

7 JAN 20 1964
COPY

MILLIONS ON THE MARCH

THE BATTLE OF THE TOILING PEOPLE OF THIS LAND ENTERED YET ANOTHER PHASE WITH THE NATIONWIDE DEMONSTRATIONS ON MARCH 7. MILLIONS TOOK PART IN THESE DEMONSTRATIONS WHICH COVERED EVERY NOOK AND CORNER OF INDIA, WHEREVER THE WORKING CLASS IS ORGANISED UNDER THE RED BANNER OF THE AITUC.

NEW AGE * COMMUNIST PARTY WEEKLY *

Vol. VII No. 11 NEW DELHI MARCH 15, 1964 25 N.P.



A view of the mighty march of working women in Bombay. (Photo: SHARAD PAWAR)
See report on back page

IT is not only the working class which is in action today. Over a lakh have already offered satyagraha in the historic kisan satyagraha in Andhra. Lucknow saw this week a huge worker-peasant demonstration when 20,000 marched to the State Assembly under the leadership of the Communist Party. This week has also seen the biggest demonstrations of working women ever organised in the country.

The people of India are also marching today on the key political issues affecting Indian honour and integrity. The cry of Hands Off Kashmir resounds with ever new vigour and intensity.

Millions are on the march and nothing can stop them.

In April is planned the mighty satyagraha before Parliament. And, as the Chairman of the CPI has already declared:

"IF GOVERNMENT GIVES NO RELIEF THEN, THE WORKERS ALL OVER THE COUNTRY ALLIED WITH THE PEASANTRY AND MIDDLE CLASSES WILL LAUNCH A ONE-DAY NATIONWIDE HARTAL AND GENERAL STRIKE."



20,000 IN LUCKNOW

LUCKNOW: Lucknow saw its biggest ever demonstration on March 9 when 20,000 kisans, workers and middle class employees marched through its streets demanding relief from oppressive taxes and spiralling cost of living. The march was organised by the Uttar Pradesh Council of the Communist Party.

FROM the poverty and famine-stricken eastern districts had come thousands of kisans, and so had from the western districts and the faraway hilly districts to take part in the march. Big contingents came from working class centres like Kanpur and Ghaziabad.

As many as 4000 participated in the demonstration from Lucknow district alone. In fact, with the exception of five or six small

districts, every part of the state was well represented in the march.

From Ramesh Sinha

These toiling masses had come to the state capital to demand remission of land revenue for the rabi crop, suspension of realisation of dues like

* ON PAGE 4



Demonstration in front of US Embassy in New Delhi, Photo: VIRENDRA KUMAR

BUDGET CRITICISM:

Weakening Country's Economic Structure

BY OUR PARLIAMENTARY CORRESPONDENT

More Communist members participating in the general debate on the Central Government's budget in Parliament over the week pointed to the danger to India's independent economic development posed by the TTK budget and warned the government that the Finance Minister's policies would inevitably weaken the country's economy and mortgage it to the control of Indian and foreign monopoly capital.

They decried any illusions about the effects of further concessions announced by the Finance Minister to the private sector and his open door policy of inviting foreign equity capital and directly charged him of subverting the policies adopted by Parliament and even those declared by the ruling party itself. At the same time, they also criticised the budget for its complete disregard of the common man and his case for urgent relief from high taxation and uncontrolled price rise.

Commenting on the criticism from Congress benches against the budget for its departure from the spirit of Bhubaneswar, P. K. VASUDEVAN NAIR said that the Finance Minister would do well to take note of this criticism from his own party men. The Communist Party had no illusions about Bhubaneswar or Jaipur. But Bhubaneswar acquired significance for the country since it represented the views of the ruling party, he said and warned the Finance Minister that he would have to settle accounts with his own friends.

Enunciating the Communist Party's attitude to the policies propounded by TTK, Vasudevan Nair said: "Our charge is that this Finance Minister is trying to sabotage the very national policies accepted by this House and he is going against the spirit of the Directive Principles of the Constitution."

He disputed the argument of TTK that further incentives were necessary for the private sector and he drew attention to the fact that resumption in forward trading and a number of other steps had already been taken in the months past to stimulate the stock market.

Handmaid Of Monopoly

He referred to the Unit Trust instituted by TTK and said that its real purpose was revealed in the constitution of its Board of Trustees. It has been handed over to the monopolies, he declared, and cited the appointment of WAGLE representing the Karamchand Thapar group, MITTER of Andrew Yule and CO. and TULI of the Punjab National Bank which represents the Sabu-Jains.

Another point in his criticism was that the budget showed no concern for the agriculturist. He referred to the long-neglected cry for institutional changes and pointed out that state governments had sabotaged land reforms.

Apart from land reforms, various other measures also necessary to help the peasant to get out of the rut in which he has lived for centuries have been neglected. The money pumped into the villages did not go into

the hands of the real cultivators. It is the rich minority that have reaped all benefits.

HIREN MUKERJEE speaking on the budget said: "It is patent that there are ominous signs of withdrawal from nationally acclaimed social and economic policies and objectives. Disregard of our major short term and long term needs is a characteristic of this budget."

He referred to the problem posed by the coming in into India of thousands of refugees of Pakistan in "desperate stream" and criticised the failure of the government to make adequate provisions for their resettlement. Towards the end of his speech the Finance Minister had only said: "We might perhaps have to face a rehabilitation problem of some dimensions!"

Hiren Mukerjee said that for an understatement these words of the Finance Minister compared with what Louis XV noted in his diary on the day when the French Revolution broke out. He wrote, "Nothing".

E. Pakistan Refugees

Hiren deplored the statement of the Home Minister in the Rajya Sabha that open door to the displaced persons was not possible and that the government cannot, for practical reasons, make the issue of migration certificates too liberal. He said this attitude has to be given up and some way should be found to meet the difficulties. We cannot and must not restrict those who want to come over to this country.

Hiren Mukerjee criticised the continued dependence on PL 480 imports of food and said that it will not help us to achieve a situation of doing away with imports of food. Also he drew attention to the mammoth rupee funds created by PL 480 and vested in the hands of the US embassy.

These funds, he said, are being used by the United States to widen and strengthen the position of US monopolies in India and to strengthen the collaboration of US and Indian businessmen. According to figures supplied by government to Parliament, as on March 31, 1963 Rs. 175 crores were reserved from these funds for use by the US embassy.

Hiren suggested that instead of appointing a Monopoly Commission, which is superfluous in view of already available information and reports on the concentration of wealth, it would be more appropriate to appoint a commission to examine the effect on our economy, presently and potentially of these PL 480 funds.

Such a commission can also assess the cost of hundreds of agreements signed for supply of

knowhow, machinery, equity and loan etc. from foreign countries and their implications for the future of our balance of payments.

COMMUNISTS IN PARLIAMENT

In a reference to the state of affairs in the country today, Hiren Mukerjee said that the government had allowed things to drift for too long. It has permitted colossal evasion of taxes, administrative laxy and corruption. Resources have been dragged away from Plan

projects. Smuggling and black-marketing has flourished and there has been a stupendous withering of morals in our country.

No wonder, it is not possible to rouse the common man and the government cannot look in his face. It is not able to utilise the tremendous potential dormant in the masses of the country. Hiren said that this has got to be faced and warned the Treasury benches that otherwise people like M. R. MASANI might one day come to replace them in their positions. He reminded them that only by rousing the enthusiasm of the people is it possible to face this challenge.

In the Rajya Sabha, P. RAMAMURTHY said that in framing his budget the Finance Minister had done no "rethinking" whatever and on the other hand "the clock has been turned back." "The big man-eaters about whom he was talking are extremely happy about it", Ramamurthy told TTK. Every pronouncement of TTK has been greeted by the stock exchange. Ramamurthy recalled how on the very next day after the appointment of TTK as Finance Minister, the price of Tata's shares went up by Rs. 5.50.

Ramamurthy said, "The philosophy underlying the budget is the philosophy of the Swatantra Party. The industrialists are happy about it, but

are only clamouring for more. Referring to the claim that government intend to tighten regulations to control wholesale trade, Ramamurthy said that no amount of regulatory measures will help to curb price rise because the wholesale traders will always be able to find ways of escaping.

Taking over the wholesale trade is the only way to control prices, he said and he charged that there were vested interests in the Central and state governments who do not want to have any effective control over prices. Rebutting the argument that more foreign investment should be welcome in view of the problem of repayment of loans, Ramamurthy asked what about the returns that the foreign investors are able to realise from their investments in this country. He showed that the return on American investment in India was the highest.

When he quoted a statement made by TTK himself to the press at Madras that foreign collaboration in a way meant foreign domination, the Finance Minister denied it. Ramamurthy also pointed out that apart from the huge drain on our wealth caused by these foreign investments, the collaboration agreements entered into with foreign investors were also such that our technicians would never be able to master the technical knowhow.

FICCI COMPLAINS!

Economic notes

THE Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI) is the premier organisation of big business. Its annual deliberations are therefore rightly looked upon as a mirror of the big business' position on economic questions agitating the people, particularly in the wake of the budget.

And yet, howsoever generous to its patrons the budget be, and whatever the level of their affluence, the FICCI has continued to chant the same 'mantram', that the corporate sector is passing through gruelling times and the state is encroaching on its domain.

True to its tradition, the FICCI has struck the same note in its latest session, but with one difference. Its leaders, elated at the good turn done to them and their foreign mentors by an obliging Finance Minister have given up supplication and taken to more aggressive postures.

Finding T. T. KRISHNAMACHARI a "clever" but loyal prolator of their own viewpoint, they have begun to adopt his phraseology to push through their own interpretation of not merely the current problems but also of the "economic goals enshrined in the Constitution."

In doing so, they, no doubt, sometimes make ludicrous formulations, but that does not make their game and the Finance Minister's tacit abetment of it any the less sinister.

Thus the FICCI's 'key' resolution on the economic situation is replete with expressions like "encouraging savings", "rewarding effort" and "stimulating investment", which have invariably found a place in TTK's recent utterances.

Yes, these phrases on

FICCI's own admission embody its understanding of "economic and social justice" which is a phrase TTK is particularly keen to tag on to all his "assessments" to big business.

With its unique conception of "social justice", a conception which rules out such "confusing" demands as "nationalisation of trade and industry", it is not surprising that the FICCI's conception of socialism should also be exceptional.

According to one of its luminaries, TULSIDAS KILCHAND, socialism "could be brought about only by encouraging private initiative" which, in big business parlance, is merely an euphemism for the "initiative" of private corporate bodies.

No wonder, he should rule out nationalisation as an 'outmoded' concept, and make the ludicrous suggestion that even the Soviet Union, by its 'emphasis on profitability and incentives, was in fact reverting to private enterprise. Prejudice makes strange bed fellows, for, this is precisely how the Chinese leaders malign the Soviet Union.

Does TTK, to whom Mao and Chou seem to offer an easy way out of embarrassing situations in Parliament, also agree with this version of socialism?

Having defined its conception of socialism, the FICCI has, of course, proceeded to demolish one by one all the accepted steps towards this objective. The demand for "nationalisation of industry, trade, finance and other economic activity" is not merely "outmoded" in its view but is also born out of a "confusion between ends and means."

"Indiscriminate extension of the cooperative form of organisation not merely in agriculture but also in small-scale and processing industries and wholesale and retail trade" will also, according to it, adversely affect overall production and productivity.

—ESSEN

ANOTHER SORDID STORY OF GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS' ALLEGED 'COMPLICITY WITH FOREIGN PRIVATE ENTREPRENEURS AGAINST INDIAN INTEREST WAS BROUGHT TO LIGHT ON MARCH 3 IN THE LOK SABHA BY S. M. BANERJEE, HOMI DAJI AND K. K. WARIER.

THIS involves the Post and Telegraph department of the Government of India, among other departments. It appears that the P&T department decided to increase its telephone services by 48,000 telephones and 6,500 trunk lines and for that it wanted to instal a factory which would manufacture one lakh telephones every year.

The Government of India has accepted for this purpose a tender from a Belgian concern called BELLS (BTM) which belongs to the American International Telegraph and Telephone (ITT). The acceptance of this offer is not sound on a number of counts and far more dangerous than merely being a negative economic proposition because this firm belongs to that group of manufacturers (CGCT) which was involved in espionage activity in newly-liberated Tunisia. Obviously, the authorities responsible for acceptance of the contract do not care for our national security and do not hesitate to entrust a firm of ill-repute for setting up a factory dealing with communication equipment.

It has been revealed that LAL BAHADUR SHASTRI, before he left for Kashmir on February 26, cautioned the concerned minister about the deal and wanted him to re-examine the whole issue.

But it is alleged that two officers in that ministry hustled the matter into final acceptance and obtained approval of the cabinet. This naturally reminds one of the notorious VOICE OF AMERICA deal which was also processed in the same manner.

ASOKE SEN replying in the Lok Sabha on this subject

indirectly admitted that something fishy was noted but the persons concerned in Tunisia were French nationals and not Belgians and that this company had nothing to do with it.

Full Facts Not Disclosed

This explanation did not reveal the full facts. The BTM is an associate of CGCT which is the main producer of the equipment. CGCT was involved in espionage in Tunisia in 1959 and was thrown out of the country. Its contract was cancelled and its employees exterminated.

The CGCT laid cables in Tunisia in such a manner that parallel lines of all important telephones were available in the French embassy. When this was revealed, the French employees were blamed and some officers who were partners in the crime committed suicide to escape punishment.

What will be the reaction in Afro-Asian countries of our acceptance of tender from a firm which has direct links with a notorious firm involved in espionage is anybody's guess. The photostat reproduced alongside from a "Tunisian" paper is a pointer in this direction. The paper, reproducing comments from the Arab press states:

"Besides, the discovery of this group raises an important point i.e., our tendency to employ French technicians in our administration and our public services in preference to technicians of other countries—this out of generosity and the confident hope that if we maintain them in certain posts and assure them a peaceful coexistence, their hearts

AFTER VOA, NOW TELEPHONE SPIES

GOVT. ACCEPTS TENDER OF A NOTORIOUS BROTHERHOOD

By Our Political Correspondent

and their minds would be rid of the turpitude of colonialism and that they would devote themselves seriously and loyally to their work.

"But this affair and other similar ones have opened our eyes, showing us that we were generally credulous and easily influenceable, that the generosity was of no avail before these evil-minded natures and that these latter should never be trusted."

Asoke Sen's contention that the BTM will not lay cables or maintain the exchanges in India does not remove the danger of "observation" by the foreign agents because with the development of technical equipment, effective methods of tapping the phones have also become feasible.

It has further been alleged in the Lok Sabha that the government's decision was based on the expert opinion of VASUDEVAN, a senior officer in the P&T. It has transpired that this officer has, in fact, no experience of auto exchanges and is an expert in carrier system only. We have also learnt that advices given to the contrary by other senior officials have been overruled by the authorities in favour of Vasudevan. Is it because of the fact that this officer enjoys a political patronage?

It is further alleged that in order to carry through the acceptance of this particular tender, facts have been distorted by the concerned officers. Records of meetings have been doctored and those in the know of things have

been asked to maintain silence.

While the nation should be particularly concerned at the fact of collaboration with a firm which had to be expelled for espionage activities in an African country, it is also interesting to note that the choice of this particular firm had no economic basis whatsoever.

The following allegations reported in this connection make interesting conclusion:

● A committee of three engineers namely, Agerwala, Jagdish Prasad and Vasudevan visited Europe and Japan in the middle of 1962 to study the various telephone systems. After detailed study

● BTM including ITT has no experience of manufacturing the complete equipment, especially trunks of the type required by us. It will depend on a French firm for such supply.

● The cost of the factory will be higher in the long run because the machinery that will be supplied by the BTM will produce only to the extent of 60 per cent of the components we require. For the rest, we will have to depend upon outside market or purchase additional machinery. Moreover, the BTM does not guarantee fixed prices and consequently the actual cost of the machinery will be very high.



they submitted their report in March 1963. The report pointed out that the systems manufactured by Ericson (Sweden), IT&T (USA), CGCT (French) and NEC (Japan) were suitable for our requirement. Their tenders were therefore called.

● The American International Telegraph and Telephone did not submit any tender. The CGCT was expected to submit tender on its behalf but it did not, because of the notorious affair in Tunisia. But the BTM, which never manufactured such equipment, submitted its quotation which was the highest.

Here are some of the grounds which definitely prove that the economic aspects of the BTM offer is detrimental to our interest:

● BTM is costlier by Rs. 50 lakhs as regards supply and production of equipment under its aegis will cost India Rs. 1½ crores more in foreign exchange over a period of a few years.

● BTM equipments have many defects. Complete wiring is not done in BTM factories. This will also increase our cost of production.

The acceptance of a tender from a firm which has no experience, whose offer is the highest and is an associate of the CGCT—the firm directly involved in sabotage and espionage raises the question: why this acceptance?

Was it meaningless that the engineers who came to India to discuss on behalf of the BTM, actually belonged to the CGCT?

It is also relevant to note in this connection that one of the two officers connected with this affair is a relative of a top-ranking Cabinet Minister. Informed circles lend a lot of weight to the "interest" shown by this minister in this matter which must have speeded up the acceptance of the particular tender.

Eviction of Settlers:

WIDE SUPPORT FOR JUDICIAL PROBE DEMAND

From S. SHARMA

TRIVANDRUM: The inhuman manner which the Kerala government has sought to evict the settlers in the Churuli-Keerithode area is recoiling on Chief Minister R. SHANKAR and his cabinet.

With the indefinite fast undertaken by A. K. GOPALAN, president of the All India Kisan Sabha, the resistance movement of the settlers has entered a new stage.

Gopalan went on fast at Vazhathope on March 8 along with two others. On March 9 he was produced before a sub-magistrate, but he refused bail and deined that he had incited people. Thereafter he was remanded into judicial custody. Gopalan is continuing his fast in the Muvattupuzha jail.

The demands of the settlers are judicial enquiry into police excesses at the time of eviction (see NEW AGE of March 8), withdrawal of police restrictions, and stay of eviction proceedings.

Following this, the Opposition pressed for a division on 'a cut motion on the demands for the police department.' Just

before the division, three Congress MLAs walked out of the House protesting against the attitude of the Chief Minister. These three MLAs, along with seven other Congress MLAs had submitted a memorandum to the KPCC president on March 4 demanding a judicial enquiry into the police excesses in Keerithode. Unless this was done, they would not be able to support the government, they said.

That the Churuli-Keerithode incidents are having a bearing on the inner-Congress rivalries and faction fight is evident from the fact that all the ten MLAs belong to the group led by former Home Minister P. T. CHACKO.

Chacko himself has entered the fray too. On March 9, he stated that it was "quite improper to use the Malabar Special Police for eviction of settlers."

Meanwhile, in a statement issued here, the state council of the Communist Party of India has called upon all democrats to force the government to accept the just demands of the settlers of Churuli-Keerithode.

Talbot's Bag of Tricks

Despite all the official denials, there is no doubt at all that the visit of US Assistant Secretary of State Philips Talbot was a very special visit.

SOMEWHAT discomfited by the Communist Party's "Go Home" posters, the American salesman was at pains to protest his innocence. He had no plan for Kashmir, he pleaded as he set foot on our soil. And every one of the four days he stayed, the US

propaganda machine was busy round the clock denying that he had come to pressure India into a sell-out on Kashmir. Unfortunately for Talbot, on the very day of his arrival, the influential French newspaper LE MONDE front-

paged an editorial, which confirmed the existence of an American Plan to divide Kashmir and create a so-called "independent" Kashmir. Moreover, the editorial openly stated that the US Ambassador in India had informed the Government of India of the plan.

N. C. Chatterjee, MP, did yeoman service to the nation by drawing the immediate attention of the Prime Minister to the LE MONDE editorial. Chatterjee wrote in a forthright manner, which reflected the feelings of all patriotic sections of our people:

"It seems the US government has taken it for granted that it has the right to take decisions for us and impose these decisions because it thinks we need military and economic aid from them. The sooner this impression in the US is removed, the better for the freedom of this country..."

Chatterjee told the Prime Minister:

"If you take a firm stand against this imperialist intervention in our affairs, you will have the support of the whole country. Any weakness or vacillation will compromise our independence."

The Prime Minister's reply was hailed by the press as reassuring, for he stated categorically that no such proposal was being made by the US government.

Also welcome was the declaration that "there was no question of our accepting any proposal which we disapprove of, because of military or economic aid from the US government."

But the fact remains that the Prime Minister's reply to N. C. Chatterjee did admit that some days ago, the US Ambassador had "talked rather vaguely about Kashmir" to the Secretary-General of the External Affairs Ministry. The expression "rather vaguely" in the context in which it was made does indicate that there was some indication, albeit "rather vague", of the sordid Talbot plan.

What is also significant is the fact that this, fairly low-ranking US official, was given super VIP treatment. Instead of meeting his opposite numbers in our government—the secretaries of the Ministry of External Affairs and perhaps a deputy minister or two—Talbot was honoured by interviews with the top Cabinet

Ministers and even a short visit to the Prime Minister. Every report of the Talbot visit and every briefing officially given to pressmen indicated that the main topic of discussion with Talbot was Kashmir. But no, oh no, there was no hint of a plan for 'autonomous' Kashmir!

The question the Indian people are asking is this: if Talbot had no Kashmir plan at all, then why so much high level fawning on him, to "explain" India's stand on Kashmir?

LE MONDE and all the Washington correspondents (quoted in last week's NEW AGE), who wrote of the same Talbot plan—were not all talking through their hats.

The force of Indian public opinion has made itself felt strongly during the last week. The Hands Off Kashmir Week called for by the All India Peace Council focussed special attention on the imperia-

Bhutto's demand for the resumption of the debate has been categorically rejected by India. But the imperialists plead their "helplessness."

notes OF THE Week

By Romesh Chandra

The attempt to have another debate in the Security Council is an attempt to whip up the same sort of communal frenzy again in Pakistan, which has already resulted in the migration of so many Hindus and Christians in recent weeks.

The imperialists seek to have this debate now pre-



VASANT HARDIKAR

On March 6, an accident brought the end of VASANT HARDIKAR, a leading trade unionist and a well-known leader of the Maharashtra state council of the CPI. That day, while crossing a road in Bombay after attending the meeting of the working women, he was knocked down by a taxi and breathed his last within half an hour. NEW AGE sends its condolences to his bereaved family.

list conspiracies. The Talbot-Go Home campaign and demonstration by the Communist Party succeeded in exposing the sinister imperialist game, in the most effective way possible. The Delhi Pradesh Congress organised a Kashmir Convention, which strongly criticised imperialist machinations.

It is this public opinion which must exert itself more and more forcefully in the coming days to strengthen the resistance to imperialist blackmail on Kashmir.

Talbot has gone. He has left his bag of tricks behind. We shall hear more of it in the coming days.

NEW SECURITY COUNCIL DEBATE?

Pakistan is once more spoiling for another battle in the Security Council.

actly because it is at this time that India's Defence Minister and his team of officers will be going to Washington to discuss our defence requirements and US "aid" for the next five years.

The imperialists hope to be able to have the whip-hand of blackmail and pressure over India, precisely because of the "discussions" which are now to be held regarding "what the USA is prepared to do to assist India's defence effort."

India is not at the beck and call of the imperialists. We must make it clear that we are not prepared to take part in this dirty game cooked up by the Pakistan dictators and their imperialist masters: the Security Council is not a circus, which can assemble every few weeks, to watch the antics of Bhutto and his Anglo-American ringmasters.

(March 11)

PEASANTS & WORKERS MARCH TOGETHER

*FROM FRONT PAGE

land revenue and taccavi, opening of fair price shops, reduction in prices and taxes, increase in wages, nationalisation of banking, sugar and oil industries, export-import trade and introduction of state trading in foodgrains.

They also demanded a monthly minimum wage of Rs. 65 and limitation of land holdings to 12.5 acres each.

The whole government machinery was sought to be utilised against the demonstration by the authorities. They refused permission to the use of loudspeakers; section 144 continued to be imposed; and on the day of the demonstration there was an impressive display of armed police strength in Lucknow.

Permission for the march itself was given only after sharp exchanges with the powers that be, and still any demonstration before the Council House was banned.

But that did not dissuade the people from pouring into the capital by the busloads and converting the city into a red sea with their banners and flags and feasts.

The people of Lucknow responded magnificently to this surging mass of humanity. Tens of thousands lined the route of the march impressed by the discipline of the marchers.

The march began from the Aminuddaula Park led by members of the state council of the CPI and Party MLAs. It took an hour and a quarter for the procession to pass a single point. When the mar-

chers reached the GPO Park, the procession's tail was still where it had started.

The demonstration turned into a mammoth public meeting at the park which was addressed by Communist and independent leaders.

The Jan Sangh-RSS mouthpiece, PANCHAJANYA had been calling the march a "procession of red snakes", organised "to help Pakistanis and Chinese". Some of the Congress leaders, including LAL BAHADUR SHASTRI had also been asking the people to "beware" of the Communists.

Despite all these provocative, malicious and mischievous propaganda the march was a grand success and this has caused jitters in the Rightwing and communal quarters.

On January 26, Republic Day, in 1957 at two in the afternoon, over fifteen thousand plantation workers, amongst whom women numbered nearly a thousand, were gathered in a mass rally in Valparai in Madras state. They had come to the meeting in processions from estates within a radius of twelve miles, to demand higher wages and better living conditions.

SUDDENLY, without warning or provocation the police fired on this peaceful meeting. Four workers fell victim to the police bullets. Union leaders were rounded up and arrested.

The workers did not disperse but demonstrated in front of the police station demanding release of their leaders and action against those responsible for this crime. The women workers were in the forefront of this demonstration.

Section 144 was introduced but hundreds of workers, men and women alike, hovered round the township in small groups for the next four days awaiting a lead from the

WOMEN WORKERS IN INDIA: PROBLEMS AND PERSPECTIVES

By PARVATHI KRISHNAN

woman occupies a distinct position in the community...

"Being unaccustomed to free movement and free social intercourse woman finds herself a complete stranger in an industrial centre. Social custom which has so long guided her conduct is no longer helpful in the new environment. No new moral code has yet developed to take the place of the old social discipline."

CHANGED CONDITIONS

Conditions have changed since then. The women workers of Valparai have amply demonstrated this.

Prior to independence women workers came forward to participate in industry on an equal footing with men and in trade unions to fight for their legitimate rights mainly in advanced centres, such as Bombay and Calcutta and in organised industries.

Today in almost every industry where women are employed in considerable numbers they are coming forward more and more to participate in trade union activity and are becoming aware of the need to fight for their social and economic rights through their class organisations.

In a socially and industrially backward country such as ours, women form that part of the labour force which is most exploited, lowest paid and subject to all kinds of discrimination.

In their desire to reap the maximum profits, employers make use of women workers



CHARTER ON THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL RIGHTS OF WORKING WOMEN

The 44th Session of the Executive Bureau of the WFTU meeting in Prague, January 15-17, 1964, decided that the 2nd International Trade Union Conference on the Problems of Working Women will be held in Bucharest from May 11 to 16, 1964.

We are publishing below the full text of the draft Charter that will be submitted to the conference.

THE presence of an ever larger number of women in industry is an incontrovertible fact of our times. The right to work, recognised for women in the majority of countries, necessarily implies equal rights in all spheres of the economic, social and political life of each country. This equality of rights has been won in the socialist countries where all conditions have been created to allow women to develop their abilities to the full and to play their role in society.

Distinct from this, the situation in the capitalist countries shows that the employers and the monopolies, in their pursuit of a policy of social regression, are simultaneously conducting an intensive policy of discrimination against working women.

The elimination of these discriminatory practices is absolutely essential in our days. In newly liberated countries where women have played their part in the struggle for national independence and where the remnants of colonialism hinder the complete emancipation of women, working women have to cope with many difficulties and discriminatory practices.

As an inseparable part of the working class, working women have the same aspirations and economic and social demands as the entire working class. However, they have additional specific demands, which result from their position of workers, women and mothers.

The fundamental common demands of women in all occupations in town and country side, including women in the cottage industries, and based on the given conditions in each country, can be summed up as follows:

- Right to work
 - guaranteed by the Constitution and by the industrial legislation of each country, without any discrimination;
- genuine application of this right once it is embodied in national legislation;
- abolition of all discriminatory clauses and practices in the employment and dismissal of working women;
- guaranteed equality in promotion to all levels.
- Remuneration
 - elimination of all discriminatory practices in wages. Guarantee and application of the principle "equal pay for equal work";
 - establishment of the same guaranteed minimum wage for women and men;
 - ratification and effective application of Convention No. 100 of the I.L.O. establishing the principle of equal pay;
 - elimination of age categories for young girls;
 - suppression of racial discrimination in fixing wage levels.
- Technical training
 - equal access to technical training;
 - free access of women to the trade of their choice;
 - establishment of conditions for technical training and for raising the skill of women in places of work or in special centres during working hours and paid as such.
- Duration of work
 - special adaptation of working hours without loss of

wages to give women the possibility of accomplishing their duties as workers and as mothers;

- right to annual paid holidays of a guaranteed minimum duration;
- right to paid breaks at work for nursing mothers.

Social Security

Apart from social risks and eventualities covered under social security, applicable to the entire working class, working women have the right to:

- special protection including free medical attention during pregnancy, confinement and after childbirth;
- free medical attention for their children;
- ante and post-natal maternity leave of a sufficient duration to ensure the protection of their health and that of their children;
- the full payment of their wages during maternity leave;
- maternity bonuses and family allowances;
- nursing allowance and a layette;
- benefits and compensation under the legal allowances by the social security system, holidays to look after a sick child. Unmarried mothers looking after one or more children should be entitled to additional allowances;
- a special age limit for retirement with guaranteed adequate means of livelihood.

Protection of woman and child

- As a mother and worker, women must have special protection. This protection should cover also their children. The rules on hygiene, health and work safety for women must be strictly observed. The protection of women's health requires the elimination of excessive work-loads and observance of a normal pace of work, established on realistic and scientific norms and tasks. Technical progress, mechanisation and automation must make her work lighter.

Participation in trade union activities

In order to achieve the general demands of the working class as well as the specific ones of working women, the trade unions must be free to exercise trade union rights and liberties, including in factories and all places of work.

The active participation of working women in the life, activities and struggles of the trade unions as well as their promotion to the leading bodies of the trade unions will effectively help to win, defend and extend the economic and social rights of working women and the entire working class.

as cheap labour and thereby try to bring down the general level of wages and create a rivalry between men and women workers.

Trade unions have had to fight this policy of the employers and in so doing women workers have been drawn into the trade union movement.

In the early days of the trade union movement it was an uphill task to organise women workers into trade unions.

DOUBLE BURDEN

It is an accepted fact that women workers have to shoulder a double burden—that of supplementing the family earnings and of carrying out their household duties.

It can also be said that trade unions in this country have had to face a double task—that of overcoming the fear instilled in the woman worker by the employer that she would lose her job if she joined the union (fear that can be very real in a country with largescale unemployment, and the opposition from the older generation at home to any sort of union activity).

Today the movement has grown to overcome these obstacles and women workers have come forward in large numbers to enrol as members of trade unions and take active part in trade union work.

Apart from this, trade union workers have also gradually overcome their social inhibitions and recognised that women workers are in no sense inferior to their fellow men workers in their capacity and determination to fight for their rights, shoulder to shoulder with them.

One such indication of this feature is that in the early



Who All Constitute Democratic Front?

Q The masses following the Congress include workers and peasants and the CPI advocates unity with them. But there are many workers and peasants who follow the Jan Sangh, Swatantra, DMK, Muslim League etc. Why does the CPI not talk of unity with these sections? Are they not to be included in the democratic front? (V. S. Namboodiripad, Trivandrum)

A It is certainly true that in parts of the country substantial portions of the workers, peasants and middle strata follow the parties mentioned in the question. But this does not mean that these parties become democratic because a portion of the classes who are to be united in the national democratic front support them.

Nor can we equate the Congress with Jan Sangh, Swatantra etc., simply because many of their supporters are common as far as their class origin is concerned. If we proceed on this basis then the CPI also can be lumped together with all these parties because it, too, has a good number of workers, peasants and middle strata rallied under its banner.

As Marxist-Leninists we have to analyse the character and role of various parties by asking the basic question: Whose class interests do these parties serve? Which class or classes stand to gain by the policies and actions of different parties? Not which classes FOLLOW different parties but which classes these parties REPRESENT is the basis of the attitude that the CPI adopts towards them.

ASSESSMENT OF CONGRESS

In his unanimously adopted speech at the Vijayawada Party Congress, Ajoy Ghosh stated: "The Congress is the organ of the national bourgeoisie as a whole—including its Rightwing, and while landlord elements have also come into it following independence it is not to be equated with parties of Right reaction."

And the parties of Right reaction—Swatantra, Jan Sangh, Muslim League etc.—represent counter revolutionary trends, represent the most reactionary monopolists with semi-feudal elements allied to them playing an important but subordinate role.

Hence, towards the Congress the CPI's attitude is one of unity and struggle, while towards the parties of Right reaction it is one of struggle all along the line.

A further fact has to be borne in mind. Inside the Congress, not merely at the base but at all levels of leadership as well, there are progressive, Leftwing democratic elements. At the Bhuvanewar session these elements gave ample evidence of their existence and militancy.

They did not win but they fought and demonstrated that they were quite a force. This has been highly welcomed by the latest resolution of the Central Executive Committee of the CPI.

It is an impossible and futile exercise to try to find "left" or "progressive" elements among the leadership, at any level, of the parties of Right reaction.

Nor is all this a matter of abstract formulations. Let us take issues which life itself is posing.

"At the same time it would be a big mistake to equate the Congress with parties of Right reaction. Many of the declared policies of the Congress and some of its measures are, in today's context, progressive—foreign policy, public sector, secularism and so on."

It is this dual character of the Congress that determines the dual policy of the CPI towards it—the policy of unity and struggle.

What about the Jan Sangh, Muslim League, Swatantra, DMK, etc?

Analysing the rise of Right reaction and quoting from the Amritsar Party Congress Resolution on the subject, Ajoy Ghosh, in the same speech, went on to state: "These counter revo-

Foreign policy, for example.

To defend and strengthen the secular character of the Indian Republic with whom can the CPI unite and against whom does it have to fight?

Radical economic policies, for example. To bring about the nationalisation of banks, to curb the concentration of economic power, to bring about radical agrarian reforms, with whom can the CPI unite and against whom does it have to fight?

On all these basic questions it will be found that towards the Congress as a whole the CPI has to and has very correctly adopted an attitude of unity and struggle, while towards the parties of Right reaction it has to and has very correctly adopted an attitude of uncompromising struggle all along the line.

The Right reactionary parties demagogically raise slogans about corruption, "permit-licence-contract raj", the awful poverty of the people and talk loud and long against the Congress monopoly of power. It is on this basis

YOUR QUESTIONS ANSWERED

that they seek to fool the masses and bring grist to their mill from anti-Congress popular discontent. And these parties have had quite some success in this regard in different parts of the country.

But to what do these Right parties ascribe all the ills that beset our land and press upon our people? To nonalignment—why not let the Americans pay for and handle our defences? To planning—why not let the private sector do the job of economic construction efficiently? To a "doctrinaire" approach which talks of nationalisation—let us be pragmatic and learn from the West German "miracle". And so on.

This phenomenon is nothing new for the international Communist movement. Such demagoguery was precisely the basis on which the Nazi party carried its counter revolutionary banner to victory in Germany in the early 1930s. But because the evils they decried were real evils and

because many workers, peasants and petty bourgeois strata were misled by them, the Communists never equated the Nazis and their followers with the social democrats, bourgeois democrats and their masses.

Certainly the masses following the parties of Right reaction have to be drawn into common struggles and the CPI has to strive to wear them away from these parties. There is no controversy on this point at all.

But to go further and to equate these parties with the Congress, to ascribe to them a similar dual character as the Congress, even with some modification, is the grossest opportunism.

It is also a manifestation of revisionism, despite "left" phrases. For, this opportunist attitude is based on abandoning the method of class analysis of parties and their slogans, which is of the very essence of Marxism-Leninism.

—MOHIT SEN

SHIFT TO THE RIGHT

"...taking the country as a whole, the real and immediate danger is that of a further and more pronounced shift to the Right, a shift brought about under the leadership of the most reactionary monopolists with semi-feudal elements allied to them playing an important but subordinate role. It is this that extreme reactionaries both in the Congress and outside are striving for" (emphasis in original).

Thus, while the Congress is the organ of the national bourgeoisie as a whole, including its Rightwing, and while landlord elements have also come into it following independence it is not to be equated with parties of Right reaction.

And the parties of Right reaction—Swatantra, Jan Sangh, Muslim League etc.—represent counter revolutionary trends, represent the most reactionary monopolists with semi-feudal elements allied to them playing an important but subordinate role.

Hence, towards the Congress the CPI's attitude is one of unity and struggle, while towards the parties of Right reaction it is one of struggle all along the line.

A further fact has to be borne in mind. Inside the Congress, not merely at the base but at all levels of leadership as well, there are progressive, Leftwing democratic elements. At the Bhuvanewar session these elements gave ample evidence of their existence and militancy.

They did not win but they fought and demonstrated that they were quite a force. This has been highly welcomed by the latest resolution of the Central Executive Committee of the CPI.

It is an impossible and futile exercise to try to find "left" or "progressive" elements among the leadership, at any level, of the parties of Right reaction.

Nor is all this a matter of abstract formulations. Let us take issues which life itself is posing.



Paramount necessity for the formation of health

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

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

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



Adhyaksha Dr. Jagesh Chandra Ghose,
M.A. Ayurved-Sastr, F.C.S. (London)
M.C.S. (America) Formerly Professor
of Chemistry, Bhagalpur College.

MRTISANJIBANI
MAHADRAKSHARISTA
(6 years old)

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

DELHI'S WORKING WOMEN FORMULATE DEMANDS

Convention Outlines Main Grievances

By OUR STAFF CORRESPONDENT

NEW DELHI: Lack of accommodation and transport facilities for themselves and creches for their babies, resistance of employers to employ married women and discriminatory wages were some of the problems facing working women in the capital highlighted at a convention of working women in Delhi on March 8.

SUBMITTING the report on the problems of working women in small-scale industries VEERA DEVI told the convention that it was next to impossible for a married woman to get a job in industrial units located in Faridabad.

Because of the maternity benefits legislation employers were extremely reluctant to employ married women. Girls were being employed in large numbers but when they got

The report on problems of women working in radio and electronics establishments was submitted by SHANTI GROVER. There were reports also on the problems of women building workers, telephone operators and nurses.

The convention adopted an appeal setting forth the demands of the working women in Delhi. Explaining the main points in the appeal RENU CHAKRAVARTY said that the demands

traditionally employ them, maternity benefits for all working women, creches in all central localities, abolition of discrimination against married women in employment and hostels for all working women.

The appeal also voiced the demands for immediate 25

ern Court Telephone Exchange, where 700 women are employed, not a single creche has been provided by the authorities.

Resolutions demanding hostel accommodation for government as well as non-government employees and special buses for women during office hours were moved by GITA HALDAR.

AMARAVATI WAHAL moved the resolution on rising prices which said that all the measures so far announced by the government to control prices and distribution have failed to yield effective results.

The resolution demanded control prices for all essentials, more fair price shops, exemplary punishment to profiteers, hoarders and blackmarketeers, state trading in foodgrains. It also demanded that government take steps to enlist the cooperation of women's and people's organisations to achieve the above.

Discriminatory practices followed by many employers with regard to employment of women were condemned in a resolution moved by CHITRA

acquaint him with the discussions and decisions of the convention was moved by SUNAINA SHARMA.

A committee for continuing the work of the convention and carrying out the tasks laid down by it was proposed by SARAMMA THOMAS and nominated by the convention.

OTHER RESOLUTIONS

Three resolutions were moved from the chair. One greeted the World Federation of Trade Unions' conference of working women to be held in Bucharest in May, and another welcomed the decision of the ILO to organise the discussion on "Working Women In A Changing World", to be held in June.

The third condemned the recent communal riots in East Pakistan and their repercussions which followed in West Bengal. It appealed for communal harmony which alone would help bring about progress and prosperity to the country.

Among those who address-



A view of the Convention (Photo. Virendra Kumar)

married they lost their jobs too, she said.

The reports on the primary and secondary women teachers, submitted respectively by PATTAR BEGUM and VIMLA SHARMA, dealt extensively with the accommodation and transport problems faced by them and the lack of creches where they could put their babies when

were based on the premise that "woman has to carry out the twin responsibility of being a useful member of the nation and of society, as well as a good mother and wife bringing up a happy and healthy family".

The main demands, set forth in the appeal are equal wages for equal work, reservation of a specified percentage of jobs for women which

per cent reduction in prices and linking of dearness allowance with correct cost of living indices. These two problems "affect our entire people but more so women who in their role as mothers and housewives are directly concerned as to how to feed and cloth the family", the appeal said.

The convention adopted several resolutions, each dealing with a specific problem facing working women.

The resolution on minimum wage, moved by VIMLA FAROOQI, supported the demand for equal pay for equal work, but emphasised that "minimum wages for both men and women must be the same, as minimum wage is computed on the basis of the barest requirements to keep body and soul together".

SHEILA PENDSE introducing the resolution demanding more creches and improvement of existing ones said it was shocking to note that even at the East-



Working women of Bombay in a conference.

SIEN. It demanded more employment opportunities for women workers in all fields including technical professions.

A resolution demanding the setting up of an advisory bureau for working women attached to the Union Labour Ministry was moved by SARLA SHARMA, while another authorising a deputation to meet Labour Minister D. SANJIVIAH to

ed the convention, presided over by ANASUYA GYANACHAND, were DURGABAI DESHMUKH, VIOLET ALVA and ARUNA ASAF ALL.

Messages of greetings were read out by HAJRAH BEGUM. There were messages from the President, the AITUC, the INTUC, the HMS and the UTUC. URMILA KAPOOR of the UTUC personally conveyed the greetings of her organisation.

Durgabai Deshmukh speaking at the Convention.



FAN-FUL DEMONSTRATION

Employees of the Telephone Revenue Accounts office in Trivandrum held a unique demonstration on February 24: they came out of their office with palm-leaf fans in their hands and demonstrated demanding "decent working conditions".

The fans were symbolic of the fact that in the dingy rooms that serve as the office, there are no fans

fitted and daily one or two employees used to faint as a result of the suffocating atmosphere.

All employees in the office, except the officer in charge numbering 157 took part in the demonstration. A resolution was also adopted protesting against the unsympathetic attitude of the director to the pressing needs of the employees.

THEFT FOR THEM BUT THEY CALL OUT THIEF

Union Finance Minister T. T. Krishnamachari had tried to dazzle the common man with high-sounding words as monopolies commission and expenditure tax while throwing open the doors to capitalists, both Indian and foreign, to sneak into sectors of the economy where they are not supposed to operate.

BUT the Indian Big Business and their mouthpieces are not as clever and intelligent as TTK. They failed to grasp the strategy behind TTK's budget proposals and did not play the game he had in mind. The result was, in their enthusiasm they forgot that exhibition of buoyancy on their part would put the Finance Minister in an embarrassing position.

However, the Indian Big Business is resilient in its opinions, if not anything else. They had second thoughts, or perhaps, expert advice and so the whole "approach" to the budget changed soon.

Within days the satisfaction over the "welcome" aspects of the budget gave way to emphasis on "anomalies", "discrimination" and lack of "enough stimulants" for investment and growth of economy.

Statesman's Touchiness

Thus we find THE STATESMAN, which incidentally is getting a bit touchy over being called part of the monopoly press; writing editorials on two days consecutively attacking the budget proposals where they seek to put some seeming restrictions on the capitalists.

On March 5 it felt "disturbed over further instalments in store", because TTK had talked of "not (being) possible at one stroke to serve all the purposes in a single year's budget proposals."

In its opinion stability "in official policies, taxation being the foremost of them" was "not the least of the factors helping to stimulate investment and growth". However, "the government cannot claim to follow a coherent policy if individual Finance Ministers differ violently in their approach, as for example in the need to tax or not distributed profits and bonus shares or personal expenditure".

THE STATESMAN found incoherence even in the tightening of tax laws to check evasion and in particular the clause allowing government to disclose information regarding assessments: "Even the Tyagi committee which favoured some kind of disclosure to check concealment advocated it only in respect of the amounts of income or wealth declared by an assessee, not 'any information' as now proposed".

"This tendency to abrogate even recently accepted principles and procedures naturally creates the impression that nothing can be assumed to have continuity. And that will apply also to the concessions which can be fruitful only if maintained over a reasonable period", it said.

The trouble is, in the paper's opinion, that "the personal attitude of a Finance Minister may largely

shape the content of the government's fiscal policy". Secrecy surrounding budget proposals "normally preclude the usual processes of consultation through which other policies crystallise."

'Consultations' Before Budget

It seems that the paper wants the Finance Minister to consult with all the capitalists and their spokesmen before introducing the budget. Then of course, the monopoly press can create the so-called "public opinion" in its favour and successfully debar even any hint of a progressive tax measure.

On March 6 the paper returned to the shadow boxing with the comment that "Mr. Krishnamachari's scheme of taxation of personal incomes present, like the budget itself, a mixed pattern in which good intentions have been overshadowed by dark anomalies".

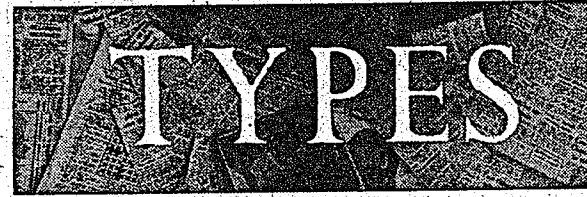
In particular it took objection to the new grades of taxes in the 5,000-15,000 group "which, without exception, are higher than the taxes in the current year exclusive of compulsory deposit and bear heavily on unmarried persons".

The paper claimed that "an altogether wrong impression (that taxes have been reduced at all levels) has been created by the budget

speech". And it wanted that the Finance Minister's "real intentions" to be incorporated into the Finance Bill before it was passed!

The higher rates of wealth taxes were also not liked by THE STATESMAN. "There was hardly a basis for his (Finance Minister's) assumption that the passing of family fortunes from one generation to another should be wholly prevented in the manner he proposes, even under democratic socialism" it said.

It proclaimed that "an indiscriminately penal rate can only encourage dissipation of wealth" but then thought of the expenditure tax, so added



that TTK could have "the melancholy satisfaction of being able to catch people thus engaged through the expenditure tax and the gift tax."

Having already given vent to its "second thoughts" on March 2, THE HINDUSTAN TIMES had a go at the budget in the name of the Finance Bill on March 6.

It said "using the annual Finance Acts for effecting extensive structural changes in the substantive tax laws of the country has been judicially frowned upon", though the courts have conceded that the executive "is well within

the letter of law in so doing". "The Finance Bill this year seeks to smuggle in unobtrusively many burdens of a procedural kind, besides of course, the more obvious fiscal ones. Such changes are sometimes no more than the omission of a word here—as in Clause 40—or the addition of a word here. Individual justification of one kind or the other can be found for some of these, but in their sum they can become a monstrous engine of harassment."

The paper was furious about the provision that shifts the onus of proof of the taxpayers' bona fides in cases where there was a difference between the assessed and the declared incomes. Incidentally, declaring the income at much less than what it actually is, is a frequent method of evasion.

It could not brook either the provision which makes tax evasion a culpable offence.

Says THE HINDUSTAN TIMES: "The present law SENSIBLY recognises that no culpability is inferable from this circumstance (difference in assessed and declared incomes). The proposed amendment, however, would change all this and almost every assessment would qualify for penalty." (emphasis added).

The editorial writer was imaginative and so envisaged even a situation where "almost every tax payer other than the salariat is an evader of tax", but took solace that "administrative good sense will prevent the emergence of such a farcical situation".

LETTERS Labour Ministry's Futile Argument

SPEAKING during the debate on the nonofficial resolution demanding withdrawal of emergency in both the houses of Parliament Home Minister GULZARILAL NANDA is reported to have referred to "threats of strikes and hungerstrikes" by the workers and declared that these "could not be tolerated".

A few days ago, something in the similar vein was said by "a spokesman" of the Labour Ministry. It was not clear who this "a spokesman" was. Probably it was an official handout released by the Labour Ministry through the Press Information Bureau. And there was reason to consider that D. SANJIVIAH being new to the Ministry did not know the background to the situation now developing.

But nobody expected this "no toleration" business from Nanda. Having been a party to the industrial truce resolution of November 1962, he should have known that the government had committed itself to holding the price line. Having failed to check the spiralling prices, the government has no justification to talk about the truce resolution. The workers have no other way but to resist the fall in their living standards, emergency or no emergency.

It is also intriguing to see Nanda talking about strikes having "an intimate bearing" on the country's defence. May be it is his stand that profiteering and blackmarketing has no bearing on the defence of the country. We also did not hear anything about this "bearing on defence" when the INTUC factions fought it over in Indore and Jamshedpur affecting the production. There was even a strike in Jamshedpur following the INTUC faction fight. But Nanda was not to be heard of then.

New Delhi ARGUS

Crop Damage In Punjab

THE lack of rains and severe cold and frost were worst enemies of the rabi crop in Punjab. To add to the difficulties of the peasant, water supplies from the West Juma and Bhakra canal for irrigation were either totally nonexistent or very irregular during this winter. This has resulted in heavy damage to foodgrains, fodder, vegetables, oilseeds.

The government has not moved as yet in the matter of giving relief to even the worst affected peasants. Simultaneously to the crop failure there is a steep rise in prices of all essential articles too. It is time government took immediate relief measures including remission of government dues, cash grants and supply of seeds for the next crop.

Karnal TEKA RAM SUKHAN

Kerala T. U. Convention Plans Further Stages of Campaign

From S. SHARMA

SIX hundred and thirty-two delegates from 124 affiliated unions participated in the convention. From Manjeshwar to Parassala, from state transport to plantations, cashew, oil and engineering, every industrial centre and every industry in the state was represented.

Attending the convention were also 53 fraternal delegates from independent unions like Bank Employees, Fertilisers and Chemicals, Travancore Chemicals and Premier Tyres.

T. V. Thomas, president of the KSTUC, presided over the convention. T. C. N. Menon welcomed the delegates.

Presenting a short report on the first stage of the national campaign in Kerala P. Balachandra Menon, general secretary of the KSTUC, said that the hungerstrike had evoked phenomenal response and sympathy not only from workers belonging to the AITUC but also from those belonging to the UTUC and HMA and even INTUC.



Kerala TU Convention

Contrary to fears and scepticism expressed in certain quarters that the form of hungerstrike would not evoke

the phased programme and the form of hungerstrike adopted were necessary and had considerable mobilising potential. This had helped popularising the demands charter and its significance to the life of the people and nation.

P. Ramamurthi, vice-president of the AITUC who also attended the convention, intervened to say that the question of sacredness or otherwise of forms of struggle which the working class welded has to be seen in relation to whether the forms adopted helped to mobilise wider and wider sections of the class behind the demands put forward.

Addressing the convention S. A. Dange, general secretary of the AITUC, exhorted the workers in Kerala to intensify their struggle against rising prices and crushing tax burdens.

Referring to the budget introduced by T. T. Krishnamachari he said that the Union Finance Minister had shown beyond doubt that he was the budget-maker for the bourgeoisie to whom alone he had distributed relief in very generous manner while being miserly in helping the middle class.

sufficient response as many as 1500 workers and leaders participated in the hungerstrike in 40 centres. Thousands of people, owing allegiance to all political faiths, came to greet the hungerstrikes, he said.

Menon referred to the special problems facing the working class in Kerala and said he envisaged the possibility of united stand and action on these problems with other trade union centres including the INTUC.

The period after the 1959 "liberation struggle" had witnessed a new upsurge among the workers, a new phase of united struggles on local and industrial basis in such fields as cashew, plantations, beedi. He said the present stage of the upsurge was getting integrated with the national picture and the nationwide action called by the AITUC.

A report on the Bombay convention of trade unions and the Hyderabad meeting of the national campaign committee was presented to the meeting by K. V. Surendran.

George Chadayammuri moved the main resolution which dealt with the lessons of the hungerstrike action in Kerala, the special problems facing the working class in the state and the state government's labour policy which created further difficulties for the workers. The resolution outlined steps to forge unity among all the workers and trade union centres.

It suggested the setting up of a state campaign committee to carry forward the campaign and struggle to the further stages and called for a campaign fund to be collected on the basis of a rupee a worker.

Eighteen delegates participated in the discussion. Questions were raised by some of them regarding the very newness of the eleven point demands charter, the efficacy of the three-fold action proposed and whether the AITUC was not faltering from the immediate perspective of the nationwide general strike and hartal envisaged by the Bombay conference.

Other delegates replied to these questions. In their opi-



Addressing the convention S. A. Dange, general secretary of the AITUC, exhorted the workers in Kerala to intensify their struggle against rising prices and crushing tax burdens.

Referring to the budget introduced by T. T. Krishnamachari he said that the Union Finance Minister had shown beyond doubt that he was the budget-maker for the bourgeoisie to whom alone he had distributed relief in very generous manner while being miserly in helping the middle class.

sufficient response as many as 1500 workers and leaders participated in the hungerstrike in 40 centres. Thousands of people, owing allegiance to all political faiths, came to greet the hungerstrikes, he said.

The period after the 1959 "liberation struggle" had witnessed a new upsurge among the workers, a new phase of united struggles on local and industrial basis in such fields as cashew, plantations, beedi. He said the present stage of the upsurge was getting integrated with the national picture and the nationwide action called by the AITUC.

A report on the Bombay convention of trade unions and the Hyderabad meeting of the national campaign committee was presented to the meeting by K. V. Surendran.

George Chadayammuri moved the main resolution which dealt with the lessons of the hungerstrike action in Kerala, the special problems facing the working class in the state and the state government's labour policy which created further difficulties for the workers. The resolution outlined steps to forge unity among all the workers and trade union centres.

It suggested the setting up of a state campaign committee to carry forward the campaign and struggle to the further stages and called for a campaign fund to be collected on the basis of a rupee a worker.

Eighteen delegates participated in the discussion. Questions were raised by some of them regarding the very newness of the eleven point demands charter, the efficacy of the three-fold action proposed and whether the AITUC was not faltering from the immediate perspective of the nationwide general strike and hartal envisaged by the Bombay conference.

Other delegates replied to these questions. In their opi-

tion the phased programme and the form of hungerstrike adopted were necessary and had considerable mobilising potential. This had helped popularising the demands charter and its significance to the life of the people and nation.

P. Ramamurthi, vice-president of the AITUC who also attended the convention, intervened to say that the question of sacredness or otherwise of forms of struggle which the working class welded has to be seen in relation to whether the forms adopted helped to mobilise wider and wider sections of the class behind the demands put forward.

Addressing the convention S. A. Dange, general secretary of the AITUC, exhorted the workers in Kerala to intensify their struggle against rising prices and crushing tax burdens.

Referring to the budget introduced by T. T. Krishnamachari he said that the Union Finance Minister had shown beyond doubt that he was the budget-maker for the bourgeoisie to whom alone he had distributed relief in very generous manner while being miserly in helping the middle class.

No Relief for Tollers

The working class, the peasantry and the majority of the toiling people were given no relief and were left to face the crushing tax burdens and spiralling prices, Dange said. He declared: There is no other alternative left before them but to go forward with a comprehensive understanding of their demands and a clear perspective of the programme for more united action on a greater scale.

Dange congratulated the KSTUC and its leaders for organising such a successful convention which would unite the working class of Kerala.

The convention was greeted by Shantaram Pai of the Karnataka Trade Union Congress who described the experience of the hungerstrike action in his state.

Several resolutions including those demanding revision of minimum wages, scientific compilation of consumer price indices and upgrading Cochin as a first class city were passed by the convention.

A militant demonstration by more than 5000 workers of the industrial units in Alwaye and a mammoth public meeting addressed by Dange and Ramamurthi marked the end of the convention.

On February 29, there was a "cultural evening" at which eminent writers like Kuttipuzha Krishna Pillai, Valiam Chandrasekharan Nair, Vayalar Rama Varma and K. Damodaran spoke on literature and the life of the people and their struggle for socialism.

West Bengal

From JNAN BIKASH MOITRA

LABOUR DEPT'S SHAMEFUL RECORD

The number of registered factories in West Bengal in 1962 was 4,616 and the average daily number of workers employed in them was 792,000. Those working in the coal mines and the tea plantations numbered 130,000 and 215,000 respectively.

THE earnings of the overwhelming majority of the workers, however, are one of the lowest in the country. Other conditions of service also are no better. Hundreds of disputes, therefore, arise in the natural course.

But the conciliation and adjudication machinery of the government is so constituted that these disputes drag on from year to year. In fact, the machinery is such that there is not the least chance of all the disputes being settled at any time.

The following figures speak for themselves:

Year	Total no. of disputes	No. disposed off through conciliation	Recommended to the state government by its labour department for referring to adjudication
1962	8,137	1,915	335
1963	2,436 (old)		
	+ 6,226 (new)	2,330	829
	= 8,662		

WOMEN WORKERS

*FROM PAGE 5

days it was the men workers who had to stand at the gates persuading and cajoling the women to attend gate meetings, to pay subscriptions to the unions, to join in processions and demonstrations.

Even when women workers did not hesitate to participate in strikes and demonstrations at work spots, due to social conditions and household cares, they did not take part in normal trade union activity.

Today in many industries women workers are members of committees, and take up the responsibility of collecting subscriptions, organising gate meetings etc. There is no centre in the country where, May Day processions take place without the participation of women workers.

At the same time more attention has to be paid to the special problems facing women workers. Although the Government of India has adopted the ILO convention on equal pay for equal work, it is yet to be implemented in all industries.

Women in backward areas, engaged in such industries as tobacco, cashew and matmaking are paid

miserably low wages and discrimination against women on grounds of marriage has not been eradicated.

Equal opportunities for women in all industries and occupations is yet to be realised.

With the ever growing strength of women workers in the trade union movement these problems are being taken up more vigorously by trade unions.

Political Consciousness

An interesting feature is that women workers are not only becoming trade union conscious but are also becoming politically aware.

During the byelection held in Deviclam in Kerala where Rosamma Punnoose was standing for election, a call was given to the textile workers in Coimbatore to take leave and help in the election campaign. The byelection was a prestige one affecting the Communist Ministry which was then in power in Kerala.

Without any hesitation, some women workers took leave on their own, made arrangements for their families to be looked after and went

to the plantation area and offered their services in the election campaign. It was an inspiring experience and illustrative of the advance of women workers in our country.

The working woman in India works longer hours than her fellow men workers. Added to her work in the factory is her work at home—she might well be said to put in a 96 hour week.

It is twice as difficult for a working woman to become active in the union as for man, because she has the responsibility of the home when she leaves her work.

In India the care for her children also is an added burden, for creches and nursery facilities are far from adequate and almost totally absent in some centres.

But in face of all this the working woman of our country has travelled a long way since Dr. Das wrote his book and the women workers of Valparai are amongst the numberless heroines of India who have shattered the myth that women are not militant and the equals of men workers once they are organised together with them around their specific problems.

BANK NATIONALISATION IS ESSENTIAL FOR

Martyr's Widow On Hunger-Strike

Speaking at the seminar, TULSIDAS JADAV, Congress MP from Maharashtra reminded the audience that when T. T. KRISHNAMACHARI "goes about telling" that there was no support behind the demand of nationalisation of banks, today NILAVVABAI DHANSHETTY was carrying on a hungerstrike in front of Parliament demanding nationalisation of banks and other major industries.

It may be remembered that Nilavvabai Dhan-shetty is the widow of MALLAPPA DHAN-SHETTY who was martyred in 1930. He was the leader of the freedom struggle in Sholapur and was sent to the gallows by the then British government. For a number of days, government imposed martial law in that area.

Nilavvabai Dhanshetty is 65 years old and is a municipal councillor. She resorted to hungerstrike on March 7 and till the time we go to press, she has not called off her hungerstrike.

Nationalisation of the banking industry in the interest of a "healthy economic development of the country" is a step that brooks no delay: such was the unanimous conclusion of the National Seminar on Bank Nationalisation held in New Delhi on March 7-8.

WHILE the political leaders, who took part in the seminar, felt that the issue of nationalisation has become a matter for immediate consideration prompted particularly by the Bhubaneswar resolution on democratic socialism, the stalwarts in the field of economics stressed

case for immediate nationalisation of banks" so that mass pressure can be built up in support of the issue and a reorientation in the government policy in this direction be brought about. The seminar was convened by three Congress MPs—SUBHADRA JOSHI, ARJUN

among the people, and has resulted in a weakening of the forces of social progress.

He said that "we are stagnating" and this is reflected by "growing social rigidity". This stagnation, Dr. Gyan Chand pointed out, was not due to lack of resources or inferior techniques of production, but mainly due to social structure.

Such a situation, Dr. Gyan Chand said, cannot be remedied unless certain radical measures are taken and one such measure is the immediate nationalisation of banks.

But, he explained that what he means by nationalisation of banks is not something like Reserve Bank of India or State Bank of India. These banks, though nationalised, have "not taken us anywhere nearer to socialism" because their approach and functioning are "dominated by the same interest as other private banks" and "guided by same interests". The Reserve Bank and the State Bank of India are "an integral part of the private

capitalist system" and what is therefore required "is a fundamental change".

Dr. Gyan Chand said that the Finance Minister has stated that a case for nationalisation of banks has not been made and this has been dithered by Asoka Mehta, deputy chairman of the Planning Commission. He added that a case for nationalisation was made 30 years ago, it has been reiterated 17 years ago after independence and now again the case has been clearly made out. It is therefore obvious that what is required is a mass-scale public pressure to compel such a step.

Echoing the same feelings, Bhagwat Jha Azad said that the demand for nationalisation is no longer the demand of "a section of the ruling party; or even of the opposition parties but of the entire people". He pointed out that the demand has gained momentum in seven states already and the chief ministers of these states have favoured nationalisation.

N. C. Chatterjee pointed out that the Constitution of India "does not stand in the way of nationalisation of banks" and the banking concerns cannot claim "fundamental rights to carry on their business" since the Supreme Court has already held that corporate bodies do not have the rights as enjoyed by the citizens of the country.

Prabhat Kar pointed out how the private banks have failed to discharge their duties towards the country and the Reserve Bank of India, though armed with legal sanctions, has been unable to curb their activities.

Krishna Menon said that issues like nationalisation etc. are "essential problems of national survival" and today poverty constituted the biggest burden India has to face. "Its weight is so heavy that it will pull down our economic structure".

He added that in order to eradicate poverty, it was necessary to ensure that the national wealth should not be concentrated in the hands of a few people. The banks could play a big part in better distribution of resources and therefore their nationalisation was the only way out.

Menon said that socialisation of property was not a new concept. But as far as India was concerned, it has to be remembered that she

never would not make the country socialist. He cited the case of Sharda Act and said that though the Act was passed about 40 years ago, it could not be claimed that there were no child marriages in India now.

He said that both Reserve Bank of India and the State Bank of India are still under the guidance and domination of the private capitalists. A. PALKIWALA, a well-known exponent of the Forum for Free Enterprise, is on the board of directors of the Reserve Bank while G. D. BIRLA holds a directorship of the State Bank. He said under such circumstances, it was futile to expect that these banks would act contrary to the interests of the private banks and monopolists.

MONOPOLY HOLD

He described in detail the mechanism of the working of private banks and how they help "unscrupulous capitalists to manipulate funds and rob the country of valuable foreign exchange". Most of the available credit from banks are usurped by the directors themselves and their relatives.

Kar added that though Banking Companies Act and other legislations are there, the credit from the banks which was to be controlled "could not be done though it was necessary under planned economy". The capitalists also evade taxes through the apparatus of private banking.

He referred to the notorious Mundhra affair and said that such a thing could happen only because the private banks were under the thumb of HARIDAS MUNDHRA. Prabhat Kar said that the private banks, by their very nature, did not help mobilise the savings in the country. In order to utilise these savings, it was essential to develop banking facilities in rural areas but the private banks "do not spread out to rural areas" and it would become possible only if banks were nationalised.

He also cited the growth of the State Bank in this connection, and emphasised that the private banks concentrated their field of activity only in cities where there were higher rates of return. K. D. Malaviya said that he has formulated a plan to go round the country and campaign on the issue of nationalisation.

He said that "there are two opinions inside the Congress, for and against nationalisation" and it was necessary to mobilise public opinion in favour of the action because

such a step "follows from the Bhubaneswar resolution and from our approach to socialism".

He said that even in the interest of private sector also it was necessary to nationalise banks because under the present system small entrepreneurs who have zeal and capacity to build industries "are not helped" with credit facilities by private banks. Therefore, "if banks are not nationalised, then there will be only growth of monopoly".

Malaviya emphasised that the issue of creditworthiness of a borrower should not be tied up with the question of capital assets because this "only leads to accentuate the concentration of economic power." He therefore demanded reformulation of the present credit policy in favour of efficiency and honesty of the borrower so that the credit system was not weighted against the small entrepreneur.

Malaviya said that some people argued that if banks were nationalised then the deposits would fall. This was a wrong argument, he said and argued that this would, in fact, lead to larger deposits. Life Insurance Corporation of India is an example to the point. He

crease in importance in the period of rapid industrialisation, private banking left to themselves "could generate forces which would combine financial capital with industrial capital and this might lead to the emergence of finance capital of the German type."

He remarked that "people in authority who are opposed to controls for ideological reasons, talk of control when it comes to the question of nationalisation of banks."

He said that possibly there was a case for mixed banking on a functional basis "but it will lead to concentration". He added that a purely economic case against nationalisation of banks "has not been stated so far" but on the other hand "there is a very good economic case in favour of nationalisation".

Dr. A. M. Khuroo pointed out that when planning began, only small amount of capital was in the hands of the public sector while the bulk was in the private sector. "The strategy was to speed up growth of the public sector so that it could attain commanding heights". Therefore, there was no reason why the public sector today should not be "the biggest buyer and seller".

By OUR STAFF CORRESPONDENT

quipped: "If people believe Birla more than the government, then there is something wrong with the government."

Malaviya pointed out the flaws in industrial licensing policy and the general policy about all licensing by the government and said that "control and legislation were not enough, the ownership must be in the hands of the state." This would also mean that "corruption will also end".

Dr. K. N. Raj said that both political and economic considerations today advocate for nationalisation of banking industry.

Giving details as to why the private banks are concentrated in urban areas, he said this was "inherent in the nature of commercial banks" because developed banking habits in these areas result in higher profits. The earning assets were higher than non-earning assets.

He said that he could not understand why the State Bank of India carried on "only subsidised activities" while "the profit-making areas are left to the private banks".

Tracing the evolution of the banking system, he said that at best there was scope of private unit banking in our country so that a suitable alternative was provided for credits to the small man. "If that is not possible, then the logical conclusion is nationalisation", he pointed out.

Dr. Raj said that since industrial credit would in-

ment bonds and securities only grant about 4.5 per cent interest and an investment of, say, hundred rupees actually mean a loss of about four rupees because of the rise in prices. He said that higher rates of interest on government bonds "will tilt the balance".

He said that there was a pyramid of economic imbalances dominating the fields of economic activities and "mere nationalisation without supporting policies to correct this imbalance will keep the pyramid as it is."

Dr. Naqvi said that he was not prompted by the name of socialism to advocate in favour of nationalisation because this was a measure that would work both ways. Hence, what was required was the "guarantee of conditions which will fulfil the aims of nationalisation".

Since the basic disposition of economic power was reflecting in the structure of the banking industry and taking of the economic policy as a whole, he felt that "planning helps big private capitalists to grow".

He outlined the issues which demand further consideration to demonstrate to everyone why from the viewpoint of accelerating the rate of growth of Indian economy, immediate nationalisation of banking industry was imperative.

Dr. S. C. Gupta empha-

sised that private banking system not only led monopoly in the industrial sector, but was also maintaining the monopolistic hold of traders and moneylenders on the cultivators and thwarted the growth of the cooperative banking structure in the countryside.

He said that nationalisation of banks would lead to the weakening of the power of industrial giants. This would also mobilise for public sector greater resources for investment.

Dr. Gupta argued that a harmonious development of credits between agricultural and industrial sectors would be brought about by nationalisation of banking industry.

Dr. S. K. Goyal said that the rate of growth of deposits with the banks has been 15 per cent during the period of 1953-62 and loans and advances 19 per cent per annum. If these trends continue, the growth of deposits with the banks would be of the order of seven to nine thousand crores of rupees in the next fifteen years.

GREATER CONCENTRATION

This large amount, he said, left at the disposal of a few private industrial houses would only help further growth of disparities in incomes and wealth, and lead to greater growth in concentration of economic power in our country.

He also pointed out that during the last five or ten years, the amount of credit from the banks to the directors and their relatives has gone up by four times, and this type of banking has distorted the planning process itself.

At the conclusion of the seminar, Bhagwat Jha Azad expressed a wish that the Finance Minister T. T. KRISHNAMACHARI should have been present at the seminar. "to understand that nationalisation of banks is justified not only as a demand of the masses but also from all points of economic stability and growth."



Bhagwat Jha Azad addressing the Seminar

that nationalisation had become overdue purely "from a functional consideration of the Indian economy".

Thus, though from different angles, both the political leaders and eminent economists who deliberated upon the subject came to a unanimous conclusion.

Summing up the proceedings of the seminar, Dr. GYAN CHAND, who presided over the second day of the session, sarcastically remarked that if the Finance Minister and the deputy chairman of the Planning Commission (who are known for their dogged opposition to bank nationalisation) still require a case (for nationalisation), "a record of the speeches made" in the seminar "will be made available to them for their conviction".

Obviously, such a step is not strong enough to induce the anti-nationalisation exponents and therefore the seminar decided to form a committee "for elaborating and publicising the

ARORA and SHIV CHARAN GUPTA. The participants included, among others, several members of Parliament such as, PRABHAT KAR, V. K. KRISHNA MENON, K. D. MALAVIYA, BHAGWAT JHA AZAD and N. C. CHATTERJEE and eminent economists like Dr. K. N. RAJ, Dr. A. M. KHUROO, Dr. K. A. NAQVI, Dr. S. C. GUPTA and Dr. S. K. GOYAL. There were several other participants including H. D. MALAVIYA, editor of 'Socialist Congressman', AMARNATH VIDYALANKAR MP presided.

The tone of the seminar was appropriately set by Dr. Gyan Chand through a powerful discourse. Employees of various banks in the capital marched en masse through the streets voicing demand for nationalisation and later assembled at the seminar to lend their support.

Dr. Gyan Chand said in his inaugural address that thirteen years of planning has brought about a greater schism of economic disparity



A section of the audience at the Seminar

had inherited a capitalist economy from a mighty foreign country. Without increasing production and effecting judicious distribution of the wealth, the country could not make a headway.

Krishna Menon pointed out that about 90 per cent of bank directors in India today were also the directors of a large number of industrial concerns and they "have no difficulty in finding resources" to finance their enterprises and "play with the money of the common man". While the banks raised the purchasing power, the farmers in the field could not benefit by it.

He added that "mere passing of resolutions" like the ones at Jaipur and Bhubaneswar would not make the country socialist. He cited the case of Sharda Act and said that though the Act was passed about 40 years ago, it could not be claimed that there were no child marriages in India now.

Prabhat Kar pointed out how the private banks have failed to discharge their duties towards the country and the Reserve Bank of India, though armed with legal sanctions, has been unable to curb their activities.

LET CONGRESS FULFIL ITS PROMISES

THE report of the Economic Programme Committee of the AICC, with Jawaharlal Nehru as chairman and Abul Kalam Azad, Jai Prakash Narain, N. G. Ranga, Gulzarilal Nanda, J. C. Kumarappa, Achyut Patwardhan and Shankarrao Deo as members, recommended as early as 1948:

"All resources available for investment should be subject to the control and direction of the state. The state should set up Finance Corporation for financing industries. Banking and Insurance should be nationalised." (p. 21)

The report recommended "an attempt to im-

plement the economic programme as outlined in the Election Manifesto of 1945-46 to give a concrete shape to the ideals formulated in the Objectives Resolution of the AICC." (p. 61)

While laying down the principle for the nationalisation of private sector, Jawaharlal Nehru as chairman wrote:

"... New undertakings which are in the nature of monopolies or in view of their scale of operations serve the country as a whole or cover more than one Province should be run on the basis of public ownership..."

"In respect of existing undertakings the process

of transfer to public ownership should commence after a period of five years.

"In special cases, a competent body may, after proper examination, decide on an earlier transfer. The first five years should be treated as a period for preparation, during which arrangements should be made to take over and run these undertakings efficiently." (p. 20)

This is what was promised in 1948 to the Indian nation by Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and other top leaders of the Congress.

We may also remember that it was this very com-

mittee which had recommended the establishment of a Planning Commission, an extensive programme of land reforms, revision of tax structure, and the establishment of the Finance Corporation along with the nationalisation of banks and insurance companies.

Why then the Congress has not been in a position to nationalise banks even after being in power for 16 years? The reason is simple. The vested interests have skillfully manoeuvred to create an impression that banks are better and more efficiently managed in the private sector. This view was hammered from both inside and outside the Congress.

DEVELOPING NATIONAL ECONOMY



Demonstration of bank employees

ASSAM COMMUNISTS PLAN IMMEDIATE CAMPAIGNS

From SUREN BHATTA

GAUHATI: The Assam state council of the Communist Party of India met at Nalbari from February 24 to 26. It was the first meeting of the state council after the release of all the Communist detenus of the state (the last batch had been released only on February 1) and was attended by 56 members and special invitees.

HANI BORA, secretary of the council made a report on the resolutions adopted by the last CEC meeting and himself moved two resolutions specifically endorsing and giving full support to the CEC resolutions on the Bhubaneswar Congress and the Indonesian Communist Party leadership's open call to split the CPI.

A large number of members and invitees participated in a lively discussion after which both the resolutions were adopted by the council. None who took part in the discussions showed any disagreement with the denunciation of the disruptive activities of the Indonesian Party leadership and many spoke very strongly on the subject.

Comrades expressed their deep and strong feelings on the need for vigilance against disruptive elements and to safeguard and defend the unity of our Party as well as the general line of the world Communist movement.

During the discussion on the resolution of the CEC on AIDIT's call to split the CPI, naturally some of the important issues involved in the current ideological controversy and conflicts in the world Communist movement and in our own Party also came up. Comrades expressed concern at the peculiar and

alien way in which some individuals and groups of Communists had of late been advocating revision of the general line of the Party and also of the Communist movement as a whole. As a result of these useful discussions, the Party in the state has emerged more unified and stronger. The council also adopted a number of political and organisational decisions unanimously.

The council decided to raise a fund of Rs. 2,000 for the state Party Centre by March 31. In the meeting itself there was promise of collecting or contributing Rs. 1,800. The council also decided to raise a fund for constructing a building to house the office of the state Party at Gauhati in its own plot of land. A campaign will be launched shortly for this purpose.

The council decided to hold a Party class on ideological and political controversies before May at Nowgong. It also decided to do everything possible to make the proposed All Assam conference of Communist and progressive writers and journalists a success and to extend all help and cooperation to the state peace conference to be held at Jorhat in April.

Among the other issues on which the council took decisions was the recent happen-

ings in Shillong resulting in police firing leading to the death of two persons and injury to 18 people. While condemning the behaviour of the police, the council welcomed the state government's acceptance of the demand for a judicial inquiry into the incidents. It appealed to the people of the plains not to be misled by chauvinistic propaganda and to help restore peace and normal conditions.

The council demanded the withdrawal of emergency and

release of all Communist detenus still detained under the DIR in different states. It condemned the rearrest of detenus released in Maharashtra and the continued detention of Communist MPs, MLAs and other leaders of Tripura.

The council expressed regret at the failure of the Party activists on the trade union front to do anything in response to the call of the Hyderabad meeting of the National Campaign Committee of AITUC to organise hunger strike. It called upon the TU activists to see that proper preparations are made and steps taken to make the second and third phase of the struggle a success.

The council by a resolution expressed grave concern at the continually rising prices of all essential commodities and criticised the failure of the govern-

ment to implement its own declared policies in this regard.

The council decided to organise a demonstration before the state Assembly in the first week of April to demand, among other things, reduction of prices of all essential commodities by at least 25 per cent, suspension of enhanced land revenues and withdrawal of additional taxes, correction of price indices, increase in DA, bonus, implementation of state government's decisions regarding minimum and maximum prices for paddy and rice respectively.

The council decided to make preparations for taking part in the panchayat elections postponed to April-May next and called for a broad popular democratic front to ensure the efficiency, usefulness and good functioning of the panchayats.

PRIMARY EDUCATION IN DOLDRUMS IN WEST BENGAL

From JNAN BIKASH MOITRA

The educational policy of the government and the state of education in West Bengal came in for scathing criticism from the Opposition in the Assembly on March 6, when the demand for grands under "education" was discussed.

FACTS and figures cited by the opposition members revealed a dismal picture of education, particularly primary education, in the state. The Education Minister had to admit that the target of providing facilities for primary education to 80 per cent of the boys and girls of the age group 6-11 years had not been reached. But he sought to cover up the government's blatant failure under the convenient plea that the "lag was all due to the "population explosion" in the state! No amount of quibbling, however, can hide the deplorable state of primary education in West Bengal and the government's responsibility in the matter.

According to the 1961 census, there are 33,471 inhabited villages in West Bengal, but compulsory primary education has been introduced so far in only 14,477 villages. Thus, there are now no primary schools in thousands of villages.

Of the 89 municipalities in West Bengal (including Calcutta Corporation), only three municipalities have till now agreed to introduce free and compulsory primary education. The main hurdle for them is shortage of funds. They cannot implement the scheme without imposing fresh burdens on the impoverished people, and the state government has consistently refused to place adequate funds at their disposal.

In Calcutta itself, primary education is in a scandalous state. A recent survey by the Calcutta Metropolitan Planning Organisation has revealed that only 60 per cent of the boys and girls of the 6-11 age group have facilities for education; the figure for Madras city is as high as 94 per cent.

Excluding the 245 primary schools under Calcutta Corporation, fees have to be paid in other primary schools in the city. Even in government-run primary schools fees are

realised! Taken as a whole, only 28 per cent of the total number of students attending primary schools in the city enjoy the benefits of free education, the remaining 72 per cent have to pay fees. The utter inefficiency of the government is further underlined by the steady decline in the rate of enrolment in primary schools in the state:

Year	Boys	Girls
1955-56	10.7 per cent	2.6 per cent
1956-57	9.7 "	1.6 "
1957-58	3.8 "	0.2 "
1958-59	2.1 "	0.8 "
1959-60	3.1 "	0.7 "
1960-61	2.3 "	0.6 "

It hardly needs mention a huge wastage of time, money and human material.

be physically impossible to reach, at this rate of enrolment, the target of covering 80 per cent of the boys and girls of the 6-11 age group during the Third Plan period.

This is not the end of the sordid tale. Most of the primary schools have only four classes—classes I to IV. Such schools are meant for the age group 6-10. Class V is yet to be added to the primary schools. Students, therefore, have to discontinue their studies even before completing the primary stage of education.

The whole system involves

TWO NEW PUBLICATIONS

FOREIGN MONOPOLY CAPITAL IN INDIAN ECONOMY

by **SOFIA MELMAN**
Price Rs. 15

INDIA ECONOMIC FREEDOM VERSUS IMPERIALISM

by **V. I. PAVLOV**
Price Rs. 15

People's Publishing House
New Delhi

The Communist and the toiling masses in Iraq will commemorate the thirtieth anniversary of the foundation of the Iraqi Communist Party on March 31, 1964.

THE Iraqi Communist Party was founded under such political conditions characterised by the fact that some wings of the national bourgeoisie compromised themselves with imperialism, while others divorced themselves from political activities following the substitution of the direct imperialist domination by an indirect one in 1930.

In 1935 the title of the Committee for Fighting Imperialism and Exploitation was changed to the Iraqi Communist Party. KIFAH ALSHAAB, the Party's first central

intensified their terroristic repressive measures against the Party taking advantage of the activities of the renegade and dissident elements inside the Party.

Party organisations were subjected to fierce blows. But in 1939, the efforts of the leader of the Party, YOUSIF SALMAN YOUSIF (Fahad), the First Secretary-General of the Party, succeeded in reorganising the Party. He was ably assisted by ZEKI MOHAMMAD BASIM and HUSAIN MOHAMMAD ALSHEBBI.

A decisive struggle of principle was launched against the opportu-

Based On Report Of Politbureau

newspaper was issued carrying the slogan of "Workers of All the World Unite!" and other slogans of struggle against the imperialist treaties, foreign military bases, for democracy and the national rights of the Kurds.

The Communists played a leading role in organising popular demonstrations in Baghdad, the capital, against the threat of fascism and for the vital interests of the toiling people. The imperialists and the reactionary rulers were panic-stricken by these activities. The authorities therefore

liquidationist trends which were defeated and the organisational, ideological and political unity of the Party was consolidated.

In 1944 the first conference of the Party which worked out the immediate aims of the Party and the national movement was held. In 1945, the first general congress of the Party which approved the Party constitution and worked out plans for organising and leading the masses of the people, for urging other national forces to organise themselves in political

Under Uncle Sam's Umbrella

Crocodile Tears Over Panama Canal "Loss"

The Uncle is adept in shouting at the top of his voice all the time that for the maintenance of "dependents," he has to spend so much! Though the fact is that he is spending from the money which actually belongs to the dependents. He follows the traditional pattern of behaviour of all

incomes too. And then there is the income of the US corporate sector in Panama.

In 1950, the US business had an invested capital of \$56 million in Panama. By 1962, this investment figure reached up to \$556 million and "admitted" profits amounted to \$114 million.

STOCK OWNERS

The Uncle never tires in spreading the myth that the wealth in the United States is shared by the people. Millions have shares in invested capital and consequently in prosperity too.

A study on Characteristics of Stock Ownership, prepared by JEAN CROCKETT and IRWIN FRIEND of the University of Pennsylvania showed that while stock ownership may be widespread, the millions own only a small part while the thousands with high incomes own the bulk.

The one-tenth of the one per cent of taxpayers in the USA with incomes of one lakh dollars or more per year own about 20 per cent of the stock. Those with incomes in excess of \$25,000 own 48 per cent.

Incidentally, it may be pointed out that HERMAN MILLER, Census Bureau, economist of the USA in a study came to the conclusion that about 21 per cent of families in the USA today earn below \$3,000 per year. And they don't own shares in corporate investment.

But this is only the income from the Canal. There are other

30th Anniversary of Iraqi Communist Party

Record of Glorious Struggle & Valour

parties, and for organising the workers in militant trade unions, was held.

Since its inception, the Party devoted its activities to the struggle against imperialism and the pro-imperialist monarchial regime, for genuine national independence, democratic rule, and for defending the vital interests of the workers, peasants and other sections of the people. The Party worked persistently and strenuously to persuade other national forces and parties to unite their efforts in a united national front.

The victories achieved by the Soviet forces over fascism and the consequent collapse of the positions of world imperialism, played an important role in spreading the democratic consciousness amongst the Iraqi people. As a result more favourable conditions were created for the activities of the Communist Party. Our Party contributed actively in consolidating and deepening the love of the Soviet Union in the hearts of the broad masses.

After the second world war, the Party stood in the vanguard of the masses of the workers, students and peasants in their glorious struggle against the imperialist domination and the aggressive war plans which were designed to fetter the country.

The Iraqi Communists played an exceedingly effective role in forming the national union front early in 1957, and linking it with the national movement inside the army, thus facilitating the victory of the 14th of July revolution in 1958.

After the July revolution the Party devoted its energies and efforts to safeguarding the independence of the republic against the imperialist and reactionary conspiracies and for gaining democratic freedoms. Seeing that their plots were ending in failure one after another, thanks to the vigilance and the struggle of the people, the unity of their national forces and the growth of the democratic movement in the country, the imperialists and the reactionaries lost their minds.

They intensified their mean intrigues to split the national unity. They nurtured more and more the suspicions and fears felt by sections of the national bourgeoisie towards the growing force of the Communist Party and the revolutionary mass movement.

Persecution of Communists

Meanwhile, the other national parties both Arab and Kurdish stood behind KASSEM in his policy of persecuting the Communists, and the workers and peasants organisations. But this policy, ended in pursuing those parties themselves, curbing their activities, liquidating the democratic gains, and finally crowned by the aggressive war against the Kurdish people.

The Baath party played a vile role in undermining the national union front and in organising campaign of assassination, subversion and conspiracies. The agents of reaction and various wings of the national bourgeoisie exploited vilely certain short-term tactical errors of the Iraqi Party.

During the Kassem regime, the Iraqi Party mobilised the masses of

the people not only against the imperialist reactionary plots as the main danger but also against Kassem's one-man dictatorship and for defending the rights of the Kurdish people.

The struggle for safeguarding the national independence and the gains of the July revolution was linked up with that for democracy in the general policy of the Party. It is known that Kassem's anti-Communist policy itself led to the success of the imperialist conspiratorial plan which was carried out by the Baath party on the February 8.

The fascist Baath rulers set up the most abominable regime of terror yet known in the history of Iraq. Thousands of Communists and democrats were imprisoned. We lost the leaders of the Party, SALAM ADIL, First Secretary of the Central Committee, JAMAL ALHAIDARY, GEORGE TELLO and MOHAMMED ABBALI (members of the Politbureau) and the outstanding leader MOHAMMED HUSSAIN ABOL ESE and other experienced outstanding cadre.

But the Iraqi Communists did not lose their confidence in spite of the enemy blows and the betrayal of some renegades, and they continued to raise high the banner of struggle. Amidst curses and shame the Baath rule collapsed. Its downfall meant the failure of the policy of anti-Communism in Iraq.

The leaders of the new coup d'etat (November 18, 1963) exposed some of the crimes of the Baath regime and dissolved its Hitlerite nationalist guards, but the anti-democratic policy is still being carried out. Tens of thousands of the best sons and daughters of our people are still imprisoned or arrested. Imprisonment sentences against many new fighters have been passed by the courtmartial.

Urgent Tasks

The Iraqi Communist Party considers as its most prominent and urgent tasks now: To support the struggle of the Kurdish people for their legitimate rights, to heal the wounds inflicted on the Party and to work persistently for the formation of a united national front of all the forces which oppose imperialism and reaction and stand for democracy.

The aims of our people will be fulfilled by ending the present military rule and establishing a government of national coalition which will release the democratic freedoms (the freedom of Party, trade union and press organization) release the victims of the fascist terror, carry out free parliamentary elections in order to establish a genuine democratic regime, and take a decisive stand towards imperialism and the plunder of its oil companies.

The Iraqi Communist Party which is one division of the international Communist army has always raised the banner of proletarian internationalism in Iraq. It educated its members, supporters and the toiling masses to befriend and love the great Soviet Union and the glorious Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. Fahad said, "The enemies of the October Revolution are themselves the enemies of our national cause."

Basing themselves on the international and the national commitments of our Party, the Iraqi Communists resolutely condemned the splitting adventurous line of the Chinese leaders. They struggled, consciously to pool their humble effort to that of the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties to ensure the purity of Marxism-Leninism and the line of the



Salam Adil

Moscow Statement and Declaration of 1957 and 1960. Our Party will continue in future too its courageous principled struggle against the splitters, adventurers and against all forms of revisionism in the world Communist movement.

Liberation Struggle

Our Party and the broad masses in our country know very well that the national liberation movement including the liberation movement in the Arab countries, could not have been able to advance and achieve historic victories without the October Revolution and without the existence of the mighty socialist camp in the vanguard of which stands the U.S.S.R.

Our toiling people find in the Soviet Union a firm supporter and faithful ally both in times of hardship and joy. Therefore, the Soviet-Iraqi friendship is one of the big guarantees that safeguards and consolidates the independence of Iraq and ensures the peoples' victory in fulfilling their national and democratic aims.

NEW AGE

Subscription Rates

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

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

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

ATTEMPTS AT ECONOMIC DOMINATION

WEST GERMAN MONOPOLIES IN LATIN AMERICA

By LAJPAT RAI

With the spectacular "German Recovery" and the re-emergence of the might of German monopolies in the Federal Republic, West German capital is seeking new outlets in foreign markets particularly in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

THE eyes of German monopoly capital had been fixed on Latin America since 1880, when the first German investments were made in Argentina, in the form of government loan.

The real growth of German capital, however, began in 1900 when the governments of Argentina, Brazil, Mexico and Chile and later Venezuela borrowed large sums from German banking houses. A large part of this capital went into public utilities though not so much in the railways.

By 1910, German capital had become significant in ruining mortgage banks and plantations, particularly in the A.B.C. (Argentina, Brazil and Chile) countries. By 1914, German investments were estimated at \$3 billion marks (900 million dollars) or 16 per cent of the total overseas German investments. They were chiefly located in Argentina, Mexico, Brazil, Chile, Guatemala, Bolivia and Venezuela.

HITLER'S IDEA

HITLER too was conscious, as an empire builder, of the unlimited opportunities that this vast sprawling continent in the Western hemisphere held for an imperialist power. He once told the following to one of his colleagues H. RAUSCHING:

"We shall give them (the Latin Americans) capital and spirit of enterprise. We shall give them another thing. Our outlook. We must send our men over there. Our young people must learn to colonise to rule and be founders of empires."

About Brazil he said: "Here is a stretch of unlimited land. Here we shall create a new Germany. Here we have everything we need."

(H. Rausching, "Reminiscences of Herr Hitler" p. 101).

In the early post-Second World War period, it seemed that Germany was eliminated as a competitor for markets in the Latin American continent. But that hope proved to be misfounded. By 1950, West German monopolies began to give serious competition to United Kingdom and United States in the markets of Latin American countries.

As in the Afro-Asian countries, so in Latin America, West German monopolies are building their positions in a big way causing dismay to the capitalists of the neighbouring United States. Export of capital parti-

cularly private capital is the main instrument which is being employed by the German Federal Republic to entrench herself in Latin America. In 1957, a West German delegation headed by the then Minister of Economics (now Chancellor), LUDWIG ERHARD toured Latin American countries. On his arrival in Berlin after the tour Erhard said:

"There are immense opportunities for German capital in Latin America. What we need is initiative, planning and a coordinated action."

In 1962, Minister of Economic Cooperation SCHEEL paid another visit to Latin America and on his return told the German Press:

"Our vested interests in Latin America are in the expanding or increasing private investments. Even in the past the South American continent had first place in the amount of German private investments."

WEST GERMAN PROPAGANDA

There are four million Germans living in Latin America and as many of the mixed German stock. With the help of the reactionary groups among these local Germans, Bonn is conducting a widespread propaganda that West Germany is no more a colonial power and is now following a "new policy of development" in the underdeveloped regions.

It has established 16 West German embassies in Latin American countries, 14 of which are headed by former Nazis who had intimate connections with pro-Nazi groups in Latin America during the last war. These diplomats are keeping themselves in constant touch with the pro-imperialist bourgeoisie especially of German origin, the reactionary sections of local capitalists and the latifundists who are tied up with foreign capital.

The West German government encourages the export of private capital to Latin America through tax privileges, government credits and guarantees against risks of loss etc. This private German capital is going to Latin America in three ways:

1 In setting up of new industries.

2 Making additional investments in affiliates and subsidiaries.

3 In setting up the so-called mixed enterprises with joint West German and local capital.

According to the ECLA report, 75 per cent of enterprises set up by West German capital in Argentina after 1948 are "mixed enterprises" and 82 per cent of these set up in Brazil are of the same nature. According to the West German journal DEUTSCHE AUSSENWIRTSCHAFT more than 200 West German firms began operation in Brazil in the last ten years.

They are strongly entrenched in the automobile industry as well

as in the metallurgical and chemical industries. In 1962 a mixed Brazilian German firm Volkswagen do-Brazil produced 54,000 cars, one-third of Brazil's total output.

Daimler Benz has a 50 per cent interest in Mercedes-Benz do-Brazil whose plant produced 9,000 lorries in 1963 which is 22 per cent of the total production of the country. Krupp, the notorious firm which helped Hitler to power has also found its foothold in Brazil with a large spare parts plant in Campo Limpo.

German chemical plants now dominate the expanding Brazilian

started to make heavy electrical equipment. It is currently building a huge electric generator—the biggest in Latin America in Furnas.

In Argentina, the German capital is even ousting British and US capital from their commanding positions. Siemens, Daimler, Benz Krupp, Klockner, Hanomag and Mannesman—the well known German concerns—are entrenching themselves in chemical, metallurgical and automobile industries as well as in public utilities and railways.

GRIP OVER RESOURCES

As in the industry, so in banking, West German capital is expanding and consolidating its positions. West German banks



chemical industry as well as the chemical industries of other Latin American countries. Farhenfabriken Bayer has interests in 27 big chemical plants in Latin America of which six are in Brazil. Fongra Productos Quimicas—the biggest chemical industries complex in Latin America (operating in 9 countries) has more than 80 per cent of German capital.

MONOPOLY CONTROL

Similarly, the West German monopolies have taken control of the Latin America's metallurgical industry. Companhia Siderurgica Mannesman founded in 1955 is one of the largest metallurgical firms in Brazil with subsidiaries in Argentina, Venezuela, Bolivia and Chile. Krupp and Klockner, two other German monopolies, are also investing heavily in the metallurgical industry.

West Germany's electro-technical monopolies like the notorious (pro-Nazis) Siemens have extended their tentacles in Brazil, Argentina, Chile and Ecuador. Its biggest enterprise is Siemens do-Brazil which has

contradictions between UK, USA, West Germany, France and Japan. West German capitalists who in the initial stages were helped by USA are making no secret of their intentions in Latin America. The West German paper HANDELSBLATT wrote:

"Again and again one hears that United States could 'keep' Latin America for itself. That is, of course, absurd... For financial, and more so for political reasons, it would be incorrect to accord the United States the exclusive right of extending aid and influence to area south of Rio Grande." (May 3, 1961)

The Burgomaster of Hamburg, ENGELHARD toured seven Latin American countries in 1962 and upon his return announced gleefully:

"Latin Americans do not want US influence to increase in their economy any more, and for that reason are showing an interest in European countries, especially the Federal Republic."

West Germany has even agreed to be a participant in the "Alliance for Progress" aid to Latin America in order "to be in touch" and also to contribute her share in the Technical Aid Programme to Latin America.

West German 'aid' to underdeveloped countries does not as yet play an important part in Latin America. Although Bonn has increased its economic aid allocations to 7,200 million marks in 1963, only 400 million or 6 per cent was earmarked for Latin America.

This is due to Bonn's considered policy of expanding in Latin America primarily through the export of private capital and in Asia and Africa through various types of 'aid' programmes.

OLD METHOD OF PENETRATION

Like all imperialists Bonn also was using its 'aid' for influencing the foreign policy of Latin American countries. In July 1962, Bonn threatened to cut off aid to Brazil if the latter signed an economic agreement with the German Democratic Republic. The Brazilian government led by President GOULART, however, could not be blackmailed and the agreement was signed.

Like other imperialist powers West Germany is employing all the old methods of "penetration" in the Latin American countries. In 1962, an extensive programme for opening schools, colleges and universities in Latin America was chalked out with the purpose of "influencing the minds of Latin Americans in the healthy direction."

Minister of Economic Cooperation Scheel explaining the purpose of this educational programme said:

"These German schools, more than any other institution are best suited to produce and deepen understanding of German minds, our culture and our history among the peoples of underdeveloped countries."

In this spreading of neo-Nazi "culture" among the people of Latin America, church is also called upon to play its role. In 1958, there were 8,000 West German Catholic missionaries in Latin America, or twice the number in Africa and ten times more than in Asia.

Such are the realities of the revival of German neo-colonialism in Latin America. The Latin American peoples are now becoming aware of the sinister role of foreign capital be it US, British, Japanese or West German. A powerful movement is now gathering ground in the continent to oust foreign capital from the commanding positions which it occupies in the economy of the Latin American countries.

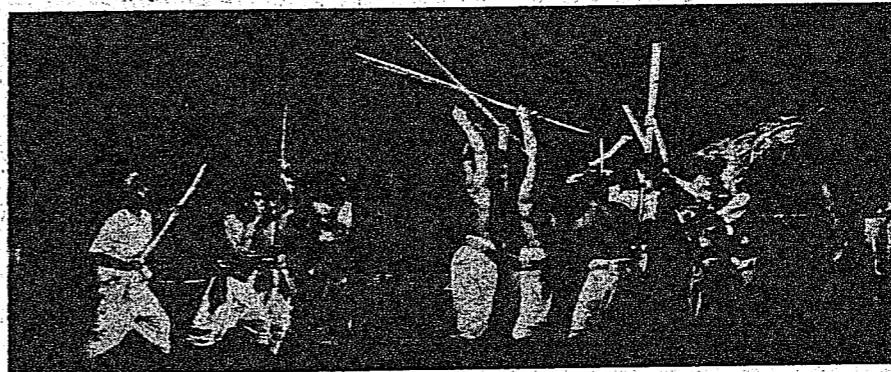


POLISH FILM FESTIVAL

A four-day festival of Polish films has just concluded in New Delhi on March 6. The feature films exhibited in the festival were EROICA, PANIC ON THE TRAIN, BIRTH CERTIFICATE and KNIFE IN THE WATER; the short films that preceded each feature film POLISH SUITE, THE NIGHT, THE MAGICIAN and AWAITING.

THE films—all international prize winners and directors well-known for their talents—did not fail to interest the cinemagoers here and the rush to secure admis-

sion to the auditorium and the fact that many failed to get in, bear eloquent testimony to the uniqueness of the films. Similar rush was seen when another Polish film



A Scene from "Titash Ekti Nadir Nam"

Two Dramas That Delhi Will Remember Long

DELHI theatre-lovers are eagerly awaiting the arrival of the reputed Little Theatre Group of Calcutta which is due to present two of its most outstanding plays TITASH EKTI NADIR NAM and FERARI FOUJ at the Fine Arts auditorium from March 18 to 23.

The Little Theatre Group, under the enlightened guidance of producer-director UTPAL DUTTA, represents a new outlook in the field of dramaturgy and stage-craft. Funnish its own theatre (the Minerva) in Calcutta, the Little Theatre Group has the unique distinction of being an actor-owned, actor-managed organisation which, in both form and content of its productions offers a serious challenge to the conventional theatre of the country.

The Little Theatre Group has already to its credit a number of brilliant productions. One cannot forget the vivid picture of Chinakuri mine disaster brought alive on the stage in their most successful production 'Angar'. Utpal

Dutta is a recognised master in composing stage decor in a most realistic manner and smooth handling of massive crowd scenes.

There may be large divergence of opinion regarding Dutta's approach to the theatre, the so-called controversy about acting versus stage decor and extra effects. Nevertheless it has been acclaimed by all that he has hardly any rival in bringing about closeness with the audience and projecting the impact upon them.

Cast of Artists

Certainly stage decor and extra effects are not all that are there in these days. They have a fine set of versatile and talented artists, notable among them Bijon Bhattacharya, Satya Banerjee, Sobha Sen, Nilima Das, famous folk singer Nirmal Chowdhury, Utpal Dutta himself and a host of others.

'Titash' and 'Ferari Fouj' are two completely different types of plays. 'Titash Ekti Nadir Nam' adapted

for the stage from the epic novel of Advaita Malla Burman of the same name by Utpal Dutta retains much of its lyricism.

It is a tale of the life of a fisherman community—'Malo'—who live on the banks of the Titash. The Titash is reflected in the life of community, normally calm and happy but violent and menacing at the approach of stormy clouds.

'Ferari Fouj' has for its background the revolutionary struggles of the thirties. It is a saga of those innumerable patriots to whom life was the cheapest sacrifice for the cause of the independence of the motherland.

The play written by Utpal Dutta is in fact a homage to hundreds of martyrs who have written pages of Indian history with their own blood.

The Delhi branch of the Indian People's Theatre Association is sponsoring these plays in the capital and it may be said without hesitation that the Delhi public will remain grateful to them for providing this wonderful opportunity.

Masterly Display of Visual Effects

By OUR ART CRITIC

festival was held here a couple of years ago.

It is no use seeking a specific answer to the reason for the immense popularity of the Polish films. There are many, but the predominant one is that the Polish films are a class by themselves and something so distinctly different from other films. This is keynote of their popular appreciation.

In a message to the festival, the Polish Ambassador in India, PRZEMYSLAW OGRODZINSKI, emphasised that "high artistic, aesthetic and humanistic values, service to truth, progress and peace, to man—these are the criteria by which people in Poland judge the films while the film makers, playwrights, direc-

tors, cameramen and actors do respond to these requirements. This has also been the secret of their successes, of the emergence of the Polish School of Films. And within this vast and general scope there is diversity of themes, of film techniques, of individualities and constant search for new forms of artistic expression."

The films shown during the festival have superbly fitted with the specifications the Polish Ambassador set out. And one should not forget that the new Polish School of Films is rather of recent origin. It has developed after the Second World War and within a period of a few years has secured worldwide acclaim and recognition as a highly-merited school.

Polish films, in the main, reflect life and therefore it portrays all the aspects of life without shrinking from depicting the truth. And combined with this basic approach is the intrinsic value of artistic excellence that keeps the cinemagoer spell-bound.

Three of the four short films shown in the festival had no dialogue or even a commentary. The entire sound track consisted of varied symphony of music. The background music and the handling of camera conveyed the meanings of the films far better than what words could.

WORLD WAR THEME

Three of four feature films are linked with the Second World War. EROICA explodes the myth of hero worship through portrayal of two main characters around whom much halo had been woven but faced with stark reality, the myth disappears. It is a grim irony, and shocking truth but the director did not flinch from holding up what he thought was a correct assessment of human character in a given circumstance.

Panic on the Train succinctly describes the tension that mounts among the stranded passengers of a railway station who are subjected by the sheer foolishness of a German sentry to the horrors of a SS contingent which leads some of the passengers to the verge of death. But finally they were saved.

Nothing actually happens except that a dog is shot. But

during the period intervening, the film builds up suspense and brings out in the open the hidden traits of human beings, their failings and glories, their courage and cowardice and indicated the links that inexorably grow up between strangers under strain and fear.

The Birth Certificate is a composition of three short films about hapless children in war-ravaged Poland and consists of most touching studies of children's behaviour under difficult conditions.

POIGNANT STORY

The last of three shorts in this film is the poignant story of a Jewish girl in a bombed-out ghetto. She seeks shelter and is finally put in a Polish orphanage where the persons responsible for her safety are worried that any time the German Gestapo might find out her origin.

The grim irony of the situation became telling when the visiting German Commission suggested to the matron that the girl should be sent to a German orphanage because she looked more like German than Polish. The blind racial prejudice of Nordics could not have been given a better description.

The last of the feature films—Knife in the Water—has nothing to do with war and consists of three characters only. The characters are a young couple and a hitch-hiker. The dormant in one comes out under strain and the story brilliantly unfolds a psychological problem in which the characters are shown in sharp relief.

The film does not preach any moral nor suggests any solution, or even a conclusion. Its theme is a fact of life that has been boldly put forward. The only consolation that prudes can have from the film is that there can be people who might prefer falsehood to the unrelenting agony of truth.

Apart from the direction, story and treatment of theme in all these films, what leaves lasting impression on one's mind is the camera work. The films are an excellent composition of frames of finest visual effects.

INDEX FRAUD IN AHMEDABAD

PRICE: 25 nP

WRITE TO

PUBLICATION DEPARTMENT

ALL-INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS

Rani Jhansi Road, New Delhi

PEOPLES PUBLISHING HOUSE (P) LTD.

Rani Jhansi Road, New Delhi

AN INTERNATIONAL FAIR OPENS BUT INDIAN FLAG DOES NOT FLUTTER

From P. KUNHANANDAN

LEIPZIG: On Sunday March 1, the traditional international trade and technical fair opened in Leipzig. Sixtyfour countries are participating in this year's fair. There are buyers from 94 countries. Over a million people have already visited the fair.

THE most dominating impression of this year's fair is the rapid industrial growth of Afro-Asian "underdeveloped" countries. India, UAR, Ceylon, Burma, Ghana, Indonesia, Iraq etc., have displayed many industrial goods and machines—products they manufacture in their own countries.

Leipzig is a mirror for these countries to show the world how fast they are overcoming the economic remnants of colonial rule.

The second impression is the tremendous economic growth of GDR and other socialist countries. Since last

year, GDR has registered in industrial production, a rate of growth of five per cent, her Plan fulfilment was 100.5 per cent and now her foreign trade has a turnover of 20,000 million marks.

Export to socialist countries has increased greatly and export to capitalist countries has risen last year by 10.5 per cent. During the past ten years GDR has exported about 500 complete industrial plants.

In the field of machine tool making, this year GDR has exhibited 50 most modern new models which attracts hundreds of experts from highly

developed capitalist countries.

A comparison of the Soviet pavilion with West German, British or US pavilions would convince any one that in the peaceful economic competition with capitalism, socialism can always win. In technique, automation and in electronic precision, today, socialism stands on top of capitalism.

GDR Trade Minister Jukios Balow told NEW AGE that scientific and technical collaboration in the COMECON has taken an increasingly successful course and "it is a stable foundation for the development of our national economy."

The third dominating impression is the widening of commercial relations between GDR and capitalist countries. According to figures of Trade Minister, in 1963, GDR exports to Britain increased by 11 per cent, Denmark 24 per

cent, France 12 per cent, Italy 13 per cent, Holland 23 per cent and so on. West German and West Berlin participation in the fair has increased. This year 820 West German firms have come to Leipzig despite Bonn government's efforts to dissuade them.

In GDR's trade with newly independent countries too there is remarkable increase. Last year trade with Ghana increased 81 per cent, Iraq 52 per cent, Morocco 30 per cent, India 10 per cent.

On this tenth year of India's participation in Leipzig, we have made some good impression. Our country's industrial development in three Five Year Plans is fairly represented in the Indian pavilion.

India could have done much better. Twenty government delegations have come here, more than half of these from non-socialist countries. The UAR delegation is led by

the Chairman of their Planning Commission.

Ghana has also sent a government delegation. Indonesia, Burma, Ceylon etc. have sent high ranking officials to head their delegations.

It is regrettable that Government of India did not send any official delegation. The Director of the Indian pavilion is a relatively small official in the exhibition branch of the Ministry of Commerce, Chairman of STC, B. P. PATEL on his way from some other country paid a short nonofficial visit to Leipzig.

Many countries that have no formal diplomatic relations with GDR proudly hoisted their flags here. It is a matter of shame for us that India became less courageous than these small countries in upholding national dignity in a foreign funk. The reason for Indian funk is clear: fear for West German reaction.

INDO-GDR TRADE CONTACTS

BERLIN: On March 3, in an international press conference attended by 800 editors and correspondents from 60 countries, NEW AGE was called upon to open the question hour. Questions were answered by the GDR Trade Ministers, Chief of the Planning Commission and the Foreign Secretary of the government.

NEW AGE: Could you tell us Sir, what are the political, economic and cultural results of the GDR government delegation that recently visited India and four other Asian countries?

Foreign Trade Minister FRITZ KOCH: The delegation headed by Deputy Premier BRUNO LEUSCHNER was a goodwill mission and the purpose of visit was to improve direct contact between these countries and GDR on the basis of peaceful coexistence which guides our foreign policy.

GDR supports the fight for economic independence of these countries. Our delegation declared our readiness to supply these countries machines and complete industrial plants for their development on very advantageous terms. We also made proposals for expansion of existing economic relations. This was met by heads of states and governments of these countries with great satisfaction.

All five countries declared their readiness to strengthen trade with GDR and to conclude long term trade agreements. Ceylon raised the trade representation to the level of a Consulate General. Agreements on cultural co-

operation was concluded with these countries.

Besides we informed these governments the real position of our national economy. We also discussed German question. Our expectations for allround improvement of relations are very bright.

The Minister added that "GDR is ready to give credit to India and Ceylon on more favourable terms than capitalist countries are giving."

NEW AGE: How is the present balance sheet of your trade with India? Do you intend to buy our machines and industrial goods exhibited here?

Minister WIESS: Our trade with India is good. GDR is prepared to buy industrial goods from India.

Trade with India from 1962 to 1963 increased by ten per cent. This year this would increase by another 35 per cent. As a result of recent trade talks GDR will purchase from India, automobile batteries, parts of electrical installation and some types of machines. And step by step we will change the orientation of our imports from India according to improvements in Indian exhibits.

JUST OUT

THE NEW LINE AND THE DOGMATISTS

A critique of the Chinese position in the World Communist Debate on Problems of Marxism-Leninism

By MOHIT SEN

CPI Publication

Price 50 nP

Book your orders through Party Committees or direct from

PEOPLE'S PUBLISHING HOUSE
RANI JHANSI ROAD, NEW DELHI 1

POLISH DELEGATION

A four-member cultural delegation from Poland headed by TADEUSZ GALINSKI, Minister of Culture and Art, arrived in New Delhi on March 9.

During its stay in our country, the delegation will discuss with the Government of India the programme of cultural, scientific and technical coopera-



tion between India and Poland for 1964-65 under the existing Indo-Polish Cultural agreement.

Tadeusz Galinski, prior to his appointment as Minister of Culture and Art, has been the editor for about ten years of the largest-circulated Polish daily TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA.

NEW RUMANIAN AMBASSADOR



Bridges Of Amity

The new Rumanian Ambassador to India AUREL ARDELEANU presented his credentials to the President of India on March 3.

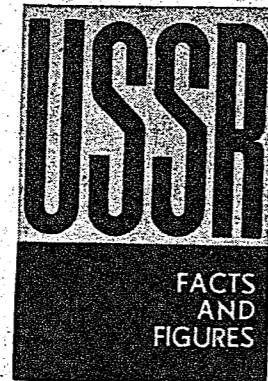
Presenting his credentials, Aurel Ardeleanu emphasised the cooperation between Rumania and India and added that he would spare no effort to contribute to the development of the relations between the two countries.

KNOW THE USSR

A latest pamphlet published by the Soviet Land titled USSR: FACTS AND FIGURES provides a birds eye view of the present-day Soviet Union.

Apart from the geographical information, population and social structure of the country, the pamphlet gives information about production of various commodities, prosperity of the country and its way of life.

It also provides a glimpse of the future which the Soviet people are building for themselves. The pamphlet ends with a fervent plea for peace which is the most predominant neces-



sity for the mankind for a happy future.

AGRICULTURAL ASSISTANCE

The Moscow newspaper SELSKAYA ZHIZN (Rural life) on March 1 published an article on Soviet aid to the developing countries in building up an efficient agricultural base.

India, the article has pointed out, was one of the first among the 13 countries that have benefited from Soviet assistance in this field. A large farm has been set up in Suratgarh with the Soviet assistance.

S. K. Romanovsky, the Chairman of the USSR State Committee for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, with M. C. Chagla, Minister of Education.



HYDERABAD: The Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh has again appealed to the leaders of the peasants' satyagraha movement to call off the campaign.

IN sharp contrast to their earlier attitude of disdain, the Congress bosses are now making frequent appeals. But, so far, there has been no concrete result. The All-Parties Action Committee has replied to the Chief Minister by pointing out that he must now be aware of the sweep of the movement and the universal support it was gaining in the rural areas.

This is the fifth week of the satyagraha and daily about 6,000 people are offering satyagraha. The total number has already exceeded one lakh.

In many places, the satyagraha has acquired mass character. On March 5, about 500 people offered satyagraha in Narsapur, 100 in Cuntur, 200 people from 180 villages in Cuddapah and 400 in

Anantapur including many women. There was a complete hartal in Kalyandurgam.

On March 6, about 200 people including 150 women offered satyagraha at Huzurnagar. At Nuzvid, 260 women offered satyagraha, at Vijayawada 329 and Devarkonda 150.

Police has resorted to large-scale arrests under the DIR. More than 1,000 persons have already been arrested in this week alone. Another 3,500 have been arrested under Section 151 and remanded for 15 days. There have been severe lathicharges at Kalwakurthy, Anantapur, Kavoor, Devarkonda, Sangareddy etc. The Bhimavaram Bar Association in a unanimous resolution extended its support to the agi-

Andhra Kisans Intensify Their Satyagraha Police Resorts To Lathi-Charge

From MOHIT SEN

At Anantapur, prominent citizens have condemned police excesses. In ten places, kisan leaders are on hungerstrike. Government has put heavy pressure on newspapers asking them to blackout news of the satyagraha. The Swatantra Party

seeing the success of the movement has started a belated campaign lest its mass base swing away. In Srikakulam particularly, it is trying to give a reactionary twist to the mass discontent by urging for the repeal of the Seventeenth Amendment.

Many Congress leaders and MLAs have privately indicated their full support to the movement launched by the All-Parties Committee and expressed hope that it would be successful. Meanwhile, the movement is gathering momentum day by day.



Kisan volunteers picketing the Secretariat in Hyderabad.

10,000 DEMONSTRATE IN MADURAI

From OUR CORRESPONDENT

About ten thousand workers in—the textile, handloom, motor, rice and oil mills in Madurai wore badges and demonstrated before their respective factories on March 7.

The action, marking the second phase of the national campaign of toilers, was most impressive in the textile mill areas.

In the Madurai Mills the bonus issue is pending and this gave fillip to the movement. Workers came out of

the mills shouting slogans after all the three shifts.

Preparations are now going ahead for sending volunteers to the satyagraha before Parliament on April 6.

The total number of volunteers who went on hungerstrike in Tamilnad on March 3, 4 and 5 in the first phase of the campaign, according to final reports, was 1500. In Madurai district 100 took part.

ONE-DAY HARTAL IN HAL TOWNSHIP

From U. S. VENKATARAMAN

BANGALORE: The second phase of the national campaign of toilers was observed on a large scale in Bangalore when workers demonstrated for 15 minutes on March 7 before their respective factories.

BOTH public and private sector workers joined in the demonstrations. The 15,000 workers of the Hindustan Aircraft Limited was in the forefront of the action.

The workers of the HAL have been able to rally round their demands traders and other sections of the people too. This was amply proved when the HAL township observed a one-day hartal on March 7 in support of the workers demands.

Another significant aspect of the action in Bangalore was that the workers of Hindustan Machine Tools who are being subjected to

severe repression joined the action in thousands.

Other factories where the day was observed were Bharat Electronics, Kirloskar Electric, Sankey Electricals and Mysore Road Engineering Factories. Employees in commercial establishments, firebrick and pottery workers and several other industrial units also held 15-minute demonstrations on the day.

Earlier in the week, there were many preparatory meetings in different areas, organised by the local campaign committee. This committee was formed on January 1 at a convention of the city trade unions.



Workers demonstrating in Bangalore.

Punjab Working Women's March To Vidhan Sabha

From OUR CORRESPONDENT

CHANDIGARH: Two thousand women drawn from all the districts of Punjab, hundreds of them with babies in their arms, marched through the streets of Chandigarh on March 9 protesting against the constantly rising prices of foodgrains and demanding better living conditions for the women working in the factories and fields.

THE demonstration had been organised by the Punjab Istri Sabha to mark the Working Women's Day. It was led by BINDRA, VIMLA DANG, SHAKUNTALA SUKHAN, SHILA DIDI, BIBI VEERAN, TEJWANTI DHIR and JANGRI KOUR BHATTAL.

The women's march to the Vidhan Sabha was a great event in Chandigarh. When the demonstration reached the secretariat buildings thousands of government employees watched it from the nine-storey buildings.

Despite the fact that the demonstration was of women, the entire route of the procession was lined by helmeted and red-turbaned policemen. A big contingent of women police guarded the approaches to the Vidhan Sabha.

The demonstrators were stopped near the buildings but after a few minutes of slogan-shouting Home Minister MOHAN LAL came out of the house to meet the demonstrators.

Vimla Dang presented a memorandum to the Home Minister listing the demands of the working women. These included equal pay for equal work, no discrimination against women in employment, maternity benefits for all working women.

Punjab Istri Sabha had demonstrated in the middle of December in many towns and villages demanding reduction in prices

but these were of no avail. Hence they had now come to the capital to voice their grievances, Vimla said.

The Home Minister was also presented with a bundle of 24,808 signatures collected by the Istri Sabha on a memorandum against rising prices. A large majority of the signatures were of women.

Mohan Lal said the issue of prices was a common one and it cut across party lines, but he had no assurance to give to the working women about holding the price line.

However, he agreed to meet a deputation of the demonstrating women. A deputation consisting of the leaders of the demonstrators later met the Speaker, PRABODH CHANDRA. The Minister for Public Works, DARBARA SINGH, was also present when the leaders explained the demands of working women.

In the evening a mass meeting was held in the central park. The meeting was presided over by GAYATRI DEVI. At the meeting KASHI RAM MP congratulated the working women for having organised such a successful demonstration.

The Drift Of Policies

* FROM BACK PAGE

in the name of stimulating capital accumulation and growth.

There was no welcome for his offer to appoint a monopoly commission since the existence of monopolies is proved by already available facts and reports. Another major point of criticism was the failure of the budget to promise any redress for the common man from the rising prices.

Thus whether it was by applying the Bhubaneswar test, as Leftist Congressmen

did, or by testing Bhubaneswar as the Opposition did, the result that both brought out was the same: the budget is reactionary and anti-socialist.

And so when TTK with Prime Minister as witness swore that he was only carrying out the party policies, the only question that one could ask was whether these "policies" were policies at all. For a parallel there is hardly any to match these prevarications of a ruling party caught in the crisis of its own unsure ideals and conflicting interests.

March 7 : Demonstrations Throughout Country

From OUR CORRESPONDENTS

CALCUTTA: Thousands of workers in the Greater Calcutta industrial belt, in the coalmining regions of Asansol and in other parts of West Bengal observed the second phase of the national campaign of toilers by demonstrating before their factories on March 7.

UNLIKE the first phase of the programme in West Bengal which could not be observed on a big scale because of the abnormal situation in the state

The BPTUC had issued 1.12 lakh badges printed in Bengali and Hindi and 10,000 posters. The badges were sold to the unions in large numbers.

In Kidderpore area workers of Brooke Bond, Port and Dock, Metal Box, Braithwaite, Hooghly Jute, BEC, Steel and Allied, Steel Products, Hoars Miller, HC Giddings, Robert Hudson, J. Stone, BBJ and Balgopaladas Iron and Steel factories held demonstrations. Seventeen thousand demand badges were distributed to these workers.

ASSAM

TRADE unions in Dibrugarh in Assam observed March 7 on a big scale. Tea garden workers of Nagahoolie, Mothola and Manchari estates demonstrated for 15 minutes after working hours. The Dibrugarh Electric Supply Workers Union held a meeting and pledged support to the national campaign. The LIC employees also held a meeting on the same day to express their solidarity with the workers.

Fourteen thousand badges were distributed to workers in the Malabar area. There were demonstrations before Kesoram Cotton Mills, Clive and Victory Jute Mills, Garden Reach Workshop, Mohatta Brothers, GEC Paharpore Works, Indian Die Casting and Agrind Fabrications.

In north and eastern Calcutta, seven thousand badges were distributed to workers in small engineering factories, Bengal Pottery, National Rubber, F.N. Gupta Co. and Tata Oil Mills.

following the communal riots, the March 7 programme was observed by workers of almost all industrial areas.

KERALA

TRIVANDRUM: The second phase of the national campaign of the toilers of India was successfully completed in Kerala when on March 7 morning workers demonstrated for 15 minutes in front of all factories.

REPORTS from district centres show that there was no factory in the state before which demonstration was not held.

The workers' slogans were: 25 per cent reduction in prices, 25 per cent increase in wages, withdrawal of anti-people taxes, nationalisation

of banks and state trading in foodgrains.

In Kozhikode district more than 300 women workers joined the men workers in demonstrating before Volkart Brothers and Pierce Leslie Co. and the coffee curing factory.

In West Hill workers demonstrated before the Hillside Products, Taj Textiles, Ramdas Haridas Rice and Oil Mill.

In Cannanore district there were demonstrations in various towns like Cannanore, Pappinisseri, Tellichery and Palayad.

Workers demonstrated in Parli, Olavakkode, Chittoor, Pudusseri, Ottapalam and Shoranur in Palghat district.

In Trivandrum the response from the workers was good. They wore badges and participated in the demonstration before all the factories.

Workers belonging to INTUC and UTUC unions also participated in the demonstrations in Quilon. Other places like Kundara, Punalur and Kottarakkara also saw demonstrations of workers employed in cashew, coir, paper and plantations.

There were demonstrations in Alleppey, Kottayam, Ernakulam and Trichur districts also.

GOA

PANJIM: More than 20,000 workers in the various industries in Goa participated in mass demonstrations outside factory gates on March 7 demanding dearness allowance and 25 per cent reduction in prices of essential commodities.

The demonstrations were part of the all-India demands day which marked the second phase of the national campaign of toilers. The port and dock workers in the Marmagoa harbour and Mazagon dock in Vasco da Gama organised powerful demonstrations. The Marmagoa taxi and bus workers and general employees demonstrated at the motor stand in Vasco da Gama.

The mining workers of southern Goa organised demonstrations at Sawwadem railway station and at Barazan mines in the heart of the mining area.

WORKING WOMEN'S MARCH IN TRIVANDRUM

TRIVANDRUM: The capital of Kerala witnessed an impressive demonstration by working women on March 9.

EIGHT hundred women working in cashew, coir, textiles, handloom, plantations and municipalities drawn from the Trivandrum, Quilon and Kottayam districts paraded the main streets of the city.

Their slogans were: equal wages for equal work, equal minimum wage for women and men, enforcement of maternity benefits and social security measures in all establishments and 25 per cent reduction in prices of essential commodities.

The demonstration was led by ROSAMMA PUNNOOSE, SUSHEELA GOPALAN, ROSAMMA, THANKAMMA

GANGADHARAN, LALITHA NAIR and other leaders of the women's movement in the state.

The demonstrators assembled before the secretariat gates where they were addressed by Communist MLAs C. ACHUTHA MENON, P. BALACHANDRA MENON and K. R. GOURI. RSP MLA BABY JOHN and Opposition Leader E. M. S. NAMBOODIRIPAD also came out of the Assembly to greet the working women.

The demonstrators later presented a memorandum to the Chief Minister, setting forth the demands of working women.

WEST BENGAL

Fourteen thousand badges were distributed among workers in the engineering, jute and cotton textile industrial units in Howrah, where the workers enthusiastically participated in the demonstrations.

Workers in almost all industrial areas in Hooghly district participated in the programme of March 7 and 13,000 badges were distributed in Konnagar.

PUNJAB

REPORTS of demonstrations have been received from two centres in Punjab.

In Panipat there were demonstrations before the Panipat Sugar Mills, Swastika, Raj and Asoka woolen mills, both in the morning and evening.

The workers of the fertiliser factory in Naya Nangal held demonstrations and meetings on both March 6 and 7. A charter of demands was presented to the manager of the fertiliser factory after the meeting on March 6.

Rishra, Serampore, and Bhadravara areas.

In Bata-Budge Budge areas, Bata workers and jute workers fully participated in the demonstrations. Twelve thousand badges were distributed. The Bata workers wore the badges on March 6 since March 7 being Saturday was an off day for them. In the other areas of the 24 Parganas district, in Dum Dum, Panihati and Titagarh, 17,000 badges were distributed.

In the Asansol-Raniganj area factory gate meetings were held before the start of each shift wherever shift system was in force.

In several areas in West Bengal, joint central meetings and demonstrations were organised in the evening of March 7. Many of the unions are collecting money to send the volunteers to Delhi for the satyagraha before Parliament.

The working committee of the BPTUC is meeting on March 12

to plan for the successful implementation of the third phase of the national campaign on April 6.

GUJARAT

THE second phase of the national campaign of toilers was observed in Baroda under the auspices of the Kamdar Federation. About 20,000 workers of textile, chemical, and engineering industries participated in demonstrations.

Demonstrations were organised in front of all factories and mills, both in the morning and in the evening so as to cover the workers of all the three shifts.

An explanatory campaign was carried out from March 1 to 6. Fifteen gate meetings were held during the week.

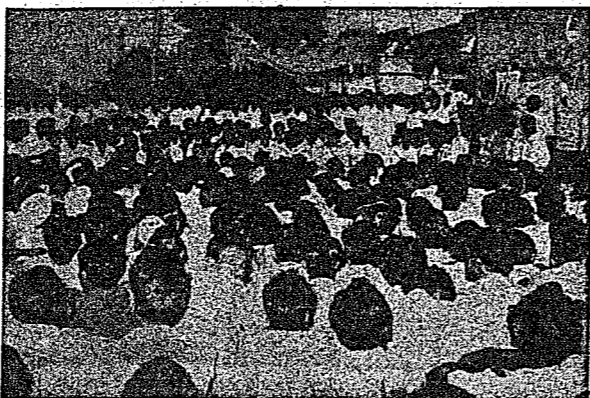
the action, lac workers at Chirala have gone on strike and was in the forefront of the demonstrations in the town.

In Hyderabad, Musherabad and Sanatnagar were the main centres of the observance of the second phase of the national campaign. Thousands joined the demonstrations wearing badges with the main demands printed on them.

Brief reports of the action have come in from Vijayawada, Guntakal, Bhimavaram.

The general secretary of the APTUC, SATYANARAYANA REDDY has announced that more than a hundred workers from Andhra will join the satyagraha before Parliament in the third phase of the campaign.

P. Sundarayya addressing workers in Hyderabad



It will soon be two months since the 18-nation Disarmament Committee restarted its work at Geneva. Where do we stand today and what are the hopes for the future?

The fact must be faced squarely: the Western Powers have blocked every possible advance along the road to general and complete disarmament. The present round of negotiations do not seem to have resulted in any progress whatsoever, and appear to be a repetition of the same old tactics of the imperialist powers, which have frustrated disarmament negotiations for so many years.

It must not be forgotten that the present series of meetings of the 18-nation Committee began in an atmosphere very different from previous meetings—precisely because of the new self-confidence of the peace forces, following the signing of the Moscow test ban treaty and the agreement to keep nuclear weapons out of outer space.

The worldwide movement of the peoples for disarmament had made itself felt, won its first victories. It made its weight felt as the Geneva conference reopened.

The US imperialists came with a new "plan". In his radio-television speech on January 21, introducing the US plan, President Johnson seemed to be fully aware of the powerful people's movement for disarmament. He spoke in words which appeared to reflect the people's will: "Agreement on the control, the reduction and the ultimate abolition of weapons and war is not impossible, as it seemed for so many years. We must be determined to reduce the risks of another worldwide war... There will be risks—there will be doubts and delays and disappointments... But the pursuit of peace must continue."

The broadcast ended with the words: "The world has had its fill of war."

President Johnson might have added that the world has had its fill also of imperialist wars, professing belief in disarmament, but unsupported by any concrete action, except when driven to the wall by the

force of public opinion.

The Soviet Union, true to its policy of peace, submitted on January 23 a Memorandum on Measures for Slackening the Arms Race and Easing International Tension. The nine important proposals made in this memorandum were widely hailed particularly by the nonaligned countries.

This memorandum followed the initiative of Soviet Premier Khrushchev for an agreement renouncing the use of force for settling all boundary, territorial or other disputes between nations.

Among other Soviet initiatives which could have led to concrete progress, had they been responded to by the Western Powers, one was the so-called nuclear rocket umbrella.

Here was a valuable gesture and concession made by the Soviet Union to meet the objections of the Western Powers to the Soviet proposal for the abolition of all means of delivery of nuclear weapons at the first stage of disarmament. The Western powers alleged that this would mean that there was "no proper guarantee of security" for the countries in the period from the first stage to the end of disarmament.

The Soviet Union again and again exposed this objection and pointed out how the Soviet plan envisaged the setting up of an international force to secure the safety of all countries, and how disarmament itself would be the main security against war.

Instead of coming to grips with the real issues and working for a disarmament treaty now, the imperialists seek to postpone under one excuse or the other, any progress towards disarmament.



By OBSERVER

DISARMAMENT NEGOTIATIONS: THE BALANCE SHEET

Nevertheless, to meet Western objections, the Soviet Union accepted the proposal that pending the achievement of general and complete disarmament, the USSR and the USA may retain a restricted quantity of large long-distance rockets and some other types of rockets.

One would have thought that the Western powers would now at least accept the Soviet disarmament plan—and agree on the nuclear umbrella proposal, as put forward in response to Western objection, by the Soviet Union.

But No! Now all sorts of other proposals are being put forward to delay and prevent any real progress towards disarmament.

British Foreign Secretary Butler has proposed the setting up of "special groups" for the discussion of "technical problems". This sounds very, very "constructive," except for the fact that the British government informed the Soviet government some time ago that in its opinion, subcommittees and groups for the study of questions of control, if they were set up, would have to work for about eight years.

Instead of coming to grips with the real issues and working for a disarmament treaty now, the imperialists seek to postpone under one excuse or the other, any progress towards disarmament.

There has been news appearing from time to time that the neutral nations participating in the 18-nation conference will come forward with concrete proposals which can help to bridge the gulf. India has an important role, which it can and must play at Geneva.

The nonaligned nations should act to compel the imperialist powers to heed the voice of the peoples and end their obstructive tactics—which are so dangerous for mankind's future.

USSR AND NON-ALIGNMENT

THE widespread acclaim by the Soviet press of the decision to convene the second conference of non-aligned countries is proof of the great importance which all socialist countries, and Communists the world over attach to the policy of nonalignment.

NEW TIMES (March 4) in its main editorial titled "Nonalignment" says: "Everyone who wants an international detente and peaceful settlement of outstanding issues will welcome the convocation of this conference of nonaligned states, for it will doubtless contribute to a healthier international climate."

IZVESTIA and **PRAVDA** carried similar comments. **IZVESTIA** stressed the necessity of enhancing the role of nonaligned countries in the struggle for peace and peaceful settlement of disputes.

The Soviet press has emphasised once again the necessity to unify all the forces of peace—and not divide them "along geographical or other lines."

NEW TIMES says: "Indeed, every step towards uniting the forces of peace should be encouraged. The problem is to bring them together on a common platform of peace against imperialism and colonialism, not to divide them

along geographical or other lines."

PRAVDA wrote: "Under the conditions that have arisen in the world in the past decade, it is especially important to work for a further consolidation of all peaceful forces on the platform of struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence, against imperialism and colonialism, without dividing them according to geographical or any other features."

Soviet press comments are in complete conformity with the position of the international Communist movement, which stands for the unity of all peace forces and is firmly opposed to the kind of division which the dogmatists seek to create between what they call the "white" and the "black" and between the people of some continents and those of others.

There has been news appearing from time to time that the neutral nations participating in the 18-nation conference will come forward with concrete proposals which can help to bridge the gulf. India has an important role, which it can and must play at Geneva.

The nonaligned nations should act to compel the imperialist powers to heed the voice of the peoples and end their obstructive tactics—which are so dangerous for mankind's future.

There has been news appearing from time to time that the neutral nations participating in the 18-nation conference will come forward with concrete proposals which can help to bridge the gulf. India has an important role, which it can and must play at Geneva.

The nonaligned nations should act to compel the imperialist powers to heed the voice of the peoples and end their obstructive tactics—which are so dangerous for mankind's future.

There has been news appearing from time to time that the neutral nations participating in the 18-nation conference will come forward with concrete proposals which can help to bridge the gulf. India has an important role, which it can and must play at Geneva.

The nonaligned nations should act to compel the imperialist powers to heed the voice of the peoples and end their obstructive tactics—which are so dangerous for mankind's future.

There has been news appearing from time to time that the neutral nations participating in the 18-nation conference will come forward with concrete proposals which can help to bridge the gulf. India has an important role, which it can and must play at Geneva.

The nonaligned nations should act to compel the imperialist powers to heed the voice of the peoples and end their obstructive tactics—which are so dangerous for mankind's future.

There has been news appearing from time to time that the neutral nations participating in the 18-nation conference will come forward with concrete proposals which can help to bridge the gulf. India has an important role, which it can and must play at Geneva.

The nonaligned nations should act to compel the imperialist powers to heed the voice of the peoples and end their obstructive tactics—which are so dangerous for mankind's future.

along geographical or other lines."

PRAVDA wrote: "Under the conditions that have arisen in the world in the past decade, it is especially important to work for a further consolidation of all peaceful forces on the platform of struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence, against imperialism and colonialism, without dividing them according to geographical or any other features."

Soviet press comments are in complete conformity with the position of the international Communist movement, which stands for the unity of all peace forces and is firmly opposed to the kind of division which the dogmatists seek to create between what they call the "white" and the "black" and between the people of some continents and those of others.

There has been news appearing from time to time that the neutral nations participating in the 18-nation conference will come forward with concrete proposals which can help to bridge the gulf. India has an important role, which it can and must play at Geneva.

The nonaligned nations should act to compel the imperialist powers to heed the voice of the peoples and end their obstructive tactics—which are so dangerous for mankind's future.

There has been news appearing from time to time that the neutral nations participating in the 18-nation conference will come forward with concrete proposals which can help to bridge the gulf. India has an important role, which it can and must play at Geneva.

The nonaligned nations should act to compel the imperialist powers to heed the voice of the peoples and end their obstructive tactics—which are so dangerous for mankind's future.

There has been news appearing from time to time that the neutral nations participating in the 18-nation conference will come forward with concrete proposals which can help to bridge the gulf. India has an important role, which it can and must play at Geneva.

The nonaligned nations should act to compel the imperialist powers to heed the voice of the peoples and end their obstructive tactics—which are so dangerous for mankind's future.

There has been news appearing from time to time that the neutral nations participating in the 18-nation conference will come forward with concrete proposals which can help to bridge the gulf. India has an important role, which it can and must play at Geneva.

The nonaligned nations should act to compel the imperialist powers to heed the voice of the peoples and end their obstructive tactics—which are so dangerous for mankind's future.

There has been news appearing from time to time that the neutral nations participating in the 18-nation conference will come forward with concrete proposals which can help to bridge the gulf. India has an important role, which it can and must play at Geneva.

The nonaligned nations should act to compel the imperialist powers to heed the voice of the peoples and end their obstructive tactics—which are so dangerous for mankind's future.

FROM BHUBANESWAR TO THE BUDGET: DRIFT MARKS NEW DELHI'S POLICIES

By K. U. WARIER

New Delhi's capacity to kill ideas is considered phenomenal by many who have come in contact with it one way or other. The best of intentions and resolutions are belied when brought into the presence of the Establishment in Delhi.

BECAUSE the dominant concern of the day's ruling class is "to get on" and keep a place in the sun, as long as time permits, its built-in complacency is the mood of the Administration all through. A facile attitude towards fundamentals is possible and is pursued in the highest circles with no apparent injury to the mechanism. Sudden crises that sometime threaten the solemn atmosphere of this conjured well-being and innocence are somehow always survived.

It is thus that to drift with the current has become the most easy and natural course for those who sit at the helm. Criticism of their doings is of course permitted for the sake of the democratic form. But such criticism or even convictions that come by mistakes or experience have little influence in directing further actions. Neither is there the will in the body to resist pressures from powerful quarters which tend to submerge loyalties to principles that are remembered and repeated for self-assurance.

The furious controversy that raged in the Congress Party in Parliament over T. T. KRISHNAMACHARI's budget, the test being its affinity to the Bhubaneswar resolution of the party, had a somewhat farcical end when the Finance Minister told the Lok Sabha in his reply on Tuesday that there was no "personality cult" about his budget and that it was "a Congress Party budget" and any criticism that it does not represent the views of the ruling party would be "infantile".

SETTLING SCORE

To settle score with critics in his own party, he delivered an admonition to them suggesting that the "proper forum" for their views was "the party platform" and not "this House".

Since the Prime Minister, disregarding his health, was present in the House to hear TTK and since the latter was answering criticism from his own partymen as well as from the Opposition that the budget and the policies advocated by him ran counter to the policies of the party and the Prime Minister, the obvious conclusion would be that Krishnamachari was right and his critics wrong.

But such a conclusion is belied by the numerous trends working inside the Congress Party. The fact being that the Congress Party at the centre has no one spokesman—except the Prime Minister, who for the present has kept his views completely

obscure in this controversy, never uttering a word—the ruth must lie somewhere in between.

There have been such an open display of differences in the ruling party over ideologies and their application in fiscal and legislative measures that it is not possible to view the party as one whole, nor to judge its mind by any one's pronouncements.

Together with this lack of homogeneity in thinking has continued the drift to greater and more confusion and further disregard of those moral and political stances which marked the beginning of an effort in the ruling party sometime back to get it out of the wilderness of its own creation.

GENESIS OF DRIFT

Perhaps the genesis of this drift can be traced to Bhubaneswar itself, where the attempts of a more articulate section of the radical rank and file to give a concrete shape to their socialist urges were thwarted by the leadership and what should have been precise directives to the executive were left as pious and vague platitudes for the masses.

Thus on the question of nationalisation of banks, on state trading, on prices, on the role of the public sector, on monopolies, on foreign capital, on agricultural production and land reforms, in fact, on every important issue before the government and the country, the budget speech of TTK marked a turn in the opposite direction from the so far known postures of the ruling party.

And yet he as well as some others could assert that nothing had changed and could even argue that the budget was the reflection of 'socialist' policies adopted at Bhubaneswar.

As a counterblast to the vigorous criticism from such speakers as K. D. MALAVIYA, R. K. KHADILKAR, V. C. PARASHAR and BHAGAWAT JHA AZAD, who all tested TTK's budget on the touchstone of Bhubaneswar and threw it away as spurious stuff, a hard-bolled advocate of the Congress Right, RAMESHWAR TANTIA declared that the budget was "super-socialistic".

Another spokesman for the same interests, HIMMAT-SINGKA said that the budget not only did not lack the "spirit of Bhubaneswar" but "it contains very much of the contents of the Bhubaneswar resolution."

Even more, with astounding naivete, B. R. BHAGAT, the Planning Minister, declar-

ed: "From whatever angle you may look, through whatever facts you may see, the picture is that this budget conforms to the resolution of Bhubaneswar and it is a socialist budget".

The irony was complete when TTK concluded his reply to the debate by importing a host of new concepts on the goal to which the country is being piloted by the government. He defined it as "a free society" and added: "Call it by whatever name you like, democratic socialism or mere socialism or any form of it. The word itself has no precise connotation".

With such "free thinking" on socialism, TTK sought to plead that he was implementing the party policy but it was left to the Swatantra spokesmen to praise him for his adroitness and courage. M. R. MASANI's commendation of the "sound" propositions by the Finance Minister and N. G. RANGA's congratulations to him for his "real budget" had more relevance to the debate and its "political overtones", as TTK put it.

Ranga said: "I am glad that for once the budget has become a real budget and not merely a kind of paper that is sent here by the Planning

Commission". He asked the Finance Minister "to go a little farther", "to see that the Planning Commission is placed in its proper place". And he wished TTK, as also his government, success "for going in the right direction".

The alignments that revealed themselves in the budget debate in Parliament, though somewhat old and recognised by this time, were however more clear and concrete than before. Just as the Swatantra supported TTK and his policies—with of course asking for more concessions to the private sector—the Communist group and some of the other Opposition parties and a determined section from the ruling party came out with outright condemnation of the budget and together criticised the attempt of the Finance Minister to change "basic policies."

There was no inhibition or doubt in the speeches of some of the Congress MPs belonging to the Left in the party and much of what they said amounted to a total denouncement of their minister. There was therefore no substance in the charge of TTK that the Opposition had tried to divide the party in power.

The party in power was divided not by the Opposition but by himself.

Never before had any budget of the government been so criticised by Congress MPs themselves. It was called a "charter of liberties to private enterprise" by Bhagawat Jha Azad. He said: "I see in this budget a gradual erosion of the Industrial Policy Resolution of 1955".

Azad added that this erosion has been taking place so fast that "unless we take another statement from the Prime Minister as was done in 1948 and 1956, we feel that it may change so much that it may be a piece for the museum or the archives and it may be impossible for us to recognise the Industrial Policy Resolution". He debunked the idea that there was relief to the common man in TTK's budget.

Precisely on the same account the Communist group rejected TTK's budget as an attempt to reverse the policies of the nation both in regard to economic development and social justice. The biggest attack came for his "open door" to foreign equity capital and liberal concessions given to private sector

* ON PAGE 17

WORKING WOMEN'S BIGGEST MARCH

From OUR CORRESPONDENT

BOMBAY: On March 6 Bombay city saw an unprecedented spectacle—the working women's march and their petition.

THE Committee for the Defence of the Rights of Working Women (President—USHABAI DANCE, General Secretary—ROZA DESHPANDE), had mooted the idea after the Great Petition and March of September last that the working women should sign a petition on their own specific demands and march to the Assembly.

Over one lakh of working women from textile mills, engineering, pharmaceutical and other factories and from offices signed the petition, which was presented to the Speaker of the Maharashtra Assembly on March 6 by S. G. PATKAR MLA, in which members of other parties including DHULAP, ATRÉ and others also joined in.

The march began at 4 P.M. when the factories closed. Fifteen thousand women marched with red flags to the tune of songs broadcast from an accompanying van by AMAR SHEIKH. Four floats mounted on lorries carried huge placards, posters and banners displaying the slogans and the demands.

The demands were for creches, for employment, for technical training etc. There were slogans against taxes and prices and for nationalisation of banks. One poster demanded that cooking gas like Burahane from the refineries be supplied at Rs. 5 instead of

Rs. 20 as is done by the oil companies at present.

About a thousand women from the peasantry had come from Poona, Satara, Nagar and other places to join in the march.

peasant women who came there. Next day in the Curdwara Hall S. A. DANCE, general secretary of the AITUC held a *shibir* on the ideology of the slogan and its meaning.

The petition and march was organised by the women workers on their own, though assisted by their men comrades in the factories. They had raised their own funds for it. They had their own speakers, organisers and



A view of the working women's rally in Bombay. (Inset) S. A. Dange speaking.

The rally at the Oval Maidan was a very colourful and picturesque show. Speeches resounded with slogans given by women and five thousand men had gathered round the rally to see as well as to help. This march has changed the very thinking of the working people of Bombay city and the

leaders. It gave the working women of Bombay a new confidence and created new solidarity of their fighting working class. The march also constituted a part of the International Women's Day, celebrations, which was observed the same day in Bombay instead of March 8 to suit the time table of the factories.