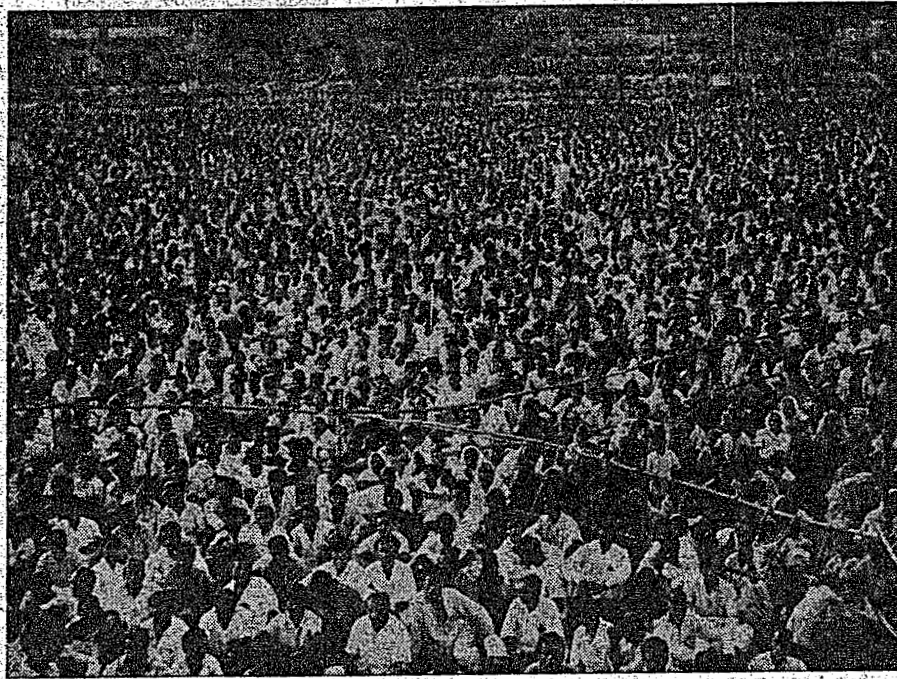


# WORKERS' DELEGATES MEET

7 APR-63  
Copy 1934



The mammoth rally in Ahmedabad

## MILITANT UNITY GROWS

★ FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

AHMEDABAD: December 4 has become a red letter day for the working class of Ahmedabad. On that day this year, after a lapse of many years, the slogans "Inquilab Zindabad" and "Mazdoor Ekta Zindabad" resoundingly echoed in this textile city, shouted in unison by thousands of workers.

HEREAFTER the day will be remembered as the day of the forthright denunciation of the policies of class collaboration and betrayal pursued by the INTUC, which

in united action to defend their rights.

Every year, the INTUC's Major Mahajan observes December 4 as Labour Day, the birthday of the Textile Labour Association. And this year also they planned to observe the Labour Day.

But this year's observance had a special significance. The INTUC was receiving blow after blow from the workers in Ahmedabad. The newly formed Samyukta Kamdar Sangram Samiti under the leadership of INDULAL YAGNIK and DINKAR MEHTA had become a challenge to it.

In the two months of October and November, the Samiti had amassed a membership of 50 thousand. During the period the INTUC lost 40 thousand of its membership. The huge workers' meetings held by the Sangram Samiti sent cold shivers down the spines of the INTUC bosses who found the earth slipping out from under their feet. The citadel of the INTUC was being shaken.

S. R. VASAVADA then hit upon a brilliant idea to salvage the lost prestige of the INTUC. He invited GULZARILAL NANDA to address the Labour Day meeting. It is well-known that there is no love lost between these two leaders and that Nanda was a virtual exile from Ahmedabad which was fully under the grip of Vasavada. But it was thought that with Nanda's reputation as a progressive, the influence of the INTUC could be redeemed.

The Sangram Samiti took up the challenge of Nanda's presence in Ahmedabad. It announced on November 28 that a parallel meeting to INTUC's Labour Day would be held by the Samiti at which Yagnik and Dinkar Mehta would speak.

This led to competitive preparations for the meeting. The news of the Sangram Samiti's meeting enthused the city's working class into activity.

Feverish was also the propaganda unleashed against it by

## NEW AGE

★ COMMUNIST PARTY WEEKLY ★

Vol. XI, No. 50 New Delhi December 15, 1963 25 nP

## Plan All-India Struggle For D.A., Bonus

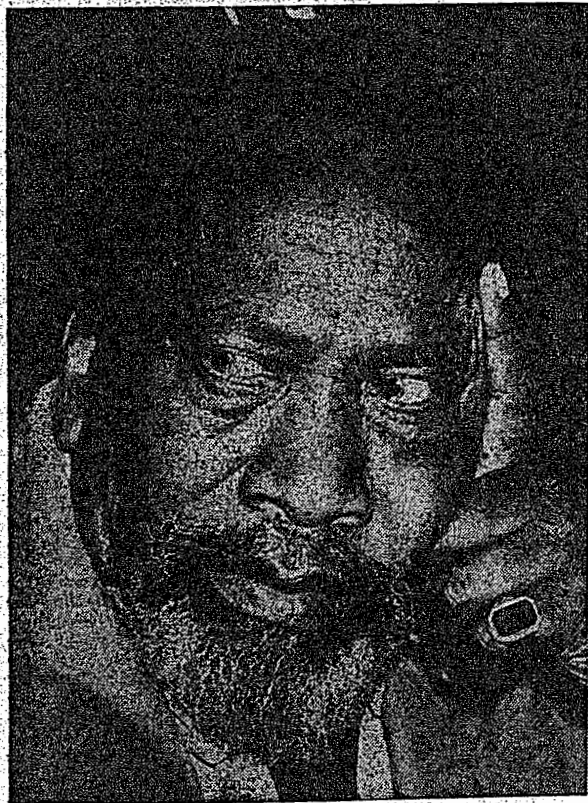
A conference of great national significance is meeting in Bombay. Delegates of the country's working class come together in a most representative gathering are discussing ways and means of fighting the capitalist offensive of heaping ever heavier burdens on the people.

It was the initiative of the working class which brought about the historic mobilisation of the Great Petition and Great March in September last. As declared by Comrade S. A. Dange on that historic day of September 13, when the whole of Parliament Street had become one seething mass of humanity, the working class can never rest till the demon of high prices, exorbitant taxes and government protected profiteering is not definitely exorcised.

The specific demands of the workers are increase in dearness allowance, revision of the faulty consumer price index to reflect the rising cost of living, linking of dearness allowance to the revised consumer price index in those industries where it is not linked now, minimum guaranteed bonus, and nationalisation of key sectors of the economy such as banking and export import trade.

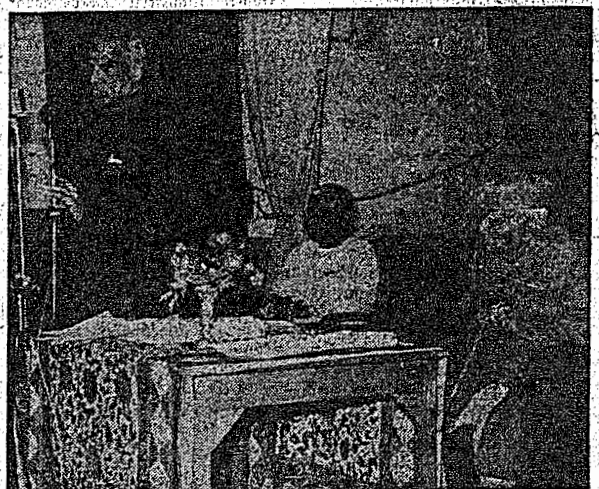
The assembly in Bombay will show the path to the entire people to advance to that goal under the leadership of the working class. Let us march as one under the banner of its decisions.

## ★ GREETINGS ★



## INDEPENDENT KENYA

The entire Indian people congratulate the people of Kenya and their great leader Jomo Kenyatta on this historic day (December 12) when Kenya attains independence



Peace Seminar in Delhi being addressed by Krishna Menon (See page 9)

# JBK Back IN ROLE OF MENTOR AND GUIDE TO GUPTA GROUP

★ From Ramesh Sinha

LUCKNOW: ACHARYA J. B. KRIPALANI, the frustrated Pope of Right Reaction, has after his recovery made Lucknow and the house of his Chief Minister wife his headquarters to organise opposition to Prime Minister Nehru and his policies.

He has been calling, individually and in small groups, local and state Congress leaders, members of the legislature and others of his political persuasion to the Jan Sangh to sucheta Kripalani's official residence and holding confabulations with them to bring them together.

Kripalani started his operations by calling those people in the Congress who had helped him in the Amroha by-election. Since then many groups and individuals have been summoned and briefed by him.

He has taken over as the virtual leader and ideologue of the followers of C. B. GUPTA. Not only has he been guiding the Gupta group regarding the line they should take in dealing with the Congress high command, but he has actually been drafting the replies of Sucheta Kripalani to the Congress Parliamentary Board.

Some time ago, people in Lucknow were surprised to find that the leader of the PSP group in the UP Legislative Council, A. J. FARIDI, giving a grand garden party to Sucheta Kripalani to "introduce" her to the people of the state capital.

Never before had any PSP leader organised such a glamorous show for the society debut of a Congress chief minister—not even in the days when TRILOKI SINGH (then leader of opposition in the UP Assembly) was regarded as SAMURNANAND's shadow in the PSP.

Later, however, it was learnt that the party was held to celebrate the consummation of the new united front of his agents that the Acharya of Reaction had been busy bolstering up in the state.

As is known, Faridi has been the Acharya's agent for a long time. He had moved the Acharya's ill-fated five-point formula of united front in the abortive Socialist Unity conference in Lucknow. He had gone to Amroha to buy Muslim and feudal support for Kripalani in the by-election against HAFIZ MOHAMMED IBRAHIM. Recently he took the Acharya to Lucknow for recouping physical and political health.

And now, in this party, he was bringing together many other agents of the Acharya and supporters of his anti-national policies. Along with Sucheta, C. B. Gupta and his men were there. The Jan Sangh's were there. Pro-Kripalani PSP men were there and so many others of the same disposition.

The Acharya was also very much there, almost in the role of the shepherd branding and counting his herd.

Nobody can object to his staying with Sucheta, but Kripalani's blatant use of her official residence to advance his nefarious activities has become a scandal in Lucknow.



ter's official residence, even if they are unwilling to get mixed up in the Acharya's mischief.

Kripalani's campaign has also started giving its first fruits. The reactionary, pro-Right, pro-Jan Sangh Gupta group has now stepped up its virulent anti-socialist, anti-Communist campaign in the state.

C. B. Gupta and his inseparable aide BANARSI DAS have been attacking socialism and socialist ideology right and left, in the name of attacking China and the Communist Party, in almost every meeting they have addressed since Gupta was "Kamarajed" nearly three months back.

Another key leader of the group, SHANTI PRAPANNA SHARMA, Deputy Minister for Power and Information, has gone further and offered the bait of lucrative government advertisements to papers which would join their unholy crusade against the socialist ideology.

To organise this campaign, an urgent meeting of about 50 editors and correspondents was organised by him on December 4 at Dehra Dun.

Messages were sent by wireless to district magistrates of Garhwal, Tehri-Garhwal, Chamoli, Uttarkhand, Sahar-

anpur and Bijnor districts to bring newspapermen to Dehra Dun by cars for the meet.

The whole paraphernalia of the Information Department including its director and assistant director was also carted in first class coupes to the miniature anti-socialist conference. Thousand of rupees were spent to fete the few journalists and the officials who turned up.

Sharma first talked about the continuing Chinese danger and the need to publish nothing about local problems lest Peking should use it for propaganda against India. Then he delivered a discourse on the need to carry on a campaign against the socialist and Communist ideology.

He declared "China cannot be fought without fighting against the socialist and Communist ideology" and enjoined the editors of local papers to publish materials against this ideology.

What he did not say openly was later conveyed to the editors and others by his information officers. One of them actually scrutinised

a paper and asked its editor: "How can I give you any advertisement? There is nothing against socialism or communism in your paper. Publish such stuff and we shall help you."

C. B. Gupta has been telling his audiences horror stories about "blood-curdling mass murders" and "drowning of all freedom in pools of people's blood" in socialist countries. Sharma wants similar stuff to be printed in our papers.

This is meant to be the Gupta group's contribution to the building of socialism in India by the Congress and to the Jaipur spirit.

Several journalists mentioned at the meeting the hardships of the people and asked the Deputy Minister how long they could keep quiet about these problems in the name of emergency.

Sharma had no answer. He only asked them not to let any information about the "discussions" in the meeting leak out to the press.

It is learnt that some more regional conferences on this pattern will be held in the near future.

## FURTHER WATERING DOWN OF TTK BILLS



THE "dreaded" TTK bill to amend the Companies Act has further lost its sting as a result of its scrutiny by Parliament's Select Committee. Even THE STATESMAN, which had earlier criticised the bill, considers its new version palatable, and expects that whatever "doubts and fears" still remain may also be mitigated in administering the powers given by it.

Big Business, through one of its more subtle and circumspect organs, has thus expressed its satisfaction with the bill, and for a very good reason. The Select Committee has inserted qualifications and reservations after almost all its major provisions to make it almost totally harmless for the corporate sector.

The fact that a few spokesmen of big business, like Masani or Bade, still find it draconian means nothing except that these gentlemen are incorrigibly committed to canvassing for the fullest freedom for the corporate sector.

Each of the three main provisions of the bill, which had been particularly criticised by the monopoly press, has been drastically watered down by the Select Committee. The reference to the tribunal will now be confined only to cases in which there has been "persistent negligence or default... in the conduct and management of the affairs of a company."

In the absence of any precise definition of "persistent", it is obvious that the sweet-will of the bureaucrats, and not any regulation of the law, will determine the cases to be brought before the Tribunal.

What is more, a person removed by the tribunal from his managerial office for "persistent negligence or default"

may be allowed to hold any other managerial office even before the expiry of the five-year ban, albeit with the concurrence of the Tribunal.

A strange way it would seem to condone—and even reward—a culprit, but not if it is remembered that TTK had himself promised a thorough "re-examination" of this particular provision of the Bill related to the conversion of the government's loans to companies into shares.

Certain newspapers, which always want to draw red herrings in the way of even the most innocuous measures, even saw in it a design of "back door" nationalisation.

The Select Committee has, however, tried hard to still their doubts. It has put in a condition that conversion will be made only if "public interest so demands." Like "persistent negligence" "public interest" too is difficult to define, and this makes it doubtful if it will ever be obvious enough to catch the Government's attention.

Further, the provision about conversion will not be applicable to loans granted before the enactment of this legislation, unless the company concerned has made "default in the repayment of the amount of the debenture or loans with interest thereon... and has failed to remedy the default within three months of the service of a notice in this behalf." This evidently res-

tricts the Government's power to convert the loans, and to that extent allows the corporate sector freedom to misuse state money for its self-aggrandisement.

Even the provision about the appointment of a public trustee to exercise voting rights on behalf of persons holding shares in trust has been watered down to enable the exercise of these rights by the existing trustees by proxy on behalf of the public trustee. The existing trustees may also render advice to the public trustee in the matter of exercising the voting rights, under the new version.

All these "dilutions" add up to a telling commentary on the government's handling of its responsibility in the economic sphere. Unable to shunt the horrid deeds of the corporate sector off the people's eye, it haltingly moved to rectify a few of its earlier lapses. But the very first blast of opposition by vested interests made it all but give up the effort, and be wary of treading on their toes. Yet, it claims to be working for socialism—by pampering and molly-coddling the tycoons, no doubt.

It also seeks a more "liberal attitude in the matter of allowing industrial units to instal their own generating equipment." The ACC also makes a pretence to commiserate with the government over the short-falls in agriculture, but only to

even a planned development of the country's economy—which is far from being "socialism". Both the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI) and the Associated Chambers of Commerce (ACC) have spared no efforts to erode the existing economic and fiscal policies to serve their narrow ends.

The FICCI has, in a note submitted to the government, called for a "development-oriented" policy, but with minimum controls and "right fiscal measures". In FICCI's terminology these qualifications stand for least taxes on the corporate sector, minimum or better no controls on prices—except when such controls help the private sector to get its raw material cheap—and a continuous pumping in of public resources to promote private enterprise.

The ACC, being a little more circumspect, does not put its demands so crudely. Yet, it too asks for "reconsideration" of the Super-Profits Tax, and a general "re-examination" of the current tax structure, as well as for "tax concession on inter-corporate dividends, bonus shares and personal taxation."

It also seeks a more "liberal attitude in the matter of allowing industrial units to instal their own generating equipment." The ACC also makes a pretence to commiserate with the government over the short-falls in agriculture, but only to

suggest that ceilings on land should be fixed with care.

It is surely too early to look for the government's response to these charters of demands. But in relation to one demand—concerning controls—Minister Subramaniam's speech before the ACC provides an insight into the official mind. He was "outspokenly critical" of controls, and asked for a thorough review of their working to ensure that they did not interfere in the way of growth.

The fact that he followed this criticism of controls by an uncalled-for eulogy of "competition" as "one of the greatest instruments for increasing productivity" makes it clear that to him it is not merely a rectification of the administration of controls which is necessary, but their progressive elimination in favour of a "competitive" economy.

This certainly is a strange position to take for a minister of a government which aspires to build socialism. Controls, as a means to regulate economic processes, are a necessary concomitant of planned development, and to the extent Minister Subramaniam undermines their importance he not only adds grist to the mills of the FICCI, ACC and their ilk, but also injures the country's planned progress.

—ESSEN

December 10, 1963

### IN PARLIAMENT

## UNIT TRUST BILL

Last week the Lok Sabha approved the Unit Trust of India Bill, 1963 piloted by T. T. KRISHNAMACHARI after an infructuous demand by the Opposition that the Bill be circulated for eliciting public opinion.

OPPOSING the Bill, Communist member R. UMANATH expressed grave apprehensions whether this new institution which has been much advertised as affording a big investment opportunity for "middle classes" and working classes would not actually become a means to mop up community savings for speculative gains of big business with the government presiding over it.

Umanath pointed out that though it is claimed that the Unit Trust will be a public sector project its profits will go not to the community as a whole but to individuals as unit holders.

Also it is stated that "there will be no limit to the number of units which can be purchased and held by the unit holders". Umanath contended that this would obviously open the way to the entry of big business into the Trust.

Commenting on the purpose for which the Trust will utilise the savings invested in it, Umanath pointed out that it is laid down in the Bill that the Trust will buy and sell securities, including bonds, shares or stock of statutory corporations, companies or other bodies corporate. He charged that this was not putting the mopped-up savings of the investors to economic, productive use, but using it for "pure and simple speculation."

"That is why we find that the stock exchanges have generally throughout the country welcomed this Bill, because they are quite convinced that their blood brother

is going to be born", he said. He also criticised the composition of the Board to administer the Trust. Of the four trustees to be nominated by the Reserve Bank—others being one from the LIC, one from the State Bank and two from scheduled banks—not less than three are to be "persons having special knowledge of, or experience in, commerce, industry, banking, finance or investment".

Umanath pointed out that this will mean in practice appointment of big business representatives on the Board and to illustrate the point he cited the example of the National Industrial Development Corporation. One of the directors of the NIDC is ANANTARAMA-KRISHNAN, owner of 22 directorships in big business, another D. P. GOENKA, owner of 20 directorships, a third A. R. MUDALIAR, owner of 21 directorships and another R. A. PODDAR, owner of 19 directorships. Government have in this way nominated 44 directors in public sector companies, who own 334 directorships of their own.

Another point made by Umanath was that as in the case of government's relation with the LIC, the Reserve Bank in this case will be able to give directions to the Trust only on matters of policy with the result that the Reserve Bank cannot direct the Trust to invest or not to invest in any particular shares. He cited the report of Justice Chagla in the LIC case to prove this.

"Ultimately what will happen is that it will be an absolutely

independent body transacting business connected with stock exchanges and controlled by big business." He also pointed out that once the Board is appointed the government will have no power to interfere and for four years the directors cannot be removed.

### Satyanarain : The Aftermath

THE ludicrousness of quoting Current weekly against the national newspapers apart, Minister for Information and Broadcasting SATYA NARAIN SINHA's performance during the half-hour debate in the Lok Sabha on the withdrawal of the newsreel on the Great March has raised certain important questions.

The Minister is reported to have said in reply to a question from a Swatantra member that the persons responsible for producing the newsreel were being departmentally dealt with; explanations have been called for from them; these have been received and the government was going through them. It is quite natural, in the background of the Minister's performance in the Lok Sabha, to expect that some kind of action would also be taken against them.

This has posed the question how far the newsreel makers are free to use their judgement in deciding on events and happenings, even within the prescribed limits laid down by the government. Is it not interference in the day-to-day administration by the Ministry? Extending the procedure to the AIR, will a correspondent be also hauled up if he gives a report which some Congress MPs would draw the

of the Trust are more concealed than revealed in the notes on the clauses. He complained that the objectives of the Bill have not been made clear and precise and supported the demand to elicit public opinion or at least send the Bill to a Select Committee.

He asked why not place a ceiling on the holding of these units? If it is for the small income and middle income groups of people, why not restrict, as in the case of cooperative societies, the number of units?

K. K. WARIOR speaking on the Bill, criticised that the operations

## Readers' Letters

Ministry brought in two scales for this category of workers: one for the pre-CCC scale at 130-5-170-EB-8-210 and the other for CCC scale at 130-5-175-EB-6-205-7-212.

In the scale corresponding to the pre-CCC scale, the worker reached the maximum in 13 years while in the latter one the worker reaches it only in 15 years. Thus, the second scale prescribed by the Ministry is disadvantageous to the workers.

### Rectify this Anomaly

THERE are certain categories of workers in the Visakhapatnam port whose pay scale was 80-5-120-EB-8-160 prior to the revision done by the classification categorisation committee (CCC). The CCC, when it revised the scales, prescribed exactly the same scale for these workers. Though both scales were thus one and the same, the workers opted for the CCC scale since it got them an increment under the extant rules.

Later on the basis of the recommendations of the second Pay Commission the Ministry of Transport prescribed corresponding scales for these workers. While doing so, the

Ministry brought in two scales for this category of workers: one for the pre-CCC scale at 130-5-170-EB-8-210 and the other for CCC scale at 130-5-175-EB-6-205-7-212.

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When this matter was represented to the Ministry by the Visakhapatnam Harbour and Port Workers' Union for rectifying the anomaly, it was rejected even without assigning any reason. The Ministry also usurped the powers of the Labour Ministry by rejecting the demand to refer the dispute to adjudication. To prescribe two different corresponding scales to one scale is in itself absurd, but to refuse to set right the same when brought to notice is arbitrary. Will the Ministry of Transport take steps to rectify the same at least now?

GENERAL SECRETARY Visakhapatnam Harbour and Port Workers' Union

DECEMBER 15, 1963

## BACK TO 1950—The New Cry

THE Swatantra Party is avowedly conservative. Its stalwarts are prepared to battle to the last ditch for every die-hard proposition in the world.

RAJAJI has now come out in defence of the Constitution in its original form. If he and his men had their way they will not permit the people to budge one millimetre from positions taken in 1950.

"The Swatantra Party wants the fundamental rights guaranteed in the Constitution of 1950 restored and preserved intact", openly pleads C. R. (Swarajya, November 30).

Again: "It is an insult to the intelligence of the Fathers of the Constitution to presume that there is any contradiction between the principles underlying one part of it and those formulated in another." (Ibid.)

Naive, you will say. Only the Swatantra leader, at 80, could take such a position, you will think! For, it has to be presumed, on this logic, that the President of the Immortals must have framed and sanctioned the Constitution.

Such a presumption flies in the face of facts, of experience and history barely thirteen years old. The Constitution, as originally framed, failed at the very first crucial test. When the Congress governments after a lot of tardiness and trepidation, adopted the promised zamindari abolition measures, the act was challenged by the feudal landlords.

Rajaji presses several pleas into service to demand the restoration: Quarrel not with your tool ("a workman who quarrels

with his tools is a bad workman"); "It is an insult to the intelligence of those who framed the Constitution"; It is a "demonstration of the incapacity of the government to govern"; "let us have land reform without extinguishing the fundamental freedoms"; uphold "the free way of life", and so on.

Painful pleas, but how hollow and deceitful! For, they seek to hide the ugly self interest of the feudal exploiters.

To throw them out is not communism nor even

Does he realise what it would mean to restore "the fundamental rights guaranteed in the Constitution of 1950"? It would mean that the feudal exploiters should again be riding, whip in hand, on the back of the kisan. And the Swatantra Party leaders know that this precisely is the meaning of what they are asking for.

There was glee in the feudalists' camp when the Swatantra Party was founded. Rajas, zamindars and their former gumashtas were gathered in Patna to play host to the first convention. It is they who ran the whole show and applauded the proceedings.

And one of the first demands raised at the inaugural convention was what Rajaji has again asked for today—restoration of the 1950 steel-frame of the Constitution!

Rajaji presses several pleas into service to demand the restoration: Quarrel not with your tool ("a workman who quarrels

standing up to demand the scrapping of planned economic development? And Rajaji even lampoons the cherished goal of economic independence: "Public sector steel at the expense of everything as in Hitler's Germany or Stalin's Russia", quips C. R. (Swarajya, November 23).

Which nation in the modern world ever built prosperity or real independence without developing the production of steel? This question itself is irrelevant.

Even building up an independent defence potential is anathema. C. R. complains: "Economic pundits are imagining that India is now a country under blockade and we must produce all war materials ourselves." (Ibid.)

He can well afford to do so, because he and his ilk have a very simple solution to the problem: Tie India to imperialist West's military apron and go to sleep. Independence of the nation matters little for the Swatantra. And they go hammer and tongs against nonalignment.

IS it surprising, that we have seen the wonderful spectacle of these narrow interests



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—GARUDA

PAGE TWO

NEW AGE

DECEMBER 15, 1963

NEW AGE

PAGE THREE

# SECOND BANDUNG OR SECOND BELGRADE

FRANTIC diplomatic moves are being made in Asia and Africa by the Chinese and Pakistani Governments. Press reports indicate that the aim of these moves is to frustrate or render ineffective the proposal made by President Nasser and Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike for a second Conference of non-aligned countries.

The Pakistan Government—led as it is to the SEATO and the CENTO—cannot under any pretext claim a seat in a non-aligned Conference. It has, therefore, launched a campaign against the holding of the Conference. And it has started to counterpose to the proposal for a non-aligned Conference, the proposal for a Second Bandung.

President Ayub Khan, in his address to the Ceylon Parliament yesterday, expressed his misgivings at "any moves which detract from Asian-African solidarity and full inter-regional cooperation." He was obviously hitting out at the proposed non-aligned Conference. But no real supporter of Afro-Asian solidarity will be taken in by the walling of an imperialist puppet, whose own adherence to imperialist military pacts in Asia has been the biggest blow to Afro-Asian solidarity.

The wolf of the SEATO and the CENTO cannot hide in the sheep's clothing of "full inter-regional cooperation."

Pakistan propagandists, in their zeal, have—with the willing support (or is it direction?) of the imperialist press—started to trot out the theory that India is "afraid" of a Second Bandung, because China and Pakistan will be present and will raise their "complaints" against India. This propaganda line makes out that it is India which has put forward the proposal for a Second Bandung just to spike the Second Bandung.

The Chinese Government has also rushed into the fray. It also seeks to prevent the Second non-aligned Conference from taking place. And with a view to this, the Chinese leaders are setting out the claim to be present at such a Conference, on the ground that China is also a non-aligned country!

In the context of the ceaseless attacks made by the Chinese leaders on the entire positive content of non-alignment, this claim to be non-aligned is obviously not a serious one, but intended essentially to disrupt the very idea of holding the Conference.

The Indian people strongly condemn the new Sino-Pakistan offensive in Asia and Africa. The direction of this offensive is against real Afro-Asian solidarity and also against the solidarity of the Afro-Asian nations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

The Chinese leaders concentrate their main attack, wherever they go, on the Soviet Union. This gravely weakens the fight against imperialism, and must, therefore,

## notes of the week

be depreciated by all genuine anti-imperialists.

India is not the initiator of the proposal for a second non-aligned Conference. But we wholeheartedly support this proposal. In the present international context, the non-aligned nations can and must exert their vast influence for peace. The assassination of President Kennedy underlines the necessity for resolute action against the forces of war, which are now conducting a dangerous desperate last ditch stand against the ever growing forces of peace.

The second non-aligned Conference would be a powerful rallying together of the forces which could cooperate in halting the forces of war. That is why all who stand for peace must welcome and support all efforts to prepare for the non-aligned Conference.

Such a Conference is not in any way an attempt to weaken Afro-Asian solidarity against imperialism. On the contrary, by its very nature, a non-aligned Conference is against the forces of war and imperialism—as was clearly demonstrated at the Belgrade Conference.

Progressive forces in this country give their full support to the efforts for a Second Bandung especially because they believe that such a Conference will strengthen India's policy of non-alignment, which is under such severe attack from the Right reactionary forces in the country.

As for a second Bandung, it must not be counterposed to the second non-aligned conference. All who stand for Afro-Asian solidarity would welcome a second Bandung conference. The only reason why many Afro-Asian leaders are today hesitant to plunge headlong into its preparations is their desire to ensure that

## Liluah Lockout

CALCUTTA: The Liluah workshop and the Howrah signal factory of the Eastern Railways are lying closed since December 2 due to a lockout by the railway authorities.

THESE two units of the railways cater servicing to the most important railway zone in the country. By lying idle they are causing a great loss both by way of lack of servicing to the railways and by losing mandays. The lockout was imposed by the railway authorities following an alleged strike by the workers. But the facts of the case are otherwise.

Following the emergency, the workers belonging to the two national federations, the All India Railwaymen Federation and the Indian National Railwaymen Federation, offered to work more time to increase production. Taking advantage of this patriotic

the second Bandung is a success, that the great Bandung spirit is not destroyed by the imperialists and their agents.

It is precisely the disruptive activities of the Chinese leadership and of pro-imperialist stooge governments like that of Pakistan, which have delayed the calling of a second Bandung conference.

Progressive opinion in Asia and Africa would also wish that in any second Bandung Conference, the Soviet Union should not be excluded as it has been, as a result of Chinese manipulations, from recent Afro-Asian Conferences of Journalists, Chambers of Commerce, etc.

The Second Bandung must strengthen still further the Bandung spirit. That is why it must be prepared for carefully. The Sino-Pakistan offensive against the non-aligned Conference is not inspired by any genuine concern for Afro-Asian solidarity. The very counterposing of the two conferences is wrong and disruptive.

## LATHI RAJ

THE lathi-charge by the police on the students of the Tibbia College in Delhi has aroused the wrath of all right-thinking people, irrespective of party affiliations. An official inquiry has been instituted, but the Home Minister has refused to accept the demand for the suspension of the police officials concerned.

Every day come new instances of police excesses in one part of the country or the other. Occasional enquiries and occasional actions against particular officials appear to have little effect.

A thorough overhaul of the police force, of its methods of recruitment and training, of its powers and its duties, is urgently necessary.

The police force continues to act almost as it did when the British ruled. The police force of an independent country must be different from the police force of an alien oppressor.

And if democracy has any meaning, the present constant utilisation of police forces by the vested interests against the struggles of the people must be prohibited. And concrete safeguard built

## PEOPLE and PEACE

### Editorial

THE SEMINAR ON International Affairs and World Peace, sponsored by the Committee of Indian Parliamentarians for Peace, has rightly received worldwide publicity and support. The inauguration of this discussion on foreign policy by the Prime Minister himself underlined its vital significance.

The active participation in the Seminar of a large number of outstanding Indians—MPs, economists, writers, lawyers, trade unionists and others—as well as distinguished personalities from abroad—was itself a momentous event. Never before had there been an assembly for peace in this country which had the cooperation of such a wide spectrum of public opinion and of organisations working for peace.

The Seminar gave a challenging call for support to the policy of non-alignment: it is "not only the correct policy for India, but is also essential for furtherance of peace, maintenance and defence of independence and economic development."

What was also of special significance was the fact that the Seminar responded so constructively to the Prime Minister's call for active work for peace. The discussions and speeches in the Commissions were not only devoted to coming to an understanding of the problems; they also put forward concrete suggestions for continued activity in various fields.

These suggestions must not remain on paper. The continuing committee of the Seminar has been entrusted with a large number of tasks which must begin to be implemented immediately.

The seminar has initiated several moves, which would help to bring masses of India into action for peace and in support of our peace policy. Such action is possible only on the basis of an understanding of the issues involved, and it is the duty of the continuing committee to carry this understanding to all parts of the country.

The preparations for a World Conference for Disarmament and International Cooperation, for a Writers' Round Table, for a Conference on the Economics of Peace and Underdeveloped Countries, for a Conference of Parliamentarians of Non-aligned Countries—as well as the work of the proposed Committee for Aid to the anti-apartheid movement of South Africa and the liberation movements of the Portuguese colonies—all these provide a vast field of activity in which all organisations working for peace can cooperate. Their united work is the guarantee for effective work.

(December 11, 1963)

into the laws of the land.

MORE Communist detenus have been released in West Bengal and Maharashtra. Still more are imprisoned in West Bengal. The release campaign is making itself felt even on the Governments which till now refused to budge.

At this moment of success, it is necessary to repeat that

the battle is not over. Over thirty Communist leaders continue to be detained in Maharashtra. Still more are imprisoned in West Bengal. The release campaign must continue, till every detenu is out of prison.

—Ramesh Chandra  
Dec. 11.

puty Chief Mechanical Engineer in charge of the Liluah workshop. After much persuasion, the engineer signed an order reverting to normal working hours.

For a week, the workers worked according to the normal working hours. Though the hours were shorter, production did not go down. All the same, the railway authorities termed this working of normal hours as strike and declared a lockout. The authorities also alleged that the engineer had signed the order reverting to normal working hours "under duress".

The workers are demanding that the lockout be withdrawn and the issue of working hours be settled through negotiations. But the railway authorities are insisting that the workers work the full increased 48 hours. And so the deadlock is continuing.

## K.M. PANIKKAR

THE passing away of Sardar K. M. Panikkar on December 10 in Bangalore has removed from our midst a brilliant and versatile scholar and a progressive public figure of eminence. It is an irreparable loss to the nation.

New Age conveys its heartfelt condolences to the bereaved family, to Mrs. Devaki Nair and M. N. Govindan Nair.

# Peace Has Been Preserved

## Three Years Since Moscow Meeting

On December 6 Pravda published an editorial marking the third anniversary of the Moscow Meeting of representatives of Communist and Workers Parties.

This is how the paper formulates in course of the editorial the principal results of the struggle of Marxist-Leninist parties to implement the ideas of the Statement adopted by the Meeting:

The Soviet Union is successfully fulfilling the majestic programme of communist construction which is exercising a great revolutionising influence on the minds of the people of the world over.

The world socialist system as a whole has consolidated its economic and political positions in the world. Following the victory of the Cuban revolution, beacons of socialism are now shining in three continents—Europe, Asia and America.

The working class of the imperialist countries has become more organised and militant, and is fighting ever more actively against monopoly capital on the economic and political fronts.

The national liberation movement dealt a number of telling blows on imperialism and entered a new, higher stage of its development.

The peace-loving forces, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in the first place, succeeded in the course of this period to rebuff the attempts of the aggressive circles of imperialism to unleash a world war.

The number of the Communist Parties has increased and the ranks of the international army of communists, of all forces of peace and democracy, have grown.

Two irrefutable conclusions are to be drawn from this, Pravda points out:

★ The general line of the communist movement is a correct and truly revolutionary line.

★ In order to ensure further successes and victories we must work and act in accordance with this line.

The forces of socialism, of the working class and national liberation movements have grown and have greater possibilities for fulfilling the noble tasks and aims defined in the Statement.

The paper stresses that the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence and economic competition with the capitalist countries forms the immutable foundation of the foreign policy of the socialist countries.

"As understood by Marxist-Leninists, the policy of peaceful co-existence is not a tactical device conceived for some limited period, but a strategic line for the entire period of transition from capitalism to socialism on a world scale," the paper points out.

The world communist movement tells the people the whole truth about the menace of thermonuclear war. Realistic, scientifically substantiated understanding of the probable consequences of thermonuclear war helps to mobilise the masses at large in the struggle against the military plans of imperialism and against imperialism itself as a source of war.

The principle of peaceful coexistence covers only the sphere of mutual relations between states; it does not extend and cannot be extended to the class struggle against capital inside the bourgeois countries or to the national liberation movement. "Such struggle in different forms, peaceful and non-peaceful, is an inevitable process stemming from the very conditions of the existence of the capitalist society, from the class contradictions in that society," Pravda writes.

The general line of the international communist movement, as defined by the 1960 meeting, is a line of struggle for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism, a line towards the achievement of complete victory of socialism and communism.

Concerning the national liberation struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, Pravda writes that it is deepening at the current stage and is becoming broader and sharper. It is now a struggle for the liquidation of the surviving colonial empires and the overthrow of tyrannical anti-popular regimes—the puppets of imperialism—a struggle against neo-colonialism in all its forms, against participation in imperialist military blocs, against imperialist military bases, and, lastly, a struggle for economic independence, for ending the sway of foreign capital, for the development of the national economy of the liberated countries, for radical agrarian reforms, for

democratising the social system, a struggle which is becoming increasingly important in the obtaining conditions.

The CPSU and the Soviet people consider it their internationalist duty to give these peoples every political and economic support—and if necessary support by arms—in their struggle for national liberation.

The CPSU, the article says, regards fraternal alliance with the peoples which have thrown off the yoke of colonialism as one of the cornerstones of its foreign policy.

Pravda points out further that all through the recent years the Soviet people have been tirelessly fighting for peace, for relaxation of international tension. "At the same time, since the imperialists continue their arms race, the USSR accomplished a tremendous job of consolidating its defence potential, primarily of perfecting its nuclear-rocket shield which, securely protects the interests of every socialist country and of the socialist community as a whole.

"The growth of the Soviet Union's defence might, placed completely at the service of the cause of peace and socialism, played the most important part in the failure



Sorrowing for martyred President Kennedy, Premier Khrushchev stands in solemn silence in the US Embassy in Moscow.

## OF THE SOCIALIST CAMP OF THE ENTIRE INTERNATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT

Noting that the Moscow Statement pointed out that the masses of the people who have taken to the road of independent development are gravitating to the non-capitalist way of development, Pravda writes: "Struggle for the non-capitalist way of development is revolutionary struggle involving

"Supporting everything that directly or indirectly serves the cause of social progress, the Marxist-Leninist conduct vigorous propaganda of the ideas of scientific socialism, help the masses to become convinced on the basis of their own experience of the justice and viability of the Marxist-Leninist teachings."

Analysing the shifts in the economy of the imperialist countries, the paper continues. The fraternal Parties, urging all democratic forces to be vigilant, called attention to the fact that sinister symptoms of a strengthening of reaction, fascist trends in the imperialist countries, have appeared on the horizon of world politics. The reactionary forces of imperialism, the so-called "wild men", have become increasingly active in recent years.

They stop at nothing to realise their plans, and direct their blows not only against the revolutionary forces but also against bourgeois statesmen who soberly assess the balance of forces in the world and seek the solution of international problems through negotiation. This was especially clearly manifested by the assassination of President Kennedy.

## U.S. Rightists' Programme

The men behind this criminal act pursued a two-fold aim: to eliminate from the political arena the capitalist politician enjoying the greatest prestige who, while remaining entirely on the positions of his class, soberly assessed the shifts in the world arena and sought to adapt to them the foreign and home policy of his country. At the same time, the persons who directed the hand of the assassin against the President of their country tried not only to change the balance of political forces in the United States in their own favour, in favour of the "wild men" and reactionists, but also to whip up anti-communist, anti-Soviet and anti-Cuban hysteria.

"The complicated conditions of the development of economically backward countries are reflected in ideology and give rise to different kinds of socialist doctrines in which, quite often, some elements of scientific socialism are combined with religious, petty bourgeois, utopian and other ideas. The communists cannot disregard the positive role of such doctrines when they serve as a foundation for a democratic, revolutionary, anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist measures.

THE PROGRAMME OF AMERICAN ULTRAS IS: THERMONUCLEAR WAR IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS AND LIQUIDATION OF ALL DEMOCRATIC FREEDOMS AND CIVIL RIGHTS INSIDE THE COUNTRY.

The shots in Dallas attracted the attention of world public opinion to this sinister programme which is dangerous not only to all mankind as well. Reaction is becoming more active. Its way can be blocked only by the working class, by the working people, by all democrats through their united and joint actions.

The most farsighted representatives of monopoly capital now realise the hopelessness of the attempts to do away with the socialist system by force, to suppress the working class and national liberation movements. While still using the methods of violence and

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PAGE FIVE



A Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee opened in Moscow on December 9. In this an earlier photograph besides Premier Khrushchev can be seen, President Brezhnev, Kuusinen and M. Suslov.

# Tripartite Body for Price Index

## Labour Ministry Rejects Demand

NEW DELHI: The Union Labour Ministry has turned down the demand made by trade union centres, particularly the All India Trade Union Congress, for constitution of tripartite committees to scrutinise the price data collected for compilation of consumer price indices.

RATHER, the Ministry is trying to explain away the faults in the compilation of the consumer price indices which have led to scaling down the dearness allowance of workers whose DA is linked to the consumer price index.

The refusal of the Labour Ministry to concede the demand for a tripartite committee for supervision of the price collection machinery is contained in a note prepared for the Standing Labour Committee, scheduled to meet here on December 27 and 28.

It has sought to explain in detail the intricate and elaborate system of price collection to allay the apprehensions of the trade unions of likely manipulations in the collection of price data.

The periodical collection of price data, the note says, is done by part-time price collectors who are generally employees of state governments. The price collectors have to

collect prices and report them in accordance with the instructions laid down by the Labour Bureau.

The work of the price collectors is scrutinised by price supervisors, mostly of the rank of district statistical officers or assistant labour commissioners. This ensures proper collection of data regarding prices, it is claimed by the Labour Ministry.

On the basis of this machinery, claimed to be foolproof, the Ministry has ruled out the suggestion that there should be tripartite association for the collection of price data or their scrutiny. It is also claimed that tripartite machinery would be cumbersome and impractical.

The Ministry has further tried to rebut the trade unions' charge that the consumer price index showed a declining trend during the period October 1962 to May 1963, when prices have actually risen sharply (see NEW AGE December 1).

The official claim is that during the main harvest season which starts in October and extends upto December the indices for many centres, especially where the item of rice figures as an important food item (having high weightage), the index will register a seasonal fall with the normal time lag for such a commodity to reach the market.

To bolster up its argument that the index has not fallen during the period, the note has given price index trends in 13 centres on the basis of the latest 1960 series of index. The figures show that the index showed rise in price level ranging from two per cent (in Delhi) to 16 per cent (in Sambalpur in Orissa). It is further claimed that on an average the index has risen by about five per cent during the one year from August, 1962.

It is interesting to note that no trade union centre has made any complaint about the methodology of compiling the price index. The allegation is that the government's price collectors are not recording the actual prices prevailing in the market but only taking

the 'fair price' fixed by the government for various essential articles of daily necessity.

The second allegation is that the prices of many articles which should have been included in the index are not taken at all. For instance, it has now been shown up that in Bombay the price of certain varieties of cloth has been pegged for the last 30 many years. The case of house rent remaining static for the last 30 years in Bombay in the index compilations has also now come to light.

### Keeping Mum

The Labour Ministry has kept mum over these specific charges made by the trade unions and instead gone in for a lengthy discourse on the methodology of the index compilation. Further, it has also been found that the accuracy of the index even as given in the government's 1960-based index is not above suspicion. In none of the big industrial centres of the country does that index show any rise.

In Calcutta, the index which stood at 115 in October 1960 has fallen to 113 in August 1963. In Jamshepur the difference between the 1962 October index and the August 1963 index is just one point: from 108 it went up to 109! In Ahmedabad it rose from 106 to 108 in Amritsar from 108 to 111 and in Bangalore it remained transfixed at 112 during November 1962—August 1963. In Delhi there was only a two point rise

between August 1962 and August 1963.

It is true that the index rose by seven points in Sambalpur and six points in Digbol during the twelve months from August 1962. But that is no comfort for the bulk of the industrial workers in places like Bombay, Calcutta, Ahmedabad, Madras and Jamshepur whose DA is linked to the consumer price index.

It is funny that the Labour Ministry has claimed that associating tripartite machinery with the collection and supervision of price data would come in the way of timely release of index numbers. The Ministry seems not to know that the workers would rather have their full dues a day late than lose it altogether.

The Labour Ministry has also claimed that the scientific aspect of the price collection and index compilation might be lost sight of in the anxiety of the representatives to project their own points of view in the technical work involved if tripartite machinery is evolved.

Why with such "perfect" technical work and scientific aspect as exist today the consumer price indices now released are not really reflective of the actual cost of living, the Labour Ministry has not cared to answer.

All that the workers want is to be ensured that the indices would really reflect the cost of living and the actual prices prevailing in the market.

# One-Day Strike Voted By Tramwaymen

★ FROM AJOY DASGUPTA

CALCUTTA: The workers and employees of the tramway company in Calcutta have voted overwhelmingly in favour of a one-day strike in support of their demands.

THE strike ballot was sponsored jointly by three unions namely the Calcutta Tramway Workers Union (AITUC), the Calcutta Tram Mazdoor Sabha (HMS-Socialist) and the Calcutta Tramway's Ministerial Staff Association (Independent).

The decision to take a strike ballot came as a result of the realisation that the management of the British-owned Calcutta Tramways Co. Ltd. would not pay any heed to the most legitimate demands of the workers unless these are backed up by mass action.

Out of the 10 thousand workers and employees, nearly 1500 are on leave and 500 workers would be available only on the pay day at one single place. Of the remaining 8000, 7400 have already voted and 500 more are expected to vote.

## Insurance Employees Rally

Out of the 7400 workers who have so far voted, 7185 have voted in favour of the strike, while only 218 voted against. Twenty-three ballots were found invalid.

The ballot boxes were opened in the presence of representatives of other trade unions such as the Mercantile Federation, Insurance Employees Association and the BPTUC, as also representatives of the press. A large number of tram workers and union activists were also present.

From the first ballot box itself the result of the strike ballot was clear. As more boxes were opened and the positive votes began piling up, the enthusiasm of the workers rose fast and when the counting finished and the result was announced there were shouts of "tram workers zindabad" and "tram workers unity zindabad".

The 500 workers who have not voted will cast their votes on their pay day (December 10) and thereafter, the final result of the strike ballot will be announced. The date for the one-day token strike will be decided thereafter by the joint committee of the three unions.

Sensing the mood of the workers, the tramways management has not broken off the thread of negotiations. But as yet, it has not shown any readiness either to accept the workers' demands.

parading the main thoroughfares of the city with posters and shouting slogans demanding acceptance of their demands by the LIC authorities.

The unrest among LIC employees had begun in July when the LIC authorities instead of confirming the 200 employees began retrenchment, starting with above 17 some of whom had even three years' service to their credit. The dispute was referred to the conciliation officer but the management flatly refused to take them back.

The Association then suggested voluntary reference of the dispute to arbitration, but this was also not accepted by the management. The matter was then brought to the notice of the government of India. A mass petition signed by 5000 LIC employees in Calcutta was sent. Telegrams were also sent by the LIC employees working in 42 offices in Calcutta and neighbourhood. But there has been no result so far.

The meeting, presided over by SOMEN CHATTERJEE, president of the Association, and addressed by, among others, JYOTISH DUTTA general secretary, passed resolutions demanding reinstatement of the 17 employees and absorption of all the 200 sub-staff employees.

It also protested against the decision of the authorities to recruit directly record clerks which was against earlier agreements.

The trouble in the vertical pipe factory has led to complete stoppage of production from November 19. About 300 workers are employed in this unit.

The recent termination of services of two workmen, namely KANAK SEN of the accounts department and RAJMOHAN of light castings department, has also been

the Indian Iron and Steel Co. (IISCO) for its refusal to give the interim relief awarded by the steel wage board to the workers of the Kulti Works.

The management's position is that the Kulti Works do not produce steel and therefore the award is not applicable to the workers there. But it is a well-known fact that Kulti Works form an integral part of the IISCO's steel production combine along with the Burnpore works.

Besides, this point had been argued out before the wage board and the board had directed that the interim relief award was applicable to the Kulti Works also, in the interests of industrial peace and harmony.

Despite repeated representations to both the state government, which is responsible for seeing the award implemented, and to the management, the interim relief has not been paid to the workers. Even while serving the strike notice, the union has taken up the matter with the Union Labour Ministry.

The workers are also agitated over the issue of production bonus in the vertical pipe foundry department of the Kulti Works. The workers are demanding immediate upward revision of the bonus quantum, but the management is holding out stiffly on the demand.

The main gain for the employees has been the merger of the existing dearness allowance with the basic pay. This will be effective from December and till a new grade structure is evolved. The corporation also agreed to take up with the government within a week the question of granting a 25 per cent increase in pay packet and payment of Rs. four additional DA per month which is in arrears.

The provision fund anomalies will be done away with. The question of reversion to normal working hours, that is reducing the extra working time introduced after the emergency, will be considered by the commissioner on representation. Some other non-financial demands of the workers were also met.

However, the spirit in which the employees and workers withdrew the strike notice has already been violated by the corporation authorities. On the issue of the normal working hours, the commissioner's order is that only those who wished to work normal hours would do so. This is because some employees are willing to work the increased hours. The commissioner's attempt, plainly, is to divide the staff into two camps.

The 25 per cent increase in pay packet which is dependent on the government grant, will also not be forthcoming as a matter of course.

The joint committee has called upon the workers and employees to consolidate the gains already achieved and to keep vigilance and organisational preparedness so that if the authorities go back on their words, the struggle could be carried forward to full victory.

taken up by the union in its strike notice.

Mass meetings, gate meetings and demonstrations are being held regularly in Kulti by the union. There is a real awakening on the part of the workers who have come to realise that without action the management is not going to concede even an award of the wage board accepted by the government.

There is also promise for the future with the increasing unity being built up at the base between the workers belonging to the AITUC and the INTUC over the demand for the implementation of the wage board award of interim relief.

## Civic Strike Averted

MEANWHILE, in Calcutta, the civic strike which was to have come off at midnight of November 26 was averted at the last moment as a result of the Corporation's acceptance of some of the demands of the workers and a promise to favourably look into some more.

The decision to call off the strike was taken at a meeting of the corporation workers and employees at Subodh Mullaik Square on November 25, called by the joint committee.

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# Tenants on Tata Zamindari Being Thrown Out

JAMSHEDPUR: Every year the state of Bihar loses a sum of about Rs. 11 lakhs and this amount goes to the coffers of the Tata Iron & Steel Company. By 1962-63, the company had already appropriated an estimated amount of Rs. 78 lakhs.

THIS is the amount which accrues from ground rents and other incomes of the Tata estate, which would have gone to state exchequer had not the Congress ministry in Bihar passed a special amendment to the Bihar Zamindari Abolition Act and suspended the operation of the Act in the estate of the Tatas at Jamshepur.

In the year 1961-62, the Tatas earned Rs. 11.17 lakhs from this estate. The major heads of incomes were ground rents for the areas on which the associated companies and others have built factories, quarters and private houses, forest receipts on account of production of lac and forest royalty, vendor fees, market receipts etc.

The Tata zamindari is a completely feudal set-up. It has its own army of lathials, teshildars, land officers and so on. And it practices all vices for which the old zamindars were notorious. But it has a story of its own and that is: this zamindari has been given away to the Tatas as a gift by the Congress government in the year 1960. It has resulted in an annual loss of revenue to the state as well as a source of great agony to the citizens. Tatas maintain almost a government of its own in Jamshepur and virtually every thing except the air that one breathes is owned by them.

The Tata zamindari has a unique background. When the TISCO factory was being set up, the Tatas took leave of an area comprising of 17 villages from the

Raja of Dhalbhum. These villages have since been gobbled up by the factory and quarters except in some corners where some villagers still remain. After independence, government took over the land and granted lease to the Tatas making them a full-fledged zamindar on its revenue book.

After the Zamindari Abolition Act was passed, some villagers took up a position that they would pay rent only to the government of the state and not to the Tatas whose zamindari ipso facto has become non-existent under the Act. Cases were instituted against them but in the courts of the Additional Deputy Commissioner and the Deputy Commissioner, the Tatas lost and prepared an appeal to the Patna High Court.

Before the High Court could decide the issue, the Government of Bihar in 1960, at the behest of the Tatas, brought in an amendment which granted exemption to the Tatas from the operation of the Zamindari Abolition Act, except for those areas which are agricultural lands. The High Court was thus precluded from giving its verdict.

When questioned in the assembly, BINODANAND JHA, openly declared that the amendment was framed in consultation with the officers of the Tatas. Obviously, the obligation of the Congress Party to the Tatas is of quite a high order.

With this Zamindari, received as a gift from the Congress government, the Tatas carry on all their feudal racialism. A blatant instance of it can be seen from their latest act.

More than 1,000 families in the Mohuberia, Naya Line and East Plant Busters of Jamshepur are today facing uncertain future because the Tatas have decided to evict them. Following the traditional pattern Tata teshildars sometime back stopped collecting ground rent from the plot holders. This was not particularly noticed by the plot holders

because very often the teshildars collected rents for three or four months together. But this time the story was different. After the expiry of three months, zamindar Tata instituted ejectment suits and the court decreed eviction because under the Chotanagpur Tenancy Act such evictions were allowed.

Nobody knows what is the exact reason that required eviction of these families, some of whom had been residing in that area for more than twenty years. Most of the residents are not in a position to build new houses and for some the existing houses are the only source of income.

The decree requires the tenants to vacate the plots, demolishing the houses and removing all the rubble. The officers of the Tata company are also not explicit about the reason for eviction.

Some say the area is required for expansion, some assign the growing slag dump as reason for requiring more areas necessitating eviction. One reason that is not openly said but indirectly hinted at is the fact that the bustee dwellers had voted en bloc for the Communist candidates in the last General Elections.

The Tatas are "magnanimous." They have offered alternative plot and a little compensation in no case exceeding a few hundred rupees even for those houses whose present day market value is more than Rs. 15,000. The compensation in almost all cases will have to be spent for demolishing the house itself.

This is happening in the zamindari of the Tatas right under the nose of the Bihar government which is so much overwhelmed by the influence of the Tatas that it dares not take any step in this regard. When somebody asked a government high-up as to why during the emergency, so many families are being made destitute, the officer could only mutter that after all what can they do against the all-powerful Tatas?

## Famine Conditions in Rajasthan District

NAGOUR: About a thousand villages of Nagaur district in Rajasthan have been badly affected with acute famine conditions. Hundreds of agriculturists have already started migrating to Malwa and other places in Madhya Pradesh along with their families and cattle.

THIS year there were almost no rains in many parts of the state and if there were any, they were negligible. The tanks have dried up and even drinking water is being drawn from wells which also will exhaust before summer sets in.

The failure of rains has caused devastating scarcity conditions in the whole of the Jodhpur division, that is the former Marwar state. The famine is worse than that of samvat 1956. There are no crops, grass and fodder. Stocks of last year have exhausted and the people find no way to feed themselves.

The state government, however, has not done anything to alleviate the misery of the people. No relief works have been started in any part of the division. Not to speak of relief works, the government has not even declared the area as famine-affected despite the fact that drought had stricken the Jodhpur division months ago.

The Nagaur district authorities have under-estimated the damage to crops though a clear picture of the situation was provided by patwaris and girdwaris, who have prepared records of the crop failures on the spot after careful assessment of the damage to the crop. Needless to say that patwaris know better about crops and crop conditions since they live in the village among the agriculturists which is not the case with the district authorities.

The records prepared by

patwaris in Nagaur district reveal that the damage to crops this year in almost all the villages is 75 per cent, but the district authorities have declared that the damage to crops in all villages is only 25 per cent. No reason has been given to overrule the estimates given by the patwaris.

Not only has the government not provided the famine stricken agriculturists of Nagaur with any relief works, these people are being forced to go and work at the Rajasthan Canal site. The people would very much like to work, but when they are asked to work at the Rajasthan Canal, the agriculturists do not know what to do with their cattle which are their sole source of livelihood, Nagaur being a singlecrop area depending entirely on the mercy of the monsoons.

The Rajasthan government is already spending money in the Bikaner district on famine relief works. About Rs. 17 lakhs have already been spent according to reports. But why such relief works are not undertaken in Nagaur district also, where an exactly similar situation is prevailing, is a mystery.

The Nagaur peasants have started a campaign for relief work and declaration of the district as a famine stricken area under the leadership of the district Kisan Sabha and its president, HEM SINGH CHOWDHARY. The government's response to this agitation is yet to be seen.

# BIHAR PROPOSALS TO RAISE RESOURCES

PATNA: The Communist Party in Bihar has expressed grave concern at the precarious state of finances of the State government and demanded immediate steps to augment the resources of the state without heaping more burdens on the poor.

In a statement issued here, the secretariat of the Bihar state council of the Communist Party of India has said that the refusal of the Planning Commission to finalise the annual plan for 1964-65 for Bihar due to the failure of the state government to mobilise adequate resources is a sad commentary on the policies of the state government.

The statement says what is even more disturbing is that this rude jolt given by the Planning Commission has not provoked any serious critical examination of its policies by the Bihar government. The statement says:

It seems engaged in finding a solution to this crisis in the traditional way of heaping a further load of taxes on the rickety backs of the peasantry. There are rumours of a special winter session of the Assembly to rush through the thrice-cursed land revenue surcharge, which due to its un-

vance, the plan can be fulfilled in a larger measure than what we imagine, only if the government gives up its policy of giving concessions to landlords and big business. In this regard we shall like to advance the following concrete proposals:

1. Revise the agricultural income tax in order to tax the big landowners.

2. Stay payment of compensation to erstwhile zamindars who had income above five thousand rupees.

3. Revise the mining leases to take away part of the fabulous profits of the mine-owners.

4. End the special concessions to Tatas in respect of zamindari rights.

5. End the special concessions in respect of supply of bamboos from the government forests to S. F. Jain.

6. Take over the three power houses of Messrs. Octavius Steel & Co at Patna, Muzaffarpur and Bhagalpur.

7. Augment the profits of

the few public sector undertakings like state transport, super-phosphate plant, board of electricity etc., by streamlining their administration.

8. Reduce waste and corruption in administration by effective measures of control and exemplary punishment.

9. Realise arrears of taxes and loans from those who are dodging payment due to their links with the ruling party.

10. Develop industries in the public sector in a big way in order to utilise their profits for developmental purposes on an ever-growing scale.

We are firmly of the opinion that these concrete measures can give our state sufficient resources not only to bridge the gap between the plan outlay and the available resources, but to give tax relief to our harassed people.

All these measures are practicable and in line with the policies laid down by the Planning Commission and can be implemented only if the state government choose to take Bihar out of its age old backwardness, concluded the statement.

# Congress Professions of Socialism

## WHAT TO MAKE OF THEM ?

**QUESTION:** What exactly is the value of Congress socialism? And what is the attitude of the CPI towards it? (R. S. Pandey, Varanasi, UP)

**ANSWER:** The first point to be clear about is that sixteen years of Congress monopoly of power have not led India anywhere near socialism.

Congress leaders, including Pandit Nehru, admit that the years since independence have seen an unparalleled growth of the concentration of economic power in the hands of a few industrial houses, the deepening of inequality, the failure to break up the concentration of ownership of land and the continuance of abysmal poverty for the overwhelming majority.

Not all of these leaders remember to add that private foreign monopoly investments, especially those of US and UK imperialism, have more than doubled in this period. KRISHNA MENON said recently that in order to move towards socialism we must recognise where we are—in a capitalist society. But this is not all. The Congress government seeks to build an independent capitalist India in alliance with the landlords and in compromise with imperialism. Hence, the struggle and contradictory character of economic development.

Nor is it a matter of economic policies alone. Corruption has grown like a veritable blight upon the land. Draconian anti-democratic and authoritarian trends have

strengthened themselves in government policies. Right reactionary forces, within and outside the Congress, have become far more powerful. Mass discontent has steadily mounted and so has mass resistance, apart from cynicism and apathy.

Even in the sphere of foreign policy, while basically for non-alignment, peace and anti-colonialism, serious vacillations have appeared, particularly with regard to anti-colonial and Afro-Asian solidarity.

An abundance of facts and figures from official sources can easily be cited to prove these formulations which the CPI has been making since its 1956 Palghat Congress and which it has reiterated at its Vijayawada Congress in 1961.

In his reply to the slanderous "Mirror for Revisionists" put out by the Communist Party of China, Party Chairman S. A. DANGE reiterated these formulations.

"In ten years after independence British capital doubled its volume and American capital has penetrated Indian economy at a very fast rate. The land problem has not been solved and the peasant is discontented. Industrial and agricultural production is in crisis and is not growing as expected."

"Wealth has come to be concentrated in fewer hands. The Five Year Plans are meeting with serious difficulties inherent in the capitalist system and are becoming more and more dependent on foreign aid, particularly American aid."

"The discontent of the people, as expressed in strikes, etc., is

suppressed by the Government with violence. The reactionary parties and groups which have grown stronger and are in league with the imperialists are trying to take the country into the American camp and give up its nonalignment."

Formulations apart, through the election battles and the various forms of organised mass action the CPI has made its attitude crystal clear. The CPI has no illusions that the Congress Government has been building or can build socialism in India. Its class character precludes such a possibility.

This does not mean that the CPI does not recognise certain progressive, national-democratic features in government policies and actions.

● There is the foreign policy of nonalignment, peace and anti-colonialism which has not been altered, despite the tremendous pressures built up following the Chinese aggression.

● There are the economic relations with the socialist countries that strengthen national independence.

● There is the public sector of a state-capitalist and progressive nature.

● There is the existence of bourgeois parliamentary democracy and secularism.

● There is the curbing of feudalism to a large extent.

The CPI does not overlook the fact that imperialism and the forces of the Right, which are powerfully entrenched inside the Congress party and governments, are now on a ferocious offensive, precisely against these national-democratic features of official policy and action. And against this back-

# YOUR QUESTIONS ANSWERED

by MOHIT SEN

ground a great debate is developing in the Congress on the meaning of socialism.

Congress socialism means different things to different Congressmen. S. K. PATIL and his allies now openly state that they would like India to become another West Germany with its neo-nazism, revanchism and monopoly capital! This would be "democratic socialism"!

OBVIOUSLY, THE CONGRESS RIGHT WANTS TO SIMULTANEOUSLY UTILISE THE APPEAL OF SOCIALISM TO FOOL THE PEOPLE AND ALSO TO DISCREDIT IT SO THAT OPEN AND UNRESTRAINED MONOPOLY CAPITAL-LANDLORD RULE CAN BE ESTABLISHED IN PARTNERSHIP WITH IMPERIALISM.

## National Democratic Programme

There are, however, other radical-democratic forces and leaders in the Congress. They too believe that the Congress has its own unique type of socialism. However, they are becoming increasingly more vocal in their criticism of the reactionary policies of the government.

They are putting forward a programme of radical land reforms, extensive nationalisation and a democratic administration, which they want the government to implement urgently. They are firm supporters of the foreign policy of nonalignment, peace and anti-colonialism. They want the cooperation of all socialist and progressive forces.

The speeches at Jaipur and elsewhere of Krishna Menon, K. D. MALAVIYA and others underline this approach as does the recent resolution of the Utkal Pradesh Congress Committee. We have here the clearly emerging contours of a national democratic programme. The CPI fully supports this programme and hails the sincerity and courage of these Congress democrats in their efforts to turn the tables on the Congress Right.

It does not agree that this programme or agitation for it will take India to socialism. It feels that these Congress democrats are still confused about what exactly socialism is and the working class power, based on a broad alliance, needed to realise it.

It feels that these Congress democrats have yet to evolve a consistently correct approach to the class struggles and mass actions of the toiling people.

It feels that much misunderstanding and unnecessary misgivings about Marxism, as the scientific philosophy of socialism, exists among these Congress democrats.

Naturally, the CPI considers it its duty to explain to the people—and to the democratic Congressmen—its concept of scientific socialism and the outlook of Marxism. Without

## CPI Executive to Meet

THE Central Secretariat of the Communist Party has convened the Central Executive Committee of the Party to meet from January 6 to 9, 1964 (both days inclusive) in New Delhi. Political and organisational questions arising out of the last National Council meeting, as well as political and organisational questions which have come up since then will form the subject matters of the agenda, says a secretariat announcement.

# SEMINAR, A HIGHER STAGE OF PEACE MOVEMENT

Report by Staff Correspondent Pauly Parakal

India's key role as a nonaligned country in promoting world peace and achieving disarmament was highlighted at the seminar on international affairs and world peace organised in New Delhi from December 7 to 9 by the Committee of Indian Parliamentarians for Peace.

And in consistency with this role, with India's tradition and with the noblest aspirations of mankind for peace, the seminar decided to convene in India a world conference of all movements for peace in every country to declare against nuclear war and to consider ways to bring about total disarmament in the world.

The seminar took the movement for peace in India to an yet higher level. Participating in it were men and women of different shades of opinion and political beliefs and ideologies, people belonging to different organisations working for peace. Though organised by parliamentarians, people in other vocations of life like lawyers and writers also participated in the seminar.

An international perspective was given to the deliberations by the presence of renowned foreign participants. Among them were ANTHONY GREENWOOD, chairman of the British Labour Party; T. NIKOLOEVA, member of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR; J. WILFAN, chairman of the Yugoslav Committee of the Inter-Parliamentary Union; PHILIP GUNAWARDHANA, member of parliament of Ceylon and CLOVIS MAKSOUUD of the League of Arab States.

Underlining the importance of efforts to achieve world peace, the seminar received a large number of messages wishing it success, among them: from President RADHAKRISHNAN, Professor J. D. BERNAL, chairman of the presidential committee of the World Council of Peace, HAROLD WILSON, British Labour Party leader, Dr. TULSI GIRI, chairman of the council of ministers of Nepal and many governors and chief ministers of Indian states.

The seminar began its inaugural session with the participants standing in silence for two minutes in memory of President JOHN F. KENNEDY who had contributed towards easing of tension in the world by signing the partial test ban treaty.

In his opening remarks DIWAN CHAMAN LALL said mere talking about peace would not do what was needed was a realistic and constructive approach to ways of easing tension and achieving world peace. The task of the seminar would be to analyse the problems dispassionately and suggest remedies for them.

He said any war today would be a total war, and so would be the destruction caused by it. There were some madmen and some reckless men who thought that they could survive the destruction of war. But that was only an illusion. The Chinese aggression against India has shown that there were some who thought disputes could be settled by force. That was also an illusion, Diwan Chaman Lall said.

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Delhi Mayor Nur-ud-Din Ahmed speaking at the public meeting.

basic one, he said, because if a war broke out all other problems will take new complexion and will have to be viewed differently. The problem of peace was a difficult one, too, because to tackle it, the hatred and fear complex which were at the base of the war preparations had to be tackled first.

Nehru said the world had recently seen happy signs of a relaxation in tension and leading nations of different blocs had come together. The way the Cuban crisis was prevented from erupting into a world war and the recent signing of partial test ban treaty were signs of this easing of tension.

Referring to President Kennedy's assassination the Prime Minister said the late president had become a symbol of the new policies aimed at relaxation of tensions and his killing was presumably the act of a person or persons who opposed that policy. The assassination could also be the result of the late president's opposition to racial discrimination.

With the death of President Kennedy there were fears that the process of relaxation of international tension which he started might be reversed. Nehru said and hoped that this fear was unfounded and that President JOHNSON would follow the policies of his predecessor.

Nehru said India was pledged to peaceful policies under the influence of GANDHIJI. But

The problem of peace was a

immediately after achieving independence, an armed conflict was imposed on us over Kashmir. Last year China invaded our northern borders. Some followers of Gandhiji felt that invasion should be met by non-violent means. India was forced to resort to warlike measures and defence preparations, he said.

The Prime Minister further explained this point by saying that if the government were to be more peaceful than the people wanted it to be, there would be distrust and fear. This would present problems which could not be tackled easily. He wanted the seminar to find a way out of this problem.

The issues of "colonialism and racism which have created extreme anger and bitterness" were also referred to by the Prime Minister. There was also the problem of the underdeveloped countries where there were large chunks of poor people. These problems have to be solved, he said, because lasting peace could be achieved only by ensuring the well being of all peoples.

## Soviet Delegate's Speech

The inaugural session was also addressed by some of the foreign participants and K. D. MALAVIYA, former Union Minister for Mines and Fuel, and M. C. SETALVAD, former Attorney General.

Nikolaeva said the existence

of states belonging to two opposite social systems, socialism and capitalism, was a characteristic of the present epoch. Differences in ideology and existence of different social systems did not at all mean that states having differing socio-economic systems could not live in peace and friendship.

She quoted from the programme of the Communist Party of Soviet Union: "peaceful coexistence of socialist and capitalist states" is an objective necessity of the development of human society, and said that the Supreme Soviet of the USSR has repeatedly appealed to parliaments of other states to take concrete steps aimed at ensuring general peace and international security.

Recognition of this principle by the developing countries was manifested in the nonalignment policy which was playing an important role in international relations, she said adding "we are happy to note that the principle of peaceful coexistence is actively supported by the Indian government."

"The policy of nonalignment makes higher international authority of India and her role in solving international issues. Great credit goes to the forces of India headed by Prime Minister Nehru who purposefully and without sparing effort have worked for its implementation," Nikolaeva said.

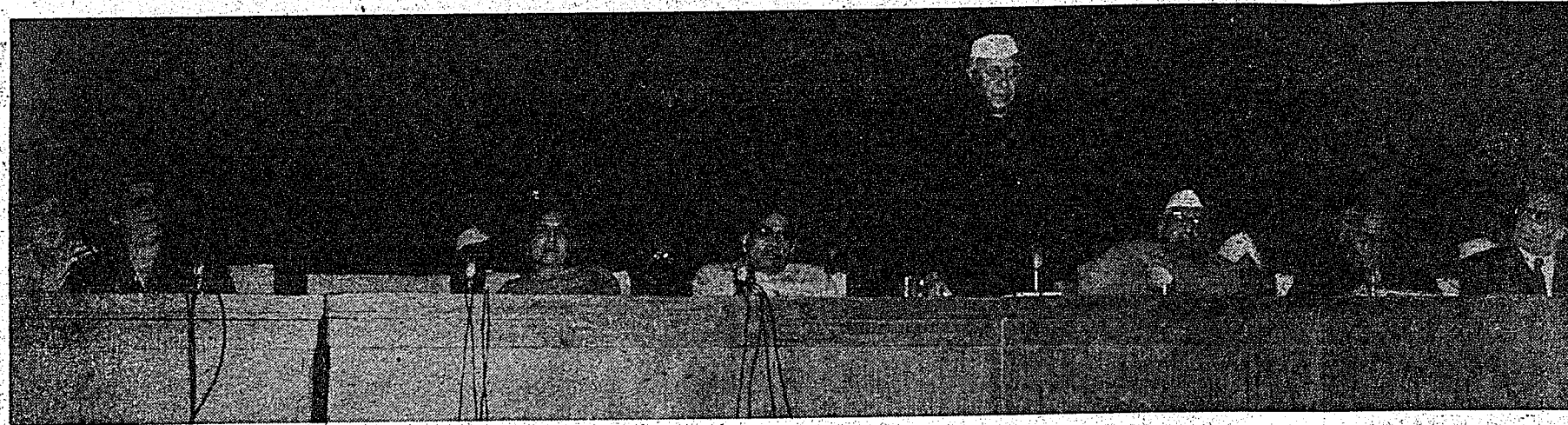
The partial test ban treaty was a great success of the policy of coexistence, she said. It was a great step towards forward, but that was not enough. Complete and general disarmament and the abolition of military bases in foreign countries had to be achieved as soon as possible.

Nikolaeva said that the Soviet Union had supported the people of Asia and Africa in their struggle against colonialism and racism. It had offered and continued to offer economic help to these countries. She cited the economic aid given by the Soviet Union and expressed the hope that Indo-Soviet cooperation would expand and strengthen in all fields.

Anthony Greenwood who began his speech by reading out the message from Harold Wilson, whom he qualified as the "next Prime Minister of Britain," said that history had proved that one could kill men but not their ideas. He hoped President Johnson would carry forward to success the campaign against racism and for civil rights begun by President Kennedy.

He said that the British people did not want to become a nuclear power, because no one

\*SEE OVERLEAF



Prime Minister Nehru inaugurating the Seminar. Seated from Left to Right are Soviet interpreter, Madame Nikolayeva, Mrs. Asaf Ali, K. D. Malaviya, Dewan Chaman Lall, V. K. Krishna Menon and Mr. Jose Vilfan of Yugoslavia.

# PEACE, THE MOST NATIONAL ISSUE

## ★ V. K. Krishna Menon's Speech

### \* FROM OVERLEAF

possessing nuclear power had the moral power to demand that others should not develop them. Britain should not attempt to become an independent nuclear power; NATO should not be dependent on a nuclear strategy and nuclear weapons should not go into the hands of Germans, he said.

Greenwood emphasised the necessity for disengagement in the trouble spots of the world and creation of nuclear-free zones. Central Europe was not the only trouble spot, he said, there were other places in Latin America, Middle East and Africa where the danger of conflict existed.

He wanted the UN to be strengthened and made universal. In this connection Greenwood also advocated People's Republic of China's admission to the UN, because "it was imperative to ease tension in the world."

Mr. Wilfan praised India's efforts in the direction of world peace and disarmament and said Yugoslavia was also striving for the same ends. President TITO was also endeavouring for Peace as Jawaharlal Nehru was doing.

Clovis Maksoud underlined the close cooperation that existed between India and the Arab countries in the struggle for peace and coexistence. He said without the economic and social wellbeing of the people, real and lasting peace could not be achieved.

K. D. Malaviya drew attention

to the dangers of growth of militarists, and said if this went unchecked it could threaten the very existence of life on this planet. The biggest hurdle in the path of peace was exploitation of man by man, which was very much visible in newly independent countries.

He sounded a note of warning against the "drugging and poisoning" effects of foreign aid and the exploitation-aimed propaganda of the consumer goods manufacturers. Many of the underdeveloped countries were potentially rich but were kept forcibly in poverty, he said and cited the case of the oil-rich Middle East countries.

M. C. Setalvad said international law and peace were indivisible. Nationalism had also developed some characteristics and phases of aggression and imperialistic domination and was tending to threaten peace. This tendency had to be curbed.

He wanted a world peace research organisation to be set up under the UN and the suggestions made by this body to minimise the dangers of war to be made obligatory on all members of the world organisation.

### COMMISSION MEETINGS

At night there was a cultural programme in honour of the participants of the seminar: classical dances by INDRANI RAHMAN, tabla recital by CHATUR LAL and veena by KUNWAR MRIGEN-

### DRA SINGH

On the second day of the seminar, the participants divided into five commissions: on Disarmament and the Nuclear Threat; on India, Her Neighbours and the World; on Economics of Disarmament, Economics of Peace and Economic Cooperation; on Colonialism, Racialism and Human Rights; and on International Cooperation and Organisation of Public Opinion.

The commission on disarmament and nuclear threat was presided over by M. C. Setalvad and later on by P. N. SAPRU MP. Anthony Greenwood and T. Nikolaeva participated in the discussions and made important contributions.

ARJUN ARORA MP presided over the commission on India, her neighbours and the world. Among those who participated in the discussions of this commission was Clovis Maksoud.

The economic commission which was presided over by K. D. Malaviya was addressed, among others, by V. K. R. V. RAO and B. N. GANGULI.

The commission on colonialism and racialism was presided over by ANUP SINGH and N. C. KASHIWALI and GOPAL SINGH, both Members of Parliament participated in its discussions.

BHAGWAT JHA AZAD MP presided over the commission on international cooperation and organisation of public opinion which was addressed by ROMESH CHANDRA and AKBAR ALI KHAN MP among others.

A plenary session was also held on the second day, addressed by V. K. KRISHNA MENON, BHUPESH GUPTA and Philip Gunawardhana.

Krishna Menon, who made a brilliant exposition of the tenets of disarmament and peace, said that there was no halfway between general and complete disarmament and the threat of war. Trying to achieve disarmament in instalments would be like trying to jump a ditch in two parts.

Just as test ban was not disarmament, disarmament was not peace. "We advocate disarmament in the hope it may lead to peace". The partial test ban treaty has reversed the atomic engines of war; it is now for the peoples of the world to create public opinion for complete and general disarmament, Krishna Menon said.

He said India was determined to pursue a policy of peace although it was being pushed towards a different path by two of her neighbours. "China by her invasion of India is said to have stabbed India in the back. But it is not India she has stabbed, it is world peace and progress", he said.

The arms race has reached a stage where when one talked about balance of power, it was not in the sense of balancing on scales but of accounts books: who had the larger stockpiles, has become the question. The arms race today did not serve any of its traditional purposes. It was only the military industrialists who gained from it today, and therefore presented a danger to underdeveloped countries in the form of economic imperialism.

He said there could be no future for the world unless the United States and the Soviet Union got together. "The more these two get together so much the better for the world". The partial test ban treaty was a step forward because it was the first agreement between these two countries on a major issue in recent years.

Bhupesh Gupta said the policy of nonalignment has stood in good stead for India even during the Chinese aggression. It has increased the stature of India in the eyes of the world, and has contributed towards creating areas of peace.

Philip Gunawardhana said that the people of Ceylon were happy that India accepted the Colombo proposals; they were unhappy that the Colombo proposals have not been implemented because China had not accepted them.

The Chinese aggression against India had alarmed the people of Ceylon, he said, because it affect-

ed the security of that country also. "Frontiers are frontiers and aggression cannot be condoned whether it was committed by a socialist or capitalist country", he said.

Some people had been harbouring the insane thought of conquering Asia and creating an empire. This could be only a passing phase in the life of any country and those who were harbouring such thoughts would be convinced of their foolishness, Gunawardhana said.

He said that the government of his country and other neutral nations were looking forward to a meeting of nonaligned countries. Some reactionary forces were trying to prevent such a conference, but these would be frustrated by the people.

He said the people of Ceylon were with the people of India in the efforts to achieve disarmament and peace. The problems in Indo-Ceylonese relations were trivial when compared to the problems facing the world. Though some people tried to magnify these trivial problems, they would not succeed, Gunawardhana said.

In the evening of the second day a public meeting was held at Gandhi Grounds attended by thousands of Delhi citizens. It was addressed by the foreign participants as also by Krishna Menon, ARUNA ASAF ALI and Delhi's Mayor, NUR-UD-DIN AHMED.

On the third day morning the commissions reported back to the plenary session. The reports were adopted unanimously with minor amendments.

The COMMISSION ON DISARMAMENT AND THE NUCLEAR THREAT was of the view that general and complete disarmament was the only solution for achievement of a world without war or threat of war. It welcomed wholeheartedly the test ban treaty as an important step towards disarmament and peace and felt that it has created the necessary climate of peace and raised the hopes of mankind towards the solution of the outstanding issues of conflict and for the achievement of a world free from the fear of war.

The commission noted with concern that some countries including France and China were not parties to this treaty, and expressed the view that efforts should be made to create public opinion and to exert moral pressure on the said countries to adhere to the partial test ban treaty.

It welcomed the recommendations made in the eleventh Pugwash conference held at Dubrovnik in September and also the

unanimous decision of the 'UN general' assembly against the orbiting of nuclear weapons. It also welcomed the decisions of the Addis Ababa conference on nuclear-free zones and areas of controlled disarmament.

The commission was of the view that for general and complete disarmament it was essential that further spread of nuclear weapons should be prevented and that non-proliferation agreement should be entered into by states



Philip Gunawardhana, MP of Ceylon addressing second day's plenary session. P. N. Sapru presiding.

possessing nuclear weapons.

It was also of the view that the possibility of war by surprise attack should be eliminated. The steps suggested for achieving this were the establishment of control posts and exchange of information regarding military movements.

The commission felt that nuclear power must be used only for peaceful purposes and that efforts should be made to persuade big powers to transfer significant quantities of fissionable material from military to peaceful uses with immediate effect.

The commission also came to the conclusion that the scope of the nuclear test ban treaty should be enlarged so as to include underground tests also and thus make it a comprehensive test ban treaty and that the production of nuclear

weapons should be completely stopped.

Some other conclusions of the commission were that the Warsaw Pact and NATO countries must sign a non-aggression pact; the German problem should be solved on the basis of recognising the existence of two sovereign states; and foreign military bases and foreign military concentrations should be removed.

Saying that the nonaligned countries like India can make an important contribution in creating public opinion in favour of speedy measures for disarmament by convening a conference of organisations and prominent personalities wishing peace the commission

## SECURE REAL START ON DISARMAMENT

We give below the text of the call to action adopted at the Warsaw session of the World Peace Council which concluded on December 6:

THE world is still under the deadly threat of nuclear war. Nuclear weapons of every kind must be abolished forever. The Moscow partial test ban treaty was the first agreement limiting nuclear arms development, concluded by the great nuclear powers. It has been signed and supported by more than 100 states—but it is only a beginning. We must go further.

The stopping of fall-out from nuclear weapons tests in the atmosphere shows that the demands of the people can make themselves felt.

It is vital for the peoples, who are all opposed to war, now to secure a real start on disarmament and ensure that delays are not used as a cover for further intensive development of weapons and stockpiling. Action is urgent.

Underground tests must cease and the ban must be

extended to all tests everywhere.

We must prevent the spread of nuclear weapons in any form, including such devices as the multilateral nuclear force.

We must secure nuclear-free zones on land and sea, and an agreement renouncing the use of nuclear weapons.

We must press the 18-nation conference at Geneva to make progress towards a treaty on general and controlled disarmament.

We must insist, meanwhile, on the limitation and reduction of arms budgets.

International issues cannot be left as running sores. To reduce tension solutions must be negotiated—and they can be—and security must be strengthened by non-aggression pacts.

Disarmament and national liberation, with the safeguarding of equal and sovereign rights, are complementary in the struggle for peace. Each strengthens the other, and together they can help to achieve the independence and security in which alone peace can flourish and all nations can progress to the full.

Colonialist war and every form of foreign intervention and pressure must be stopped forthwith.

Existing foreign military bases, including Polar bases, must be dismantled and no more established.

Threatening manoeuvres by foreign armed forces in any country's territory or in its air space or adjacent waters must be forbidden.

Racial discrimination in every form must be opposed.



At the Warsaw Meeting of the World Peace Council, Manolis Glezos (Greece) greeting Ilya Ehrenburg. In the centre is Vello Spano of Italy.

## WORLD PEACE COUNCIL'S CALL TO ACTION

Interference in trade and industrial development by economic blockade, discriminatory measures, unfair competition and the operation of aggressive trading alliances must stop.

Cold war economic policy, impoverishment of the poorer countries by the extraction of their wealth, must give way to world trade on a fair and equal basis and economic, technical and cultural co-operation without strings to permit the full and rational utilisation of resources to the advantage of all nations.

A great campaign for all these aims must be developed, on a scale wider than ever before. Peace activity in every land has grown in vigour and diversity. It must become stronger yet.

All peace movements have but a single purpose, though the common tasks of peace vary in immediacy in every region. We appeal to all people and all organisations to join their efforts, according to the methods that best suit them and the priorities that meet their needs.

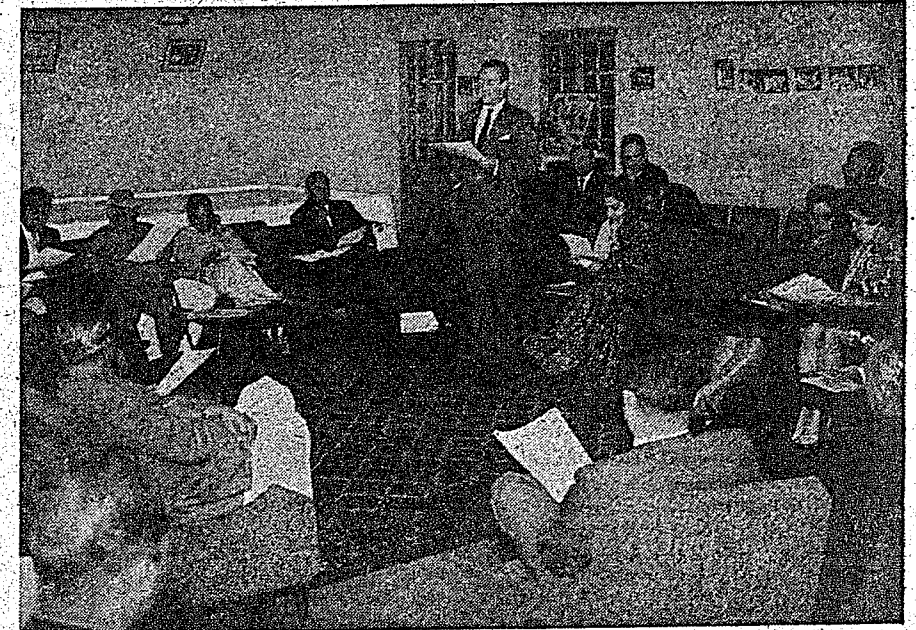
End the nuclear menace. Secure a real start on disarmament.

Negotiate the issues in dispute.

Wipe out the relics of colonialism.

Achieve independence for all nations and fair cooperation with the economically less-developed for the common good.

Man must break through to peace.



Commission for Disarmament and Nuclear Threat being addressed by Anthony Greenwood of Great Britain.



Commission for International Cooperation; Romesh Chandra speaking.

# Complacency Over Food Slated By Press

THE Lok Sabha debate on the food situation in the country did not produce any worthwhile result because the government was not prepared to share the urgency and anxiety revealed in the speeches of members from Congress and Opposition benches regarding almost every aspect of the food problem, prices, stocks, distribution machinery and the peasants' plight.

Complacent to the extent of being imbecile and with no rational plan or policy to hold prices, the Ministers who tried to answer critics by platitudes and prophecies of a good crop did not help to reduce any bit the anxiety felt by consumers all over the country about food prices and their complete helplessness at the hands of hoarders and profiteers.

Newspaper comments on the food debate would further show how far removed are the Ministers from the reality of the food situation and how indefensible their position.

The AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA wrote on Friday last:

"Sardar Swaran Singh's reply to the Lok Sabha food debate—practically his first pronouncement on the food situation since his assumption of the food portfolio—did not carry the impress of any serious thinking nor was it suited to the occasion. It indicated an almost amateurish approach to the situation which has been going from bad to worse."

Commenting on the spiralling of food prices in West Bengal and A. M. Thomas' talk about 'stresses and strains', the paper said:

"Not merely shortage of rice but also other factors, which may be summed up as cowardly surrender by the authorities to the rapacious tactics of grain dealers, contributed to the 'stresses and strains'. As these factors are being left untouched, as the authorities seem to be lacking in the will and courage to catch the bull by the two horns, the stresses and strains may reappear in full fury in the lean months in 1964. Mr. Swaran Singh and his deputy did not remove this apprehension from the people's minds."

"Mr. Swaran Singh was yet more unconvincing than Mr. Thomas. He wanted the House to believe that regulatory steps already taken, such as fixing the margin of price

to be charged by wholesalers and retailers and strengthening the machinery for checking food stocks held by dealers and the better paddy crops, would avoid recurrence of food scarcity in West Bengal. Few, very few indeed, can share this facile optimism. The regulatory steps mentioned by the Union Food Minister were there in the State Food Department's armoury when prices were shooting up from Rs. 30 to Rs. 50 per maund."

Commenting on Thomas' claim that budget policies and increased developmental and defence expenditure had caused prices to rise, the NATIONAL HERALD wrote on Friday:

"Budget policies, of course, are not the only reason for price rises. Traders and middlemen have a large share in creating conditions of artificial scarcity in local pockets. This was illustrated in Calcutta, where popular action against hoarders and profiteers brought rice prices tumbling down from Rs. 53 a maund to Rs. 35 within a few hours."

This experience underlines the Asoka Mehta Committee's assertion that until there is social control over wholesale trade, we shall not be in a position to bring about price stabilisation in foodgrains. Our policies should, therefore, be progressive and planned

# TYPES

socialisation of the wholesale trade in foodgrains supplemented by some regulation of consumption and direction of production.

"The consumer, who has to bear the burden of rising prices, would like to know what the Food Ministry has done during the last seven years to examine the Asoka Mehta Committee's suggestions and find out which of them could be given effect to."

The country will look in vain for a new sense of urgency in Mr. Swaran Singh's reply to the three-day food debate in the Lok Sabha, wrote THE TIMES OF INDIA. It said: "Like his predecessors he, too, seems to be basing his policy not on a clear idea of what needs to be done to step up per acre yields and stabilise prices but on ad hoc measures introduced from time to time."

The paper said that if there has been no increase in the output of food in the last two years, it was because, apart from bad weather conditions, the agricultural programmes have not been properly implemented. "A realistic food policy must face up to the fact that at the present rate the goal of self-sufficiency in food will not be reached even at the end of the Fourth Plan."

It said that the failure of the food policy on the distribution front was even more inexcusable. Commenting on the regulatory measures outlined by the Minister, the paper wrote that even with these "there is no guarantee that rice prices will be stabilised."

"In fact it is doubtful if with the existing machinery the government is in a position to enforce the new regulatory measures with sufficient rigour. It cannot say that it was not warned in time."

But an interesting solution to the food problem is offered by THE INDIAN EXPRESS. Under the guise of pleading for 'a new approach to land reforms', the paper advocates the creation of a class of rich peasants.

"We continue to be obsessed by the claims of those who have the physical strength to till the land but lack the intellectual equipment to utilise the proffered assistance in the way of irrigation water, improved seeds, fertilisers and credit. Only when we have discarded this attitude and brought to the fore a class of agricultural entrepreneurs who have the ability to organise farm production will our agricultural output increase."

## Tycoons' Voice On Planning

AS Parliament is discussing the mid-term appraisal of the Third Plan, the press which is most identified with big business groups in the country has come out with quite a few advice on how to plan without causing pains to the private sector.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES of Saturday complains under the heading 'The Scapegoat' that an impression is assiduously sought to be created, not least by those in authority, that next to agriculture, the private sector in industry has been responsible for the dismal record of the Third Plan.

The paper takes offence to the criticism about the private sector failing to utilise licences already granted and claims that this was

because sufficient foreign exchange has not been released to cover the capacity licensed.

"A study has been promised to determine the causes for the delay in the private sector. It would have been better if the results of the study had been available as part of the appraisal. The study would have revealed that the reasons for the shortfalls in the private sector are more substantial than those offered for the public sector's poor performance. Much of the responsibility will also be found to rest on government."

"Sacrificial scapegoats may no doubt be argumentatively convenient for a short while, but they hardly help in clarifying issues and in the framing of future policies."

THE TIMES OF INDIA has come out on Monday with an attack on the demand for nationalisation of banks. It hopes the government will not bow down to this demand strongly expressed in the current session of Parliament.

There is little reason for nationalisation on economic grounds. About a third of the banking industry is already in the public sector and the private banks have, along with the State Bank, increased their area of coverage and operations. Private industry and trade are part of the Plan and must be financed; if the private banks did not do this the State Bank would have to do so.

The idea that there is a gross misdirection of resources is unfounded. A take-over of banks would not by itself augment the totality of resources, while any such action could lead to considerable dislocation.

"If the purpose of socialism is to generate more wealth, enlarge opportunities and ensure social justice this is unlikely to be achieved by confiscatory acts that inhibit initiative and enterprise. The Communist Party's advocacy of nationalisation is understandable. But the Congress at least should think deeply between now and Bhubaneswar."

THE STATESMAN also has spelt out its idea of socialism. It gives a pat on the back of the President of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of India whose annual conference was attended in Calcutta by Minister Subramaniam on Saturday and says that the Minister also found himself in agreement with much in the presidential address.

Dwelling generally on controls, the ministerial speech spoke of the need for a thorough review; it mentioned a minimum bureaucratic interference with managerial initiative and rejected the idea of blunting altogether the edge of competition in the economy. None of these nor any of the fundamental needs emphasized in the two speeches is inconsistent with a mixed economy based on a socialistic pattern with social justice as its aim.

Indeed a very nice definition—mixed economy based on a socialistic pattern with social justice as its aim! Congressmen getting ready for Bhubaneswar please take note. But then here is something more from THE STATESMAN.

"Any economic system, if it is to work, must devote itself to higher production, and it is this that the planners must keep in mind. The difficulties into which the Third Plan has run suggest that it is time to assist initiative out of many controls and impediments that beset its path."

—Sanjaya

# The NECESSITY of ART

★ A Review by Baren Ray

Subtitled A MARXIST APPROACH, The Necessity of Art, by Ernst Fischer (Pelican Books, 4s 6d, 220 pp) is perhaps the most important book on the Marxist view of art to appear in English for a long time and may well justify the blurb writer's remark that it is probably one of the most influential books on art to be published since the war.

ORIGINALLY published in German from Dresden in the German Democratic Republic in 1959, it has never ceased to provide a focal point for argument and discussion in Europe and this revised first English edition is to be welcomed by all serious students, whether of Marxism or of the arts, as a profound and original contribution on the origin, nature and function of art.

The title itself is a pointer to the writer's attitude. We are all familiar with the attitude common among so many political workers towards the arts—as something extra, not urgent, less serious than politics; a thing that can wait until all the "real" problems have been solved.

## The Author

Ernst Fischer, member of the Soldiers' Council, in the revolutionary days of 1918, a Communist since 1934; poet, newspaperman, radio commentator, Member of Parliament, Minister of Education in the provisional Austrian Government of 1945, takes his stand in this book upon the inseparable necessity of art to man's life.

This necessity he believes, has existed as long as man has had a conscious social being, and will stretch into any conceivable future. That the forms of art have changed, that its precise functions in a given society will differ from those it exercises in another, in no way reduces that real necessity.

Although expressing a fundamental firmness of view based on Marxism, Fischer will take many a Marxist by surprise who have been too used to the extremely sectarian, regimented and utilitarian view of art that has been dominating the scene during the entire recent period of vulgarisation of Marxism. Like the original works of Caudwell, Thompson, Hauser, and Lukacs, this is a major work that presents a whole survey of the sociology and the psychology of art.

It ranges from the prehistoric cave paintings to Picasso, and from the invention of music to Schoenberg; it includes, as instan-

satisfactory if it has been clumsily achieved. Mathematicians speak of 'elegant' solutions and formulas, elegant because they are not only correct but also aesthetically pleasing by their formal perfection. The same is true, to the highest degree, of art: an 'elegant' solution of formal difficulties is in itself a major quality.

"The form of a work of art is more than just a suitable vehicle for its content: it is an original, 'elegant' solution of difficulties arising not only out of the content but also out of the artist's sheer pleasure in mastering them. Form is always a kind of triumph because it is the solution of a problem. Thus an aesthetic quality is transformed into a moral one."

"A composer cannot work for the layman alone, for this would lead to impoverishment and stagnation, above all in instrumental music. He must always tackle formal problems whose solutions can only be appreciated by specially schooled listeners, who must, however, in order to achieve maximum enjoyment, pay as much attention to the content—however elusive—as to the formal structure of the music. Subtle formal discoveries and solutions may escape the layman, indeed they may strike him as strange and disagreeable; yet they are essential for the richness of the work and for the development of music (or any other art). And it is precisely this formal inventiveness, this very serious 'playing with means of expression, that may sometimes constitute the quality of a work of art."

## Inhibitions Temporary

"In his essay on How to Make Poetry, Mayakovsky refers to a 'rhymed street song' which he dithers for Red Army men defending Petrograd, and remarks: 'The novelty that justifies the making of this song is in the rhyme... (he then quotes a particular rhyme). This novelty makes the whole thing necessary, poetic, typical.' We may assume that the Red Army men can scarcely have been aware of this formal innovation; and yet the great poet of the proletarian revolution tells us that it was precisely this that made this Red Army song into poetry and gave it a quality of its own. The same is still more true of music, where form and content interpenetrate each other in so many ways that they can hardly be separated."

In another context he says:

"The efforts of socialist literature and art to discover new social realities were temporarily inhibited by bureaucracy, and even today these efforts are liable to run into bureaucratic opposition from time to time. The problematic nature of the transitional stage through which we are living today has deeper causes, however, than simple bureaucratic interference. The decisive task of contemporary socialist literature and art—that of representing the new reality through the means of expression appropriate to it—is intimately linked with another contemporary problem: the entry of millions of people into cultural life."

And then:

"The insistence of conservative elements in the socialist world on the idealized figure of the



Still languishing in a Mexico prison for several years, the great artist DAVID A. SIQUEIROS seen here behind the prison bars.

'simple' man as the final arbiter in all artistic matters is a retrograde tendency. It is part of the irresistible advance of socialism that the 'simple' man gradually turns into a subtle and highly differentiated man. The structure of a people can change more quickly than the minds of certain administrators. Already the dividing line between the qualified worker and the intellectual technologist is beginning to blur; the working class and the intelligentsia are beginning to overlap; the highly educated sons and daughters of the working class are acquiring a taste for intellectual adventure, for daring artistic experiment.

"They smile when their fathers shudder at the names of Moore, Leger, Picasso, or when they dismiss Rimbaud, Yeats and Rilke as 'obscure' or say that twelve-tone music is the work of the devil. The younger generation in the socialist world will not be deprived of their right to know these things. Nor will they stop there. There are new Soviet films and the works of certain young writers, sculptors, and painters which justify the belief that we are about to see a flowering of Soviet art in which socialist content will be triumphantly expressed in truly modern form."

The book concludes by saying: "Man who became man through work, who stepped out of the animal kingdom as transformer of the natural into the artificial, who became the creator of social reality, will always stay the great magician, will always be Prometheus bringing fire from heaven to earth, will always be Orpheus enthralled nature with his music. Not until humanity itself dies will art die."

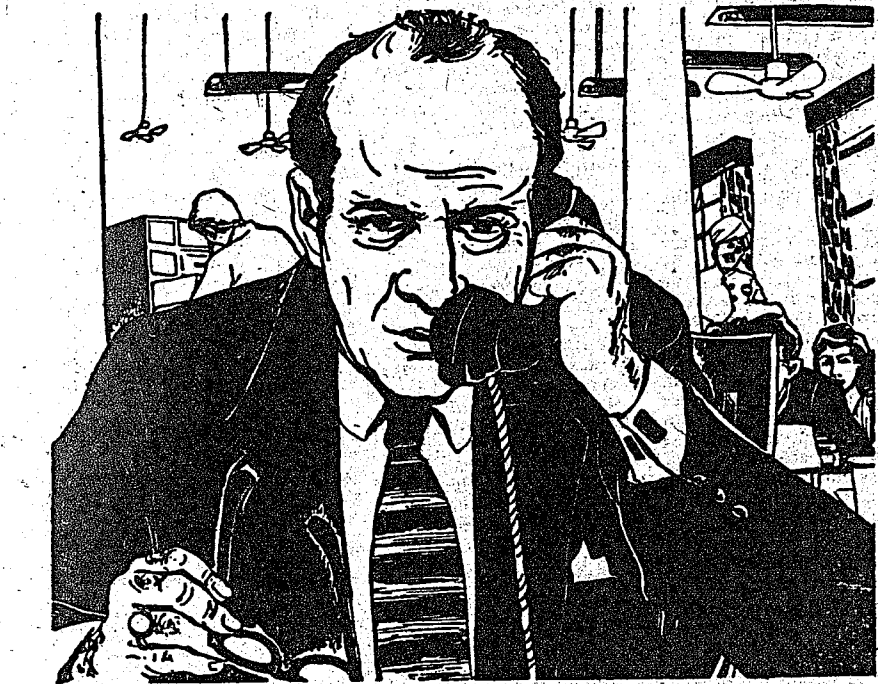
In his final and perhaps the most brilliant chapter titled 'The loss and discovery of reality' he looks into the future of human society and the eternal role of art. In some of the concluding paragraphs he has this to say:

"Our aim is not unconsciousness but the highest form of consciousness. But the highest attainable consciousness of the individual will not be able to make one man encompass the whole human race..."

"And so, just as language represents the accumulation of the collective experience of millennia in every individual, just as science equips every individual with the knowledge acquired by the human race as a whole, so the permanent function of art is to recreate as every individual's experience the fullness of all that he is not, the fullness of humanity at large..."



In Brazil: A Folk Dance



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Now that socialist Cuba has come to stay despite efforts at sabotage, subversion, economic aggression, piratical raids and finally the fiasco of "Bay of Pigs" prepared and effected by the CIA, a new type of attack is being mounted against Castro's regime. It is the ideological offensive by American and the West European intellectuals.

In a number of books on Cuba which have been published during the last three years, it is maintained and "proved" with great zeal and labour that the Cuban revolution is the 'revolution betrayed'. THEODORE DRAPER, who heads the array of such intellectuals, in his recent book "Castro's Revolution, Myths and Realities", "proves" that the Cuban revolution is a gross betrayal of the democratic revolution which Castro had promised to the people of Cuba and on the basis of which he had rallied the masses of Cuba around him. To prove his point Draper quotes from the earlier declarations, articles and pronouncements of the 26th July Movement and Fidel Castro wherein they had spoken of democratic reforms and respect for the constitution of 1940.

Here are some passages quoted by Draper to prove his 'betrayal' theory:

In the proposed Havana Radio broadcast at the time of the Moncade Barracks attack it was said:

"The Revolution declares that it recognises and bases itself on the ideas of JOSE MARTI on the platform of the Partido Revolucionario Cubano and on the Manifesto of Montecristi."

"The Revolution declares its absolute and reverent respect for the Constitution which was given to the people in 1940 and will restore it as the official code."

To prove the same point JULES DE BOIS the biographer and the editor of Chicago Tribune quotes from an interview he had with Fidel Castro in 1958 in Sierra Maestra:

"Never has the 26th July movement talked about socializing or nationalizing industries. We have proclaimed from the first day that we fight for the full enforcement of the Constitution of 1940, whose norms establish guarantees, rights and obligation for all elements that have a part in production."

Draper also quotes from Fidel Castro's famous speech "History will Absolve Me" to labour the same point.

So said Castro:

"The first revolutionary law would have restored the sovereignty of the people and proclaimed the 1940 Constitution as the true supreme law of the state..."

"The third revolutionary law would grant to workers and employees the right to share in 30 per cent of the profits of all large



enterprises" and the fifth law "would have taken such measures as agrarian reforms, reform of education, nationalization of electric trust and telephone trust..."

Thus Draper concludes by saying that Castro deliberately duped the people by giving out to them a democratic liberal programme which included the defence of the 1940 Constitution, free elections, an agrarian reform without cooperatives, no nationalization of industry except the telegraph and telephone trusts etc.—a programme for which the people of Cuba fought alongside Castro's 26th July movement.

This programme was however, given up after Castro captured power and was replaced by a programme of socialist revolution, which was imposed on the people by force. Hence the Great Betrayal.

Other writers who have taken the same line in attacking the Cuban revolution are Mrs. RUBY H. PHILLIP (The Cuban Dilemma), TERESA CASUSO (Cuba and Castro) JOHN DENOVEN (Red Machete) and NATHANIEL WEYL (Red Star over Cuba).

The first thing to be remembered about the Cuban revolu-

## CUBA'S ROAD

leader of Independence Days. Jose Marti was one of the earliest thinkers in America who clearly saw the imperialist role of North America in the Latin America continent. Wrote Marti in 1889:

"What is apparent is that the nature of the North American government is gradually changing in its fundamental reality. Under the traditional labels of Republicans and Democrats with no innovation other than the contingent circumstances of place and character, the republic is becoming plutocratic and imperialistic."

He also could foresee the role that the North American capital was destined to play in Latin America. Writing to a friend in Cuba, Marti observed in 1890:

"The arrogance and impunity with which the Corporations would transgress the laws of our Latin countries arises from the unbridled power they have come to wield — a power which is likely to increase with the passing of the years..."

received in the course of the struggle not only theoretical education but another type of great education which life itself teaches."

Therefore, the first stage of the Cuban revolution i.e. up to April 1961, was a stage of the common bourgeois-democratic revolution with the following achievements already to its credit:

1. The overthrow of Batista tyranny.
2. The destruction of the political and military machine of the latifundists backed by the imperialists.
3. Formation of a revolutionary government without foreign interference.
4. Confiscation of the property of the officials and supporters of the tyranny.
5. The expulsion of the US military missions which had trained the Cuban army, navy and Air Force in the past.
6. Adoption of measures such as lower rents with 30 to 50 per

By LAJPAT RAI

Apart from the influence of the revolutionary ideas of Jose Marti, these young Cuban revolutionaries were already acquainted with the philosophy of Marxism-Leninism when they were fighting in the jungles of Sierra Maestra.

In a speech delivered on December 2, 1961 in Havana, Fidel Castro revealed his mind candidly in the following words:

"Were we fulfilled Marxist Leninists? No. I was, for example, a type of Marxist-Leninist who had been struggling with a number of ideas that I had taken from Marxism-Leninism in my formative period."

Again on July 17, 1962, Castro spoke of himself as a student of Marxism-Leninism from the Sierra Maestra days:

"When we began the struggle we had already some knowledge and sympathy for Marxism. But we could not for this reason call ourselves Marxists, as a student of first lessons of music cannot call himself a teacher of music."

"...we were inclined in this direction, we were acquainted with the first notes and we

cent reduction, lower charges for telephone, electricity and water.

7. Curb on gambling, eradication of prostitution and suppression of social crime.

8. Law against racial discrimination; and

9. The Agrarian Reform Law.

But when the reforms began to take effect, says BLAS ROCA, "the national bourgeoisie's multi-farious economic links with imperialists and the latifundists began to come to light. National enterprises were found to be geared to the US trusts and monopoly interests and had contracts with them for the exploitation of the people...When the agrarian reforms were enforced it came to light that the big latifundists were not only the United States companies, but it also included the owners of cigar factories, textile mills, cattle ranches who were Cubans."

"Immediately after the promulgation of the law they began to raise their voice against it; and when it came to the stage of implementation they began openly to oppose and sabotage it."

On the other side imperialism mounted its attack. The American

Pictures on this page show sufferings and struggles of peoples of Latin America. At top are shown farmers of Ecuador demonstrating against exploitation by United Fruit Company. In centre is shown how Indians of Ecuador live and below is a meeting in Havana supporting the struggle of the people of Venezuela. On facing page is a mammoth rally in Havana.



## TO SOCIALISM

companies refused compensation calculated on the basis of returns in the income tax books of the government, refused to refine government oil despite the fact they were obliged to do so under terms of the contract, started large-scale sabotage and the destruction of government properties and assets.

Acting in behalf of the financial trusts and corporations, the United States Government cancelled the sugar quota and tried to starve out the young revolutionary government. Refugee piratical attacks on the island increased and preparations to organize a full-scale armed attack on Cuba began to be made under the leadership of the CIA.

In the meantime, land reforms began to pose problems. The break-up of the latifundia led to two important negative results.

1. The benefit of large-scale production would have been denied resulting in decline in production.

2. It would have led to the creation of small uneconomic holdings not conducive to agricultural development.

Therefore, the logic of the agricultural situation led the government to adopt a decision regarding cooperatives. The revolutionary peasants responded and the result was that by April 1961, 4.1 per cent of the land was under cooperatives or state farms.

The oil refineries which refused to refine government oil were nationalised. There was no alternative for the government. Either they had to do this or surrender to the dictates of the foreign companies and agree to the country's economic life being paralysed.

Thus followed the cancellation of sugar quota in retaliation to which vast US properties were nationalized. The nationalization of Compania Cubana de Electricidad, the Telephonic Company and 36 US sugar factories signified the taking over by the government the entire telephone system, 90 per cent of electricity and over one-third of sugar produced in the island. Nationalization of the American banks meant 60 per cent of the deposits in the country coming under the control of the Ministry of Finance and the National Bank of Cuba.

The American companies also had their grip over all the port installations, trading concerns and the insurance companies; they also controlled the soap works, perfumery factories, eleven big tobacco plants, all the big textile mills, the entire chemical industry, most of the ore mines, some of the important railways, rubber factories and factories making glassware and tin packing, etc.

Thus nationalization of foreign assets placed the main levers of the economy in the hands of the revolutionary state. The national bourgeoisie got panicky and began to sabotage production. The government was therefore compelled to speed up nationalization of big enterprises such as sugar factories, railways, mines, that the Cuban bourgeoisie had owned.

In October 1960, the law nationalizing these assets was passed and along with it the remaining North American Companies were also nationalized. In the beginning of 1961, the socialist sector accounted for 80 per cent of the gross industrial and 83 per cent of the agricultural production.

On April 16, 1961 on the eve of the treacherous Playa Giron attack Fidel Castro could declare: "This revolution is a socialist

revolution which fought first and foremost for national independence and sovereignty. It was not, however, completed after the agrarian reform and other democratic changes, but went forward to carry out the task of abolishing the exploitation of man by man i.e. towards socialism."

Thus the realities of the Cuban life, and the role of imperialism and various classes in Cuba, guided the movement to Marxism-Leninism and to the goal of socialism.

A revolution is a process. It teaches much to those who are willing to learn, and are not afraid to follow the truth. The leadership of the Cuban revolution, moved by the ideas of democratic liberalism, soon found out from its experience with life, that the path shown by Marxism-Leninism was the only true path, which could lead the people towards a happy life.

And since it was a correct path, the people of Cuba followed the lead and were successful in the face of almost insurmountable difficulties, to establish the first socialist state in the western hemisphere, thereby performing a task of historic significance.

Fidel Castro betrayed no one. He led his people to freedom from foreign exploitation as well as from the exploitation of man by man. He unified the Cuban people under a united party of socialist revolution, eliminated all vestiges of imperialism from his country and threw a challenge to the rest of Latin America to do the same. In this process he drew strength from Marxism-Leninism which he imbibed from the rich experience of the Cuban revolution itself. As he said in his speech on October 11, 1962:

"Marxism-Leninism is our guiding philosophy...we learnt it and applied it as we marched on the revolutionary road. It is a philosophy which for us is the inheritor of the teachings of our apostle—Jose Marti."

## CASTRO ON KENNEDY'S MURDER

Mischievous attempts to connect PRESIDENT KENNEDY's alleged assassin with Cuba are continuing. In view of these continuing attempts we find it useful to print here first-hand account of Premier FIDEL CASTRO's reaction to the news, as given by M. DANIEL, Foreign Editor of the French weekly L'Express.

I was with Fidel Castro when he got the news of President Kennedy's assassination.

It was about 1.30 p.m., Cuban time. We were having lunch in the living room of Castro's summer residence 75 miles from Havana. The telephone rang. A clerk in battledress announced that PRESIDENT DORTICOS wanted to speak urgently to the Prime Minister. Dr. CASTRO took the phone, and I heard him say, "Como? Un atentado?" ("What? A criminal attack?") He told us President Kennedy had been shot at.

He came back, sat in front of the dining table and repeated three times, "Es una mala noticia" ("It's bad news"). Then he was silent for a moment. He said that in America there were a disturbing number of unstable people. The shooting might as easily be the act of a madman as a terrorist. Or the Ku-Klux-Klan? The phone rang again, and he was told that the President was still alive. "Now

he's sure to be re-elected," he said with satisfaction.

This followed an all-night conversation, two nights earlier, when he told me that a man was needed in the United States who was capable of understanding the explosive reality of Latin America and adapting himself to it. "That man" he had said, "could still be Kennedy. He'd then be a President greater than Lincoln."

"I know that, for KHRUSHCHOV for instance, Kennedy is a man with whom you can talk. That's the impression I've got from all my talks with Khrushchov. But other people have told me that for all this, we'll need to wait for his re-election."

"I believe that he's been responsible for everything that's happened, but I also believe that he's learned a lot in the past few months, and what's more, I'm convinced that anyone else would be worse."

Then Dr. Castro added with a great laugh: "If you see him again, you can tell him that I'm ready to say that

Goldwater is my friend, if that'll ensure his re-election..."

When we got the news that Kennedy was dead, Dr. Castro stood up and said to me: "Everything's changed. Everything's going to change. The US occupies such a position in the world that the death of its President affects millions of people in all corners of the globe. The cold war, relations with Russia, Latin America, Cuba, the Negro question—all will have to be rethought. I'll tell you something: Kennedy was an enemy we'd got used to. It's a grave business, very grave."

The radio played the American National Anthem. It gave me an odd feeling to hear it in Dr. Castro's house. Then he said: "Now they must find the assassin quick, very quick, or else you'll see—I know them—they'll try to lay it all on us."

Around 5 p.m. Dr. Castro said that, since there was nothing we could do, we should at least try to get on with the schedule we'd planned. He wanted to show me a State farm.

We got in the car and turned on the radio. They were after the assassin. "It's a Russian spy," said the reporter, and five minutes later, "A spy married to a Russian." Dr. Castro said: "There you

are—now it will be my turn." Not yet—the assassin was a Marxist deserter. Then we heard he was a member of the "Fair Play for Cuba Committee," an admirer of Castro.

Dr. Castro said: "If they had proof, they'd say he was an agent, an accomplice, a hired killer. If they say simply that he's an admirer it's an attempt to link the name of Castro in people's minds with the emotion aroused by the murder."

"That's propaganda for you—it's terrible. But, you know, I'm sure it will all collapse quite quickly. In the US there are too many rival police organisations for the aims of one to be imposed on the others for very long."

In Havana, where we returned during the night, under the brilliance of the neon-lit Marxist slogans that had replaced the Coca-Cola and toothpaste signs, and amid the Soviet exhibitions and the Czech lorries there seemed to be a sort of American emotion in the air, made up of resentment, disquiet, anxiety, but also of some imperceptible kinship of feeling.

"After all, this American President did reach agreement during his life, with our Russian friends," a young Cuban intellectual told me as I was leaving. (London Observer, Dec. 1)



# Bonn Remains Opposed To Detente

★ From P. K. KUNHANANDAN

BERLIN, December 8: Recent declarations by realistically thinking politicians in the USA, Great Britain and in several NATO countries, especially of the NATO Parliamentarians' Conference in Paris against atomic armament of Bundeswehr and for continuation of the policy of detente initiated by Kennedy have caused great alarm in Bonn Government circles.

WEST German papers which reflect Bonn thinking indicated last week that Chancellor Erhard at his forthcoming talks with British Foreign Minister Butler and US President Johnson will endeavour to get their backing for West German Government's policy of opposing peaceful coexistence and detente.

In his maiden press conference Chancellor Erhard had said last week that he will not even renew his predecessor Adenauer's offer of a "ten-year truce with East Germany"—which was rejected by the Soviet Union as being a precondition to annex the GDR and grab territories of Poland and Czechoslovakia—and went to the extent of insinuating that he can't wait ten years more to give "freedom" to the people of the GDR.

## LICKING ITS WOUNDS

Recently influential Cologne Deutsche Zeitung savagely attacked the Chairman of Foreign Affairs Committee of the US Senate Fulbright, for he had spoken out against the arming of the Federal Army with rockets. Fulbright said West Germans were dangerous people. The fact that Fulbright is a friend of President Johnson has raised the alarm for the West German revanchists.

Similarly the Hamburg daily Die Welt, mouthpiece of industrial tycoons ruling West Germany, is worried

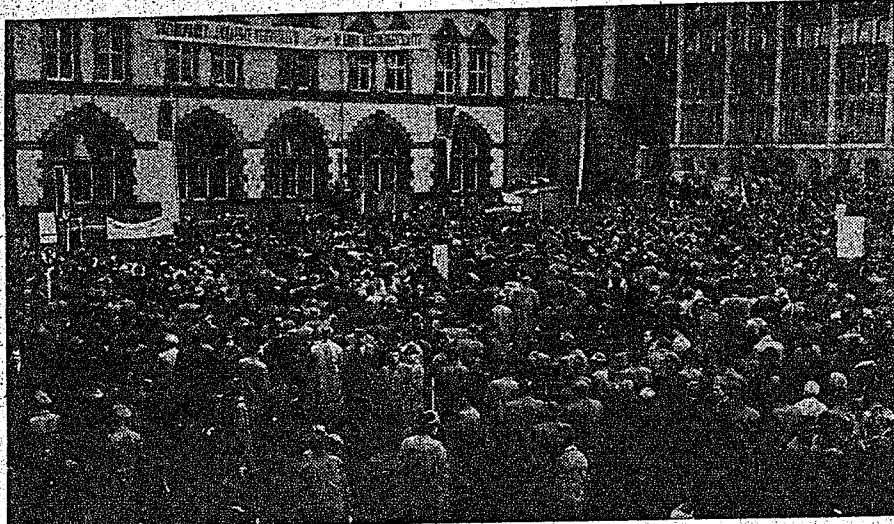
by the statements of some British politicians that British diplomacy has now a particular task in helping to continue the dialogue between East and West. The paper wants the Bonn Government to take up this question with Butler when he comes to West Germany on December 9 to clarify whether the British Government holds the same opinion.

Bonn is also at the moment licking its wounds inflicted in NATO Parliamentarians' Conference in Paris. The Parliamentarians of the West European Union, meeting in Paris last Wednesday delivered a severe blow to Bonn's ambitions to get nuclear weapons through the multilateral NATO atom strike force.

NATO Parliamentarians passed a resolution moved by George Brown, Deputy Leader of the British Labour Party, to reject the US project for a multilateral nuclear strike force (also see New Age dated November 17). Despite powerful personal lobbying done by West German Foreign Minister Schroeder in favour of multilateral nuclear strike force, Brown's motion was carried by 32 votes against 29 with five abstentions.

Schroeder urged most emphatically for the creation of a NATO strike force hailing it as the boldest and most fruitful initiative of the last President Kennedy.

Mighty opposition to Bonn getting the nuclear trigger was also demonstrated in the Warsaw meeting of the



A view of the 25,000-strong workers' demonstration in Dortmund (West Germany) which took place on Nov. 15 against Bonn Govt's social policy.

## Continues Colonial Policy

BERLIN, December 7: HERR OTTO WINZER, Deputy Foreign Minister of the GDR addressing an international forum of journalists and trade union leaders from Africa, Asia and Latin America established in Leipzig last week made it clear that the colonial policy of West German imperialism was now being continued by the Bonn Government headed by CHANCELLOR ERHARD.

THE chief spokesman of the GDR Foreign Ministry exhibited several hitherto unknown documents from Nazi archives and of West German Governments to demonstrate plans for ruthless exploitation of African continent for the benefit of German monopolists and militarists. Several African representatives listened to him amazed and shocked at the

diabolical plans of Bonn to enslave Africa. Herr Winzer showed that the plans of NATO in which West Germany was taking a leading position included above all the incorporation of Western and Northern areas of Africa as its operation zone and deployment ground. He underlined, these plans were directed as much against the indigenous people as against the socialist countries.

The so-called military and development aid for some African countries was one of the veiled methods of the West German State to get a foothold in Africa. Economic support was especially given to the Verwoerd regime in South Africa where Bonn has invested 36 per cent of its capital in 1962 alone. The open support of the colonial powers was a direct continuation of the practices of the German Reich and the Hitler State, Herr Winzer added.

In contrast to this the GDR was cultivating friendly and straightforward relations with the newly emerging countries on the basis of mutual respect. She was linked with these countries by the same anti-imperialist interest.

Original documents and photographs from ministries of the Hitlerite State exposing the far-reaching colonial plans of German imperialism caused a sensation among the Foreign Trade Unionists and Journalists. Among other things, a colonisation plan of the Hitlerite Foreign Office, dating from 1940 was produced.

The document showed that in the event of a possible peace agreement with Great Britain in World War II, Germany was to receive among others, the African territories of French and Belgian Congo, French Equatorial Africa, Swaziland, Uganda, Zanzibar, Nigeria, Dahomey and Gold Coast as colonies.

State Secretary Winzer underlined that the co-author of this plan HASSO VON EITZDORF is at present West German Ambassador in

London and Dr. HANS GLOBKE who had a share in the working out of a Reich colonial law and colonial blood protection law in 1940 had for years been State Secretary in the West German Federal Chancellery. He retired recently with the end of Adenauer era.

These plans of fascist Germany were thwarted in the battles of the River Volga and in the Caucasus. The African peoples, however, should reflect that the Globkes, Heusingers, Gueves and Eitzdorfs who are responsible for all this are today also framing the Africa policy of the Bonn State, Otto Winzer emphasised.

Answering a New Age question relating to recent visits of West German President LEUBKE to South East Asia and Bonn Development Aid Minister SCHEEL to India, the State Secretary, Winzer said Bonn was unfolding such a feverish activity in arranging visits because the peaceful foreign policy of the German Democratic Republic met with ever greater sympathy in the world.

## GDR WANTS NO ATOMIC WEAPONS

Replying to another New Age question, whether Bonn's striving for the power of decision over atomic weapons would call forth the same reaction by the GDR within the Warsaw treaty, Herr Winzer said, "It is wrong to believe that peace could be better secured by spreading of atomic weapons among the socialist countries. We are fully convinced of the destructive power of Soviet nuclear weapons and do not think it necessary to give the enemies of atomic disarmament pretexts against atomic disarmament."

Referring to the establishment of West German trade missions in Poland, Rumania and Hungary, Herr Winzer told New Age these missions looked at more closely, proved veiled diplomatic representations of Bonn. Thus Bonn itself had broken its vaunted Hallstein doctrine.

Herr Winzer continued: "If the West German Federal Government made such agreements with governments of states entertaining diplomatic relations with the GDR, why should not other states maintain diplomatic relations with Bonn able to establish the same representations in the GDR?"

## ★ From Back Page

urban sector, the unequal distribution of income had increased instead of narrowing down. According to this survey, the top ten per cent of the population gets 28 per cent of personal income, and the top 20 per cent of the population appropriates 41 per cent of personal income.

Indrajit strongly countered the argument advanced by the private sector that there is no 'climate of investment' and ridiculed

the anxiety of government spokesmen to convince big business that the government was taking every step to create a favourable climate of investment for them. While national income rose by 43 per cent in the whole of the fifties, absolute profits rose in the same period by 76 per cent and dividends rose by 55 per cent. Indrajit pointed out that this rate of profitability was higher than available in UK.

The same was the case with the talk of foreign capital being shy to come to this country, he pointed out. He quoted a statement by R. S. BHAI, Director of the Indian Investment Centre that the rate of profit was attractive in India as compared with the developing countries. A recent study had shown that US companies in India reported an earning ratio of 209 per cent. In 1961 the ratio was 9.1 in Japan and 19.7 in the Philippines. Many foreign firms regard India as a base for acquiring a foothold in the markets of the neighbouring countries.

Indrajit cited figures to show the enormous profits made by some of the big business concerns in the country like Hindustan Lever, Dunlop Rubber and Metal Box. Another point he made was about government's obsession with the idea of a mixed economy.

"This Plan will never get out of this deadlock into which it has come, unless government makes up its mind whether it wants capitalism to grow or socialism to grow. We are haunted by this theory of mixed economy", he said. He asked whether this mixed economy is to last for all time and he pointed out that within this framework, what was happening was concentration of economic power in the private sector.

Referring to PATNAIK's statement at the Jaipur AICC that a parallel government was being run in the country by people who had in their hands Rs. 5,000 crores of unaccounted money, Indrajit Gupta remarked that the same people were also running a "parallel plan" and some of their agents were within the ruling party too.

Commenting on agriculture, Indrajit emphasised the govern-

# PLAN DEBATE

ment's failure to initiate and implement land reforms. He suggested that more government-owned farms be set up in various parts of the country on the model of the Central Mechanised Farm at Suratgarh which has shown very good results. This would help to raise agricultural production. He asked why the idea of mixed economy could not be tried in the agricultural sector too.

In conclusion, he said that it was time the government seriously did some self-criticism and turned their eyes inward. "If the Plan is to be modified, remodelled or re-fashioned in order to take the country forward, for which we are very anxious, we are prepared to give our full co-operation. But then, that Plan must be a plan in the interests of the people of this country. Now my complaint against the present Plan is that it says many good things on paper but in practice serves the interests of Sri K. K. Birla and Sri Masani."

Homi Daji also called for a new orientation for the Plan. He said: "The Plan cannot be salvaged unless you enforce socialist policies. Mere administrative measures will not help. It is a question of political re-orientation. There should be a sense of urgency." He said that the mid-term appraisal had ignored the social objectives of the Plan.

In this connection he recalled DHEBAR's note to the Congress Party in which it was pointed out that 30 per cent of the people had only 10 per cent of the national income and 10 per cent of the people enjoyed 36 per cent of the national income which is higher than in the case of USA or UK. And 60 per cent of the

people were living below the subsistence level. Thirty per cent of the people live on an income of Rs. 15 per month and 20 per cent live on Rs. 12 per month. Daji asked, in such a situation how will the people be enthused to put in more effort for development?

He charged that the present crisis was because of "double thought, double talk and wobbling action" in relation to the socialist objectives proclaimed by the government itself. The Plan has failed because of lack of planning, because of slipshod planning. There should be an integrated approach to planning and the question of power, coal, transport, raw materials and foreign exchange etc. should have been gone into thoroughly while fixing industrial targets.

He criticised state governments diverting funds, negating the accepted national priorities and said that this was abdicating the Plan. Daji said that the possibility had failed to fix responsibility for failures. He too cited figures to show the "rapacious loot" by big business concerns and he criticised the government for lending the service of a senior IAS officer to one of the biggest business houses in the country while allowing him to maintain his lien on government service.

UMANATH, another speaker from the Communist Group dwelt on the neglect of backward areas by the Planning Commission and the government. He said there should have been a programme for intensive surveys of backward areas of each state and to evolve priorities, rate of development and financial requirements of these areas.

## KERALA LAND BILL GOES THROUGH

★ FROM S. SHARMA

TRIVANDRUM: With just 58 Congress members in 127-member Kerala Assembly voting for it, the Land Reforms Bill introduced by Revenue Minister P. T. CHACKO has been passed.

COMMUNIST and Praja-Socialist members voted against the Bill while no Muslim League member was present in the house at the time of voting. The pro-landlord and anti-peasant Bill, passed without even a straight majority in the Assembly will now go up for President's assent.

The Communist Party has already announced that it would appeal to the President not to give assent to the Bill. The state convention of the Kerala PSP, meeting at Alwaye on December 7 and 8, has already adopted a resolution requesting the President not to give assent to the Bill.

That the opposition to the Bill was very stiff was clear during the debate in the Assembly. As many as 1806 amendments were moved to the 127 clause Bill. As many as 54 times the house divided, 51 times during the second reading which alone took full 18 sitting days to complete.

Even the Minister had at one time during the debate to admit that this Land Reform Bill does not achieve any of the aims set out by the Planning Commission or the Congress—making the tiller of the soil its owner.

To achieve this further instalments of land legislation might be necessary, he said. "This was a practical, and bold step, a big leap forward, a peaceful and surer way to the goal, even if it was a longer one", Chacko said.

E.M.S. NAMBOODIRIPAD, leader of the opposition, commented: "If the bill, as claimed by the Revenue Minister was a big leap forward, it could only be a big leap forward for the protection of landlord interests." It would only bring tears and untold hardships to the majority of kisans in the state.

The Communist Party would stand behind the tenants and fight for their rights. When the first opportunity came its way (after the general elections in 1965) the Party would change this retrograde and anti-peasant legislation," he declared.

K. R. GOURI, who had as Revenue Minister at that time, piloted the Communist Ministry's Agrarian Relations Bill, also held out the challenge to the Congress to face the electorate on the issue of this Land Reforms Bill.

She, quoted from the Mahabharata: "We asked for half the kingdom, you did not give it; we asked for five villages, you did not give that either; we asked at least for one house, but you did not give even that. Now we shall meet at Kurukshetra in 1965."

And at the PSP convention, another Revenue Minister, K. CHANDRASHEKHARAN, who had piloted the Bill a second time through the Kerala Assembly incorporating the suggestions made by the President, moved the resolution asking the President to withhold assent from Chacko's Bill.

## INTUC CITADEL SHAKEN

★ FROM FRONT PAGE

the INTUC with the help of some of the newspapers in the city. Money was offered to workers to attend its meeting. Threats were made against going to attend the Samiti meetings. In short the INTUC moved heaven and earth to make its show successful.

But all these were of no avail. On December 3 when the mills closed at midnight, five huge meetings were held in five different areas of the city, addressed by Yagnik, Dinkar Mehta and others. The workers promised to make the Samiti meeting a success.

December 4 was observed by the mills as a holiday (of course for the convenience of the Labour Day-wallahs). Workers who had reached home in the early hours of the morning were up and active by sunrise. At noon eight processions of five to 15 thousands each started from different working class localities and converged at Manilal Mansion near the railway station. From there the huge mass of 50 thousand marched through the main streets of the city to the grounds near Kankaria Lake.

The huge disciplined procession created a tremendous impression on the people, many of whom joined in. For two hours, the procession continued to flow into the vast grounds, and spilled over. The rally was two lakh strong, including hundreds of working women.

In contrast, the Labour Day rally of the INTUC was attended by ten thousand people. The newspapers in Ahmed-



Indulal Yagnik addressing mass rally. On right, seated, is Dinkar Mehta

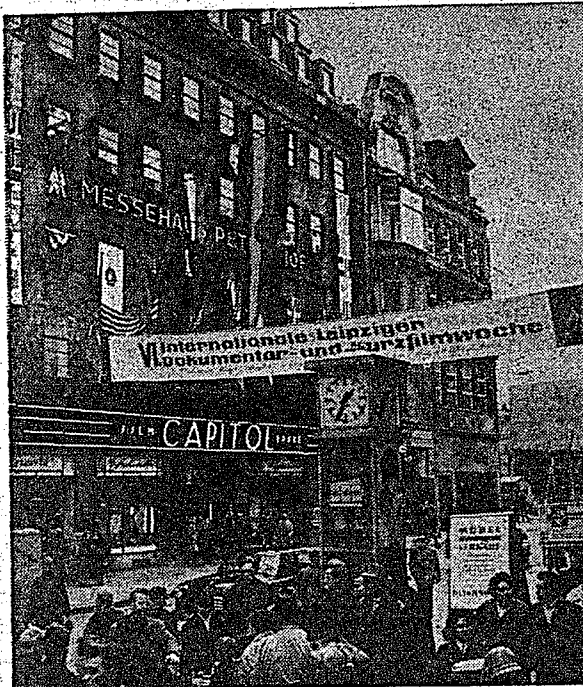
bad who has poked fun at the Sangram Samiti for organising a counter-meeting to the INTUC had to admit the next day that the Samiti meeting was far bigger than the INTUC gathering.

The Samiti meeting was addressed by Yagnik, Dinkar, NALINI MEHTA, ABDUL RAZAK, HANUMANSINGH, RATILAL SHAH, GORDEAN PATEL and others.

The speakers explained to the workers how the INTUC had not uttered a word in protest against the attack of the employers on the living standards of the people. The millowners had defrauded the workers to the tune of Rs. 67 crores during the last 15 years through lower dearness allowance. And the INTUC had stood by silently, with their slogan of employer-employee cooperation which in fact meant surrender of

workers' rights. The rally enthusiastically received the call given by the leaders to enrol one lakh members in the Sangram Samiti by January 1 and to make the forthcoming Mahagujarat workers' conference on January 4 and 5 a big success. The workers lustily cheered when Yagnik announced that S. A. DANGE, general secretary of the AITUC, will attend this conference.

The workers went back from the meeting with the firm resolve to fight for their rights. There was a new feeling of class consciousness among them, derived from the knowledge that only their unity and determination to fight for their rights would protect their interests. And there was realisation of the hollowness of INTUC's claim to speak for the workers.



The Sixth International Documentary Films Festival was held in Leipzig last month.

# NATIONALISE GENERAL INSURANCE

Some days back it was reported in a section of the press that the Union Government had decided that the Life Insurance Corporation of India should enter the general insurance business. It has now been confirmed by announcement in both Houses of Parliament.

It is a good sign that the Government of India has now become alive to the prevalent malpractices in the general insurance business and has considered it necessary to intervene in the matter. The All-India Insurance Employees' Association has for long been drawing attention to the situation obtaining in the general insurance business and has been urging upon the Government of India to take the step of nationalisation in the interests of the industry, its workmen and the national economy as a whole.

Their viewpoint was presented to the Planning Commission in a comprehensive manner through a memorandum dated 6-2-61, copy of which was forwarded to the Finance Ministry also.

While expressing satisfaction at Union Government's attention to the problem, one cannot but express anxiety and apprehension that the step suggested and now going to be taken up, viz., LIC's entering into the general insurance business, will not solve the problem; rather it will create new and more problems.

It appears from the press report and the announcement in Parliament that the existing Companies will be free to carry on their business. It is also admitted that the major business groups have their own general insurance companies to which they give business.

The business controlled by companies run by or associated with big business groups form the overwhelming bulk of the Indian general insurance business. Out of a gross premium of Rs. 43.91 lakhs in India in the year 1961 Rs. 12.05 lakhs or 27.7% was controlled by non-Indian companies, almost all of whom are now grouped in 15 or 20 groups, all connected with big foreign commercial and industrial managements. In spite of the recent decision of the Government of India, the foreign companies will continue operating and causing drain of Indian wealth.

On the premium income earned by Indian companies 5.22% is controlled by the Companies connected with a few big business groups. They can be named as follows:

Name:	Business Group.	Gr. Premium (1961)	Total Assets
		(In thousand rupees)	
1. New India	Tata	13,70,28	22,36,14
2. Ruby General	Birla	2,33,96	2,85,29
3. Indian Trade	K. C. Thapar	1,08,98	1,35,74
4. New Great	Tulsidas Kilachand	1,52,15	2,18,62
5. B. I. G.	Homi Mehta	1,84,72	1,96,32
6. Concord of India	Andrew Yule	1,46,23	1,76,35
7. Hercules	E. I. D. Parry	70,58	1,71,94
8. Sterling	Lala Sri Ram	71,36	90,73

ness, i.e., government business which was about Rs. 2 crores in 1962 already goes to these two companies. LIC's entry may mean transfer of this 75% as well as the remaining 25 per cent of the government business to LIC. But total government business now is a small fraction of the total Indian business and that cannot decisively influence the market.

If the analogy of the State Bank in the banking sphere, the analogy given in the press report and in Parliament, is taken the above contention is substantiated. Conversion of the Imperial Bank, which already controlled one-third of all bank deposits in India, into State Bank has not changed the behaviour of private commercial banks as far as business practices are concerned.

If there had been any change, it has been for the worse, as everybody knows. Their deposits and the profits have all risen. The money in these banks is utilised, more for speculative purposes than for real progress of industry, agriculture and general commerce.

Not to speak of the State Bank's competitive activities, even the Reserve Bank's regulating activities have failed to curb the anti-social business practices of the big private

banks. It can also be said with certainty that entry of the LIC into the general insurance business as such will also fail to exercise any healthy influence on it and to remove the rampant malpractices.

The LIC's entry into the general insurance market and the reported decision to operate on non-tariff basis by charging lower premium rate will result, it is feared, in more chaos and confusion. It is not as yet clear, what will be the position of the pool, Oriental and Jupiter. If government business is directly booked by the LIC, the raison d'etre of the pool will cease.

Oriental, a subsidiary of the LIC which gets 75 per cent of pool business, will oppose this if it continues its existence even after LIC's entry in

By Ajoy Dasgupta

the business. That will take away Oriental's main source of business; and backing; it will either be a small company eventually edged out or will have to go for unethical practices to get 'bazar' business.

The LIC will grow into a giant no doubt, and squeezed by giants in the private and public sectors smaller companies will face extinction with loss of capital and assets.

All this will mean retrenchment of large number of employees in the industry. There is no indication whatsoever that the government has considered this aspect and thought about any remedy.

It can be said that government's scheme is intended to build general insurance business in public sector and if possible to create a monopoly in this sector of insurance business without taking any responsibility of the existing employees in the business.

So to sum up, it can be stated that the proposed measure of LIC's entry into general insurance business which is a half-hearted and palliative measure—instead of nationalisation—will fail to check malpractices and to exercise a healthy influence over the private companies, will leave the assets with private companies who would utilise those assets in their own group interests and not in larger public interest and will leave the foreign companies to carry on their business and export Indian wealth outside the country. At the same time it will precipitate retrenchment and raise unemployment.

Only nationalisation of general insurance business and its complete takeover by the government, both assets and liabilities, through a public corporation, can do away with prevalent malpractices, utilise the assets for national development, stop drain of national wealth, spread general insurance business rapidly by offering protection at lower rates of premium and create more employment opportunities for educated unemployed.

Nationalisation alone can solve the problems, saving the general insurance business in the interest of the industry, the employees and nation at large.

## MALHOTRA ON PUNJAB CONGRESS CRISIS

In an interview given to the press recently AVTAR SINGH MALHOTRA, Secretary, Punjab State Council of Communist Party of India stated:

The continuous resignation of prominent Congressmen from the Congress shows the depth of the crisis it is facing in this state. The rebels include many veteran Congressmen with long years of sacrifice in the freedom movement and of service to the Congress organisation. Hence no one can dismiss the resignations lightly as Sardar Kairon and Shri Bhagwat Dayal do. These latter would, of course, like the organisation to include only yesmen and to provoke and eliminate all those who differ with them.

The High Command has had to give up its earlier attitude of indifference and complacency, so deep is the crisis. Its immediate cause is, of course, the refusal of Sardar Kairon to resign despite the Supreme Court's strictures, the unconditional support being given to him by Pandit Nehru and the increasing pressure of the group in power on the dissidents and the planned organisational measures against them.

But this is only the immediate cause. Deeper causes are there and they are to be found in the policy the Kairon Ministry has been following and in the general direction the Congress as a whole has taken since independence.

Talking of socialism and building capitalism has led to the race for quotas and permits, the entry of all sorts of careerist and re-

Explaining the immediate programme of the Communist party, Malhotra stated that besides helping form broad popular fronts in Panchayat Elections, the Communist Party will agitate more actively against rising prices and if the government fails to take effective measures, the party will organise protest hunger strikes and mass dharnas all over the state along with mass demonstrations to seek relief for the people.

## Bihar Khet Mazdur Sabha

The Bihar State Khet Mazdur Sabha in its meeting on November 20, 1963 appointed a five man Enquiry Commission to enquire into the conditions of the agricultural labourers of Ariari bloc in Monghyr District and Warsall-gang bloc in Gaya District.

Besides the general condition, the Commission will collect facts and figures regarding the implementation of Homestead and Minimum Wages Act. It will also collect facts and

figures regarding the settlement of cultivable fallow land with landless people.

The Commission is expected to tour Ariari bloc in middle of December. The president of the Commission is Karyanand Sharma and its members are Sunil Mukherjee, Rajkumar Purbey, MLAs, Bholamanjhi, president of the Khet Mazdur Sabha, and Kharagdhari Mishra (Tumaria Baba).



A view of the Economic Commission of the Seminar. Member of India's Planning Commission Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao is addressing. (All Seminar photographs on this and earlier pages—by Virendra Kumar)

## Seminar Commissions Adopt Reports

\*FROM CENTRE PAGES

recommended to the continuing committee of the seminar to take necessary steps to organise such a conference in the beginning of the international cooperation year 1964-65.

The COMMISSION ON INDIA, HER NEIGHBOURS AND THE WORLD felt that the policy of nonalignment with power blocs was not only the correct policy for India but was also essential for the furtherance of peace, maintenance and defence of independence and independent economic development. In fact, it was only the projection of independence and sovereign nationhood.

Therefore, the commission felt, the policies of the government of India regarding adherence to non-alignment were valid and correct and deserved the fullest support. The commission felt that the unabashed aggression against India by the People's Republic of China constituted a flagrant violation of the principles of coexistence. It had violated the solidarity of the peoples of Asia and Africa in their just struggle against colonialism, and for building strong independent community of nations in Asia and Africa.

The Government of India's right attitude despite this aggression to continue to adhere firmly to the policy of non-alignment and to circumscribe the area of conflict and to keep the doors for negotiated settlement open was the correct policy, the commission said. It was with this in view that India accepted the Colombo proposals of friendly nations which though not in full accord with India's position nevertheless can form the basis of resolving the dispute peacefully and by negotiations.

Part of the resources released would be devoted to maintaining inspection machinery and other measures consequential to disarmament. The resources would also be affected through tax cuts in developed countries and also through increased social service expenditures.

The commission asked: what would be the motivation for foreign aid to continue after cold war ends? Was it just goodwill and selflessness of the developed countries? Or would aid be given because it would be in the best interests of the developed countries? Or through pressure of world public opinion?

It was suggested that resources being made available to underdeveloped countries was only part of the natural process of continuous economic readjustment of economies of different countries.

From the viewpoint of resources required for development of the underdeveloped countries,

foreign aid could not but be marginal however large might its quantum be. Further, the quantum of aid hardly equalled the loss to underdeveloped countries through adverse terms of trade, both through high prices



Soviet Delegation leader being garlanded by Mrs. Asaf Ali.

for imported manufactured goods and low prices of raw materials. This conclusion led to the suggestion that possibilities of greater economic cooperation between underdeveloped countries should be explored. This, it was felt, would avoid unnecessary duplication of capacities and make more rational utilisation of limited capital resources.

Another point raised during discussions was about those underdeveloped countries which are enmeshed in the economies of these countries which depend on the armament race for at least part of their income as renters of bases, providers of goods and services to foreign troops and recipients of military aid. The reconversion of their economies was a serious problem.

The commission felt that all these required further study and therefore a more specialised national conference on economics of peace and underdeveloped countries should be called and some machinery to study these problems should be set up. The commission felt the study and re-

## RELEASES WELCOMED

S. G. SARDESAI, Secretary, Maharashtra State Council of the CPI issued the following statement on December 6 in Bombay:

I WELCOME the release of Communist and other political detainees by the new Maharashtra Ministry headed by Shri VASANTRAO NAIK. The fact that the releases followed within a few hours of the swearing in of the new ministry conclusively proves the validity of the demand repeatedly voiced by our Party that all political detainees in the state ought to have been released long ago.

It has to be noted that thirty prominent functionaries of the Communist Party, trade unions and the Kisan Sabha are still in detention. Their continued detention is no more justified than that of those released today. I hope the state government will give up its unwarranted excuse of studying each case separately and promptly release all those who are still in detention. The new Chief Minister has stated in his press interview that he stands by "the correct side". I appeal to him to vindicate that claim without reservation.

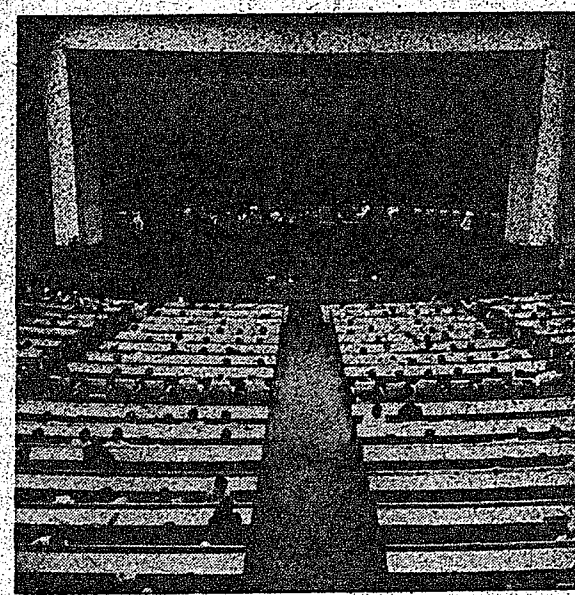
search already undertaken by the UN in this respect should be supported, strengthened and speeded up.

It also felt that the UN conference for trade and development was of great importance for tackling some of the problems posed. The COMMISSION ON COLONIALISM, RACIALISM AND HUMAN RIGHTS hailed the emergence of newly independent countries in Asia and Africa, the growing national liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America and the growing solidarity and cooperation among these countries, both in official and nonofficial spheres.

The commission welcomed the support given to the struggles against colonialism by progressive movements and peoples all over the world. It regretted that efforts were being made, particularly by China to divide the Afro-Asian peoples from the progressive elements in the rest of the world by creating a dangerous type of racial antagonism.

The COMMISSION ON INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION AND ORGANISATION OF PUBLIC OPINION recommended that a world conference of all movements for peace in every country be convened in India to declare against nuclear war, and consider ways to bring about total disarmament. It felt that poverty and ignorance were the root causes of tension in the world and therefore growing economic scientific and cultural cooperation among nations was imperative.

The commission also recommended that a permanent committee be set up to carry forward the work of the seminar. The committee would be composed of the members of the steering committee of the seminar and representatives of all participating organisations. The seminar concluded after adopting the reports. Anthony Greenwood congratulated the organisers for a "successful exchange of ideas" on peace, disarmament and allied matters, for providing a platform without any ideological commitments.



The Vigyan Bhawan Hall where the first session was held.

# PLAN DEBATE HIGHLIGHTS GRAVITY OF SITUATION

★ By Our Parliamentary Correspondent

Lok Sabha's marathon debate on the mid-term appraisal of the Third-Five Year Plan has once again revealed that official thinking is always far behind popular feeling and Authority can still find ways of sustaining its complacency even in the face of the most trenchant criticism and exposure. A few admissions of failures do not affect its elastic conscience nor is its habit of frustrating criticism by platitudes easily given up.

But the government can't say that it has not been warned, warned by its own supporters and certainly by its critics.

AS INDRAJIT GUPTA in his speech pointed out, habits die hard and the mid-term appraisal—claimed by official spokesmen as a frank document—itself does not speak the whole truth and where it had admitted failures, these have been "so obvious, so unpalatable that there is no way but to admit them, at least under compulsion". But as member after member spoke commenting on these failures, supplementing the facts in the appraisal with their own knowledge and criticism, the picture that emerged was even more dismal.

Except for M. R. MASANI and his Swatantra Party who repeated the war cry of the monopolists—"scrap the Plan"—the opinion of members on government and opposition benches was overwhelmingly in favour of more realistic planning, more faithful execution of the Plan and more of a Plan which has before it the objective of building socialism. And yet, the Prime Minister in his intervention took much pains and devoted most of his time to defend planning and to answer Masani—a singularly wasteful job.

The House was thus deprived of hearing from him whether the state of affairs revealed by the mid-term appraisal—almost everyone agreeing that it was gloomy and disappointing—had caused the government to ponder over the future, over the task of attaining the social objectives of the Plan and whether it was the intention of the government to give the Plan a new direction so that the socialist objectives

about which there has been so much talk at Jaipur and after would be realised in a life time.

Of course, the Prime Minister said that "to put it broadly we want to plan for a socialist state" and that in this respect the two major problems were increasing production and keeping an eye on distribution. But there was no light in his words to illuminate the dark picture of a stumbling economy which, as HOMI DAJI had pointed out, at the current rate of growth would condemn 30 per cent of the population to live below the subsistence level till 1991, almost the end of the century.

As for shortfalls in the targets of the Third Plan, the Prime Minister said that he was disappointed in many things, and especially in regard to agriculture, but then "on the whole, looking at the picture I am not disappointed." He maintained that we have largely succeeded in putting an end to the economic stagnation of the last 50 years or so and that the 12 years of planning has laid the basis for future development. But that optimism was small comfort to the House.

One of the main points that emerged in the debate and which was sharply posed by Communist speakers and which found its disturbing echo in the speeches of many worried Congress members, was that side by side the growth of industries and production, there is increasing disparity and concentration of wealth in fewer hands. But T. T. KRISHNAMACHARI, the Finance Minister—who had once

seen man-eaters and warned everyone else against them but who now sees the Plan as a tiger and says that one has to ride this tiger and not dismount because if you dismount it will eat you up—was not seriously concerned by this phenomena.

"Concentration may be there; it can be wiped out; it can be taken away. You do not have to tell me how to do it; that is my job", he quipped. Further he was not bothered whether production was strengthened by the public sector or private sector. He had a very 'practical' idea of socialism:

"In relation to the Plan, or even in relation to the socialist objectives of the Plan about which we are very keen, this is only a passing phase. Let somebody make money; I do not mind. But money must be made and goods must be produced. Production must increase, no matter from where. If it increases in the public sector, we are happy; we do not have to take the next step—a sort of levelling down. But even if it is not produced here, the

ultimate objectives of our Plan, of economic growth are not affected. Government has to take the next step to see that there is equalisation, if there is maldistribution."

But will the people wait for that "next step" till such time as T. T. Krishnamachari is ready? Homi Daji distinctly warned that they will not. He said that they are getting restive and he called for a re-examination of priorities so that within the next ten years the nation can assure to everyone of its citizens two square meals a day, a roof over his head and the minimum clothing. For that he suggested there should be more planning and stricter planning.

The keynote of Communist members' speeches was to keep the common man in view and give the Plan a new orientation to take it along socialist lines so that his urgent needs would be met within the shortest possible time. Indrajit Gupta said:

"Calculations show that even if by 1976 we are to attain a state of affairs where every family will have an income of Rs. 100 per month, the rate of growth should go up to seven per cent per year. This gives some idea of the mag-

nitude of the problem we are facing, and it has to be appreciated in the perspective of the controversy we had some time ago over how many people were living on three annas or seven and half annas a day."

Indrajit pointed out that while the appraisal was trying to make out that the rate of growth in national income had been slow in the two years of the Third Plan, the real fact was that the figures supplied by the Central Statistical Organisation show that there has been an actual decline in the rate of growth between 1960-61 and 1961-62. The index had gone down from 117.7 to 117.5, but the appraisal hides this fact. It glosses over it by lumping two or three years together and saying that from 1961 to 1963 the annual rate of increase was 2.5 per cent as against the stipulated 5 per cent.

As regards the distribution of this national income, Indrajit said the appraisal was silent. He then recalled the study made by the Reserve Bank in September 1963 which clearly showed that in the

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## POLICE BRUTALITY IN NATION'S CAPITAL

★ By Our Staff Correspondent

With all the pent-up fury of years the Delhi police ran riot in the Tibbia college premises in the Capital on December 6 beating up everybody they came across. Reason: two students had gone on a hunger strike in support of the demand for affiliation of the college to the Delhi University.

EXCEPT when the police opened fire against the striking municipal workers about six years back, never before has the police brutality been exhibited in such a blatant manner in independent India's capital.

Three hundred policemen went into the college compound to "remove" the two hunger-striking students. The few students who

were there at that time formed a ring round the two hunger-strikers seeing such a large number of policemen preparing to swoop down.

What happened after that is a gruesome tale of the "guardians of law" having a free go at the limbs of the Tibbia college students. The police pushed, threw around and kicked the students. Two lathi-charges were made. Girls were bodily picked up and thrown aside.

An eye-witness described how a girl was held unceremoniously by three policemen. Another student, a young mother, complained that the police snatched away her 15-month-old child from her hands and threw the baby on the ground. The child had not regained consciousness till 24 hours later.

According to the government press note itself, 83 students including 13 girls were injured (the claim is that 15 policemen also were injured). The student leaders have put the figure of the injured at 100 including 15 girls, 25 seriously.

Most of the injured students are still in hospital. A visit to the Tibbia college hospital on Saturday showed that the condition of many was really serious. A boy student lay unconscious with his ribs fractured. A girl had to be placed in an oxygen tent. Another was being given glucose injections.

As soon as the news of the police lathi-charge was received, Communist leader Bhupesh Gupta interrupted the proceedings of the Rajya Sabha and referred to his earlier motion to discuss the situation in the Tibbia college. He demanded a judicial enquiry into the incidents, which has since been ordered by the government.

The matter was again raised in both the Rajya Sabha and the Lok

Sabha on Monday when Home Minister Nanda had to face angry Houses. Members from both sides demanded action against the offending police officials. Nanda, however, refused to "prejudge" the results of the enquiry which had been ordered into the incident, and trotted out the time-worn argument of maintaining the "morale of the police force".

However, this reluctance to "prejudge" the findings of the enquiry has not prevented the police from registering two cases of "rioting" against the students. Nanda had no reply either to the charge that police officials were going round the scene and intimidating the residents in the area into giving evidence in their favour.

Meanwhile, two other students have started hunger-strike in place of the two who were taken into custody. The jail authorities are alleged to have fed them forcibly while in custody. The students have also decided to continue their strike till their demands are met.

The Ayurvedic and Unani Tibbia college is a national institution with a record in the service of the nation dating back to 1916. Many national leaders like Motilal Nehru, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Dr. M. A. Ansari and Asaf Ali were connected with the college in their lifetime.

The college enjoyed a reputation in those days as the foremost integrated medical institute. But after independence, it had fallen in standards, mainly due to neglect of the Delhi Administration which is managing its affairs through a nominated managing board. Recently the board decided to start night classes also in the college which resulted in its diploma being de-recognised by many states.

It is to revive the past traditions and to check the falling standards in the college that the students (there are about 600 of them now) put forward a few months back certain demands, the most important being affiliation of the college to the Delhi University.

But the college authorities are not willing to affiliate the college to the University, allegedly to safeguard their private interests and not to invite the controls and restrictions and high standards that such affiliation would bring in its wake.



"Police Action" at Tibbia College