperialist circles were making of the India-China tension and expressed the confidence that "both governments will settle their misunderstanding, taking into ac-count their mutual interests, in the spirit of the traditional friend-ship between the peoples of China and India." of India found its sharwest and most devastating expression. This assessment is contrary to the un-derstanding given by the 12-Parities Declaration. It is an assessment which can only lead to tactics that damage the unity of the peace zone and help reaction. It is there-fore, a matter of concern for the whole world. Communist move-ment."

It may be noted that the over-whelming majority of the 81 Parties agreed with this view of the CPI and that the assessment of the role of India and other nationalist-led states contained in the Moscow Statement of 1960 The CPC now states that the Soviet Union should have con-demned what it calls the "armed demned what it cans the arned provocations of the reactionaries of a capitalist country and taken an open anti-Indian position. Was this a correct demand? the Moscow S repudiated the CPC. For the moment we shall leave aside the thoroughly ant Leminist position of the CPC on the ques-tion of border disputes, which cul-

Thus not the Tass States Thus not the Tass Statement of the September 1959 but the policies and actions of the CPC with regard to the India-China border were the starting point of the open differences between the CPC and the overwhelming majority of the Communic majority of the Parties of the world.

The arrogant and bourgeois nationalist approach of the CPC to the repeated requests and let-ters of the CPI from May 1959 cers of the UTI from May 1959 onwards was the starting point of the dogmatic crusade and vulgar campaign of abuse by the CPC against the overwhelming majority of Communist Parties.

# "Long Live Leninism"

The first fully form claration of the views of the CPC calling for a revision of the 1957 Moscow declaration was made in Moscow declaration was made in April 1960 in the publication Long Live Leninism repudiated by the 1960 Moscow Statements. Since then, with brief intervals, the CPC has continued its head long offensive against the general line of the new course of the international Communist move-

In June 1960 during the Peking session of the General Council of the WFTU, the CPC leaders held an unauthorised meeting of the the CPSU and the 1957 Moscow Declaration.

They insisted in public that, the WFTU—a trade union body want-ing unity with all other trade union organisations—should take upon itself as its first duty the struggle against revisionism! Since the WFTU was not and could not be committed to Marxism-Lenin-ism how it could struggle against revisionism is anybody's guess. Sectarian madness could go no further.

Later at the Bucharest meeting in June 1960 the fraternal dele in June 1960 the traternal dele-gates to the Rumanian Workers' Party Congress in their overwhelm-ing majority criticised the CPC and urged it to return to the path of unity. But all this was rudely of unity. But all this was rude brushed aside by the CPC del

gates present. The Central-Committee of the The Central Committee of the CPSU took the initiative to pro-pose talks to the Central Commit-tee of the CPC at this stage, while also taking the responsibility of convening a world conference. At the talks in September 1960 the CPO delegation simply refused b licten to any criticin other than to listen to any opinion other than its own.

As Ajoy Ghosh state in the same speech, "We deem it necessary to state that the posi-tion taken by the Soviet Union on this India-China border, dis-pute has, in the opinion of our Party, been an entirely correct one" Then came the 81 Parties Con-Then came the \$1 Parties Con-ference of October-November 1960. The CPC now claims that it is ready to publish everything; it might do everybody a service by publishing the speech of its main spokesman at that confer-ence as well as the hundreds of emergence to the moved Beth the amendments it moved. Both the speech and the amendments which amendm were repudiated, would make revealing reading today. It is that speech and those amended which the CPC now tries to im-nose on the world Communis which the world Communist pose on the world Communist movement, Such are the origins of the summers in the world Com-

munist movement.

-MOHIT SEN

TANUARY 5, 1964

One of the most important questions discussed by the 18th session of the UN General Assembly was that of the expansion of the Security Council and of the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC). An Afro-Asian resolution proposing the increase in the number of mem-Security Council from 11 to 15 and of the hers of the members of ECOSOC from 18 to 27 was passed by an overwhelming majority in the General Assembly. The USA and Britain abstained from voting, while France voted against. There was nothing unexpected about their attimide

Did this mean that the Soviet Union had joined hands with the imperialist. West to block the legitimate aspirations of the Afro-

legitmate aspirations of the Arro-Asian governments and peoples? The imperialist news agencies did their best to interpret the Soviet vote as an indication of the common "big power" interest-in keeping the bodies of the UN meller und thus more under

in keeping the bodies of the UN smaller and thus more under "big power" control than larger bodies could be. Considerable and genuine misgivings arose in the minds of anti-imperialists every-where following the Soviet vote against the Afro-Asian resolution.

As the truth has become

known, these misgivings have been removed, and what emer-

ges out of the confusion is a strange, amazing and one

ges out of the conjuston is a strange, amazing — and one must add shocking — story of duplicity and fraud on the Soviet Union and other socialist countries by the Chinese

countries by the Chinese government. These are the facts, which have now also been ex-posed by the Soviet government in its note published in Pravda

wn, these

W HEN the UN was set up in that the Soviet Union and other 1945, it had 51 member socialist countries also voted ag-states. Today it has 113 members. ainst the Afro-Asian resolution. During this period, the number Did this mean that the Soviet ring this period, the socialist states in the ore than doubled. Th The nun more than doubled. The number of Asian states has grown two and half times (from 10 to 24), and of African States 11 times and of African States 11 times (from 3 to 34). And yet the structure of the leading bodies of the UN-the Security and the ECOSOC-has Council remained exactly as it was fixed at the time of the foundation of the

UN. The result is that the Western powers continue to have the majority in all organs of the UN, despite the complete change in its character and composit ing the nearly 20 years of

its existence. And because they have this control in the leading bodies, the Western powers are totally oppos-ed to any change which would make these leading bodies reflect more accurately the real composi-tion of the UN today.

What caused considerable fusion in the minds of Afro-Asians, however, was the fact

# **Poland** and

and to that extent is of vital importance to us.

This expansionist trend had for two centuries been the domi-nant accent of Germany's rela-tions with her eastern neighbour. But following the second world war Poland's frontiers were shift-ed westwards, to the Oder and Lusatian-Neisse rivers thus re-turning to Poland the areas she had lost in the course of several centuries of German eastward centuries of German eastwar

tratic. Ger Democratic Republic in the last frontier, beginning from 1941 which became a socialist country through the Summit meetings of and the Federal German Republic. Tehran, Yalta and Potsdam, right in the West supported by the upto 1947. western powers where the pro-cess of denazification and demo-all the relevant chapter and verse

JANUARY 5, 1964

and to that extent is of vital importance to us. T HOUGH in the two world East and West alike the primary target of her expansionism had for ages been the East. Poland was the obstacle in the way. Hence, the destruction of the Polish ration, became the princi-pal and unchanging goal of the Polish ration, became the princi-pal and unchanging goal of the policies first of Prussia--the Ger-man enclave in the north-eastern part of Polish territory--and then of Germany united under Prussia's aegis. This expansionist trend had for two centuries been the domi-mant accent of Germany's rela-



on December 22: The Soviet Union has for a number of years been itself demanding that the structure of number of years been itself demanding that the structure of the UN be radically reorganised, with a view to bring it into con-formity with the actual balance of forces in the world today. Addressing the 15th /session of the UN General Assembly in 1950, Soviet Premier Khrushchov had submitted a proposal on the reorganisation of the main UN bodies so that all the three main groups of states-the socialist bodies so that all the three main groups of states—the socialist countries, the countries in the imperialist military blocs, and the non-aligned states—are equally represented in these bodies.

represented in these bodies. In 1963 again, on September 5, the Soviet Union proposed as a first step redistribution of the existing seats of non-permanent members of the Security Council and members of ECOSOC in such a way that the Afro-Asian coun-tries would have three of the six seats allotted to non-permanent members, and a similar proportion in ECOSOC. in ECOSOC

When the present Afro-Asian resolution was brought up in the General Assembly, the Soviet

the book first establishes the **Poland and German Question** Although Poland's German question and the ques-tion of her western frontiers may seem remote from India, one knows only too well that this is one of the problems of key importance to the peace and future of this planet and to that extent is of vital importance to us.

This expansionist trend had for This expansionist trend had for two centuries been the domi-nant accent of Germany's rela-tions with her eastern neighbour, but following the second world astian Neisse rivers thus re-turing to. Poland the areas she ald lost in the course of several enturies of German eastward ressure. This was the result of joint decisions taken by the power of the anti-Nazi coalition, as an act of historic justice and in the interests of European peace rate of historic justice and in the interests of European peace ration had been victims of her tion had been victims of her ratic Germany soft he cold rat, however, there emerged not mitic divers apported by the the beginning of the cold rat, however, there emerged not mitic divers apported by the ratic Germany but the German memoratic Republic in the East hich been victims of her ratic Germany but the German memoratic Republic in the East the beginning of the cold rat, however, there emerged not mitic divers apported by the settern press Agency. Warsaw). With the beginning of the cold rat, however, there emerged not mitic Germany but the German Republic has no common border at the lifetime of one genera-tion had been victims of her ratic Germany but the German Republic has and makes a detailed study of allied agreements on the future fornitier, beginning from is gain in the reader and market ing the west supported by the the west supported by the the west supported by the to to ap. Simply and briefly, yet quoting the bis of the tool the west supported by the to to ap. Simply and briefly, yet quoting the suback ap pole. This was the remerged not the the federal Remuter the pro-start a supported by the the west supported by the the term of the the rederal Republic in the East function. This was the remuter the pro-the to the term of the thereas and the term the the term the

NEW AGE

Union and other socialist coun-tries made clear their support for the principle behind the resolu-

tion. pointed out that an expansion of the membership of the Security Council and ECOSOC requires amendments to the relevant arti-des in the UN Charter, and that such amendments can only be made if ratified by two-thirds of the UN member states, including the UN member states, including all the permanent members of the Security Council.

Security Council. And here lay the rub. The People's Republic of China-one of the permanent members-was. denied its rightful place in the UN. Any attempt to change the Charter in the absence of the People's Republic of China would really be a violation of the Charter itself.

Mercenter Mercen Charter in the way sugges ed by the Afro-Asian res even without the restoration to the People's Republic of China of . its rightful place, provided the Chinese government explicitly de-clared its agreement with the pro-

## SOVIET STAND

The Soviet government ap-proached the Chinese govern-ment and asked for its opinion on the Afro-Asian proposal. On December 8, the Soviet government December 8, the Soviet government received a reply from the Chinese government, which stated that under the conditions when China was still debarred from taking part in the work of the UN, the Chinese in the work of the UN, the Chinese government was not going to assume any obligations connected with the question of introducing amendments into the Charter which would concern the total number of seats on the main UN bodies. This refusal to agree to the Afro-Asian (numosal by the Chinese

This refusal to agree to the Afro-Asian proposal by the Chinese government was accompanied by a still more definite statement by the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the Soviet Ambassador in Peking, that the Chinese govern-ment did not approve of the solu-tion of the problem by enlarging the UN bodies and that it favoured a solution by means of a just disa solution by means of a just dis-tribution of the seats available

tribution of the seats available under the Charter on these bodies. This stand of the Chinese gov-ernment was consistent with its previous stand. In September 1961, the People's Daily had edi-torially stated: "Without the participation of the People's Re-public of China, which is one of the permagnent members of the public of China, which is one of the permanent members of the Security Council, the introduction of any amendments into the UN Charter is illegal."

a ing the subjugated peoples both by economic exploitation as well as by means of oppression and domination. Yet in the new Poland of today, specially in the formerly German annexed areas there is a true. cultural and economic renaissance which can provide a firm basis of fruifful economic dustrial areas of the Federal Re-public and her traditional sources of raw materials and marketting outlets in Poland on the basis of equality and a realistic recogni-tion of the situation should the leaders of that country embark upon such a pollcy. Charter is illegal." A This was the situation in which the Soviet Union was compelled to vote against the Afro-Asian resolution—out of fraternal regard for the opinion of the realists. The Soviet Union itself was in support of the orinciples under-lying the UN resolution, but voted against because it believed that adoption of the resolution, in the o contrary to the UN Charter, which demanded the concurrence of all permanent members.

What was amazing was the manner in which, immediately -BAREN RAY after the voting in the General

out with an altogether differen position from that it had taker position from that it had taken earlier. And, what was most repre-hensible, Chinese propaganda was unleashed to suggest that the Soviet Union voted against the Afro-Asian resolution because of its "great power" hostility to increased influence of the "small" countries. power" hostility to ace of the "small" of The Albanian representative in UN even suggested (or Chinese leadership, that the Soviet government has made the Chinese government government opinion only an excuse. The People's Daily on December 11, came out with a leader in which it stated —

t stated — "If it comes out that the just demand of the Afro-Asian coun-trites cannot be met by a redis-tribution of the seats in the Security Council and the ECOSOC through consultation, and that instead amendments will have to be made in the corresponding articles of the UN Charter, we, naturally, proceed from our invariable stand, shall come out for the introduction of amendments in the correspondin articles of the UN Charter, s that the demand of the Afro Asian states would really b satisfied."

This was the first time that the This was the first time mat use. Chinese leadership put, forward such a view. Had they done so carlier through an official commu-nication of the government, the Soviet Union would naturally have voted wholeheartedly for the Afro-Asian, resolutio

The Soviet Union has now officially proposed fresh consul-tations to work out a solution. The Afro-Asian resolution is at present deadlocked. The Soviet Union proposes that the consultations should deal with the key issue of restor ing to the People's Republic of China its legitimate right in the UN and of expelling from the UN the representative of the Chinage f the truth the representative of the Chiang Kai-shek clique. The truth has to be faced that were it not for cer-Chiang tain Afro-Asian countries support-ing the US imperialists in their opposition to China's admission, the question would have been settled long ago.

At the same time, the Sovie Union has indicated that it would be prepared to discuss the measures that could be undertaken measures that could be undertaken now, pending the restoration to the Chinese government of its rights in UN, to enlarge the mem-bership of the Security Council and the ECOSOC, in accordance with the Afro-Asian resolution.

the Afro-Asian resolution. It is to be hoped that the Afro-Asian and socialist govern-ments will join hands to compel the imperialist powers to agree not to prevent by their veto, the measures being proposed to make the UN conform to the realities of the present world dnd to the composition of the UN itself. The attitude taken by the Chinese government through the beried during which this guestion

The attitude taken by the Chinese government through the period during which this question has been under discussion, has been utterly and completely wrong and deserving of universal con-demnation. It has been an attitude as much inimical to the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries; as to the other Afro-Asian countries. It was an attitude which only helped the imperialists to create mistrust and misunder-standing between the Afro-Asian countries and the Soviet Union and other socialist countries

(December 31, 1963) PAGE THIRTEEN



# **1964 PERSPECTIVES**

As the year 1963 came to its end, new perspectives of India's trade relations with socialist countries for the ensuing year also unfolded themselves. New agreements and contracts have been drawn up: some have already been signed and some await to be signed.

M OST heartening was the Rs. 134 lakhs. the Indo-Soviet trade. The On December target for 1963 of trade worth Rs. 50 crores each way be-tween India and Soviet Union ween incla and soviet Union has been achieved. This is a happy augury for the increas-ed trade target set under the five years trade agreement that will come into force from January 1, 1964. The volume of trade between In-

drilling rigs already in ope-ration at Cambay and Ankle-swar. The contract is in addition to the one already stoned in last July for the supply of spare parts worth

On December 23, contracts were drawn up between In-dia and Soviet Union for the dia and Soviet Union for the preparation of detailed pro-ject reports for the expansion of the Barauni and Koyali refineries from two million tonnes to three million tonnes.

per year. The Soviet experts will furon December 26, a cont-ing the work by the end of the current financial year. If the project reports are accepted by India, work on expansion would be-gin as soon as possible to ing the work by the end of m ract was signed between In-ing the work by the end of m ract was signed between In-latter will supply spare parts worth Rs. 40 lakhs for the drilling rigs already in ope-ration at Cambay and A---

existing trade and payments arrangement for 1964. It is envisaged that the trade turnover will be about

clude chemical goods including drugs and medicines, cotton and synthetic textiles. mining products, and other

mining products, and other consumer goods. GDR will export to India machine tools, capital goods including heavy electrical equipment, printing machi-nery and other items of ma-chinery, fertilisers etc. 

In the field of cultural co-operation also, India had the privilege of receiving last month a delegation of Soviet writers headed by V. Kozhev nikov. The other members of the delegation were Y. Solo-vyova and A. Dairov.

Prominent Soviet Indologist V. V. Balabushevich, accom-V. V. Balabushevich, accom-panied by linguist I. M. Dia-kov arrived in Delhi on De-cember 23 to participate in the Indian History Congress in Poona. They will also par-ticipate in the 20th Inter-national Congress of Orien-talists to be held in Delhi control formation talists to .... early January.

A 19-member delegation of Soviet scientists headed by **Prof.** N. A. Dobrotin took part in the International Cosmic Rays conference held at Jaipur from December 2 to December 14.



Signing the contracts for oil drilling spare parts.



Karlsruhe, This is a Common Market pipeline. The fact that the Friendship line is six times longer than the Common Market line is something besides the point. The main point is that while the Friendship line will bene-fit all the socialist countries. the Common Market line will enrich only the Anglo-Ameri-can twoons who are not in enrich only the Angio-Ameri-can tycoons who are not in the Common Market. And, of course, the owner of the oil "Algeria-whose oil will be transported through the Com-mon Market line will not get a dime!" a dime i Seventy per cent of profits from this line will go to US and English oil magnates. The distribution of profits is of the

distribution of pronts is the following otder: 36 per cent USA, 32 per cent U.K., 20 per cent France and 12 per cent Federal Republic of Germany, Patribution in the es; kitchen indeed!

reported that the NATO bosses at present are ex-tremely worried over the fact that this body does not possess a naval arm. The entire strength of NATO naval arm is dependent on the US GOLD WATER, NEISON naval force consisting of seven fleets stationed at various narys of the globe, millionaire, They have affead? various parts of the globe. various parts of the groves NATO, which means North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, is composed of 19 states in partnership, but the partner ship works in a peculiar man off materiangle, one can find ero yet ord briefly, yet out

 $\mathbf{T}$  WO oil pipelines are being laid simul-taneously across the same confinent: Europe. One is known as the Friend-ship line which will constitute the main oil artery between the socia-list countries. This line is almost ready. The second line is called the South-European line linking up the French Mediterranean port of Marseilles with the West German industrial centre of Karlsruhe. This is a Common Market pipeline. The fact that the Friendship line is six times longer than the Common Market line is American partnership. Head is mine and tail you lose. \*

CAN a non-million-President of the United States if the expenses on the electoral campaign remained the same, asked PARADE magazine of the USA to the Senators in one of its recent issues. Only a few Senators replied and almost everybody held that such a proposition was almost impossible. For exam-ple, GEORGE SMATHERS (Horida) said: "Possible, tho-ugh difficult." JACK MILLER (lowa) considered that theoreti-olar a page sublicative could

ugh difficult." JACK MILLER, (lowa) considered that theoreti-cally a non-millionaire could be elected to the post of US Fresident, but it would be very useful if his wife had a million. Some other Senators, who wished to remain anony mous, answered in the follow-ing way; Hardly probable, at least in the near future.

millionaires. They have already started spending from their coffers in a bid of ascendency.

to the presidential finance. The greedon of elections in the USA, thus appears to be strictly proportional to the amount of dollar Spent, sub-amount of dollar Spent, sub-substern powers where the pro-

# JANUARY 5. 1664

# **Henry Winston Analyses** to the second of betting the second

Fifty-two year old HENRY WINSTON, outstanding Negro leader and Deputy Chairman of the Communist Farty of USA was born in Mississippi. The young negro agitator became a member of the executive of the Communist Youth International. US imperialists sentenced him for five years imprisonment. In prison he was tortured and underfed. Due to excessive forture and indinatrition, he lost his eye sight and became a blind man in fail.

Owing to the pressure of international protest he was released of whiston attended the 22nd Congress of the CPSU.

He was undergoing medical treatment in Soviet Union. A young ite girl saw blind Winston and wrote to him a letter offering a her own eye. But he refused and told her she needed that eye

him her own eye. Due in organization of the see light and distinguish for herself. Today he is much better. He can see light and distinguish colours. Recently he was a guest of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany in Berlin, where NEW AGE corres pondent P. K. KUNHANANDAN NAIR interviewed the American Communist leader. The questions put by Nair and Winston's answers are given below.

Public opinion all over the world has condemined the dark forces behind President Ken. tional integrity of Korea. other nationalities, facilitated the movement for democracy and na-tional integrity of Korea. The next twelve years witness-ed the growth of the system of socialism, the national indepen-dence movement, the democratic, anti-monopoly, peace movement in all countries, which shifted the belowce of forces shurthy in dark forces behind President Kein nedy's assassination. In the opi-nion of the Communist Party of the USA, could you define which are these forces and why they resorted to such a dastardly

-20

resorted to such a dastardly crime? The assassination of the US-President was an act of heinous bestiality and the res-ponsibility for this crime rests at the doorsteps of the ultra-Rights, the fascist groupings within the country, terrorist bands and racist organizations such as the White Citizen Councils and the KurKlux-Klan. These are the most re-actionary, the most aggressive elements of the US imperialism. These are the forces who wished to Bring fascism to the country and threaten the world with thermonuclear war.

and threaten the world with thermonuclear war. This was an attempt to turn the wheels of history backward by changing the course of foreign policy leading in the direction of easing international tension and checking a progressive tide with in the country which was deter-mined to bring about progressive legislation to the end of meeting the very grave and growing prob-lems of unemployment on the legislation to the end of meeting the very grave and growing prob-lems of unemployment on the one hand, and the achievement of effective civil rights legislation, which could result in a major advance by the Negro people in their fight to attain equal citizen-ship, on the other.

their fight to dram equal times ship, on the other. Q Latest reports from Washin: gon indicate there are FBI efforts to portray the whole crime as a one-man show. Why such efforts are being made? A The effort by reaction in A the United States to make it appear as a one-man show is consciously designed to conceal from the public the bloody hands of the real culprits. The good sense of the American people reject outright such a view and they are insistently demanding that the real criminals be found and brought to the bar of justice. In a recent poll in the US the question, was asked: Do you think that Oswald acted alone? Hity-two per cent of the Ameri-cin people said "no", 20 per cent said "yes" and 19 per cent were undecided.

I solidarize myself with the majority of the pinion of the

American people. Président Kennedy was no doubt a broadminided per-son. How do you assess his poli-cies, how do you contrast him with his predecessors, President Truman and Elsenhöwer? How do you contrast the Korean war and Caribbean crisis in terms of US

policies? A I, think that the policy of brickmanship led to the Korean, war. The cease-fire was a result of negotiation. If negotia-tion had been applied before hostilities began, it could have saved the lives of many splendid sons of the US, Korea, China and

 Henry Winston (left) seems to be sharing a joke with NEW AGE correspondence of his measures which are not of benefit to the pople.
 Kennedy was the first president in 100 years to introduce civil and former slaveowners, which rest in the use for action to meet the demands for full equality for the demands for full equality for the regrosed bill covers equalities to the proposed bill covers equalities to the proposed bill covers equalities are as a employment, wolfing, transportation and other spheres.
 The proposed bill covers equalities the interval of the present of social life. This bill is but a formation and other spheres.
 This is the meaning of racism, of economic, political and willLY MOORE of Alabama.
 The communist Party support. of these two parties are not identical. For example, the Democratic Party finds supporting it practi-cally the entire labour movement, sections of the poor and middle-farmers, the Negro people, small bistnessmen, middle-class, profes-sionals and even sections of the bourgeoise who for one or and other reason oppose the aggres-sive policies of US imperialism and espouse a policy of peaceful regotiations. The struggle for greater inde-pendence and higher conscious ness of the biologrand peoples movement must take this situat tion: into account. Termust infold



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# Paramount necessity for the formation of health

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

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

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Y. a. W. 49% 1

NEW AGE

# POLITICAL SCENE IN USA

Party of the OSA, while any supporting this measure, presses at the same time for stronger and stronger measures. What is evident to all progres-

What is evident to all progres-sive and democratic Americans is that implicit in this development is an approaching situation, which includes among other things the great possibility of electing to public office of Negro mayors, governors and to the Congress of the United States.

Congress of the United States. If, say, the right to vote is won, then Negroes could be elected to the Senate of the United States, replacing such Diviscorats as Eastland, Talmage, Thurmon, McLellan and others. Such a contribution will be immense for the domestic and foreign policy of our country

anti-monopoly, peace movement in all countries, which shifted the domestic and foreign policy of our country.
Shalance of forces sharply in favour of peace.
Thus, the Leninist policy of the time of the Caribbean crisis resulted in the fact that not a single bilding, not a single factory was destroyed and independence of Cuba saved, and independence of Cuba assession.
Q In the new situation in the USA what are the prospectis for intensifying Negro struggles for freedom?
A It is a very interesting question, for it calls to mind the assassination of President in the assassination of the saved interest and independence of

ed the appeal of the President to the nation, calling for support which could help enact this legis tation against the opposition of the reactionary Republican-Dixie crat alliance Even the big advance is far from being adequate and that is why the Communist Party of the USA, while fully masses in the same old way and that is may the communist Party of the USA, while fully masses in the supremacists designed to buttress their weakening position. More than that, the Negro Burbons in general and the its policies and tactics in a way Dixiecrats in particular cannot which can unite the broadest continue to oppress the Negro masses in the same old way and consequently you have the most directed against extreme reaction desperate form of attack from the in the country, while critically White supremacists designed to buttress their weakening position. More than that, the Negro people fight today under condi-tions where there is a growping And at the same time, support White supremaning position. buttress their weakening position. More than that, the Negro people fight today under condi-tions where there is a growing consciousness in the labour move-ment that democracy for the en-tive people is impossible when if Nerro people. people fight today under condi-tions where there is a growing consciousness in the labour move-ment that democracy for the en-tite people is impossible when it is denied to the Negro people They also understand that the fight for full equality for the facism. Thus the Negro people see new and determined allies supporting their cause for full equality. In addition, the support being, rendered to it from the demo-cratic and anti-monopolist movies made in the struggle for national independence and the magnificent strides being made in the building of socialism and communism are all factors of great importance, having a specific meaning for the struggle for equality by the Negro people. As a Marxist, how do you the correlation of solving international problems through peaceful nego-tiant and an approach which carried with it the sugges-tion of solving international problems through peaceful nego-tions. These are encouraing tand the carried to the correlation of the struggle for equality by the Negro



Henry Winston (left) seems to be sharing a joke with NEW AGE correspondent Kunhanandan Nair.

aggressive circles of US imperial-ism. Nevertheless the social base of these two parties are not identical.

And at the same time, support

spublic works to help meet the growing problem of the unit, employed. The fact which has great significance for us was that mass struggles could win concessions.
 Q In the new situation in the USA, what are the prospects intensifying Negro struggles for freedom?
 A is a very interesting question, for it calls to mind the assassination of President

the continuation of such in policy.

**Q** Is there any connection tween Kennedy's mur and the next presidential election in the USA.

A I think that a basic con-**A** I think that a basic con-sideration by reaction in this assassination was to remove from the scene the outstanding politician pressing for a more realistic policy at home and abroad, to stampede the American people in the wake of these events and facilitate the victory of reaction during the 1064 elecpeople in the wake of these events and facilitate the victory of reaction during the 1964 elec-tion. If they succeed this would mean the reappearance of brink-manship in policy and new dan-gers of thermonuclear war would confront the peoples of the world.

The election campaign has already begun in the United States and is fighting out these broad issues. The struggles will be hard and difficult, but it is my judgment that the inner strength be hard and difficult, but it is my judgment that the inner strength of labour, Negro people and all democratic anti-monopoly forces within the country will be equal to the task of upholding demo-cracy, peace, peaceful coexistence and the right of peoples fighting for national freedom from im-perialist oppression.

perialist oppression. The American Communist leader enquired about the strug-gles of the Indian communists. He congratulated the CPI leadership for the great success the working class movement has gained in India, especially on the Great Petition and March campaign.

Henry Winston said: Please New Year good wishes to the convey my fratemal greetings. New Year good wishes to the leaders and members of the Communist Party of India Wei Anow you are struggling ander extremely, difficult conditions, US Communists send, you greet inos too: wish you greet ings too; wish you greater successes in the struggles in the new year. out dity ha

# **REGD. NO. D597**

# **OPPOSITION HITS OUT AT GOVT. ON FOOD ISSUE** From the Day Grants

## \* From Ajoy Das Gupta

CALCUTTA: A short session of the West Bengal Legislature began on December 27. The session was expected to be lively, if not stormy, and the first two days themselves showed the expectations to be true,

tion, JYOTI BASU, leader of the opposition, and other Communist MLAs were present in the Assembly on the opening day itself. BENOY CHOWDHURY also attended the session after a lapse of 20 months, having been elec-ted in the Burdwan byelec-

The reason for expectations of a lively session was not entirely due to the presence. of the large number of Communist MLAs. The session had been called specifically to dis-cuss the food policy of the

# **U.P. CAMPAIGN** ON D.A. AND BONUS

🛧 From Ramesh Sinha

LUCKNOW: The decisions of the Bombay conference of trade unions to launch a national campaign on DA, bonus and nationalisation has been hailed by all sections of the toiling and patriotic people of Uttar Pradesh.

HE secretariat of the UP council of the Communist Party has directed, through a reso-lution, all Party committees and members, and sympathisers to exert their utmost to make the national campaion surcessful. campaign successful

Detailed programme to take the the organising committee of the message of the Bombay confer-ence to factories, offices, mohallas, in the Mazdoor Sabha hall at villages and fields has been drawn Kanpur under the chairmanship will be held on January 12 or 13 according to local convenience.

à

secretary of the ICC Employees Union. SHIV VERMA reported on the Bombay conference decisions. The programme drawn up by the Party state council secretariat for regional preparatory meetings for the national campaign include regional preparatory meetings at Moradabad (January 10), Lucknow regional preparatory meetings at Moradabad (January 10), Lucknow (January 5), Jhansi (January 5), eople of the industrial metropolis Agra (January 6), and Gorakhpur of UP for the coming struegle. The Toilers' Demands Day will be

These meetings will be attended by representatives of all neigh-bouring districts. Members of the bothing until scretariat have been deputed to go and attend these meetings. The scretary of the state council, KAII SHANKAR SHUKLA, will also attend many

Delegates who have returned from Bombay are going round to report on the conference decisions. In several districts like Kanpur, Aligarh, Lucknow and Varanasi, reporting has been completed and programme of local, mohalla, village and factory meetings launched.

On December 22, 102 represen-tatives of eleven local trade unions met in the office of the As the campaign for enhanced dearness allowance, minimum unions met in the office of the TUC at Aligarh under the chair-manship of BHOJRAJ to discuss, the campaign leading upto the big demonstration on January 12. DEVDUTT BHARADWAJ report-ed on the Bombay decisions at this meeting. big demonstration on January 12: DEVDUIT BHARADWAJ reported on the Bombay decisions at this meeting. The united action committee of trade unions in Aligarh is going ahead with the work of mobili-

of the government's repressive policies. On the second day, there was still one more FTER more than a year 'sembly, RSP leader NIKHIL. of absence due to deten- DAS tabled an adjournment walk out in protest against police excesses in Purulia during the food movement motion on the release of detenus. He was supported by the Communist bloc. davs.

> The deputy speaker, however, ruled out the motion after the Chief Minister made a statement claiming that the detenus' cases were being looked into. Follow-ing this, the Communist, RSP and RCPI MLAs walked out of the Assembly in

### Walkouts

This was not the only op-position walkout which the On the first day of the As- Assembly saw in the first two

On December 25, a meeting of

Kanpur under the chairmanshi of S. S. SRIVASTAVA, gener

The committee decided to observe a fortnight; beginning January 1, to popularise the deci-sion of the Bombay conference

erved in the city on a gran

The Kanpur workers have further decided to hold a dear

ness allowance and bonus con ference on January 18 and 19. The organising committee of trade unions has decided to

enrol every worker and emplo-yee in the city as a delegate to this conference, and several

thousands as reception com-mittee members.

The committee also decided

invite S. A. DANGE, V. K. KRI-SHNA MENON. ARUNA ASAF ALI and PRABHAT KAR MP to

address the confer

scale on January 12.

parliamentary or not. Con-trasting to this was the ruling given by the chairman of the Legislative Council holding that MLAs could not be called 'deshadrohi' only because they were detained

against a minister and some other Congress MLAs who had taken advantage of the Communist MLAs' absence to call them "trai-

tors". Basu termed this as a

He also criticised the speak-er for his quibbling with the

word 'drohi' while giving his ruling on a motion whether the word 'deshadrohi' was

cowardly act".

بالمريكة متع

point so that afterwards it would not be said that the days. Later on, on the open-ing day itself the MLAs be-longing to the Forward Bloc and PSP and some indepen-dents walked out in protest matter was not raised at the first opportunity and he might not be heard on that count

# Food Figures

Contrary to expectations the policy statement on food did not come on the first day, instead Chief Minister P. C. The second day of the ses-sion saw Jyoti Basu mount-ing a vehement attack against a minister and SEN made a statement on the "availability of food" during the last 17 years. How much rice was produced in West Bengal, how much was re-ceived from outside, the intake of wheat, dal, mustard oil, gur and other edibles, how much of these were produced in the state, how much came from outside—all these were recapitulated.

The treasury benches could lion tonnes, to be supplement-be seen wilting under Jyoti ed by 0.4 million tonnes of is now scheduled to take Basu's attack. The deputy 'aus' crop and outside supply place on January 2 and 3.

the state will have 6.4 mil-lion tonnes of cereals this year, which comes to more than 14 oz. daily per person. This was more than the average of 13 oz. per man per day for the last 17 years, Sen claimed. He said he would formulate the food policy only after hearing both sides of the House.

The reaction of opposition members to this was sharp. They charged that the Chief Minister was trying to avoid a discussion on the food po-licy. Jyoti Basu said that the government's gesture in for-mulating the policy in con-sultation with the opposition was good, but for the opposi-tion to effectively participate in formulating the policy, the envernment has at least to government has at least to From all the statistics the Chief Minister came to the conclusion that West Bengal had to depend on outside supply for every item of food.

The Chief Minister Then he gave an estimate held out an assurance that of this year's position. Ac-cording to him, this year's of opposition parties before 'aman' crop will be 4.8 mil-taking a final decision on the

- Whispering allery -**MAN-EATERS' BEST FRIEND-III** 

KRISHNAMACHARI is KRISHNAMACHARI is Indian representative at the the man to be watched. Common Market headquarters. His role in the delibera-tions of the Congress Working Committee on "Democracy and Social-ism" once again proves "" contention that he is" "" contention that he is" "" the Working Committee of bank na-tionalisation and like mea sures:" These two ICS chappies were pressed into service to frighten the white caps in the Working Committee by painting before them the dire consequences of bank na-tionalisation and like mea

Minister

And they did it so well and maneaters today in the And they did it so well and effectively that the Working Indian Cabinet. Committee members were It was he who vetoed the already shivering in their reference to bank nationalisa. dhoties before the financial tion which was originally in wizard appeared on the scene cluded in the draft done by a The wizard insisted on a low committee headed by the Prime priority to bank nationalisa.

Minister.
Minister.
Minister.
Minister.
Minister.
Minister.
There was a passage in the original draft which tead: "The State Bank and life Insurance have been nationalised. This area should be extended."
This passage registered an advance from the Jaipur resolution. And it was put in there in spite of the opposition from people like SADOBA PATIL, ATULYA GHOSH and MORARI DESAL
MORARI DESAL
And after that comes along a man who is an outsider to the Working Committee and this might body surrenders to him and allows him to exercise his veto.
He has cast his veto in the mame of Uncle Sam and the mame of Uncle Sam and the mame of very foreign investor, in the amame of every foreign investor, in the amame of every foreign investor, in the amame of every foreign investor.
Momma type of the opposition for the opposition for people like SADOBA was also sitting pretty. I amame of Uncle Sam and the mame of uncle Sam and the mame of very foreign investor, in the amame of every foreign investor, in the amame of every foreign investor, in the amame of every foreign investor.
Momma type of the opposition for the mame of the mame of the mame of the mame of the sam and the mame of every foreign investor, in the amame of every foreign investor.
Mertin the is no bahadur.
Mertin the is no bahadur.
Mandras the the is no bahadur.
Mandras the the is no bahadur. NEHRU was in a state of

OR the last two weeks, INSIDER has been saying that THIRU-VALLUR THATTAI KRISHNAMACHARI is ordinary Congressmen.

perfume, silk and astrology, was slated. The Information & Broadrevive the Express edition Madras which he closed sor

31. CC.

# **JANUARY 5, 1964** NEW AGE SUPPLEMENT N. S. KHRUSHCHOV ON THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT IN THE PRESENT PERIOD

### Replies to Questions of Editors of Ghanaian Times (Ghana), Alger Republicain, Peuple (Algeria), and Botataung (Burma).

Question. How do you appraise the results of the national liberation struggle of the peoples against imperialism? Answer. The oppressed peoples have performed a great exploit, they have smashed the colonial system of imperialism. This is the main result of the national liberation movement. Empires that took the colonialists centuries to build up have been destroyed in less than two decades. Until quite recently it seemed to some people that than two decades. Until quite recently if seemed to some people that these empires were unassailable bastions. One remembers Churchill's arrogant words during the Second World War when he said he had not become the King's First Minister to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire. Today there is nothing left of that empire but, as the saying goes, odds and ends. The abolition of the colonial regimes is now entering its final phase. Over fifty countries have achieved state independence and national statehood. This is a truly historic achievement of the masses who fourth coursequery and selfbesty

national statehood. This is a truly historic achievement of the masses who have fought courageously and selflessly. It would be a gross mistake to underestimate the significance of this victory, to deny that the system of colonial slavery has collapsed and to assert that the winning of political independence is a mere formality. Such assertions would be an insult to the fighters for liberty and would be tantamount to saying that the peoples fighting . against colonialism have, in fact, achieved nothing. The winning of political independence by the peoples is a mere against colonialism have, in fact, achieved forming. The winning of political independence by the peoples is a great revolutionary act of world significance. Imperialism has been deprived of the direct rule of extensive areas of our planet and of hundreds

of the direct rule of extensive areas of our planet and or numerous and hundreds of millions of people. A huge obstacle in the way of the enslaved peoples to freedom and social progress has been broken. A whole period of the heroic battles of these peoples closes down, and a new stage in their libera-tion struggles-sets in. If earlier these peoples strived to abolish colo-nial regimes, to drive away colonial troops and governors, but today they are pulling out the roots of colonialism, the ecnomic and politi-ul regimes for the memorables they are struggling for independent

they are pulling out the roots of colonialism, the ecnomic and politi-cal positions of the monopolies, they are struggling for independent, democratic development and social progress. The achievement of state independence, of course, does not mean complete liberation. The imperialists are attempting wherever they can, to turn the sovereignty of the young national states into a fiction. But today the peoples are capable of thwarting the plans of the im-perialists, of completely casting off the chains of imperialist oppres-sion and exploitation and of using the political independence that has been won as a powerful lever in the struggle for economic libe-ration, for deliverance from the chains and fetters of imperialism. To ensure the full independence of the young national states it is essential that their anti-imperialist strugel should not weaken but

essential that their anti-imperialist struggle should not weaken but should develop, that their solidarity with world revolutionary forces should be strengthened. The events in the Congo, Algeria and other countries have shown that the peoples of the former colonies are by no means guaranteed against the intrigues of imperialism. Many of the countries that have won political independence are

pursuing an independent, anti-imperialist policy. Can one close one's eyes to the fact that in many of the newly-free countries a national renascence is taking place, the basis of a national economy is being built and culture developing? How can one not see that in the course of the struggle for independence, the masses have been through tremendous political schooling, that their national, anti-imperialist consciousness has become stronger and they possess greater determination to follow the path of democracy and social progress? One should see how conditions have changed in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America under the present world alignment of forces. It is possible for any country, relying on the support of the socialist countries, on the world working class movement and on all freedom loving peoples, to stand up successfully to the onslaught of the imperialise, strengthen its independence, and determine its

TANTIARY 5. 1964

own fate in its own way. Ouestion. What in your opinion were the circumstances that

own fate in its own way. Question. What in your opinion were the circumstances that determined the collapse of colonialism? Answer. In the first place I should like to emphasise again that the collapse of the colonial system is the result of the heroic struggle of the oppressed peoples themselves. The imperialists are spreading the myth that they, of their own free will, granted the enslaved countries independence out of sheer philanthropy. That is deception. The colonialists did not leave one single country of their own free will. Political independence has been won by struggle, and by struggle alone.

by struggle alone. The forces of world socialism had a decisive influence on the struggle of the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries for their independence. The Great October Socialist Revolution undertheir independence. The Great October Socialist Revolution under-mined the world supremacy of imperialism, and the real possibility of driving out the colonialists opened up before the peoples. The vic-torv of the Soviet Union in the Great Patriotic War against the Hitler coalition, the rout of the striking force of world imperialist reaction, and the general upsurge of the world revolutionary libera-tion movement that began as a result of that victory, created favour-

able conditions for revolution in China and a number of other Asian countries, and for the successful struggle of the peoples for the aboli-tion of the colonial regime.

tion of the colonial regime. The formation of the world system of socialist states brought about a radical change in the balance of forces in the world that was to the disadvantage of imperialism. This, to a very great extent, accele-rated the development of the national liberation movement. The flames of the national liberation revolution swept over South-East Asia, the Middle East, Africa and Latin America. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries gave real support to the fighting peoples and the young national states

and the young national states. This is the lesson taught by the Suez crisis, the failure of a number of imperialist intrigues in the Middle East and the experience of heroic Cuba. The struggle of the oppressed peoples had the active support of the proletariat of the developed capitalist countries. The support of the protection of the day merged into a single stream-victorious socialism, the national liberation movement and the revolutionary struggle of the proletarians of the capitalist countries. This ensured the success of the peoples in their storming of the bastions

of colonialism. Question. How do you appraise the struggle for the aboli-

tion of the last colonial regimes? Answer. I do not think the victory of the oppressed peoples is far off, it is near at hand. Freedom fighters are smashing the last is far off, it is near at hand. Freedom fighters are smashing the-last colonial regimes. In 1960 there were still 100 million people bearing the yoke of colonialism, but today, as a result of the valiant struggle of the peoples, more than half of them have liberated themselves. The conscience of mankind cannot, however, remain untroubled as long as the peoples of Angola, "Portuguese" Guinea, Mozambique, Southern Rhodesia, South Africa and other countries are being sub-jected to humiliation and terror by foreign enslavers and racists. Recole who held foredom dear council themselves to the People who hold freedom dear cannot reconcile themselves to the continued occupation of South Korea and Taiwan by the US imperialists, or their war against the patriots of South Vietnam. The speedy abolition of the colonial system has become the cause

of all the world's progressive forces. All people must be free, there should be no place for colonialism on earth. We believe the situation to be absolutely impermissible in which the Portuguese colonialists, to be absolutely impermissione in which the Fortuguese cuontants, the South African racists and the British and American imperialists, with the support of their NATO allies, still hold more than 50 million people in the fetters of slavery. You will remember that the United Nations Organisation adopted,

on the proposal of the Soviet Union, a Declaration on the independ-ence of colonial peoples and countries. The colonialists and racists were denounced before all mankind. It must not be forgotten that the Declaration gives, as it were, moral support to the peoples still remaining in colonial bondage. These peoples can achieve liberation only by a stubborn struggle, by their own hands. The socialist states and the countries that have already achieved liberation deem it their duty to assist that struggle in every way, morally and materially.

Every nation that has fought against the colonialists has experi-enced the firm support of the Soviet Union and other socialist states. Today we again declare for all to hear that the peoples struggling for their liberation can definitely count on the same support in the future. The time of colonial regimes has passed and there is no power that can save them.

power that can save them. Question. What, in your opinion, is the main content of the national liberation struggle under present day conditions? Answer. Each people determines the content and forms of struggle according to conditions obtaining. The conditions in the various countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America are not identical. I have just spoken about peoples who are fighting for their libera-tion, for their state independence. Obviously this is the main content of their patient liberation struggle at the present day. In another of their national liberation struggle at the present day. In another group of countries, state independence is a screen for the rule of extreme reactionary, tyrannic, puppet regimes that rely on the sup-port of the imperialists. It must be said that here the rule of the colonialists is being retained, although in a somewhat veiled form. The peoples of such countries regard the overthrow of these hated

regimes to be their most urgent task. Most of the peoples, however, have already won political independence and naturally, other tasks confront them today. Their struggle against colonialism, against imperialism, has acquired other forms and a different direction. Lenin taught us that national liberaforms and a different direction. Lenin taught us that national libera-tion cannot be complete unless economic independence is achieved. The struggle for economic independence and social progress has now actually become the central problem for the vast majority of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The peoples of the newly free countries are seeking a way out of poverty and hunger, they want to live lives fit for human beings. Is it normal that between ten and twenty times fewer manufactured goods are produced ner head of porulation in these countries than

goods are produced per head of population in these countries than in the economically developed countries, that 25 to 30 times less steel and 50 to 100 times less electric power are produced? In this age of the flourishing of science and technology there must not be peoples on earth who live under mediaeval conditions; it is time to put an end to the division of countries into developed and underdeveloped. All peoples have made their contribution to the development of

world civilisation, all peoples are worthy to enjoy all the benefits of modern culture, science and technology. And so, deliverance from backwardness and poverty, the creation

of an independent economy that is capable of ensuring progress, the strengthening of political independence, the development of demo cracy-such, in my opinion, are the chief problems confronting the national states. But to do all this, it is first necessary to put an end to the economic supremacy of the imperialists. The foreign monopolies that exploit the wealth of the less developed countries constitute the chief obstacle on the peoples path to progress. Unless economic independence is achieved, unless the people are delivered from imperialist plundering, it will be impossible to raise their living standards and ensure their well-being.

What is meant by winning economic independence? It means liberation from the domination of foreign capital, the abolition of the colonial structure of the economy, the creation of an independent, sound and viable, ramified economy that is not based exclusively on the export of raw materials. The successful fulfilment of the task to a considerable extent depend on the speed with which feudal and semi-feudal survivals are abolished and the peasantry, the majority of the population, are freed from usurious bondage to landlords, and The experience gained by the liberated countries has already shown from plu

that a state sector, if, of course, it is created for the purpose of fighting against imperialist monopolies, is of great importance in effecting the liberation from foreign bondage and developing a national eco-nomy. A state sector of this kind facilitates the concentration of funds in the national interests, prevents their fragmentation and accelerates economic development.

The nationalisation of the property of foreign monopolies, the development of industry, the creation and consolidation of the state sector, agrarian reforms in the interests of the peasantry-these are the measures prompted by reality. The masses are interested in the fulfilment of this general democratic programme, and the national bourgeoisie, provided it is not mixed up with foreign monopolies, may participate in its fulfilment. However, the fulfilment of the programme-it is important to stress this-is impossible without interna social reforms and unless there are anti-imperialist, revolutionary

forces in power. The winning of economic independence is a complicated process. It demands revolutionary enthusiasm and the competent administration of the country and the economy.

tion of the country and the economy. We are glad to see that the peoples whom the colonialists disdained and considered incapable of ruling the state, are producing from their midst many talented administrators and economic executives. We know very well from our own experience that if the people are free their strength and energy are inexhaustible. The people are

capable of overcoming all obstacles. The imperialists and their yesmen will not be able to suppress the efforts of the people to achieve economic emancipation. It is as inevitable as the political emancipation of the peoples.

Every nation makes its own specific contribution to the solution of the problem of national renascence. But no matter how the concrete forms and methods of this process may differ, it is clear that the nations can achieve their aim only by struggle against imperialism and internal reaction, only by democratic development and social progre

What line of further development do you think Question. the peoples will choose?

The choice of a path of development is a matter for Answer. the peoples themselves. I am personally convinced that the peoples, some sooner, others later, will speak in favour of socialism. The masses have every ground to expect the liberation struggle to bring them a better life. The peasants want to work freely on their land, freed from feudals and foreign planters. The workers, who want higher wages and radical changes in their living conditions, are in the front ranks of those fighting for a non-capitalist path of develop ment and for social progress for their countries. The intellectuals want to pass on their knowledge to the people, develop the national culture and be relieved of the need to hawk their talents. All the working people want to enjoy political rights without hindrance, they want to participate actively in shaping state policy, and fight for a free and happy life.

National renascence will be real when its fruits are made available to the whole people. The peoples, however, know from their own experience that capitalism brings them new privations, new sufferings and denigration. They did not rise against the colonialists, and thousands of patriots did not give their lives so that local exploiters could sit on the backs of the working people instead of the foreigners. Experience gained in carrying out the general democratic pro-

gramme shows more and more clearly that capitalism cannot the people in the struggle for national renascence and social progress, cannot serve the peoples as an ideal. It is true that advocates of the "western way of life" try to deceive them by painting capital-ism in bright colours. But which of the peoples of the liberated countries has not experienced such "joys" of capitalism as colonial sla-very, monstrous exploitation and poverty. At the same time they have before them the example of the peoples of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. This example increases the magnetic power of the ideas of socialism a hundred-fold. That is apparently the reason why even those statesmen of the young national states who champion "western" development and are actually implanting capitalism, do not risk putting forward a capitalist programme openly. They adjust themselves to the temper of the masses and also talk about socialism although they fear social reforms like fire.

As far as revolutionary-democratic statesmen are concerned, they sincerely advocate non-capitalist methods for the solution of national problems, and declare their determination to build socialism. We welcome their declarations. We are glad that the people have pro-duced leaders who have been through the stern school of struggle against colonialism and who have the interests of the masses at heart, who know their needs and understand that socialism brings genuine

national renascence. We fully support the measures they have taken, which are in accordance with the aspirations of the people and are directed against the foreign monopolies and against feudal and capitalist institutions.

The revolutionary democratic leaders of a number of liberated countries are seeking methods and forms for the transition to a noncapitalist path of development. In the opinion of Marxists-Leninists a suitable form for this transition would be the state of national democracy. It would rely on a united anti-imperialist front of all social forces prepared to fight for independent democratic development. It would open up broad possibilities for drawing the masses into political life, into rebuilding the nation on democratic lines. It stands to reason that this does not preclude other forms of develop-ment along the path of national liberation and social progress.

Life itself will introduce much that is new, both in the forms of transition to socialism and in the rate of social change. In any case, there is no doubt that life demands progress, and all progress leads towards socialism. Socialism, however, cannot be introduced by decrees, stages of democratic development cannot be skipped and measures cannot be effected for which the necessary social and economic conditions have not been created and which do not have the support of the masses. The consummation of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, democratic revolution will provide the best possible conditions for the transition to socialism. In many countries the main thing today is to develop this revolution, to draw broad masses of the people into creative revolutionary activity, in the course of which they will go directly forward to the new goal, to socialist reforms. In this way, while the general democratic tasks are still being carried out tasks that in themselves are not socialist in character, the prerequisites for the transition to socialism are created.

There is another thing that is not open to doubt. Socialism cannot be built on positions of anti-communism, by opposing the countries in which socialism is victorious by persecuting Communists, valiant fighters for the national liberation of their countries from the imperialist yoke, ardent patriots and fighters for the new social system, for social progress.

Question. Where, in your opinion, lies the danger of the new forms and methods of the colonial policy of imperialism?

Answer. The abolition of the colonial regimes does not mean abolition of colonialism. In the majority of the liberated countries the imperialist monopolies retain dominant position in the economy and by the brutal exploitation of the orking people extract gigantic profits-according to the economists it is something like 5,000 million dollars a year. The imperialist powers are also continuing to fleece the economically backward countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America by means of nonequivalent exchange. By selling them manufactured goods at treble the normal prices and buying up mineral and agricultural raw materials cheaply, the monopolies "earn" tremendous sums—a further 14,000-16,000 million dollars a year. The im-perialists have also retained considerable political influence in many of their former possessions. They do not and cannot reconcile themselves to the prospect of the complete abolition of colonialism. The wise Arab proverb may well be applied to them "Don't expect peace from an old enemy". The time of the Macmahons and Kitcheners, the leaders of

colonial pacification and punitive expeditions, has gone for ever. The imperialists now use, in the main, other ways and means which, taken together, form the concept "neocolonialism." First and foremost they try to retain and even strengthen their con-trol over the economic development of the liberated countries. They want these countries to develop on capitalist lines which would actually close the way to national rebirth. They are try-ing to integrate them inextricably into world capitalist economy and thus keep them in the position of exploited nations, in the position of agrarian and raw material appendages of the indus-trial powers. Imperialist monopolies are increasing their penetration of those countries, entangling them in a mesh of partnerships-needless to say unequal-and are subordinating local capital to themselves. They do everything possible to prevent the creation of a state sector that could be an effective instrument of independent democratic development.

The imperialists are making persistent efforts to get their puppets in power, to embroil the liberated countries in aggresblocs, such as SEATO and CENTO, and in reactionary regional alliances such as the OAS, and to maintain military bases on their territory. They spare no efforts to break the soli darity of the anti-imperialist forces and split the united front of the patriots. They provoke squabbles between liberated countries, strife between tribes and nations, rivalry between political leaders, etc.

The neocolonialists conceal their campaign against the free-dom of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America behind the black flag of anti-Communism, allegedly protecting them from the influence of the Soviet Union.

They wave that flag and try to isolate the most militant forces of the national liberation movement, split the ranks of the patriots and draw the attention of the people away from the real enemy. By an appeal for "class solidarity" the imperialists attempt to recruit allies for themselves, to unite under their leadership all the propertied classes and groups in the newly free countries.

US imperialism is today the main bulwark of modern colonialism. It is effecting colonial expansion in Latin America, Asia and Africa, and is squeezing out the former colonial masters. In the USA itself racists carry out the disgraceful practices of racial discrimination and deal savagely with the Negro masses who have risen in a just struggle for freedom and elementary human rights. The colonial expansion by the imperialists of other countries, especially the West-German and Japanese monopolies also constitutes a serious threat to the liberated countries. The same trusts that fed the brown plague of Hitlerism are now trying to get their hands on the wealth of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The danger of the new forms and methods of colonialism is

mainly in their veiled character. Formerly it was easier to re-cognise the enemy. He acted openly in the person of the insolent colonial civil servant, the overseer with a whip or the foreign soldier with a bayonet. Today he wears the garb of an expert on questions of "aid," a respectable business man, an conomic or military adviser, a young fellow from the "Peace Corps," or an emissary from the World Currency Bank. That of course, complicates the struggle against neocolonialism. The imperialists are sadly mistaken, however, if they think they can manage to fool the people. The anti-imperialist struggle has led to the tremendous growth in the political conscious ness of the masses, has increased their alertness to the intrigues of the colonialists, has strengthened their determination to follow the path of national independence and social progress. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and other Marxist-Leninist Parties are persistently exposing the policy of the im-perialists, are helping the peoples recognise the foul methods of neo-colonialism, and are taking vigorous action against imperialist intervention in the affairs of any people that has arisen in struggle for its emancipation and against the imperialist ex-

port of counter-revolution. Question. Is there not a contradiction between the policy of peaceful co-existence and the national liberation struggle? Answer, I think that history has already provided a convincing answer to this question in the experience of the national liberation movement itself. It is a fact that the peoples have achieved the greatest successes in the struggle for political in dependence in the post-war period, a period that has, on the whole, been marked by the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems. It was then that the world colonial system collapsed, and imperialism, held back by the might of the community of socialist states, proved unable to hurl its main military forces against the peoples who had arisen in the struggle for their liberation.

In this connection I could quote Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, an outstanding fighter against imperialism, who said that if it had not been for the Soviet Union the movement for emancipation from the colonial yoke in Africa would have experienced the full force of cruel and brutal suppression.

Over 50 national states have appeared on the political map of the world under conditions of peaceful coexistence. The flames of a victorious national liberation struggle leaped to the Western Hemisphere and the glorious Cuban revolution triumphed.

There is nothing unexpected in this from the Marxist point of view, it is fully in accordance with objective laws. The principle of peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems, if it is understood in the Leninist way, does not mean a reconciliation with imperialism, damping down the revolu-tionary struggle and curtailing the national liberation movement. This principle concerns relations between states with different social and political systems. It envisages the existence of those countries without wars, without any intervention in internal affairs, and the maintenance and development of normal diplomatic, economic and other relations between states. It goes without saying that it does not by any means imply that struggle between states with different social systems ceases under the conditions of peaceful coexistence. On the contrary, peaceful coexistence presupposes an economic struggle or com-petition, to use the language of capitalists, in the form of economic emulation and also political and ideological struggle. It presupposes rigorous action on the part of the socialist countries and of all the forces of peace and progress against the aggressive and colonialist intrigues of imperialism. But, I repeat, that is a struggle that must develop in peaceful conditions, without any interference in the internal affairs of the coexisting countries. The national liberation struggle and the class struggle against capital are different. These are internal questions for every nation. There are, of course, people-bourgeois politicians and even some who call themselves socialists-who would like to extend peaceful coexistence to this field as well. These people try to weaken the liberation struggle of the peoples against the imperialists and colonialists and also the class struggle of the working people against capitalism. But we Marxists-Leninists know that as long as oppression and exploitation exist in society the struggle against them will not cease. We know that as long as there is national and colonial slavery, the national libera-tion struggle will continue. We give that struggle our full support. No Marxist-Leninist has ever regarded péaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems as meaning the preservation of the status quo, as a sort of armistice with imperialism, as a "guarantee of protection" against the with inperialism, as a guarance of protection against the revolutionary processes of national and social emancipation. No one applies this principle to relations between imperialism and the oppressed peoples, since the principle of coexistence does not place a veto on the struggle of those peoples. On the contrary, Marxists-Leninists have always believed that the oppress-

ed peoples can win their freedom only by a determined struggle against their enslavers, when necessary by taking up arms. That is why we always have been and always shall be against the peaceful coexistence of exploiters and exploited, b oppressors and oppressed. That is why we favour the peaceful coexistence of capitalist and socialist states and at the same time give all possible aid to the peoples conducting a national liberation struggle.

As you see, there is not the slightest contradiction between Lenin's policy of the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems and the national liberation struggle. To ascribe any other meaning to the principle of peaceful coexist ence is to distort this Leninist principle, to distort out position. We are fighting vigorously against such distortions.

Equally groundless are the attempts to represent the struggle for disarmament as an effort to disarm the peoples who have arisen in struggle against imperialism. Is it not clear that disarmament concerns mainly the arsenels of the Great Powers who have the main body of armaments concentrated in their hands? The peoples of the colonies and the newly-free countries also stand to gain if the imperialist war machine is dismantled, they stand to gain from the elimination of imperialist military bases in their countries. In the final analysis disarmament will strengthen the security and independence of the young national states. If an end were put to the arms race, fairly large funds would be liberated in the young national states which could be used to meet the needs of economic and cultural development. The socialist states, in their turn, would also be able to considerably increase their economic, scientific and technical aid to the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. But as long as the imperialists reject disarmament, the liberated countries are right in strengthening their defence potential.

A situation of international tension and the war preparations of the erialists prevent the young national states from concentrating on the fulfilment of their own primary tasks. The imperialists, using the cold war hysteria, are trying to draw the liberated countries into military blocs, set up military bases on their territory, force those countries to participate in the arms race.

From what has been said it can be seen that the struggle for peaceful co-existence and for disarmament is a vital issue for the peoples of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The Moscow Treaty on the partial nuclear tests ban is the first, but nevertheless an important, step in the right direction and it is fully in accord with their interests. The majority of young national states joined the Treaty, and thereby show statesmanship and solicitude for the fate of the peace. Further efforts in this direction are needed. We fully support the African states that proposed to turn Africa into an atomfree zone. We offer full support to their struggle against the French imperialists continuing their nuclear tests in the Sahara. Any further steps making for the lessening of international tension and the consteps making for the lessening or international tension and the con-solidation of peace will meet with our understanding and support. Question? Would you again please explain your position on the issue of peaceful and armed forms of struggle of the peoples

against the colonialists? Answer. Our Party has frequently outlined its position on this issue, but I am willing to repeat it. First of all, I should like to say straight away that there is no universal recipe suitable for all coun-tries and peoples. The application of one form of struggle or the other depends on concrete conditions, primarily on how strongly the colonialists and their henchmen resist. We know that some of the people oppressed by imperialism won their independence by armed struggle. Theirs were sacred wars which we always have supported and still support. Other achieved independence by peaceful means. We believe that both these forms are legitimate and expedient when they lead to national liberation.

lead to national liberation. Guinea, for instance, was able to throw off the colonial yoke with-out an armed struggle. The mass movement of the Guinean people against the foreign enslavers that continued for a number of years undermined the foundations of the colonial regime and created a situation in which Guinea was able to achieve independence without an insurrection, after rejecting the "French community" which was being imposed on her. The Guinean people have strengthened their independence with the support of the other freedom loving peoples.

Things took a different turn in Algeria. The Algerian people drove out the French colonialists after many years of bloody armed struggle. Their heroism won the admiration years of bloody armed struggle. Their heroism won the admiration and respect of all freedom-loving peoples. They always had the full sympathy and support of the Soviet people. Nor was it a purely plato-nic support. The USSR despatched large quantities of weapons to the Algerian patriots free of charge. We also afforded Indonesia, Yemen and other countries substantial help in their armed struggle. We lent all our power to the support of the Egyptian people when the prover found with the presentity of dealing the imperialist aggree.

they were faced with the necessity of dealing the imperialist aggres-sors an armed rebuff. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries are actively helping the young national states to strengthen their defences, establish and train armed forces to protect from the inderences, establish and train armed forces to protect from the in-roads of the imperialists the independence they have won. We Marxists-Leninists stand firmly on Lenin's principled position-we believe that the peoples do not take up arms and shed their blood of their own free will. The violence of the colonialists forces them to it, and when a people is forced to rise in armed struggle it is the duty of all internationalists to give them every possible aid and support. That is our position in respect of the armed struggle of the peo-ples for their national liberation.

At the same time, any thinking person who faces reality must see that today the task of most of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America who have created their national states, is not only that of America who have created their national states, is not only that of defending their country against the aggression of some imperialist power, but that of achieving economic independence, developing the economy, raising the living standard of the people and develop-ing democracy. Nobody will believe that the problems of the national renascence of the liberated countries can be solved on the battlefield. The important thing for the countries that have achieved national independence is to reconstruct their economic and social custom imindependence is to reconstruct their economic and social system, im-prove the living standards of the masses, eliminate the dominance if the foreign exploiters and to destroy the political positions of their internal allies. The centre of gravity in this struggle-a struggle that is undoubtedly anti-imperialist in character-lies in consummating the national-liberation, anti-feudal, democratic revolution.

Question. The imperialists are trying in every way to hinder the development of relations between the socialist states and the liberated countries. What is your appraisal of these relations, and

what, in your opinion, are the prospects? Answer. The imperialists certainly would give a lot to isolate the newly free countries from the socialist community. They would like to be left alone with those countries; in that case it would be

very much easier for them to implement their policy of dictatorship, and carry out their neocolonialist plans. But, as the saying goes, God doesn't give a butting cow horns, and the imperialists are not strong enough to prevent the extension of cooperation between the young national states and the socialist world. As far as we are concerned, we are glod that this comparison is growing and see in if one of the we are glad that this cooperation is growing, and see in it one of the regular forms of development of present-day international relations.

History has many examples of alliances between states based on a temporary coincidence of interests, on fortuitous diplomatic schemes. Time passed and those alliances collapsed and were cast into the limbo. The relations between the socialist community and the young national states and the national liberation movement, rest on a different foundation. They are based on a communality of basic interests. What is it we have in common? We have a common enemy —imperialism, a common purpose—to end for ever colonial and im-perialist oppression, establish a durable peace and cooperation on terms of equality between peoples, and ensure the masses of the peoples a free and happy life:

The Soviet Union and other socialist countries do not pursue any The Soviet Union and other socialist countries do not pursue any aims in respect of the newly-free countries that are contrary to the interests of the peoples of those countries. We do not seek any advantages for ourselves. We have no bases on the territories of these countries and do not want any. Unlike the imperialists, we do not strive to draw those countries into military blocs. Any attempt to enslave or exploit other peoples is alien to the socialist states, owing to the very nature of their social system.

The ideals of socialism require the complete abolition of colo-nialism, the removal of all inequality from international relations and an opportunity for every nation to be the master in its own house. For this reason every step towards strengthening the political and economic independence of the young national states, towards bringing the national liberation movement and the world of socialism closer together is also in our interests and we regard it as a real con-tribution to the struggle against imperialism.

All this gives me good reason to state with full confidence that the relations between the socialist countries and the peoples who have begun an independent way of life have a fine future. For our part we shall do everything necessary to ensure that those relations develop successfully, that they become still closer and more diversified. The peoples of the Soviet Union will always be the faithful friends and brothers of the liberated peoples. brothers of the liberated peoples.

We must protect our friendship in every way, we must rebuff the We must protect our friendship in every way, we must rebuil the imperialists who are trying to undermine it; we must also struggle against any attempts to isolate the national liberation movement from the peoples of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and from the world working class; we must expose the harm that is done by replacing the anti-imperialist basis of the solidarity of the peoples fighting for their liberation by geopolitical and even racist ideas. Only imperialism and internal reaction would stand to gain from the spreading of racist concentions in the newly-free countries. spreading of racist conceptions in the newly-free countries.

We are certain these attempts will come up against the political maturity of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and will be frustrated.

Question. How do you appraise the significance and prospects of the economic cooperation between the socialist states and the newly free countries?

Answer. In my opinion the chief value of cooperation be-tween the socialist states and the liberated countries is that it helps the peoples of those countries lay the foundations of a national economy and achieve economic independence.

In the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, about 500 industrial and other installations are being built with the aid of the Soviet Union. Total Soviet credits and other allocations for the eco-Soviet Union. Total Soviet credits and other allocations for the eco-nomic development of the liberated countries have now reached almost 3,000 million new rubles. Over 400 projects have been or are being built with the aid of Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Poland, Bulgaria, Rumania and Hungary. The People's Republic of China is also rendering the liberated countries economic id aid.

It would, however, be incorrect to evaluate the real significance of aid given by the socialist states on the basis of these figures alone, and not on the basis of the nature and purposes of the aid and its role in the struggle of the young nations for economic emancipation.

The imperialists, as you are aware, talk a lot about their efforts to help the liberated countries. But what is that aid? Actually it serves as a means of enslaving and exploiting the economically back-ward countries, clears the way for foreign capital. Their aid, further-more, is only the return, by means of investment, of a small part of the capital plundered from those countries by the monopolies.

the capital plundered from those countries by the inchropones. The aid given by the socialist states pursues very different aims. We are sincere in wanting to help those countries get on their feet, achieve economic emancipation, build the foundations of a modern industry and create a strong state sector, the reliable lever in the struggle against the inroads of the foreign monopolies. Soviet people find inspiration in the words of Lenin whose behest to us was that we help the peoples who are struggling against colonial oppression. Our economic cooperation is not confined to direct aid but also includes immense indirect help to the young national states. It strengthens their position in negotiations with the imperialist powers. The latter, having lost their monopoly in the granting of loans and

credits, in the supply of equipment, in technical knowledge, cannot, as they formerly did, exercise an economic diktat in respect of the developing countries. The support of the socialist states helps those countries to counteract the blackmail of the international concerns and compels the imperialists—they have at times admitted this them-selves—to make concessions. As the collapse of their plans for an eco-nomic blockade of Cuba, Egypt, Guinea and other countries shows, the imperialists are no longer in a position to strangle economically the liberated countries that are defending their independence and national liberty. The historic significance of this is obvious. The liberated countries, in their turn, support the Soviet Union and other socialist states by delivering useful goods, by joining us in a common front against imperialism and its policy of dictatorship and discrimi-nation in international economic relations, etc.

I am firmly convinced that economic cooperation between the socialist states and the newly free countries will steadily expand in the future. Socialist economy is developing at a tremendous pace which means that the possibilities for economic cooperation with those countries will steadily grow. The achievements in economic development in the liberated countries will, in their turn, strengthen the basic of that cooperation the basis of that cooperation.

Question. How do you appraise the role of the young national states in international politics today and in the struggle for peace?

I do not believe there can be two opinions here. The victory of the national liberation revolutions has brought about radivictory of the national liberation revolutions has brought about radi-cal changes in international relations. Some twenty or twenty-five years ago the colonialists actually kept the oppressed peoples out of world politics and at international conferences the oppressors spoke in their name. Today the young national states have become a power-ful force in world affairs. Even those who do not like this situation, the imperialist politicians, have to admit that today key world prob-lems cannot be settled without the participation of these states.

In most cases the young national states play a progressive role in world affairs. They oppose colonialism and the imperialist policy of war preparations and the arms race, and speak out in favour of peace and collaboration between nations. Most of them reject blackmail and refuse to join military blocs and to place their territory, materials and manpower at the disposal of the imperialists; they pursue a material collaboration neutralist policy.

Look, for example, at the amazing changes that have taken place in the United Nations. Since its foundation, the number of member countries has more than doubled, mainly on account of the new Asian and African states.

and Arman states. I am sure that not only the number of young national states but their role in international affairs will continue to grow. Soviet people consider this a great achievement, not only for the peoples of the liberated countries themselves, but for all mankind, and they wel-come this development of events. However, to whom much is given, of him is much required. The possibility of actively influencing the solution of the basic issues of international life gives the young national states a serious responsibility in protecting the fate of peace and world security. Every young national state is able to make its contribution to the struggle for disarmament, for the creation of atom-free zones, for a healthier international atmosphere, and for the cessation of the cold war. By joining their efforts with those of other peaceful states, the liberated countries can play a tremendous role in settling the key problem of our times—the prevention of war. I have no doubt that the young national states will prove fit to bear the responsibility that history has laid upon them, will mobilise their forces for the struggle against the war danger and will become bas-tions of peace. tions of peace.

The peoples of the newly-free countries are recognising more and more that without a durable alliance with the peoples of the socialist countries and with the world proletariat, the national liberation movement could not have scored its excellent victories. This alliance is also vitally necessary to strengthen the independence that has been won and to conduct a successful struggle for economic emancipation. The peoples of the socialist countries and the world working class are as much interested in making this alliance strong and indestructible as the peoples fighting for their national libera-tion. It is to play an historic role in preventing a new war, in the struggle for social progress and national liberty, for the happiness of all mankind.

Our people are implacable enemies of all bondage and exploita-tion; they are convinced internationalists. We never have exported revolution, and never shall, but we have always supported and shall revolution, and never snall, out we nave always supported and shall continue to support in every way the peoples who rise up in the sacred struggle against imperialism. The alliance with the national liberation forces was and remains one of the cornerstones of our policy. This is stated clearly and definitely in the new Programme of our Party. We shall continue to implement this policy un-company. swervingly.

Our hearts are always with those who fight for freedom. We heartily wish the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America full vic-tory in their courageous struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism, for national liberation and social progress. We shall give them all-round support in their struggle and shall, as al-ways, support them morally, politically and materially. Soviet people consider fighters for national liberation and for social progress their buscher and with them new successes. brothers and wish them new successes..