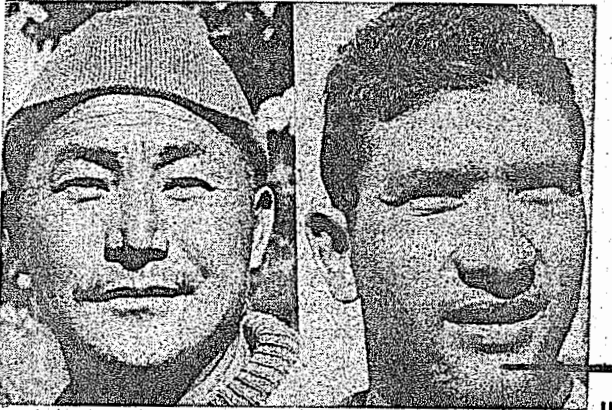


**They Have
Brought
Glory to
Motherland**



Hail the Victors of Mighty Everest

An Indian team has done it. The 1965 Indian Everest Expedition has planted the national colours on top of the world.

NOT once or twice, but three times the team has brought under its feet the proud peak of the highest mountain in the world. May be, a fourth time is also in the offing.

This is not the first time that an Indian team has attempted to climb the Everest. The 1960 expedition led by Brig. Gyan Singh and the 1962 expedition led by Maj. John Dias failed.

This is not the first time Indians have climbed the Everest either. Tenzing Norgay was in the summit party of the successful 1953 British expedition. Nawang Gombu was in the successful American expedition of 1963.

But this is the first time that an absolutely Indian expedition has succeeded. And that too such a magnificent success, with a hat-trick already accomplished and attempts being made to score a record.

When we say this is an absolutely Indian expedition we mean that the full credit for the achievement goes to India and India alone.

It has been sponsored by an Indian institution—the Indian Mountaineering Foundation.

It has been led by Indians—Lieut. Commdr. M. S. Kohli, leader, and Maj. N. Kumar, deputy leader.

The mountaineering equipment which the expedition has taken with it and which



has served them well were all manufactured in India's ordnance factories.

The high altitude rations carried and used by the expedition were developed and prepared by the Defence Food Research Laboratory in Mysore.

The triple feat has been no mean achievement. Only a few weeks back the team was turned back because of bad weather.

But the team persisted; it refused to accept defeat at

the hands of nature which can sometimes be very obstinate in refusing her favours. And success came out of perseverance on the part of Kohli and the men led by him.

The achievement certainly is that of the valliant ones who endured all the difficulties of the trek and reached the summit: A. S. Cheema and Nawang Gombu who achieved a personal double; Sonam Gyasto and Sonam Wangyal; C. P. Vohra and Ang Kami.

But the others in the team, the support parties, the sherpas and the humble proters who helped them reach the summit—they are also heroes of this achievement, for, without them it would not have been possible.

Credit also goes to all those in the ordnance factories and other Indian establishments, from the ordinary worker upwards, who helped to equip the Indian expedition.

When on May 20, the Indian tricolour was planted on the peak of Everest, it was a moment of national pride. And it was the toiling people who made that glorious dream come true.

STOP US INROADS INTO INDIAN ECONOMY

The announcement that the US embassy and consulates in India will now be selling Indian rupees to American tourists in exchange of dollars will shock every patriotic Indian.

NOT only it means loss of our dollars earnings through tourist arrangements, but it reveals in a flash the growing danger the PL 480 counterpart funds accumulating in India on American account, poses to our economy.

The PL 480 funds accrue from the sale of foodgrains imported to our country from the US and are accumulated here to finance various projects and loans.

By November 1964, the counterpart funds had already reached the figure of Rs. 1,500 crores. The total money supply with the public in our country including demand deposits in banks in January 1965 amounted to about Rs. 4,000 crores.

It means that the Americans now control about 27 per cent of our currency in circulation. This is some sort of an extra-territorial right which the US has eked out for itself within the Indian economy. This is a state of affairs for which any sovereign government

would be ashamed.

But what is more interesting, the US government in agreement with the Indian government has allocated Rs. 105 crores out of this fund to the US embassy in New Delhi "for expenses". This amount can be spent in any manner the embassy likes. Naturally, it is being used "to win confidence" of right reaction in the country and in subversive work.

The second chunk of this fund, to the extent of Rs. 80 crores, is set apart under what is known as Coole Amendment to finance American private investment in Indian private sector.

The present deal under which the American tourists will sell their dollars only to the US embassy has the consent and agreement of the Union Finance Ministry.

It has been repeatedly demanded that we must stop importing foodgrains from the US under the PL 480 terms and stop the US acquiring a menacing grip over our

economy. But the government has not yet woken up to the danger.

The least that can be done now is to scrap the agreement under which the present deal has been made behind the back of the Indian people.

Foreign exchange earning is the predominant purpose in any country for allowing tourists to visit that country. Hence, if the American tourists are to sell their dollars only to their embassy, they might as well stay home and give up the idea of visiting India. The intelligence work which a number of them do should be left to the embassy and the consulate!

The Indian people, having suffered this new humiliation at the hands of the Americans, should now demand that the trade between the US and India be done only on bilateral basis and not in foreign exchange.

Let the US buy Indian goods in return for what it would supply us. This principle is working successfully as regards the trade arrangements India has made with a number of countries; it must be implemented in the case of US too.



JUN 14
1965

'Defenders' of Asia

editorial

THE SECOND CHINESE nuclear test explosion has provided an excuse for the US and British governments to re-intensify their propaganda drive for the acceptance of their "umbrellas" and "shields" by the independent countries of Asia. Together with the propaganda slogans have begun intensive military moves east of Suez and particularly in the Indian Ocean.

The former Labour Foreign Secretary Patrick Gordon Walker, who made an Asian tour only a short while ago, has come forward this week with an obviously inspired proposal whose sinister character is uncondemned.

Gordon Walker, speaking at Leicester on May 22, outlined the imperialist proposal with precision:

"A multilateral nuclear force" should be set up "to protect Asian countries following China's second explosion of an atomic bomb".

"One possibility is to set up in the Indian Ocean and the Pacific, some arrangement along the lines of our proposal for an Atlantic nuclear force".

"We and the USA could irrevocably commit nuclear weapons to a multilateral force in which non-nuclear powers could share on the basis of equality".

The Reuter report, from which these points are quoted, adds that Gordon Walker declared: "It is of vital importance that policies should be adopted to check and halt the further spread of nuclear weapons giving effective guarantees of protection to China's neighbours in Asia".

Of course all the proposals are in the name of "protecting" and "defending" Asian countries against the menace of what the imperialists call "Chinese communism". The US politician Henry Cabot Lodge, who made a tour of Asian countries as President Johnson's representative, has announced in Washington that all the countries he visited "realise China is the real enemy of Asia". "Some said it publicly, some privately, but it is the state of mind in all these countries". (Associated Press)

It is an unfortunate fact that the rather loose talk of a so-called "nuclear shield", indulged in by Prime Minister Shastri last year, during his talks with the British Prime Minister, have given the imperialist powers the cue to keep up their nonsense about "protection" for Asian countries. Despite repeated clarifications by the Government of India that it contemplates a "guarantee" only by all the nuclear powers together, including the Soviet Union, the imperialists have again and again interpreted the Shastri shield as meaning essentially a US-British "shield".

The imperialists however are doomed: they cannot "defend" the countries of Asia from the march forward to full independence. The people of South Vietnam have demonstrated the essential weakness of the most powerful imperialist state: fifty thousand US troops and continuous air bombardment have not been able to crush the Vietnamese people.

The Asian peoples know that their real enemies are the imperialists. The wrong policies of the Chinese leadership, their refusal to sign the Moscow test ban treaty, their hostility towards India, their support to the latest Pakistan aggression against India—all this provides the imperialist with a mask with which to hide their ugly faces as the enemies of Asian independence. But the masks have already begun to wear thin.

The imperialists are "protecting" Asia, by murdering innocent Vietnamese people, by providing the Ayub dictatorship with the arms to keep tension alive on our frontiers and commit new acts of aggression. It is the same imperialist way of "protection" which is being used today in Latin America, most vividly seen today through the US intervention in the Dominican Republic.

The Government of India should not delay in making known the Indian people's firm opposition to the Gordon Walker proposals for a multilateral nuclear force for Asia, and our strong objection to the establishment of nuclear bases in the Indian Ocean. (May 26)

NEW DELHI LETTER

FRUITS OF SHASTRI'S VISIT TO SOVIET UNION

The joint communique issued last Wednesday at the end of Prime Minister Shastri's momentous eight-day visit to the Soviet Union is still the subject of animated discussions, full of high hope and expectations, in governmental and political circles in New Delhi.

SOME vested interests have attempted to cast doubts on the value and significance of the results of the visit and the understanding reached between the leaders of the two countries.

But what has aroused the common man's interest is the remark Prime Minister Shastri made immediately on landing at Palam airport:

"There are some things said and others not said in the joint communique. Things which have not been said are also fairly important. There is considerable understanding of India's position in the Soviet Union. We have their sympathy and support in matters which directly concern us."

Those who have been engaged in the exercise of drawing up a balance sheet of the visit and trying to play upon the absence of openly stated commitments in certain matters of special interest to India to undervalue its importance might ponder on what the Prime Minister himself has stated.

In concrete terms, besides offering massive economic aid, the Soviet Union can now be expected to support fully our efforts to strengthen India's defence potential.

Like the Planning Commission delegation led by Asoka Mehta, a delegation of the Defence Ministry had also gone to Moscow at about the time of the Prime Minister's visit.

It has come back fully satisfied and though there is understandable reluctance to give the details, the Soviet supplies to strengthen our defence will be coming according to schedule.

Besides construction of MIG factories and other supplies for air defence, India has at last been obliged also to turn to the Soviet Union for the supply of a submarine—after going through frustrating delays at the hands of the British.

Shastri is believed to have stressed in his report to his cabinet colleagues that "new ties of friendship between India and Soviet Union" had been developed.

It is stated by informed quarters that these new ties are based on strong Soviet support for maintenance of India's territorial integrity and sovereignty.

In this context, the attitude taken by the rightist lobby in the Congress party and certain opposition parties needs to be noted.

Rachunath Singh MP, former secretary of the Congress parliamentary party who is believed to echo the views of powerful men in the government and

party, said he was not in favour of giving importance to the Moscow visit.

He has ruefully remarked that "American and British are not clear what they want to achieve while Moscow is very clear what she has to achieve".

The reaction of the PSP stalwart in Parliament, Hem Barua was even more significant. His "thesis" was: "International forces are getting polarised between USA and China and not between USA and USSR. The nonaligned countries are emerging as the third force and the Soviet Union wants to assume its leadership".

He therefore bemoaned the "failure" of Indian leaders in the joint communique because they condemned bombing in Vietnam and did not mention the role of China. Shastri did not achieve anything, in his view, since economic aid would have come anyhow.

KEROSENE SHORTAGE

THE sudden shortage in kerosene and high speed diesel oil has brought to surface the sharp tussle that has been developing behind the scenes for some time between the foreign oil cartels and efforts of this country to build an integrated national oil industry.

The shortage began to be felt after the government decided to plug the huge drain of scarce foreign exchange on import of oil products from the west by getting supplies from the Soviet Union.

When there was a change in the leadership of the Petroleum Ministry after K. D. Malaviya was obliged to quit the government, the oil companies operating in India felt they could do fruitful "business" with the government.

There was no lack of assurances from the new Minister, Humayun Kabir that he would be accommodating.

However, the very logic of things in this sensitive field, where large monopolies have a habit of dictating terms, and our pressing national interests appear to be upsetting the calculations of the oil cartels and their friends.

The government requested the foreign companies co-operation in saving foreign exchange in the present stringency by arranging import and distribution of deficit petroleum products from rupee payment sources. The companies rudely rejected the request.

The government then turned to the Soviet Union which promptly agreed to step up needed supplies.

Even so the companies tried to create a crisis in the distribution of Soviet products by refusing to handle them through their network and cornering their own stocks.

The government was forced to warn that DIR might have to be used if the companies persisted in their obstructionist tactics.

The conflict that the companies have started is likely to become sharper.

The government is keen to cut down free foreign exchange expenditure on import of deficit products which cost as much as Rs. 100 crores annually.

The growing Soviet oil industry and the producer countries of West Asia would be willing to offer alternate sources of supply.

Beginning with kerosene and high speed diesel indications are that other deficit products too might be got from these sources.

The behaviour of the companies is expected to rule out their further participation in the exploration and refining of oil in India.

The offer of the Soviet Union to underwrite the exploration programme during the Fourth Plan and to build a refinery together with a lubrication plant and a fertilizer plant has added to the capacity of India to free itself of oil cartels.

The Rumanian offer for Haldia refinery and a complex of fertilizer plant and petrochemicals based on it is expected to be received by the end of the month.

Other offers, among them from the national oil company of Kuwait, outside the oil monopolies' sphere would also be available.

The significance of the developments in the field of oil industry is not confined to it alone. India is facing similar problems, in the context of its foreign exchange difficulties, in several other areas also.

Since the western countries have shown little understanding of our needs and continue to thwart our export possibilities, foreign exchange difficulties are likely to persist and accentuate.

It would be for our leadership to take firm steps, in a planned manner, on the lines of what has been done in case of oil products imports, to deal with these difficulties.

That the very exigencies of balance of payment are obliging us to move in the direction of diversification of our trade and economic relations and ending dependence on costly imports from the west is seen from the reported decision of the government to put a general ban for two months on all imports against free foreign exchange.

—B. M.

Last week NEW AGE published some of the reports received of the widespread observance of the Action Week called by the National Council of the Communist Party of India from May 10 to 17. Some more reports have now come in, showing the widespread nature of the intensive political campaign undertaken during the week by Party units and members.

The week beginning from May 10 witnessed a series of meetings, big and small, in towns and far off villages in the country organised by the Communist Party branches and committees to demand "Yankees Hands off Vietnam," to press for wage rise and control of price rise and to popularise the policies of the Communist Party.

KERALA

From Trivandrum S. SHARMA reports:

In all the nine districts of Kerala local initiative was roused to organise the meetings and leaders of state and district councils addressed them.

These meetings were preceded by two-day meetings of the district councils of the Party and meetings of Party members and sympathisers at local and mandal levels, where the campaign was discussed and details worked out.

In Calicut the campaign was inaugurated at a public meeting in the town presided over by Nadukandi Mohammed Koya and addressed by M. N. Govindan Nair. At Parappanangadi N. E. Balam spoke at a public meeting.

In Trivandrum, Veliyom Bhargavan addressed the rally in the city on May 13 while T. C. Narayanan Nambiar addressed meetings at Neyyattinkara and Nedumangad on subsequent days.

In Palghat P. Sankar addressed a meeting at Vadakkancheri. Meetings were held in other centres also.

In other districts also meetings were held under the banner of the Communist Party of India, where Party's main campaign slogans were popularised.

In all these meetings, US aggression on Vietnam and Anglo-US imperialist machinations behind the Pakistani aggression on the Rann of Kutch were condemned. The call was given to people to demand of the Shastri government to be firm against Anglo-US pressure.

The need for firmly upholding independent peace policy of non-alignment, strengthening our defence and economic base on that basis and not on the basis of reliance on Anglo-US imperialist powers was underlined.

The problems facing the common people such as price rise, scarcity of rice and kerosene, the need for increased wages and dearness allowance were also explained.

PANCHAYATI RAJ COMES WITH TAXES AND POLICE

By BISWANATH MUKHERJEE

The Congress rulers of our country claim that a silent revolution has taken place with the introduction of Panchayati Raj in the villages. But the villagers, who are supposed to be the beneficiaries of this 'silent revolution' think otherwise because of their experience with the 'raj'.

A recent experience of villagers in the Dantan police station in West Bengal showed the real face of this 'silent revolution'.

It is ordained by the Congress rulers that on top of the host of taxes, direct and indirect, already paid by the villagers, fresh taxes are to be paid for the 'development' of the villages.

So, the total tax payable under the Union Board, Rs. 1,000 per year by the villagers of No. 5, Taldia Anchal Panchayat of Dantan (No. 1) Bloc (Anchal Parishad) in Dantan P. S. increased to Rs. 3,400.

One Radhakrishna. Adhikary of village Charaigram, who paid Rs. 2 for 1964-65 B.S., has been assessed to pay Rs. 20.40 in the 1969-70 B.S. and is now charged Rs. 25.50. The increase works out to be more than 1,200 per cent.

While enhancing the taxes, the procedures laid down by the law were not complied with. Panchayat Rules, as clarified by a judgement of the Justice Debabrata Bose of the Calcutta High Court, lay down that taxes are to be imposed in the presence of the members of the 'Gram Sabha'.

The villagers have to be invited to raise objections, if any; and if there is any protest against enhanced taxes, the appeal has to be heard and judgement given in the presence of all the members

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Action Week Observed All Over The Country

PUNJAB

From Jullundur SUKHDEV SINGH reports:

Responding to the call given by the National Council of the Communist Party of India to mobilise public opinion on the urgent national and international political problems, Party committees in various districts of Punjab held rallies last week.

According to reports reaching here, trade union centres took the lead in the campaign.

The rally organised by the Amritsar city committee was attended by over twenty thousand people. Besides workers, a large number of shopkeepers and middle class people came to hear the Communist Party's views.

The rally was addressed by Satish Loomba, Tulsu Ram and Ajit Singh Chetanpuri, among others.

Similar meetings were held in Phagwara, Hoshiarpur, Rupar and other places.

The Hoshiarpur district council of the Communist Party organised many public meetings and rallies. Master Hari Singh MLC, addressing the meeting at Kukar Magea, demanded a firmer policy towards the Anglo-American imperialists who were stabbing India in the back by supplying aggressive arms to Pakistani aggression.

MAHARASHTRA

From Bombay SARALA KARKHANIS reports:

Responding to the decision of the National Council of the CPI, the Bombay council of the CPI observed the Action Week from May 9 to 18.

A number of public meetings were held all over Bombay city and suburbs to condemn imperialist moves on Indian borders and in Vietnam.

A procession was taken out to the American and British embassies on May 11 by the MRTUC demanding the imperialists to stop interfering in the affairs of countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Public meetings were held during the week at Ghorapdev, Mazgaon, Byulla, Ferguson Road, Wadi-Prabhadevi, Jogeshwari, Goregaon-Malad, Delise Road.

These meetings were addressed by Nana Patil, S. G. Patkar and P. B. Vaidya among others. The central rally on May 9 at Kamgar Maidan in Parel was addressed by S. C. Sardesai, V. D. Deshpande and Nana Patil.

PONDICHERRY

From Pondicherry has come the following report:

The Action Week from May 10 to May 16 moved several thousands of toiling people and peasants into a raging campaign.

The textile workers took part in this campaign very prominently. A series of shift meetings were held, addressed by K. T. Raju, K. T. K. Thangamani, V. Subbiah and A. Sreenivasan.

On May 11 the textile mill workers took out a procession shouting slogans condemning the American aggression on Vietnam and Dominican Republic and the Pakistan aggression on Indian borders supported by Anglo-American conspirators.

They demanded withdrawal of US army from South Vietnam and the Seventh Fleet from Pacific waters.

The workers of all textile mills joined this demonstration, which after passing through main roads, rallied in front of the Swadeshi Cotton Mills where K. T. Raju addressed the gathering.

On May 12, a shift meeting at Rodier Textile Mills, was held. A peasant rally took place at Villia-floor on the same day which was addressed by S. Subbiah, K. T. Raju and Jimmy Roberts.

On May 13, a public rally took place at Mudaliarpet working class area, which was addressed by the Mayor of the local municipality, N. Guruswamy MLA, Alwar and V. Subbiah.

On May 14, a largely attended peasant rally was held at Muthirapalayam which was addressed by N. Guruswamy MLA, V. Narayanaswamy and V. Subbiah.

On May 15 evening at Bahour, about 12 miles from Pondicherry, a fairly big peasant mobilisation took place, addressed by R. Thangavelu MLA, N. Guruswamy MLA and V. Subbiah.

May 16, the last day of the campaign week, saw a big procession in the town and a public meeting at Pondicherry beach which was addressed by K. T. K. Thangamani and some local leaders.

The whole campaign week has created a big stir among the people and roused the indignation of the people against Anglo-American war mongers and conspirators against the independence of newly-liberated countries and particularly against India.

Leaflets, posters, writing of slogans on the roads spotlighted the main purpose of the campaign. The Communist Party, Trade Unions Council, Kisan Sabha and Women's Organisation jointly conducted the campaign.

ASSAM

Tinsukhia branch of the CPI observed the Action Week through a mass meeting on May 12. Defying downpour, a large number of people attended the meeting to hear the Party's views on current problems.

The meeting was presided over by Barun Ghosh, a local trade union and Communist leader, and addressed by Barin Chowdhury, member of the National Council of the CPI.

Others who spoke were Mani Bhowmik and Bishnoo Rana, both members of the state council of the CPI.

MADHYA PRADESH

From Bhopal B. K. GUPTA reports:

Various units in Madhya Pradesh including Bhopal city unit held meetings in the last week to educate the people on various issues and explain party's stand on them.

In Bhopal alone over 15 thousand people attended these meetings which were addressed by Shakti Ali Khan MLA, B. K. Gupta, Mohini Devi, Govind Prasad Shrivastava and Aziz Qureshi. During the week the party sold 5000 badges and distributed pamphlets.

COMMUNIQUE'S DETRACTORS

The great gulf that separates the Indian people from the press controlled by big money in this country became evident once again on the publication of the joint Indo-Soviet Communiqué following Lal Bahadur Shastri's visit to the USSR.

THE people reacted to the communiqué with immense satisfaction and sheer joy; the monopolies through the press they own felt no shame in announcing the great chagrin and their boundless dismay over the wide areas of agreement between the governments of India and the USSR that is delineated in this historic document.

In a style that is fully reminiscent of their attacks on Jawaharlal Nehru's enunciation of India's foreign policy, they plumped for the line that the latest Indo-Soviet statement of common purposes and ideas is too airy a document, far removed from matters of immediate and direct concern to India.

Listen here to the STATESMAN:

"There are large areas of generalisation on the grand scale, reminiscent of the days of yore (1) when India's diplomacy ranged over remote horizons, showing less concern with problems which festered on our doorstep."

Fault is found with all those generalisations, particularly with the fact that "usual denunciations were showered upon imperialism and colonialism . . . neocolonialism also."

How horrible! Decent and nice and polite little Shastri has been made to walk into a trap set for him by the Russians—a trap which, according to the STATESMAN, is almost "made in Peking" (quite regardless of the fact that Peking denounces the Soviet Union for being pro-India).

If the STATESMAN and the INDIAN EXPRESS and the HINDUSTAN TIMES and the rest of them were to have their way, they would never allow any Indian spokesman to utter a word against "imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism also".

BIRLA'S BID TO ENTER STEEL INDUSTRY

NEW DELHI: G. D. Birla is trying his best to enter the steel manufacturing business which has so far remained beyond his domain of activity.

HE announced in Washington a few days back that he had struck a deal with the US firm of Kaisers for the setting up of an iron plant near Rourkela, eventually to be turned into a special steels plant.

It may be recalled that the Tatas had taken out a licence from the Government of India to set up a factory to manufacture special steels several years back.

But after keeping the licence in cold storage for about five years, they returned it to the government.

The Government of India is

Comment

The luminaries of what was so aptly described once as the "jute press" go absolutely wild over references in the communiqué to specific manifestations of "imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism also"—like opposition to US bombings of North Vietnam, the denial of freedom and independence to the people of South Arabia and interference in the internal affairs of sovereign countries as in Latin America.

These high priests of monopoly capital would have India declare at least neutrality in the fight between "imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism also" on the one hand and the people fighting for their independence on the other.

They would very much prefer India to be a partisan, prop and stooge of imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism. But failing that, and as a first step towards that, they would like India to observe "strict neutrality" between imperialism and the people.

This is their idea of non-alignment and of interesting ourselves only in matters of direct and immediate interest to India.

Whether this line of foreign policy isolates India from the vast majority of anti-imperialist peoples of the world, whether it means break from the traditions of India's own national anti-imperialist fight, is none of their business. Such is the patriotism and concern for national interest shown by the moneybags.

The people of this country

will learn to recognise them for what they are, and their stand on the Indo-Soviet joint communiqué will help them a lot in this.

Syed Mahmud At It Again

SYED Mahmud has done it again. He has taken upon himself once again to become the spokesman of Muslim communalism, orthodoxy and obscurantism in this country by coming out in opposition to the belated ordinance issued by the Government of India last week in regard to the Aligarh University.

As happened earlier at the Lucknow Muslim Convention and in its follow-up, the dark forces of reaction in the minority com-

munity which are headed and led by the Jamaat-e-Islami, found in the aged doctor a handy tool and a convenient smokescreen to push their own nefarious game.

An old and respected Congressman of days gone by, Syed Mahmud is eminently suited for this role and is enthusiastically fulfilling it.

In his statement opposing the ordinance on Aligarh, he has unashamedly resorted to suppression, distortion and misrepresentation of facts, seeking to rouse the worst fears of Muslims in this country in regard to an institution they hold dear as symbolic of the spread of education and learning among them over the decades.

While fault can be found with the ordinance and improvements will surely be suggested, nobody can claim that it was uncalled for or has come a day soon.

Whatever may be said of its form, in its content it is a measure just and necessary, long overdue and in the best interests of the country and its Muslim nationals.

The onslaught that all forces of Muslim communalism and orthodoxy threaten to launch against it needs to be resisted by all those who stand for secularism's triumph in this country.

—SHARIF
(May 25)

B. D. PARAB

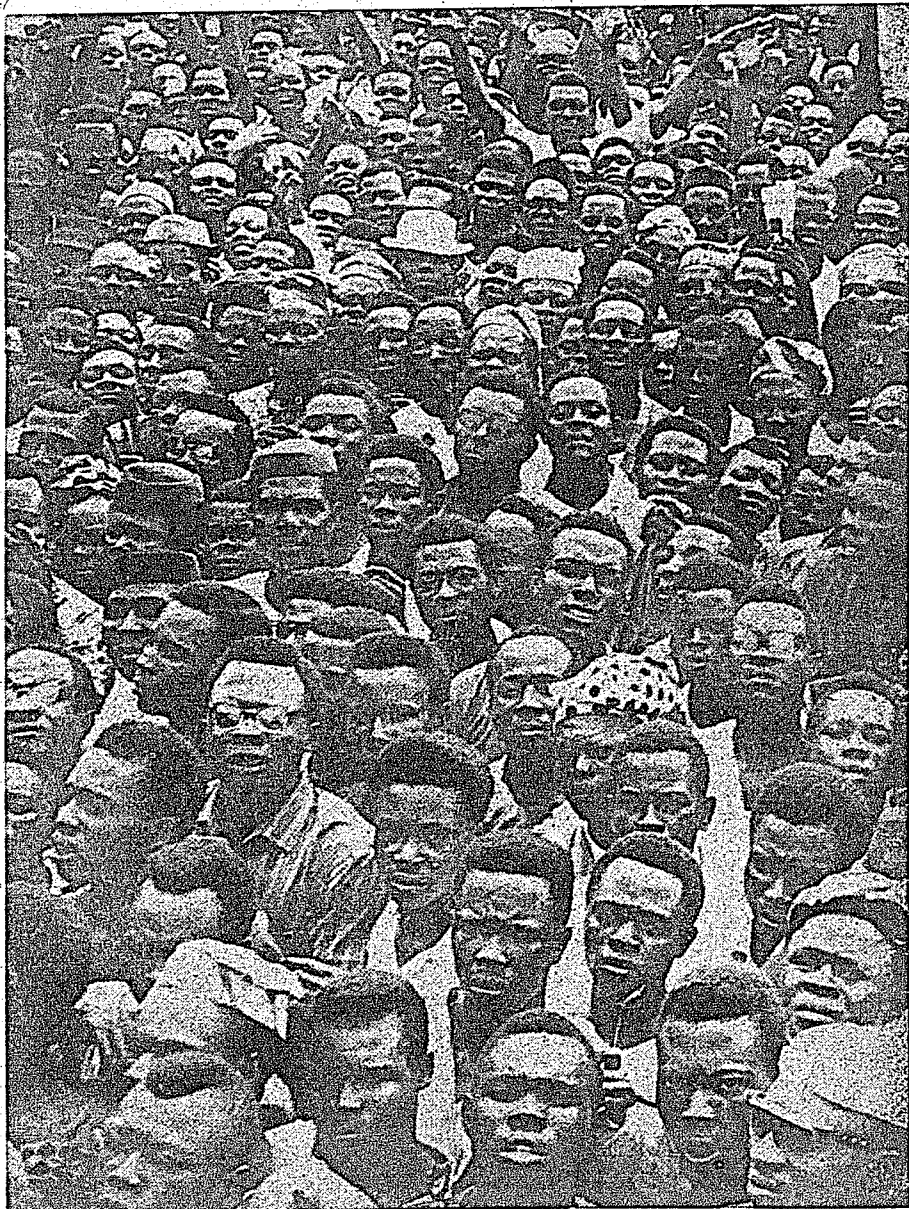
B. D. Parab, wellknown working-class leader and an old worker of the Communist Party in Bombay died in jail hospital on May 10 while under detention.

He was arrested in December last during the general round-up under the Defence of India Rules.

Parab was suffering from tuberculosis and asthma for about ten years and was seriously ill at the time of arrest.

He did not receive proper treatment in jail. The government rejected repeated demands for his release. The repressive policy of the Congress government is thus responsible for his death in jail.

Parab was a staunch and selfless worker for causes of the working-class and the Communist Party of India pays homage to his memory.



MAY 25: AFRICA FREEDOM DAY. NEW AGE WISHES THEM GREATER VICTORIES IN THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE

AMRITSAR: "We were told that Pratap Singh Kairon did not bother about any law; now it seems Ram Kishen and Darbara Singh do not care for it either"—this is how Bhupesh Gupta commented on the repression and lawlessness let loose by the police against the Amritsar textile workers whose strike entered the 44th day on May 23.

SO far, the police has arrested 1,843 workers, 200 of them women. Most of the leaders of the Textile Mazdoor Ekta Union are behind bars; the rest underground. Same is the fate of the leaders of the INTUC and HMP unions.

Section 144 has been clamped on the city. Textile industry has been declared an essential service under the Defence of India Rules and the strike illegal. And to top it all has come the wanton attacks against the workers for taking part in a perfectly legitimate struggle to realise minimum wages.

Bhupesh Gupta paid a flying visit to Amritsar on May 23 to acquaint himself with the strike situation and the widespread police atrocities. Accompanying him, I got an opportunity to see the heroic workers of Amritsar in united action against the conspiracy of the employers to cheat them out of a minimum living wage, against the pro-employer stand of the government.

We visited the working class localities of Chheharta and Putlighar and other mill areas. We talked to the workers, women and children. We talked to the people of the localities.

Grim Picture

And the picture we got was one of the entire people in these areas living under a trauma of fear watching out anxiously when the police was going to make another swoop, when they would be subjected to another round of police terror.

We were told of innumerable instances of how the police had run amuck in those areas, dragging workers out of their houses, beating up everybody and harassing people in general.

There were not many menfolk in the mohallas to tell us the full story of the police repression. Only occasionally we could meet a worker and invariably he turned out to be the victim of police brutality.

Every one of the workers we met had marks of beating on him. Most of them had lathi marks on their legs and arms; swollen fingers, bruised backs. At least one showed us skull injuries sustained as a result of lathi blows from the police.

We asked the women where the menfolk were. They replied that the men had gone away because of fear of police attacks. There are only women and children in the mohallas nowadays.

But that had not stopped the police from their bestiality. If not men, they are eager to show their "chivalry" towards women and children. Many were the complaints the women had to make about the police attacks on them; throwing them off from charpoys, dragging them by their hair, using abusive language. Some had even complaints about indecent behaviour on the part of the police.

BRUTE POLICE FORCE FAILS TO COW DOWN WORKERS

Two young women in Prem Gall in Chheharta, Kamla Devi and Pushpa Devi indignantly asked: "Why should the police come to our houses when they know that our men are not at home?" The husbands of both these young women, Amarnath and Milk Ram, are in jail.

We met Ganga Singh of the India Woollen Textile Mills at Azad Nagar in Chheharta. He was a victim of police highhandedness. He said he could tolerate the lathiblow but he cannot bear when children cry out in fear at the very sight of policemen.

Another factor which emerged from the talks we had with the workers was that the police attacks were indiscriminate. They do not even distinguish between the striking textile workers and the rest. Anybody who looked like a worker was a potential victim.

We met Meghraj who is not a textile worker and therefore cannot be in the strike. He was dragged out of his house, taken to a mill and asked to work. When he said he did not work in the mill, he was beaten up.

Four of the Municipal councillors of Chheharta were asked by the Deputy Superintendent of Police to go to the Thana Sadar to give evidence about a lathi-charge against the workers. But when they went there, no evidence was recorded, but they were put behind bars.

No arguments with the police, that is the dictum. The workers are dragged wholesale, and taken to whichever is the nearest mill and compelled to work. No question as to whether they work in that mill or in any mill at all.

Cycle Snatching

Another pastime of the police seems to be to snatch the cycles of the workers. In almost all the workers' mohallas we visited, we heard the complaint that the police had taken away the workers' cycles.

The aim seems to be to immobilise the union activists and workers so that contact between workers residing in different localities might be broken.

And the snatching of the cycles is done in the most unlawful manner. No receipt is given; no charge made for taking away the cycle. It is in a way open robbery; only the culprits don the uniform of police.

Thanna-Singh of the Amritsar Rayon and Silk Mills had another complaint to make. He said that the police were out to "punish" the scheduled caste workers in particular. He himself was a scheduled caste man and hence they

On-The-Spot Report On Amritsar Textile Strike

had picked him up in particular for a "doze of democratic socialism".

Rattan Chand of the same mills said that the employers were taking signatures on blank papers from the very insignificant small number of workers who have trickled back to work in some of the mills under the pressure of police repression.

Mounties in Action

In Mustafabad, an old woman narrated how the mounted police was also pressed into the service of the employers. These mounted policemen had rode around the village knocking down all the people around, including children.

Policemen are posted in the mills by the dozen. We saw something like a "changing of guards" ceremony at the India Woollen Textile Mills. At about 3 p.m. a police party came to replace the one which was on duty till then.

On May 22 night the police raided all the trade union offices in the city and the Communist Party office, obviously in search of the workers' leaders. They broke open the offices without search warrants and ransacked them.

The two offices of the Textile Mazdoor Ekta Union have been locked up by the police illegally, and the workers are not allowed to open them.

Even on May 23 morning, the police exhibited its utterly pro-employer bias. When the workers tried to hold a meeting at Arjan Nagar, which is outside the municipal limits and therefore no section 144 is in force, the police broke up the meeting and chased away the workers with lathis.

To give an idea of the extent of the police action, the following incidents which took place on one single day, namely May 19, can be cited:

* The Deputy Superintendent of Police beat up five workers of the Rayon Silk Mill in Amritsar.

* The police forcibly dragged 15 workers of the Japan Mill in Chheharta from their houses; one worker was mercilessly beaten up.

* Police beat up and dragged a group of Sikh workers by their hair in front of the Deputy Commissioners' office.

* Five workers were beaten up, two of them receiving serious injuries near the No. 22 railway crossing.

* Police beat up and took away the cycles of twelve workers near the Lahori Gate police station.

* The office of the TMEU at Putlighar was raided illegally and eight cycles taken away from the office.

* Police chased three women in Chheharta and when the workers protested they were arrested; two of them were not participants in the strike.

* Police raided the house of Parkash of the Khanna Silk Mill; women, children and a guest in the house were threatened with arrest.

* Police wanted Chanan Singh of the Model Mill, but in his absence arrested his two brothers.

This is the tally of just one day, that is May 19—the day when the police launched their terror reign. And that is the day when the negotiations which took place at Chandigarh ended.

The government had, of course, warned the workers of it too. A public relations department van went round the working class areas on May 18 asking the workers to go back to work or else face "dire consequences".

Despite all this police terror and the prolonged nature of the struggle, the workers are not demoralised in the least. The best example of the workers' determination to win this struggle is a village on the outskirts of Amritsar, Mustafabad.

About 400 workers of the Khanna Silk Mills reside in Mustafabad. As many as 200 of them are in jail. Only 18 of the workers have gone back to the mills.

Taravanti, an aging mother said: "My four sons are in jail. I am prepared to go to jail too. But we will fight. The police cannot run the machines".

1 Put an immediate end to all police terror against the workers, for, the police

From PAULY V. PARAKAL

The Millowners Association has put up notices saying that the strike is "finished" and therefore the workers should come back to duty. The pro-employer newspapers are doing their bit in propagating that the strike has "failed".

But none of the mills, in which strike is on, is yet working. The employers have been able to get a trickle of workers back with such heavy repression, but that trickle cannot make the machines hum.

Out of 80 looms in the Punjab Woollen Textile Mills only two are working. In the Punjab Worst Spinning Mills out of 900 workers only 40 are going in.

On a very rough estimate, it was stated by the workers that about ten per cent of the workers might have gone in; but 90 per cent are very definitely still on strike.

Repression Fails

It is clear that repression has failed to break the strike or the morale of the workers. The lawlessness engaged in by the so-called guardians of law has failed to achieve its objective.

As Bhupesh Gupta demanded at a press conference held after the visit, the following are the urgent steps to be taken:

1 Put an immediate end to all police terror against the workers, for, the police

* On page 6

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Reserve Bank Provocation

PLANS TO WITHDRAW RECOGNITION OF EMPLOYEES' BODIES

From AJAY DASGUPTA

CALCUTTA: The provocative action of the management of Reserve Bank of India of serving show cause notices as to why recognition of the organisations of the employees of the bank should not be withdrawn has caused widespread and deep resentment among all sections of the staff of the bank.

THE resentment found expression in a big demonstration in Calcutta on May 11 at the call of the Reserve Bank Employees Association (representing the class II and III employees) and the Reserve Bank 'D' Class Employees' Union (representing class IV employees of the bank).

The management of the bank has served the show cause notices on the All-India Reserve Bank Employees' Association and the All-India Reserve Bank Workers' Federation on the alleged ground that these organisations promoted and incited an illegal strike for 90 minutes on February 24, 1965 without following the prescribed procedure and formalities in regard to declaration of strike in a public utility service.

Untrue Plea

According to the management, the demands were receiving consideration and constitutional means for arriving at a settlement were available.

The replies sent by the Association and the Federation clearly pointed out that the bank management sat over the demands of the employees for years and the conciliation machinery failed to produce any results due to the unresponsive and adamant attitude of the management.

This has resulted in a situation where Reserve Bank employees "lag behind the employees of commercial banks in the matter of total pay packets, general service conditions, other facilities and amenities, promotion avenues etc., and assurance of the Reserve Bank to treat its employees in a better way compared to the employees of commercial

banks is honoured more in violation."

This situation, particularly the decision of the management to go ahead with the recruitment of 200 junior officers directly when enough talent was available among the existing employees, led the Association to serve notice on eight demands on January 18.

A resolution adopted by its council categorically warned about the agitation including direct action in case the demands were not conceded.

But the bank management did not even acknowledge the letter, and in addition in its show cause notice it had the temerity to say that the demands of the employees were under consideration. The employees know from their bitter experience what this consideration means. After long delay, stereotyped letters of regret would come.

Moreover the bank management challenged the right of the Association to represent the class II employees, though for over 30 years the Association had been the recognised trade union of Class II and III staff of the bank.

Management Tongue-Tied

Now when the Association and the Federation have sent replies to show cause notice and have appealed to bank management to find out causes which led to the token strike by the employees on February 24 and seriously attempt to remove such causes by fulfilling the most just, fair and reasonable demands of the employees, no further communication was received from the management.

Amritsar Textile Strike

* From page 5

are not paid by the employers but from the state exchequer which means taxpayers' money.

★ Release all arrested and order reinstatement of the dismissed employees who number more than a thousand.

★ Force the employers to meet the workers' just demands on the basis of the government's own March 4 notification.

Bhupesh said that the changes brought about in the March 4 notification by the government were not tenable, because the March 4 notification itself was the result of tripartite procedures. Nobody had the privilege to change it unilaterally.

And the heroic struggle of the Amritsar textile workers for a minimum wage goes on, in the eighteenth year of our freedom, day after day. The count of days is still continuing, forty-three, forty-four, forty-five, forty-six....

Even when writing this, the slogan raised by the women workers of Amritsar are still ringing in my ears: *Bachche apne waran ge, hartal kamayab karawan ge*, (we will sacrifice even our children; we will win the strike).

The management suddenly refused permission to the affiliated unions of the Association and the Federation to hold meetings inside the banks premises. The unions had been enjoying this privilege in the past as their customary right. But suddenly this right was taken away.

The Association and the Federation have requested the management to restore full rights and not to proceed any further in the matter of derecognition.

The organisations have at the same time called upon all the members to remain fully prepared to carry out successfully any action that might be decided upon by them for securing the legitimate demands and safeguarding the trade union rights. The organisations have also appealed the fraternal trade unions, press and the public to extend their full cooperation in this struggle.

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Amritsar Textile Strike

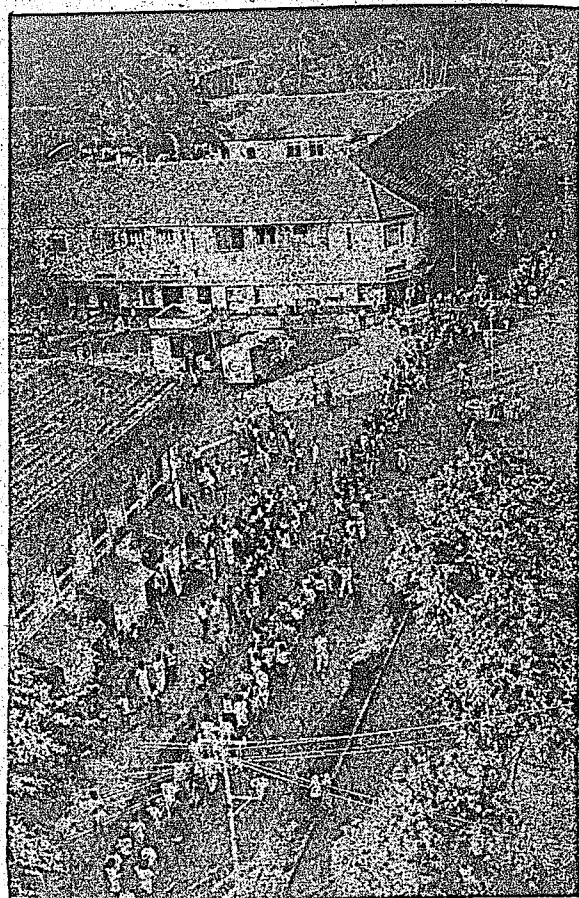
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May Day procession in Goa

Delhi's Middle Class Index is a Fraud

BY OUR STAFF CORRESPONDENT

Some of the difficulties and problems facing middle class employees in the capital were highlighted in the report of the general secretary of the Gillanders Employees Union submitted to the annual general body meeting held recently.

THE main problem is that of the high cost of living. Though the dearness allowance of the clerical staff is linked with the middle class cost of living index, it does not give adequate relief to the employees.

This index is prepared by the Chamber of Commerce and is now found to be fraudulent.

In October 1963, the index dropped by four points from 124 to 120 (base 1953=100). This had the result of reducing the pay packets of the employees by Rs. 10 to Rs. 20 a month.

What is intriguing is the fact that the working class consumer price index (Labour Bureau series) did not show any drop during this month.

Are the employees to understand that the so-called "seasonal variations" in prices did not affect the working class, but only the middle class employees?

Another ridiculous aspect of this middle class index is that the house rent element in it is frozen since 1954! According to the index experts, the housing cost in the capital has not gone up even a wee bit in the last eleven years!

Against this, the working class index has shown an increase of

four per cent in 12 months, which goes to prove beyond doubt that the middle class index is being manoeuvred for the benefit of the employees.

Naturally, the employees demand correction of the fraudulent index so that it might reflect correctly the rise in the cost of living. Also, sufficient neutralisation so that their standards of living would not fall.

The Gillanders Employees Union demanded an ad hoc 25 per cent rise in the emoluments of the clerical and subordinate staff members, but the employers have not deemed it fit to accept it.

Adamant Employer

Their stand is that there is that the employees should adhere to the five-year agreement signed in 1961 which provides for only the neutralisation which is given now, linked with the middle cost of living index.

The employers turn a deaf ear to the argument of the employees that living conditions have changed drastically since 1961 and the middle class index does not reflect the actual cost of living.

Another aspect of the prob-

lem is that though the management quote the 1961 agreement to deny increase in emoluments, they themselves have not implemented many provisions of that agreement.

For example, though the agreement provides that two doctors to be engaged by the company for the benefit of the employees, only one was appointed. They are finding "difficulty" to engage a second doctor even now, when the agreement itself is about to expire.

The employers are also resorting to "discriminatory" treatment against active workers of the union. One of the office-bearers of the union was denied increment in 1964 when all others in the same grade got increments.

The management's defence is that it is their prerogative to grant increment and that they had absolute discretion in such matters. But the fact is that it is an attempt to create division among employees and it goes against all accepted canons of social justice.

The management is also increasing the workload of the employees by refusing to fill up vacancies. Two vacancies which occurred recently in the godown were not filled in.

Again, it refuses to pay overtime wages to those employees who by the very nature of their duties are obliged to put in extra work outside office hours.

The facts outlined above are those pertaining to the Gillanders, but the problems and difficulties facing employees in other commercial establishments in the capital are the same or very similar.

It is now about six years since an omnibus pay commission had submitted a much-controversial report on wage determination in Central Government services which sparked off an all-India strike in this sector and the question of re-determining the wage norms is again on the agenda.

THE largest group among the so-called Central Government employees, the railwaymen, have demanded the setting up of a wage board and this demand was voiced in Parliament during the budget session on several occasions.

The Railway Minister, S. K. Patil, however pretended that it would indeed be a crime against the railwaymen if a demand is made for the setting up of a wage board.

He said that "on the Railways we are proud about one thing that we do the maximum things for our workers, and that should be our continued policy." (Rajya Sabha, March 24, 1965)

And if that was not enough, Patil gave a scare that railwaymen would stand to lose the privileges they enjoy which, he asserted, no wage board could have hoped to provide.

Under Patil's paternal care, the railwaymen are pretty well off and hence he hoped that the demand for a wage board will not come up.

It was certainly amusing to find the Railway Minister speaking so eloquently against the wage board, while his colleague in the Cabinet, the Labour Minister had gone about assuring the railwaymen that "his ministry was examining the question of setting up a separate wage board for railway workers in consultation with the Railway Ministry." (AMRITA "BAZAR PATRIKA," March 9, 1965)

Even Shantilal Shah who has, of late, made a fresh debut into INTUC politics, voiced his strong demand that there should be no delay in setting up a wage board for railwaymen.

The demand for a wage board is essentially because the omni-

bus wage adjudications done earlier through the two central pay commissions have done grievous harm to the interests of the railwaymen.

The pay commissions never went beyond the general framework of fixing salaries in the administrative sector with the result that correct fixation of scales of the various categories of railwaymen was completely overlooked.

The proceedings of the permanent negotiating machinery on the railways give ample proof of the grave anomalies which persisted after the omnibus wage adjudication. Moreover, the complex structure of wages in the railways requires to be scientifically assessed. If the huge backlog of the anomalies has to be cleared up, a properly constituted wage board with the inclusion of workers' representatives is essential.

Intricate Problem

The problems are becoming more intricate as the years pass by and the railways have begun to switch over to a higher technical base of operation. The dieselisation and electrification, the new equipment acquired for communications, traffic control, etc., the development of captive production units like the Chittaranjan loco factory, the Perambur coach factory etc., which have come into being—all these introduce new elements into the question of wage determination, standardisation and other problems of working conditions which ought to be resolved on a satisfactory basis.

The paternalism of S. K. Patil which he has inherited from the railway companies cannot provide

Railwaymen's Demand Is For a Wage Board

NOT PATERNALISM BUT RATIONAL PAY SCALES ARE WANTED

By M. ATCHUTHAN

an answer to these problems of the modern era. S. K. Patil speaks of railway hospitals and schools and some such concessions as if these have been bestowed as a gift by the magnanimous bosses of the railway system.

Hailing from an industrial city like Bombay, the Railway Minister cannot be so ignorant about the industrial wage systems, provisions of amenities and fringe benefits which have developed and are being developed in this country and abroad.

The ugly reality which the Railway Minister has to face is that his wards for whom he has been doing "so much" are yet to de-link themselves from the hated colonial system of wages whereas in organised industry, the movement towards such de-linking has been much faster.

It will not be a very comforting thought to the railwaymen that when the first Pay Commission fixed Rs. 30 as the minimum wage, it was done at 185 points in the consumer price index (1939 base) while the textile workers in Bombay had secured a sliding-scale rate of DA, adjusted point to point, and a minimum wage of Rs. 30 at 100 points.

The industrial wage differentials prevailing at the time of the report of the second Pay Commission also showed the same wide disparity. While the second Pay Commission recommended a basic

pay of Rs. 70 and DA of Rs. 10 (total Rs. 80) with effect from July 1, 1959, the textile workers in Bombay were getting as DA alone Rs. 81.58. Added to basic wage this would work out to Rs. 111.58 in total emoluments, on an average in 1958.

Adding the city compensatory allowance of Rs. 7.50 admissible in Bombay to the railwaymen, the difference in the unskilled minimum was as high as Rs. 24.08.

This is only one side of the abnormal state of affairs as regards wage fixation in railways. The differentials on skills and the earnings compare most unfavourably with industrial wages and this is so particularly in relation to the captive production units which, by any standards, are giant-sized engineering factories.

Another scare which is fostered to deny any rational wage fixation on the railway is that it would mean escalation in fares and freight rates. The built-in rise in productivity over the years is itself quite elastic to admit a legitimate rise in wages.

It is a well-known fact that productivity in some of the railway workshops has gone up appreciably and it is also a matter of pride that the productivity of the workers in the Perambur coach factory even exceeds the levels in Switzerland. But what does a Swiss

worker get and how much does S. K. Patil pay for the same productivity?

In his budget speech the Railway Minister quoted facts to show that the number of workers employed on repair work in major workshops has come down from 1,16,000 in 1957-58 to 99,900 in 1963-64, a reduction of 13.9 per cent, while the total repair work turned out by them increased by 22.6 per cent.

Over the years, productivity on other aspects of railway operation has also been on the rise. But there is no machinery to effect a rational wage revision which admits of a share in the rise in productivity and to secure a standard of living above the level of "groundnut as protein" which the second Pay Commission was gracious enough to concede in working out its own scheme of need-based wages.

Common Questions

These questions which affect the railwaymen are certainly common questions affecting equally all the twenty-two lakh Central Government employees and are pre-eminently questions which should be resolved within the framework of a proper wage policy under the plan.

For instance, while railmen compare wages with organised industry, similar comparisons made by office workers of the Central Government with their counterparts in banks would reveal great disparities which, on no account, can be justified.

Even on the question of DA, while the Reserve Bank and the State Bank make a quarterly revision for every four points rise (and they have not gone bankrupt because of this), the Finance Ministry which controls these banks argues as if the entire national economy would collapse if there is a rational scheme of DA in Central Government services.

Wisdom dawns rather slowly behind the maze of red tape and it took about five years to clarify, as Home Minister Nanda has done recently, what consultative machinery the Central Government employees should have.

One of the points of controversy, now resolved, was whether the separate department-wise machinery, as the permanent negotiating machinery in the railways, should continue. This simple issue has now been clarified but other simple issues like machinery which is most appropriate for scientific wage fixation are still hanging fire.

Railway Minister S. K. Patil said that the wage board is not an end in itself but a means to an end. Why deny the "means"—when it costs so little and when it can teach so much to people who profess to be the end in itself?

PAGE SEVEN

METAL & ENGG. WORKERS DEMAND INTERIM RELIEF

The AITUC and the National Federation of Metal and Engineering Workers of India have jointly submitted a memorandum before the Central Wage Board for engineering industries on May 19 demanding group of Rs. 30 as interim wage increase.

THE memorandum emphasises that grant of interim relief would lose all meaning if it is delayed and demanded that the Wage Board should give its findings on this demand as early as possible and in no case later than July 13, 1965.

The memorandum points out that there is considerable disparity in the total wages earned by engineering workers in various parts of India. This is a question to which the Wage Board will have to address itself when it gives its final findings.

The basis for the demand for interim increase is a simple one—the rapid and continuous increase in the prices of all essential commodities, resulting in continuous fall in real wages and leading to still greater disparity between the minimum fair wage

and the actual wage. In a large part of the engineering industry, no DA is paid. A considerable section of workers get a fixed sum as DA, quite unrelated to the fluctuations in the consumer price indices.

Even those workers who do get variable DA linked in some shape or form to the cost of living indices do not get full neutralisation due to various reasons such as arbitrary selection of base years, low rate of neutralisation, faulty system of adjustment and the wrong calculation of indices themselves.

Justified Demand

The justice of the demand for interim relief has been recognised by many wage boards. The wage boards in iron and steel, tea plantations and coalmining industry have awarded not only one interim but, because their deliberations took some time, a second interim increase as well.

The case in engineering in-

dustry is, if anything, even stronger than in most other industries, and hence the workers demand a speedy announcement of adequate, interim relief.

The workmen claim that interim relief to the extent of thirty per cent of their total wages (basic + DA) should be awarded subject to a minimum of Rs. 30 per month.

The justification for this demand is contained in the recommendations of the Fair Wages Committee, the tripartite agreement at the 15th Indian Labour Conference and the judgments of the Supreme Court of India.

Applying any of the standards laid down by the above agreements, decisions or recommendations, even the highest wage paid at any level in any part of India would be found to be extremely low. Hence the demand for interim relief is an extremely modest one which will not in any way impinge upon the final decision of the Wage Board.

One terrible aftermath of the second world war has been the multitude of children—orphans, homeless, hungry and sick in body and mind—crying out for relief and succour in the war-ravaged countries. Millions of other children in the newly-liberated countries also needed care and protection, food and nourishment.

THIS was the problem which politicians, scientists, educationists and social workers of all countries set out to resolve. In 1948 the United Nations issued an appeal to this effect drawing attention of all to the immensity of the problem.

An international conference held in Vienna in 1951 decided to observe June 1 as the International Children's Day. The idea of this day was to focus attention to the needs of the children and it was warmly welcomed. Country after country joined in the celebration of this day.

In our country also at the end of the forties a new awareness to the problems of children was noticed. Proposals were put forward, plans made and foundations laid

for translating the idea into practice.

In 1950, the Indian National Committee for Children came into being and later it was enlarged as the Indian Council for Child Welfare. The Planning Commission devoted an entire section in the first five-year plan to child welfare and formulated an outline for Balwadis, homes for handicapped and general education for children. Attention was also focused on publishing suitable literature for them.

One of the significant endeavours of this period was the children's competition for painting and writings organised by Shanker in 1949. This endeavour brought magnificent response and it grew up as an institution.

INTERNATIONAL CHILDREN'S DAY: How Has India Fared?

In 1955, a body was specially formed for the purpose of conducting this international competition taking forward the pioneering work done by Shanker. Now, besides the competition, a children's book trust has also been formed.

In the early fifties, foundations were laid also for children's theatres as well as films.

Under the name of BAL BHAWAN, a miniature copy of the pioneer palaces—so numerous in socialist countries—was started in Delhi. Provisions were made therein for children to fulfil their hobby, and to inculcate in them interests in arts and science. This was to serve the purpose of a model for similar bhawans throughout the country. It was also the first museum for children.

Even the idea of holiday homes was experimented with and under the auspices of the Indian Council for Child Welfare and similar other bodies, a few holiday camps were organised for children of low-income-group families.

A special incentive was given to such children's organisations as Balkan-Ji-Bari and Bharat Scouts and Guides. Various days and weeks, such as the Children's Book Week, were observed and, finally in 1957 under a special government order, the birthday of Jawaharlal Nehru was declared as the National Children's Day. National awards were announced for children performing meritorious services.

Ten years after the first appeal, the UN General Assembly once again drew attention to the problem of children and adopted the Declaration of the Rights of the Child in 1959. It became incumbent upon all member-nations to honour the principles embodied therein, India being one of the signatories was also

charged with this responsibility.

When celebrating International Children's Day this year, the Year of International Cooperation, it would be good to see what progress has been made over a period of more than 15 years and which of the plans and promises made to the Indian child and his mother have been fulfilled.

Among the rights stated in the Declaration of the UN which are to be enjoyed by "all children without exception, without distinction or discrimination of race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion" are the following:

"The child shall be given opportunities... to develop physically, mentally, morally, spiritually and socially... He shall be given an education which will promote his general cultural abilities and enable him on a basis of equal opportunity to develop his abilities, his individual judgment and his sense of moral and social responsibilities."

Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao has paraphrased the idea as follows:

"The end product of planning should be human happiness and human happiness in turn means better-fed children, better-clothed children, healthy children and children who should have opportunities to realise the full potential of their personalities."

Excellent sentiments, but can it be said that our planning has progressed in the direction when children of the entire country are better-fed, better-clothed and are able to realise at least partly, their potentialities?

The answer to this cannot be in the affirmative. The truth is that plans were never given positive shape, proposals remained on paper, projects—excellent in their conception—remained as show-places for visiting foreigners and the average Indian child remained with his desires unfulfilled, without the beautiful parks, libraries, homes and gymnasia which were rightfully his due; without the books, films and plays which his soul longed for.

The only two spheres in which it can be claimed that attempts have been made to make a mass impact and some advance registered are, first, in the wide expansion of primary education and, second, in the setting up of a network of 'Balwadis' through the country.

What are the Balwadis and whom are they supposed to benefit? The idea owes its origin to the Sargeant Committee report which as early as 1944 had stated:

"Apart from the child's health the case of the working mother has to be borne

in mind. It would be regrettable if women were hindered from contributing their share to our country's economic and cultural progress on account of domestic liabilities, but it will be more regrettable if they were able to do so only at the expense of their children."

This idea was elaborated by the Planning Commission in the first five-year plan and

a new approach, new policies and more effective and substantial programmes. The Central Social Welfare Board has often tended to exaggerate the needs of administration, the developing agencies and the social workers, and they have underestimated and inadequately provided for the real needs of the children and their communities." (Address by Dr. B. H. Mehta)

of the population) of that age, 10 to 15 million suffer from Protein-calorie-vitamin-calcium under-nourishment.

The reasons are not far to seek; the largest number of sufferers is from families of workers and peasants who are chronic victims of acute shortage and non-availability of proper food. The exorbitant prices of milk, food-grains, fish, eggs and other items of diet so vital for children, are virtually out of their reach.

What is the remedy proposed by the government?

Malnutrition was not a new phenomenon. It was the legacy of imperialism and the national government had two remedies for it, the long term one of raising the standards of living of the entire population and the immediate one of supplementing the diet of children by distribution of milk or midday meals through primary schools, Balwadis and other institutions.

By the third-plan period, of the entire population of children only eleven lakhs were receiving subsidiary food through institutions and nine lakhs through schools! The cost of a meal given to a child in Kerala or Madras is about 10 or 12 paise per child per day.

More gruesome is the picture in such institutions as provided hostel facilities for the very young. In some aided orphanages the amount spent on food per child is rupees eight per month.

This is the expenditure on

Here it is, in a nutshell—top heavy administration, no coordination of various agencies and departments involved and not enough funds available.

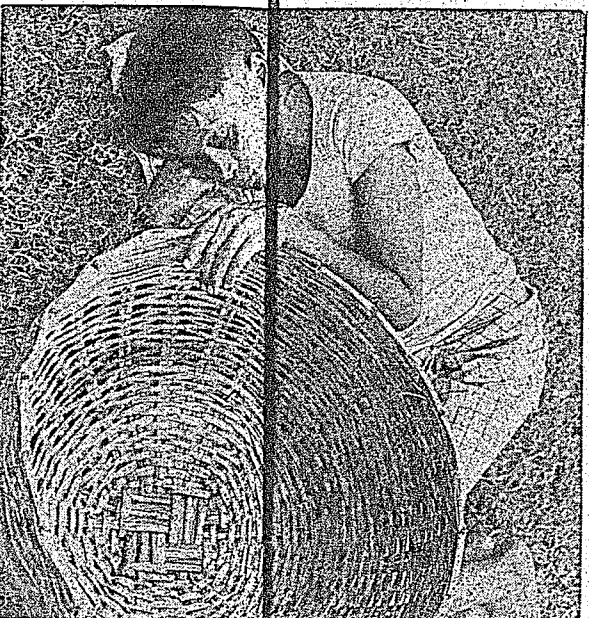
One small point will illustrate this more fully. The Sargeant Committee had proposed that one million children be covered through pre-school or nursery institutions and for this proposed, even in those days of low prices, a sum of rupees seven crores.

The third five-year plan proposals seek to cover out of a total child population of 3.75 crores of pre-school age, only three lakh children and for this purpose set aside, out of the total allocation of Rs. 480 crores for education, a meagre sum of rupees four crores!

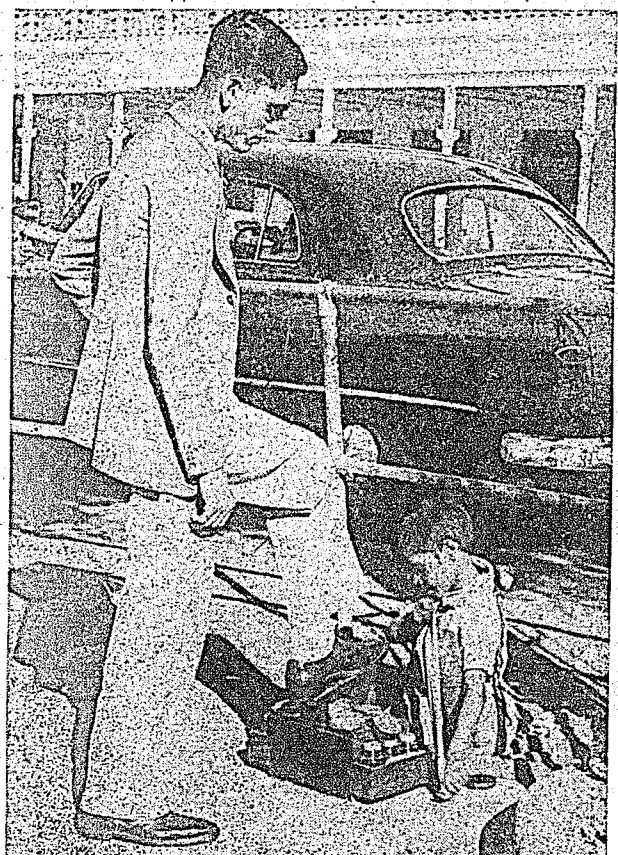
Let us take up the question of child health. In the last few weeks there has been held a nutrition conference in Delhi. What are the facts brought out by nutrition surveys?

★ Of all the children born in India one-fifth die in the first year and another one-fifth die between the age of 1 to 4 years. The average infant mortality rate is 146 per thousand.

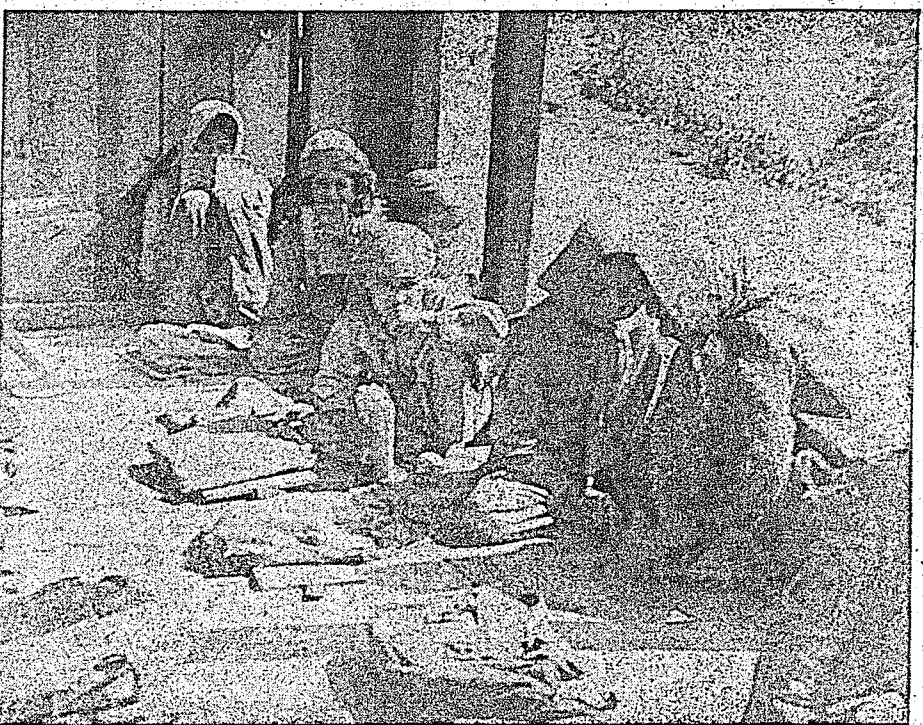
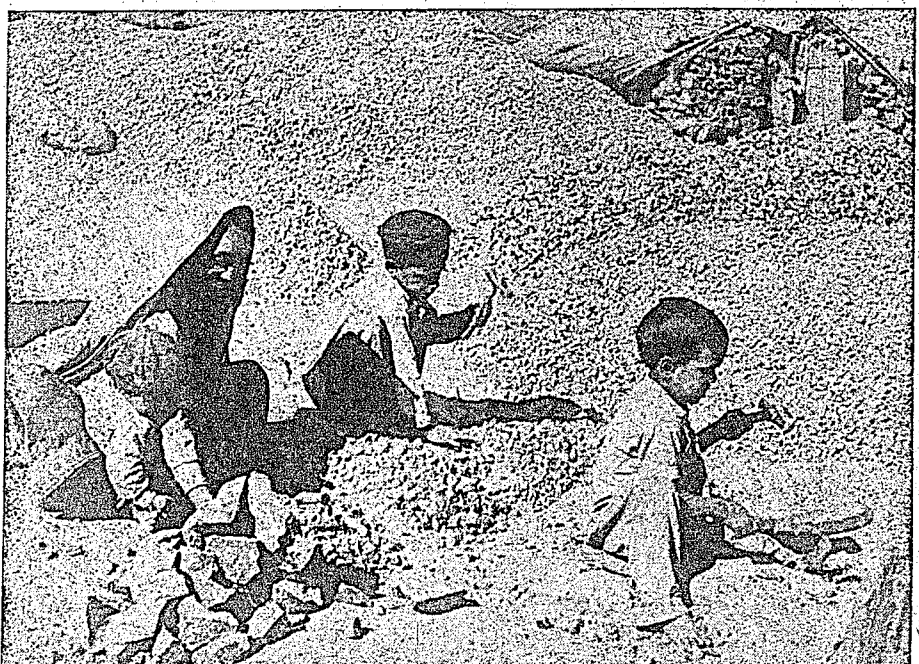
★ Malnutrition is most severe in the age group 1-16 and out of an approximate 180 million children (or more than 40 per cent



When weariness overcomes



Struggle for livelihood; even tiny tots have to work



The desire for learning—no proper facilities

what is often referred to as the greatest asset and the future wealth of the nation!

To add insult to injury the very people who are responsible for mismanagement of the country's finances, for diverting funds allocated to children to other channels, for utilising children's insti-

projects; that it is the job of mahila Mandals, local organisations like panchayat and zila parishads to foot the bill.

Here is how an authoritative spokesman puts it: "The paralysis of local action because of the habit of abject dependence on the state or statutory authorities for

for a national policy for child welfare, all the excellent schemes worked out at seminars and conferences, all the resolutions adopted by welfare institutions and women's organisations are shelved or put in cold storage on the plea of non-availability of funds, priorities or national emergency?"

Hence the need when celebrating June 1 as International Children's Day to demand from the government the fulfilment of its promise made and the implementation of its plans for children.

Women's organisations, social workers and all patriotic people will give their full cooperation for the benefit of that which is dearest to each heart—the little child.

By
HAJRAH BEGUM

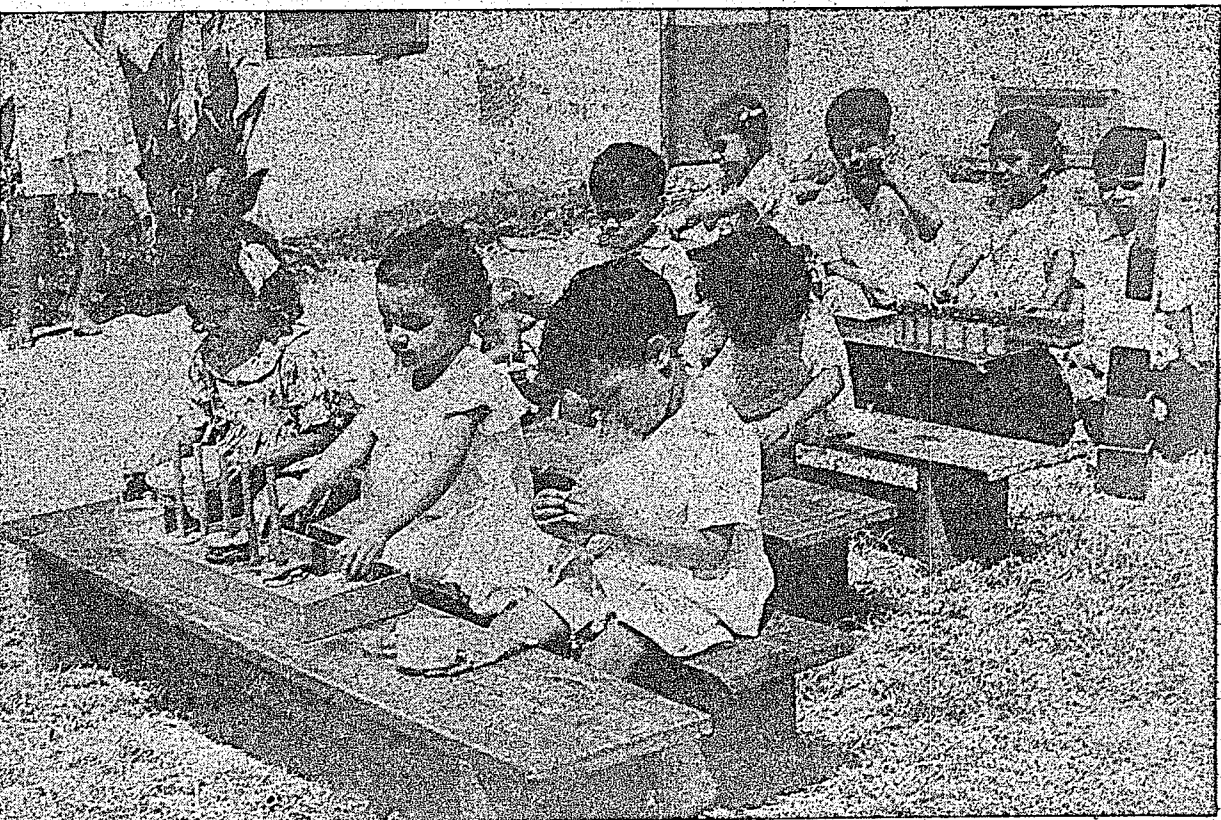
tutions as basis for self-publicity etc. deny the demand for the state taking up responsibility for the health and wellbeing of the child.

They declare that the fault is of the parents for bearing too many children and therefore they must share the responsibility and contribute towards expense of welfare

needed essential non-technical services frustrates the very spirit of democracy and individual freedom" (Dr. J. F. Bulsara, chairman of the seminar on national policy for the child)

With such a mentality is it any wonder that all the pleas

Is this enough?



SHASTRI VISIT

ABOUNDING EXAMPLES OF DEEP FRIENDSHIP IN USSR

From Masood Ali Khan

MOSCOW: Prime Minister Shastri's highly successful tour of the Soviet Union gathered warmth and affection as he proceeded from Moscow to Leningrad and then to Kiev and Tashkent. The sincere, friendly feelings of the people, their enthusiasm in welcoming India's Premier grew all along the route.

WELCOMING crowds shouted "Hindi Russi Bhai Bhai" and "Mir" and "Druzba" (Peace and Friendship). In Leningrad, in spite of cold and it being Sunday and an early hour, a large crowd had gathered at the railway station and the streets to greet the Indian guests.

In Kiev, with its spring flowers and blooming apple, cherry and pear trees, the warmth of people's welcome was even more. At Tashkent and at the nearby collective farms, people showered flowers, sang, danced, played on drums and folk instruments like our shahnais.

Shastri was visibly moved and overwhelmed by all this. He could not fail to notice the achievements of Soviet people, their standard of living, their optimism, open-minded friendliness, sincerity and affection for India.

The wreath of tulips, carnations and lilacs that he laid at the Lenin Mausoleum in Moscow bore the inscription, "To the eternal memory of the great Lenin, true friend of India".

After visiting the cemetery at Leningrad where half a million people who died in the war and blockade lie buried and Kiev where also thousands perished to defend the freedom of the Soviet Land, Shastri referring to Soviet sacrifices and horrors of the last war said that they must never be repeated.

Example Of Patriotism

Soviet people's courage in war and their efforts at rebuilding their country, were "an example of patriotism. We will always remember it and draw inspiration from it."

He was, "greatly delighted", by the warm welcome at Tashkent where there was so much in common and similar with India that he felt he was in some part of India. This being Asia, he was all the more impressed by the progress of Uzbekistan in agriculture, industry and culture.

After talking to Nasiriddinova, the president of the Uzbek Republic, Shastri expressed his admiration at their great achievements. He was also impressed by the flourishing collective farm near Tashkent, its largescale economy, huge earnings, the club and the hall which looked like Delhi's Sapru House, boarding schools and kindergarten with its happy children and their pleasant surroundings.

At the Tashkent oriental institute he was shown rare manuscripts of Amir Khusrro, Babar, Al Beruni, Hafiz and others. Shastri praised their valuable research work on India's history and culture

before his departure for India. The love and warm-hearted affection shown to him had won his heart, Shastri said. He spoke of the Russian revolution which, "gave a new message to the world".

Ordinary people, workers and peasants now have equal rights and there is no difference between man and man. "This is a great miracle. Lenin and the Communist Party who had the confidence of the people led

and said his visit would have remained incomplete if he had not come to their institute.

At the banquet given in his honour by the Government of Uzbekistan, Shastri made a moving speech a few hours

the way to these transformations. The reins of government came into the hands of the people".

Shastri said the revolution had changed the face of the country. Every nook and corner of the land had been transformed and this progress would go on. Uzbekistan's economy, industry and culture were advancing along with the rest of the Soviet Union.

"In India, we have to raise

the living standards of the people. This is the most important question. We have to bring about a revolution in the lives of the people". (Shastri who was speaking in Hindi here used the word Inqilab but the Indian interpreter hesitated to translate it as "revolution". The translation was corrected by Ambassador Kaul.)

India has chosen her own path and people are determined to build a society which has no place for poverty and unemployment. The world today has two paths to choose from. One is the path of peace and the other, the path of war, imperialism and colonialism, in which conflict grew. If we choose the path of peace, the ordinary and poor people get an opportunity to go forward. India and the Soviet Union have chosen the path of peace, he said.

*ON PAGE 14

News From Brother Parties

CPSU-FLN JOINT COMMUNIQUE

FOLLOWING an extensive exchange of opinion on international problems, representatives of the CPSU and the National Liberation Front Party of the People's Republic of Algeria took cognizance of the identity of their views on all questions discussed, says a joint communique of the two parties.

Taking part in the talks at the CPSU Central Committee, which were held in a warm friendly atmosphere, was a delegation of the National Liberation Front Party led by Omar Benmahdjoub, which stayed in the USSR from May 6 to 21.

The CPSU and the National Liberation Front reaffirm their "allegiance to the cause of peace and the policy of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems, stressing that peaceful coexistence is closely linked with the struggle of the oppressed peoples and does not rule out by any means a rebuff to imperialist aggression."

Both parties "resolutely condemn American imperialism's intervention in South Vietnam and its aggressive actions against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam which jeopardize universal peace". They denounce the "undisguised American imperialist intervention in the Dominican Republic."

Both parties confirm again their solidarity with Palestinian Arabs, support their legitimate rights in the just struggle against Zionism which is used by the imperialist forces to increase tension in the Middle East.

Both parties are opposed to the policy of apartheid which is rampant in South Africa in its most ugly form. The communique condemns the imperialist policy of the revenge-seeking ruling circles of the Federal Republic of Germany and reaffirms support for the principle of the solution of the German problem by the German people themselves.

The CPSU and the National

Liberation Front Party proclaim their determination to continue the struggle for peace against the danger of a world war, against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism, for the freedom and independence of all the oppressed peoples.

The CPSU and the National Liberation Front Party point out that "the struggle of all revolutionary forces of our time has the effect of steadily narrowing the sphere of imperialist domination and influence". They are convinced that with the growing unity of all these forces—socialist countries, the national liberation movement and the international working class—nothing can halt the peoples' movement toward national liberation and social progress.

Representatives of the CPSU note with satisfaction in the communique that "Algeria has made the choice once and for all in favour of socialism. This is manifested in the widening scope of nationalisation, abolition of privileges and agrarian revolution in the countryside."

The CPSU Central Committee accepted the invitation to send a delegation to Algeria.

CP SPAIN CONDEMNS US IMPERIALISTS

YANKEE imperialism has emerged as the world gendarme, defending the most backward and reactionary forces, says a statement of the Communist Party of Spain.

The armed intervention of North American imperialists in the Dominican Republic constitutes a gross violation of international law and the United Nations Charter, the statement says.

The interventionists set themselves the aim to forestall the victory of the Dominican people and to safeguard the privileges of United States imperialism in that country. But this aggres-

sion, the statement goes on, has other aims as well.

American imperialism is seeking to frighten the peoples of other Latin American countries fighting for the genuine freedom and independence of their states. It is working hard for reactionary regimes and vengeful military dictatorships to continue in Latin American countries. At the same time it is preparing new provocations against heroic socialist Cuba.

The statement stresses that the existence of American bases, which were set up on Spanish territory for aggressive purposes, constitutes a great danger to the country, and that is why Spain must press for their speediest liquidation.

PAJETTA REPORTS ON VIETNAM

"IF the Government of Democratic Republic of Vietnam appeals for volunteers, Italians, above all, Communists, will undoubtedly be amidst the fighters from various countries who wish to fight voluntarily on the side of the Vietnamese people", said Giancarlo Pajetta, member of the secretariat of the Italian Communist Party.

Speaking at a press conference in Rome on May 20, Pajetta, who headed the delegation of the Italian Communist Party which visited the Democratic Republic of Vietnam a few days ago, pointed out that the leaders of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam deem it expedient not to call yet for volunteers from other countries though they don't consider this possibility only theoretically.

"They still hope", Pajetta added, "that the struggle of the Vietnamese people themselves and the solidarity of world opinion would make it possible to prevent the escalation of the war."

Commenting on the talks, which were held in Hanoi between the representatives of the Italian Communist Party and the leaders of the Vietnamese Workers' Party, Pajetta said: "We have drawn the conclusion that it is necessary to continue

the joint efforts and the efforts of each party separately with the object of achieving firmer and more effective international unity and overcoming the differences that now exist inside the world communist movement."

A meeting of European Communist parties will be held in approximately a fortnight, the member of the secretariat of the Italian Communist Party said, and solidarity with Vietnam will be the first item on its agenda.

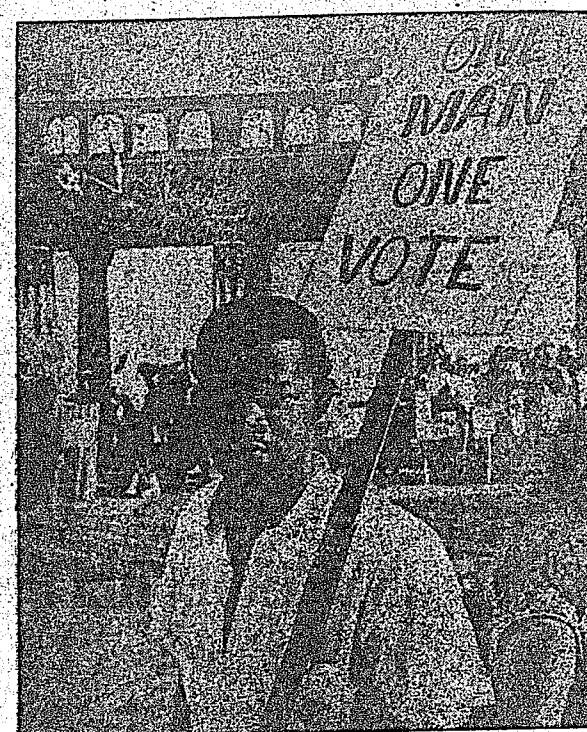
"We", the speaker added, "will come out in support of this political position at the meeting. And we believe that anti-imperialist solidarity will find an expression everywhere in the world communist movement in spite of the discussion which can continue, which must not be ended by a formal discontinuance of polemics or a bad compromise."

CP USA: BRING THE TROOPS BACK HOME

"TOGETHER with millions of our fellow Americans and fighters for peace the American Communists say: End the wars in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic, bring the troops home, put an end to nuclear world war danger", says a statement issued by the Communist Party of the United States a few days ago.

The interests of peace and democracy, the interests of the American peoples themselves demand that the peoples of South Vietnam and the Dominican Republic have the right to a government of their choice instead of the puppet government kept in power by American arms, the Communist Party of the United States declared. The people of those countries want the same things as the working people of the whole world—peace.

The Communist Party of the United States urges all Americans to declare to President Johnson: We demand unconditional peace! Let the peoples of these countries decide their own destiny! Stop the war!



In Southern Rhodesia, the Ian Smith government is going ahead with its plans for unilateral declaration of independence. The African population have demanded proper voting rights on the basis of adult franchise. But Smith has turned down this demand for 'one man, one vote'.

AFRO-ASIA In The Headlines

BRAZZAVILLE: FRUITFUL COOPERATION

WITH the signing of two contracts, economic and technical co-operation between Congo (Brazzaville) and the Soviet Union moves ahead towards the implementation of the agreement which was signed in December last year.

Under the first contract, the Soviet Union will carry out designing and surveying of the water supply system, construct a power transmission line, a dam and a hydro-power station in the area of Kikuya plateau.

Under the second contract, the Soviet Union will undertake surveying and render technical assistance for the construction of a hotel with 120 rooms in Brazzaville.

THAILAND: US TOOL

THAILAND has gone far enough in its complicity in the US aggression in Indo-China.

It has handed over its airfields at Korat and Udorn to US military command, which has been using them for sending out its aircraft for raids on the territory of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

An Associated Press correspondent has confirmed that these airfields had been used for the raids on March 21 and April 4.

On a number of times, airfields in Thailand have been employed to bomb the territory controlled by the patriotic forces of Laos.

Thailand bears its part of responsibility for the tension

on Cambodian borders, too. A report from Pnom Penh indicates that armed units of Thais have been repeatedly taking part in provocations against this neutralist country.

After one of such provocation in Ko Kong province, the Cambodian representative at the UN had to address a special communication to the president of the Security Council.

Over-enthusiasm characteristic of utter servility to American aggressors of the authorities in Bangkok finds another manifestation in concrete Thai assistance to the puppet regime in Saigon.

A group of Thai pilot-instructors and mechanics are at present training the South Vietnamese fliers.

PUBLIC SECTOR GROWS IN UAR

PRESIDENT Nasser has declared that the socialist changes brought about in the UAR have proved successful.

He was speaking about the significance of public sector in the country's economic and political life while addressing UAR statesmen on questions of home and foreign policy.

"Our enemies", he added, "are always trying to prove that public control over the means of production will never be successful, and the success can be achieved only through private enterprise."

Extolling the experiment with public sector, he said: "We must preserve this state of affairs and no force can alter it. The people must establish new socialist relations that would abolish any form of exploitation of man by man."

—DARSHAK

ESSO EMPIRE: Tentacles are Spread Over All Continents

The Standard Oil Company (New Jersey) passed the mark of 1,000 million dollars in "reported" profits after taxes in 1963. Oil companies have especially large additional profits hidden in other accounts.

ESSO's gross revenues surpassed US \$11 billion. Its gross crude oil output reached 3,412,000 barrels per day, about 172 million tons, or 16 per cent of the entire output of the capitalist world.

Buying up additional oil under cartel agreements, it marketed 180 million tons. This giant operates in more than 100 countries—almost all of the capitalist, underdeveloped, and colonial countries. Only one-fifth of its crude oil

production, and one-third of its product sales are in the US. Its share of the domestic oil industry is smaller and less profitable than its share in other capitalist areas.

Jersey produces 18 per cent of Canada's crude, 41 per cent of Venezuela's, 67 per cent of Peru's, 59 per cent of Libya's and 77 per cent of France's. Its share in the Middle East is 14 per cent.

Esso has some claims in almost every major field. It has 18 European refineries accounting for one-fourth of Western Europe's output. It has corresponding shares in the developed capitalist countries, and in the pipeline networks.

Standard of New Jersey is the largest of the Rockefeller—Standard Oil Corporations. Socony Mobil Oil Company and Standard Oil Company of California, under largely overlapping ownership, are also "international giants", each with holdings about one-third those of Esso. Standard Oil Company (Indiana) and Marathon Oil Company (formerly Ohio Oil), are other Rockefeller group companies aggressively expanding abroad.

Big Seven Cartels

Jersey, Socony Mobil, and Standard of California are part of the big-seven international cartel which also includes Texaco and Gulf (US), British Petroleum Company (UK) and Royal Dutch-Shell (Netherlands—UK). The French concern, Compagnie Francaise des Petroles, plays a minor role in the cartel.

This international trust has dominated the oil industry of the capitalist world since the 1920's: dividing markets, setting monopoly prices, cooperating in economic warfare, and arranging for collaboration of their respective governments in pursuit of "oil imperialism."

Since second world war there has been a radical redistribution of cartel spheres of influence in favour of the US companies, especially Standard Oil. The European companies have been forced to yield percentage shares of oil to their more powerful rivals, although enjoying substantial growth in their own production and profits.

The Middle East has been converted from a British-dominated zone to one where US oil and military power is larger. The process of shift in favour of the US companies continues. ESSO's crude output exceeded that of Royal Dutch-Shell by 28 per cent in 1957, and 48 per cent in 1963.

Never have the international oil giants grown so rapidly as during the postwar period, but never has

their position been so insecure. In all continents the people are striving to reclaim their oil, most precious of modern natural resources, and have achieved significant successes.

The spectacular growth of the Soviet oil industry foreshadows the coming socialist lead in world oil. Capitalist and underdeveloped countries lacking oil deposits now manoeuvre more boldly to break the cartel monopoly of supplies.

Jersey's huge profits involve a very high rate of exploitation of labour, maintenance of monopoly prices, and national robbery of countries from which oil is extracted.

Company statistics admit after-tax profits of US \$1,019 million. Oil companies deduct certain capital expenditures and unreal costs (exploration charges, "depletion allowances") before arriving at reported profits.

Hidden Profits

In the case of Jersey these hidden items total about US \$400 million. Addition of these items bring the total to over US \$1.4 billion. There are other hidden profits also. Profits before taxes came to 271 per cent of employee compensation—although the latter figure includes big payments to top officials which really should be counted as part of profits.

Labour exploitation has been increasing very rapidly. In the four years from 1959 to 1963 after-tax profits increased 62 per cent while employee compensation increased only seven per cent. Compensation per employee increased only six per cent, far short of the rise in living costs in most countries where ESSO operates.

Crude oil output increased 39 per cent, and refinery runs 25 per cent, with a rise of only 0.7 per cent in the number of employees—reported at 147,000 in 1963.

This signifies a rise of about seven per cent per year in labour productivity, with no share in the gain going to employees. Labour costs per barrel of final product declined and the average price per barrel went up.

Between 1946 and 1963—that is, during the entire postwar period—ESSO's profits after taxes increased 5.7 times, and its crude oil output 3.1 times. But payrolls increased only 2.6 times and the number of employees 1.3 times.

Data on the scale of national exploitation is contained in the statistics of the Creole Petroleum Corporation, ESSO's main subsidiary in Venezuela.

ESSO claims it made net profits from Venezuelan operations of "only" US \$247 million, while paying taxes and royalties to the Venezuelan government of US \$475 million.

But this profit figure is sharply reduced from the actual by ESSO's bookkeepers. The company allowed a value of only US \$2.09 per barrel of Venezuelan oil product shipped, as compared with its world-wide value of US \$7.19.

In other words, Venezuelan oil was credited with only 29 per cent of the price for which it and other Jersey oil was ultimately sold on world markets.

To estimate appropriate comparative prices we have calculated as if each stage of production and distribution contributes in proportion to the fixed capital invested. Using the same basis for Venezuela as for Jersey's worldwide operations, we find that the appropriate price for Venezuelan oil comparable to the US \$7.19 charged worldwide, would be US \$4.53 per barrel.

This is 63 per cent of the worldwide average, and 217 per cent of the price allowed by ESSO bookkeepers. It suggests that ESSO gets hidden profits out of Venezuela larger than Creole's reported gross value of product, which is US \$1,680 million.

Instead of after-tax profits of a quarter of a billion dollars taken out of Venezuela, the real figure may well be as much as a billion and a half dollars. And the Venezuela government's share, instead of exceeding the company's share, is only one third of it.

At the bottom of the pile are the Venezuelan oil workers. Creole's total wage and salary payments came to only 24 cents per barrel, which amounts to 0.6 cents per gallon of petrol—or kerosene.

A big slash in Venezuelan price came in 1958 and 1959. Since 1959 the fall was 44 cents, or one-sixth. The exploitation of Venezuelan labour also increased. Between 1959 and 1963 wage and salary payments by Creole Petroleum declined slightly, while the number of barrels of oil increased by 19 per cent, and the admitted value of the oil increased 15 per cent.

The robbery of the Arab countries of the Middle East is at least as severe.

During the nineteenth century the Rockfellers rose to parity with the Morgans as rulers of America through economic and political power battles conducted with exceptional ruthlessness.

For decades John D. Rockefeller's close personal associates, Hanns and Aldrich, completely ran the Republican Party, and much of the time the government in Washington.

Vanguard of US Imperialism

During the twentieth century, as American imperialism expanded abroad, the Rockefeller-Standard Oil crowd was in the van. ESSO alone accounted for 40 per cent of the US \$1,654 million and over one-fifth of the foreign income of all US corporations, in 1963.

Corresponding to the growing economic importance of oil, and the tremendous foreign expansion of their holdings, the Rockefeller Standard Oil group has increased its general economic and political role in the US, especially in the foreign and military affairs of US territories of state, Dulles, Herter and Rusk have all had close Rockefeller ties.

With the same ruthlessness that the founders of the house used to buy up legislature and

NEHRU, AS SEEN THROUGH HIS WRITINGS AND SPEECHES

NEHRU—THE FIRST SIXTY YEARS, selected from his writings and speeches and edited with a commentary by Dorothy Norman, vols. 1 and 2, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1965, Price: Rs. 60 for the set.

NEHRU ON SOCIALISM, selected speeches and writings, published by the Perspective Publications, New Delhi, 1964, Price: Rs. 4.

NEHRU AND AFRICA: EXTRACTS FROM JAWAHARLAL NEHRU'S SPEECHES ON AFRICA FROM 1946 TO 1963, published by the Indian Council for Africa, New Delhi, 1964, Price: Rs. 3.

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU—CONGRESSMEN'S PRIMER FOR SOCIALISM; compiled by H. D. Malaviya, Socialist Congress Publications, Price: Rs. 5.

THE GENTLE COLOSSUS—A STUDY OF NEHRU by Hiren Mukerjee, published by Manisha Granthalaya, Calcutta, 1964, Price: Rs. 15.

A LARGE number of biographies of Nehru and selections from his writings have been published during the one year since the fateful May 27, 1964.

While the complex character of Nehru does not lend itself easily either to straight forward political interpretation or psychological analysis, and we must wait for some time before there is a definitive biography of Nehru, these selections from Nehru's writings have been useful in reminding the world about some of his basic principles and policies which this country (and the world) can abandon only at its peril.

These are economic development and social justice and secularism at home and an external policy based on the awareness that Indian independence is a part of the world struggle against colonialism and imperialism which can be secured only under conditions of world peace. There is also a running thread of the idea of socialism permeating all Nehru's speeches and writings (even more so in the earlier period) which forms the basic core of his fundamental rationalism and a scientific world outlook as applied to social and human affairs.

Nehru's Philosophy

A firm faith in the efficacy and usefulness of collective effort for the solution of social ills, an abiding confidence in the inherent reasonableness of man, that the right solution once sought and found through a rational analysis will receive the support of the great majority of the people, that existing prejudices and superstitions, however strong, can be fought out if the people are taken into confidence and explained the whole truth; that even difficult theories and ideas, if relevant to the problems affecting the lives of the people, can be explained to them and will receive their response in adequate measure.

These are some of the obvious characteristic features of Nehru the democrat and the great lover of the people of India which are further underlined in the reader's mind on reading any of these selections from Nehru.

While Nehru's own writings are the best source of information on him, and his Autobiography so far has been the best among them, the two volumes of his writings and speeches dealing with the first sixty years of his life edited by Dorothy Norman are definitely the best literature now available on Nehru.

His greatest historical achievement in the early period was the replacement of dominion status by complete independence as the ultimate aim of the Congress. This was the period when he made use of organisations like the Naujawan Sabha, the All-India Trade Union Congress, the Youth Congress, the Kisan Sabha etc., to spread his political ideas and to take the Congress organisation deep into the people.

This was also the period when he developed and maintained wide contacts with anti-imperialist, anti-colonial movements in different parts of the world and international organisations like the International League Against Imperialism.

The other great contribution of Nehru during this period was the broad international outlook that the Indian national movement was enabled to develop under his leadership. He fought against the narrow view of some sections of nationalist opinion which considered enemies of India's enemy (Britain) as India's friends.

As against this erroneous and superficial view he saw Indian problems and the Indian struggle as a part of world movements and problems and with his wide international contacts made the rest of the world conscious of India's struggles.

It is in this process that the future foreign policy of independent India was shaped during the 1930's and it was essentially Nehru's policy. His contribution towards appreciating the impact of the emergence of the Soviet Union and the need for collective security against fascism, his definition of independence in

terms of socialism for the people and the introduction of the concept of planning—these are among his important legacies to modern India.

As for the historic weaknesses of Nehru, that he was not an organiser, that he remained satisfied with his general leadership over the Congress movement and did not form any ideological group within the broad movement to work out and implement his ideas, that he did not even make adequate use of his overwhelming prestige among the masses as well as within the movement to fight the machinations of the reactionary elements who started veering towards the Congress as independence came near and ultimately came to occupy such commanding position over the party machinery—all this is discussed by Hiren Mukerjee in his charming biography.

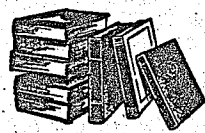
Work Of Love

It has been remarked that love is not because of any desirable qualities in the object of ones love but essentially 'in spite of' all its weaknesses; this book essentially is a work of love and gives expression with an almost poetic tendencies to the essentially charming, civilised, humane, character of the brave knight of unsullied character and of pure heart, the lonely hero who had still miles to go and who loved India with all his heart and whom the people of India returned their love in such limitless measure.

The "Congressmen's Primer for Socialism" and "Nehru on Socialism" are selections from Nehru's writings on socialism.

The first one consists of chapters extracted from the "Glimpses of World History" (mostly giving Nehru's views on world history), from "Whither India", the Azad memorial lectures and some of his articles published in the AICC Economic Review.

—BAREN RAY



BOOK REVIEW

Through a careful selection of the most pertinent, memorable and interesting of Nehru's writings, the two volumes show the essential development of the political thought of this great statesman. No such chronological presentation has been available until now. The editor has also provided commentaries which give the necessary background information and link the extracts together and is indeed the result of the most painstaking research and devotion to the subject.

The first volume covers the period from 1899, the year of Nehru's birth to 1939, the beginning of the second world war. The volume begins with his reminiscences of his early life, his disagreements with the views of the early leaders of Congress, both the moderates and the liberals, and his acceptance of the dynamic leadership of Mahatma Gandhi which not only brought a "powerful current of fresh air" but also introduced a fearless boldness into the national movement, a regular programme of action and with the first non-violent non-cooperation movement of 1920 brought in a flood-stream of mass participation into a movement which had been confined to the upper classes till then.

But while Nehru plunged into this movement, and this was the point of no return in his life, beginning with his sharp criticism of Gandhiji on the latter's withdrawal of the struggle after the Chauri-Chaura incident, Nehru's disagreements and criticisms of Gandhiji were continued on a whole range of fundamental issues while accepting his supreme leadership of the Indian national movement.

On the mixing of religion and politics; on accepting non-violence as a creed; on Gandhiji's use of political fast as a method of struggle—thus implicitly calling upon the people to look upto the Mahatma to perform the miracle rather than rousing their own consciousness and organisation leading to popular action—on all these issues Nehru's ideas were sharp and clear and developed a consistent body of political thought and came to independent conclusions.

It is an excellent selection specially because it represents socialism not as an alien western idea but as something relevant to India's historic development through the ages linking the modern scientific mode of thought with the humanist trends in Indian thought.

One wishes that the volume will really become essential reading for Congressmen. The introductory note by Gulzarilal Nanda and the foreword by Indira Gandhi should ensure its large circulation.

However the book lacks any annotation or reference and also misses many of the important speeches of Nehru on the subject of socialism.

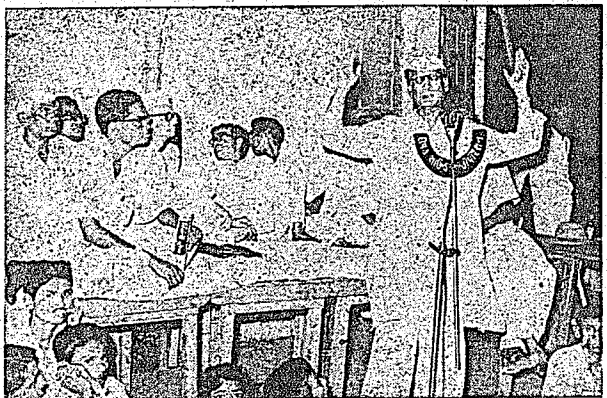
The other book "Nehru on Socialism" was published soon after Nehru's death but is the better selection as far as expressing Nehru's ideas on the basis of socialism, it being the only possible solution of the problems of today's world.

It includes some of his famous speeches of the 1930s in which Nehru first introduced these ideas into the Congress movement.

The illustrated brochure published by the Indian Council for Africa giving extracts from Nehru's speeches on Africa brings out Nehru's historical sense that made him see the rise of Africa and its increasing influence in world affairs.

By collecting these brief extracts mostly from parliamentary proceedings, the brochure gives an idea of the development of Nehru's views.

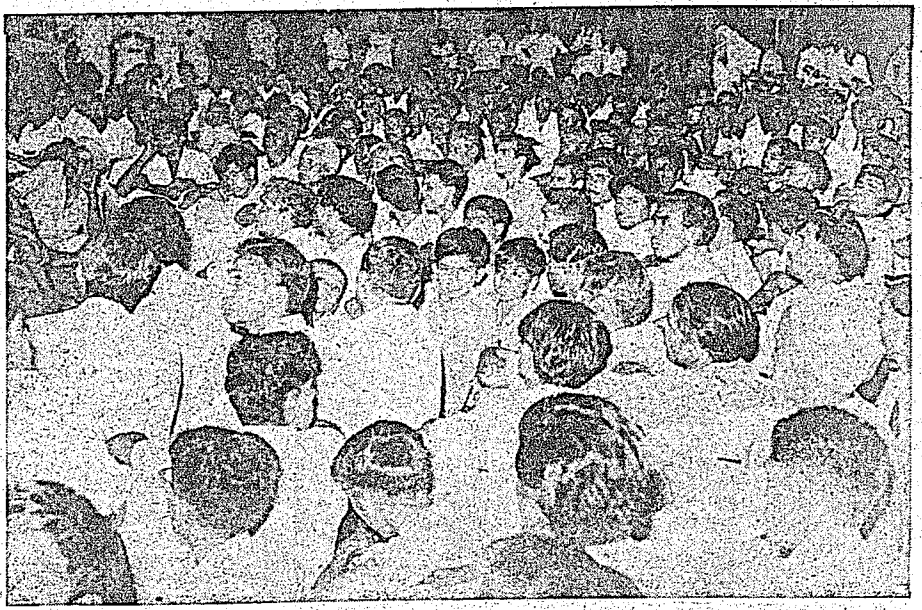
Apart from problems of a general nature, like racialism, colonialism, white rule and Indian minorities in Africa, the brochure also covers his views on the Algerian struggle, Angola, the Congo strife, Ghana, Nigeria, Southern Rhodesia etc.



ACTION WEEK IN AHMEDABAD

A big mass rally was held in Ahmedabad on May 16 to conclude the Action Week observed in response to the call of the National Council of the Communist Party of India.

The main speaker at the public meeting was Z. A. Ahmad, member of the central secretariat of the CPI. Picture on left shows Ahmad speaking at the rally, a view of which is seen below.



The Preparatory Committee for the World Congress for Peace, National Independence and General Disarmament concluded a two-day session in the beautiful city of Helsinki—capital of nonaligned Finland on May 23. Nearly sixty representatives from all the continents, acting on behalf of several international and national organisations, met in a business-like atmosphere and took decisions of the greatest importance.

THE agenda, programme and standing orders for the Congress, were discussed in detail and adopted in an atmosphere of friendship and determination to make the coming world assembly a most powerful contribution to the struggle against imperialism and war.

Each one of those present realised that in view of the most recent events in the international field, particularly the US aggression in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic, the World Congress had assumed a new and urgent significance, quite apart from the immense contribution which such a Congress would in any case make to the cause of peace and national independence.

The Preparatory Committee decided that the first report to be presented to the congress would deal with Vietnam and would be made by a representative of the Vietnamese people. There would be a special commission set up to discuss this report and adopt appropriate decisions.

While the second main report will cover the entire question of the liberation of peoples still under colonial domination, and the maintenance of national sovereignty and its defence against encroachment—there will be a special co-report particularly dealing with the Dominican Republic.

Thus the urgent questions of Vietnam and the Dominican

WORLDWIDE ACTION ON VIETNAM AND DOMINICA

Republic will be at the head of the agenda, together with the other problems of national independence and the struggles against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

Other reports decided upon by the Preparatory Committee include those on questions concerning the most urgent problems of disarmament—the banning of nuclear weapons and tests, opposition to nuclear proliferation, nuclear free zones and removal of foreign bases and foreign troops and a treaty on general disarmament; the problem of European security and the German problem; economic sovereignty of nations and freedom for them to determine their own pattern of economic development and trade, and international cooperation; social and economic consequences of the arms race; conversion of war production into peace production; apartheid, racism and violation of human rights; universality and reform of the United Nations, the structure and work of international bodies; creation of an atmosphere favourable

for peace; culture, religion and education in the service of peace; active co-operation between peace organisations.

While the main points of the agenda remained essentially those already decided upon in the previous meeting of peace-forces held in Brussels in April—one extremely significant addition made by the Preparatory Committee, on an Indian proposal, is that of "the contribution of non-

the agenda, stressed how the inclusion of this item would give a special impetus to preparatory work for the congress in several non-aligned countries.

The Congress programme has been framed in the light of the decision to make the congress a really working congress with the discussion taking place in commissions and not in plenary sessions. Thus instead of a great

regrettable attitude taken by the Chinese delegates at the Preparatory Committee meeting.

They insisted on pressing to the vote every issue—the subjects for reports, the designation of reporters, each item of the standing orders, each day's programme.

And in each case they insisted on recording a contrary vote—almost EVERY time alone—against the combined view of all others present (on a few issues, the Indonesian delegate also voted with the Chinese, but in the vast majority of cases, only the Chinese hands went up to record their opposition to everybody else!)

The attitude taken by the Chinese delegates appeared to be one of opposing everything which was agreed upon by others. They tried to make appeals to the "unity of Asia and Africa and Latin America" to divide the meeting. But they failed completely.

All the delegates from these continents—and they included, besides India, those from Ghana, Guinea, Senegal, Algeria, UAR, Japan, Brazil, Chile and Columbia—firmly rejected the Chinese line and voted down everyone of the disruptive proposals put forward by the Chinese representatives.

What did the Chinese 'oppose'? They opposed any discussion on disarmament; they violently attacked the proposal to discuss efforts to make the United Nations universal and reform its structure; they opposed discussion on the social and economic consequences of the arms race; they opposed the emphasis on discussion in commissions; they opposed the inclusion of the words 'general disarmament' in the title of the congress.

Worst of all were the speeches made by the Chinese delegates in which they abusively attacked the Soviet Union and the World Council of Peace in particular. All the worst passages from the filthy polemics of the Chinese leadership were trotted out in torrents, any excuse being good enough to accuse the Soviet Union of "collaborating with imperialism" and all the rest of that kind of gibberish.

Presiding over the concluding sessions of the Preparatory Committee, the Indian delegate earnestly appealed for the cooperation of all to make the congress a success, in the interests of the common struggle. It was obvious that these remarks were directed primarily at the Chinese delegates. One can only hope that the appeal does not fall on deaf ears.

Helsinki Peace Congress : Agenda, Programme Finalised

by **ROMESH CHANDRA**

alignment to the struggle for peace and national independence".

This will be the first international conference of this magnitude to emphasise the value of the policy of nonalignment, and the discussion is bound to be of considerable interest. Delegates from the United Arab Republic, Yugoslavia and other countries, who supported the Indian proposal for the addition to

deal of time being spent in plenary sessions, where only prepared speeches are normally read out—real exchange of views can take place in the commissions.

Another obvious value of the stress on commissions is that a very much larger number of participants will be able to speak and express their opinions.

The very first day of the congress (July 10), will be observed as Vietnam Day with a public meeting and the showing of films of Vietnam.

July 11 will be devoted to hearing the main reports on the various issues in plenary sessions.

The countries which will make these reports have already been designated and include Vietnam, Algeria, Australia, India, Poland, one of the Latin American countries, the Soviet Union, South Africa, France and Britain for the ten main reports.

From July 12 to July 14, work will proceed in commissions. The last day (July 15) will be devoted to hearing the reports of the commissions in plenary session, and adopting such documents as are put up for approval by the presiding committee of the congress on which all countries and all international organisations will have representatives.

The most heartening part of the Preparatory Committee's deliberations was the support extended to the Congress by the government and people of Finland. The President of Finland received a delegation of the committee at his residence, and assured his complete support. An appeal supporting the Congress has been signed by the Foreign Minister, the Interior Minister and several other Ministers, the Deputy Presidents of Parliament and many MPs, by the Lord Mayor of Helsinki and the most distinguished men and women in all fields of life.

It is necessary to say a word at the end about the

NON-COAL MINERS TO MEET : Rajhara June 12-13

By OUR STAFF CORRESPONDENT

An All-India convention of workers in non-coal mines will be held at the Rajhara mines on June 12 and 13. It has been convened by the Indian Mine Workers' Federation.

The convention would review the developments in the iron ore, limestone, dolomite, copper, gold and other metalliferous mines and plan for all-India action to realise demands.

Problems in non-coal mines are in many respects identical with those in coal mines.

In non-coal mines, whether they be in the public sector or the private sector, there are two types of workers, namely departmental and contract. The contract labour is the most exploited section of workers and are compelled to live in sub-human conditions.

The third session of the non-coal mines industrial committee in October 1962 unanimously decided to abolish contract labour system in the mines. The Union Labour Ministry gave an assurance to implement this decision by March 31, 1963.

No progress has been made so far in this direction though the workers have staged big protest actions over the issue.

For example, in the Bhilai Steel Plant mines, the contract workers are flouting the Mines Act, minimum wages and employment are not protected, interim wage increase granted by the Iron Ore and Limestone and Dolomite wage boards has not been paid, medical and accommodation facilities are denied.

And yet, the BSP management is not prepared to bring pressure on the contractors to implement these provisions nor to scrap the contract system in the mines.

Majority of the workers in non-coal mines in both the sectors are denied proper medical facilities. For contract labour, it is normally an unknown subject.

First aid equipment is not kept properly and regular aid is not available. In case of major accidents, if the trade unions are not watchful, the miners are left uncared for.

The problem of accommodation in the non-coal mine areas is more horrible than in the coal mines. Majority of miners in Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and Bihar have to face an acute shortage of housing.

Thousands of miners under the contractors have to live with their families in self-made bamboo huts. During the monsoons life becomes absolutely difficult in these huts.

The standardisation of the wage structure and the protection of minimum wages are the basic problems in non-coal mines. The wage boards have fixed the minimum wage for the unskilled workers at Rs. 2.50.

When the rising prices and the high cost of living is taken into consideration, this rate can only be termed too meagre.

But the majority of the mines in both sectors and the contractors have not deemed it fit either to pay the minimum wage or the interim relief.

The daily rated workers are deprived of not only the dearness allowance benefit but also the benefit of mining allowance.

In the BSP mines, the time-rated workers are granted five paid festival holidays. But for daily-rated and piece-rated workers, both departmental and contract, holidays are just non-existent.

Even for getting such holidays as January 26, August 15 and Gandhi Jayanti, the workers have to agitate every time. When this is the case of festival holidays, what to talk about earned leave, medical leave and casual leave!

All these problems will be discussed in the convention and suitable steps to realise the workers' demands drawn up.

The government has plans of expanding the iron and steel industry very rapidly in the coming years.

But unless the miners are given at least the minimum living wages and facilities, it certainly is going to be a big effort to realize the targetted production.

For, production can be increased only when the productivity of the worker increases and that can be achieved only with a contented worker.

W. BENGAL YOUTH FESTIVAL BEGINS

GALA ASSEMBLY OF NEW GENERATION

From SUBIR GHOSH

CALCUTTA: The Sixth West Bengal Youth Festival began here on May 22 at the Ranji Stadium. It will conclude on May 30.

A COLOURFUL youth peace parade of 2,000 young men and women was held in the afternoon of May 22 to mark the opening of the youth festival. The demonstrators, carrying the colourful banners and flags of the festival, passed through important roads of the city before converging on the festival grounds.

"Long Live World Peace", "Down With US Imperialism" and "Hands Off Vietnam" were some of the slogans most frequently heard in the demonstration. Other slogans demanded more democratic rights, education and employment for youth.

Sushil Chakraborty, general secretary of the festival preparatory committee, hoisted the festival flag. The festival began with the singing of the national anthem and the international youth song. Roma Chowdhury, who inaugurated the festival, congratulated the festival committee for organising such a big convocation of young people. She spoke on the important role of the youth in building a society of progress and general advancement of the people.

Vivekananda Mukherjee, eminent journalist and president of the festival preparatory committee, called on the youth to resolutely stand against imperialism, to ensure a happy and peaceful development in every country.

He recalled the horrors of the last world war and urged the youth to ensure that these would not be allowed to happen again.

He mentioned the glorious role of the Soviet Union in combating fascism in Europe and presenting a new social system before the people of the world, against exploitation and misrule and for a happy and rapid development of nations.

Mukherjee was sharply critical of the present US aggression on

Vietnam and demanded immediate, unconditional withdrawal of US troops from Vietnam.

He mentioned the growing national liberation struggles in Africa and rejoiced over the fact that for the first time a world youth festival was going to be held in an African country.

"The world youth festival in Algeria will make new bridges of friendship in the present world context", he said and added that the world democratic youth movement had an important role to discharge in promoting peace and friendship.

Mass drill, physical feats and cultural items were included in the programme on the inaugural day, which lent colour and gaiety to the function.

A group of boys wanted to disrupt the festival programme by shouting slogans demanding release of detenus and scrapping of the DIR though it had been unanimously agreed upon earlier not to raise these slogans at the festival.

The festival had a broader perspective and was participated in by young people of various shades of opinion, and so it was decided that no controversial political issues should be brought into the programme of the festival.

The disruptors shouted slogans, rushed to the dais and snatched away the mike from the announcer. There was some confusion for some time, but after some time, the situation came under control and the programme proceeded smoothly.

Messages from Vice-President Zakir Hussain, the committee of Soviet Youth Organisations, the Ambassador of Algeria in India and the Vice-Chancellors of Calcutta, Burdwan and North Bengal universities were read out at the inaugural function.



A section of the demonstration in Calcutta

Tentacles of Oil Monopoly Spread Far and Wide

FROM PAGE 11

Delta is now in the hands of courts and control top federal offices, the third generation and their associates buy and manipulate governments in oil-rich and potentially oil-rich countries. And they have at their disposal the multiplied military power of the US government, and its vast centralised financial resources.

From the organisation of cold war against Hungary and Rumania for nationalising Standard Oil holdings, through the Truman Doctrine occupation of Greece and Turkey and establishment of bases in Arabia in order to capture the oil of the Middle East, through the breaking of diplomatic relations with Cuba following nationalisation of refineries, right up to the conduct of the dirty war in South Vietnam, where Standard Oil is the largest beneficiary of "foreign aid" orders — the Rockefeller-Standard Oil interests run as a red thread through the aggressive course of US imperialism.

In Rumania and in Cuba, when faced with government measures limiting its profits, Standard-Oil conducted economic sabotage with the expectation of then getting sufficient US government assistance to overthrow the offending governments and instal suitable puppets.

This tactic failed in Rumania and Cuba, as it is tending to fail in more and more countries. But so far Standard Oil ruthlessness has held sway in Venezuela, which by now has been enslaved by Standard Oil for nearly forty years.

Role In Venezuela

The role of Standard Oil in Venezuelan affairs is amply admitted by A. A. Berle Jr. a Rockefeller apologist, in his book, "The 20th Century Capitalist Revolution." He declares:

"In certain parts of the world an American corporation must do its business frankly and openly with the foreign government...deal directly with the competent authorities of these states..."

According to Berle, the financial arrangements between the US oil companies and the Venezuelan government were personally supervised by Nelson Rockefeller.

"Some companies with large and widespread overseas interests frequently maintain their own resident or travelling diplomats. Emphasis is given to cultivating personal relations with the proper officials in governments both in America and abroad."

Berle praises these operations of American corporations as having "more nearly achieved a stable and working world government than has yet been achieved by any other institution. The outstanding illustration is the case of the oil industry."

Major Reservation

But he admits "one major reservation" to such "foreign relations": "The management of an American corporation in conducting them is using its power abso-lutely." This sometimes reaches the point of outright conflict, whereupon the US government is called upon to bail out the corporation.

As the stakes become larger, and the opposition stronger, the oil trust turns more and more to the government, including the notorious CIA, that new tool of international piracy fashioned by American imperialism.

In the last two years important sections of American big business have been impelled by the changing balance of world forces, and the devastating possibilities of nuclear weapons, to move towards somewhat more restraint in a foreign policy which remains essentially aggressive.

The Rockefellers have lagged behind in this shift striving to continue the more rabid brinksmanship of the Dulles era. Ironically Nelson Rockefeller personally was beaten at the Republican presidential nomination by forces representing still more extreme and reckless positions—but it must be noted that Rockefeller's own policies did much to

create the environment in which a Goldwater could flourish.

The balance of world forces is shifting remorselessly against the Standard Oil Empire. The rapidly growing Soviet oil industry provides an alternate source of supply, and is starting to break the world oil monopoly. The powerful oil equipment industry and technical know-how accumulated in the socialist countries gives underdeveloped nations means for finding and processing their own petroleum. Growing world forces for peace, including in the US, make it harder for Washington to throw its military weight in the scales on behalf of Standard Oil.

In Ceylon, India, Indonesia, UAR and Italy, to take but a few examples, oil cartel enterprises have been nationalised or government-owned enterprises established to compete with them.

The Soviet-manned and equipped school for oil technicians in Algeria and the Libyan action to force the ultimate closing of Anglo-US military bases there, signal the maturing of the fight against the oil cartel in North Africa.

In Latin America, Mexico's successful pre-war defiance of the cartel long remained an isolated case. But now Cuba has nationalised oil installations in a general programme of socialisation. Argentina and Peru have taken timid steps to restrict the foreign oil companies. It remains to be seen whether the US-sponsored dictatorship in Brazil will be able to reverse the trend to nationalisation in that country represented by PETROBRAS.

Ultimately, Venezuela and the Middle East are the two most crucial fronts of the struggle between the Standard Oil-led international cartel and the peoples striving to reclaim their own resources and to guide the destinies of their own countries towards peace and socialism.

Experiences of recent years show the extreme difficulty and complexity of this struggle—conducted against the immensely powerful oil cartel and its governments. But there can be but one ultimate outcome—the victory of the people.

(PRENSA LATINA)



"The Johnson administration looks a little like those popular cartoons of the President himself—the two-gun Texas Ranger, the impulsive giant, tough, restless, fitful and unpredictable."

THIS is how James Reston of NEW YORK TIMES described the US President's recent role. And it did fit Johnson to the boot.

A sober, rational and farsighted foreign policy was never a strong point with the US Administration after Truman was chosen as President.

The Kennedy era ended much too soon to provide a firm basis for the correct appraisal of his policies which sought to round off the edges of the ugly American image.

Nonetheless, Kennedy was understandable and his policy was linked with his concern of ensuring that the US remained untouched domestically between the thick and thin of US political manoeuvres. To top it all, he in fact represented the American capital which is home-based.

Johnson is just the opposite of what Kennedy was. He is closely linked up with those American cartels whose main business is overseas, mainly in oil. Hence he has to consider their interest as predominant.

Johnson therefore has not only veered away from the path followed by Kennedy but actually rejected it. From him the threat of force to world is no longer implied, but real and explicit.

What is happening in the Dominican Republic and in Vietnam is proof of this explicit threat of force. This is US speaking the primordial language with no burden on its conscience and unconcerned about repercussions.

Johnson today is a virtual dictator seeking "okay" from the Senate only as a matter of formality. The impression sought to be created is that he follows what is described as "consensus". This has become a tired joke in Washington, writes Washington correspondent of London OBSERVER.

Under Johnson's dispensation, the US has not only endangered peace throughout the world and brought bloody war and strife in many a country, but has also become the biggest "merchant of death." NEW YORK TIMES disclosed on May 25 that the US now is "the biggest arms merchant in the world" with annual sales of \$1,500 million.

Among the countries to which it sells its arms are Israel, South Africa, Rhodesia, Portugal, etc. Against whom these arms are used? Perhaps, the answer is too clear to be stated. In addition, free arms are supplied to those countries where puppet governments subservient to US Administration have already been set up.

The only reassuring factor for the world against the mad drive of Johnson is the slow but steady crystallisation of democratic opinions in favour of peace in the US itself which cry halt to this irresponsible adventure.

A realisation of the dangers involved can alone stave off a catastrophe which will inevitably be risked by other countries as a last measure to stop by force the US use of force. But this prospect is grim beyond imagination considering the thermo-nuclear holocaust it will entail.

President Johnson's all-out 'action' to contain communism is the bane of his foreign policy. He neither understands history nor wishes to learn any objective lesson from the events.

For example, speaking on May 8 on the anniversary of the defeat of fascism, he glibly asserted that "when the dawn arrived, 20 years ago today, it was a grey dawn" because "the shadow of Soviet ambition fell across the face of Europe."

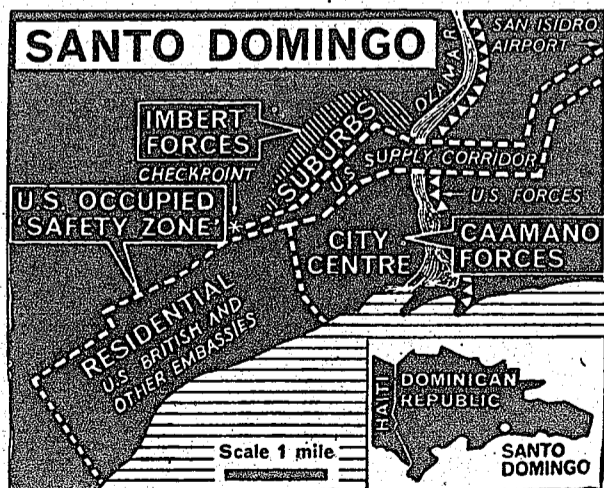
This is not only perversion of history but a deliberate canard to poison the minds of American people. For who among the ordinary people would remember today that US President Franklin D. Roosevelt wrote on the same subject precisely just in opposite terms?

Roosevelt wrote that the eternal honour and glory for the defeat of fascism go to the Red Army and to the people of Soviet Union who wrote immortal pages in the history of the struggle against tyranny and oppression. Their example and selflessness are an inspiration to all the forces united in the joint struggle for victory.

Johnson's own strategy, his resort to palpable subterfuge and blatant use of force to endeavour to do away with anything which does not follow the set American pattern show him up in his true colours.

Dominican Republic: US Backs Imbert Junta

THE United States purposes "are for the purpose of helping to preserve for the people of their nation their right to choose their own government free of outside



interference", claimed Thomas C. Mann US Under-Secretary of State dittoing the line set out by President Johnson.

This explanation is so clearly untrue that even NEW YORK TIMES editorially commented

TEXAS RANGER SHOOTS HIS WAY

on May 22-23 that "this is exactly what the Dominicans have not been allowed to do."

The US plan of action is linked up with the objective of not allowing at any cost the establishment of a government democratically elected by the people in the Dominican Republic.

The US backed the military junta of Imbert as against the "constitutional" government of Caamano. US marines ravaged the city of Santo Domingo and helped Imbert's men to attack Caamano's supporters. At the same time, they ensured that Caamano did not get any opportunity to adequately retaliate against Imbert.

But the US is not only not impeding the advance of the Junta forces, it is "visibly aiding" them.

The US marines and paratroopers took a very active part in these battles. "The US troops", reports a NEW YORK HERALD-TRIBUNE correspondent from Santo Domingo, "are rendering direct and indirect support to the troops of Gen. Imberts junta... US officials still continue to deny the fact that the US troops are supporting the junta, but the officers in the battle zone say that they received orders to open fire at any rebel who tries to impede the progress of the junta detachments. Today the US troops opened fire at the positions of rebels an endless number of times."

It is reported from Santo Domingo that in a single day 100 people were killed and thousands were wounded there. Artillery and tank fire has destroyed many houses. There are women and children dying.

US marines shot down a number of people in the area held by the Caamano government. Among those killed is Minister of Justice, Rafael Dominguez, a fact admitted by US representative at the Security Council.

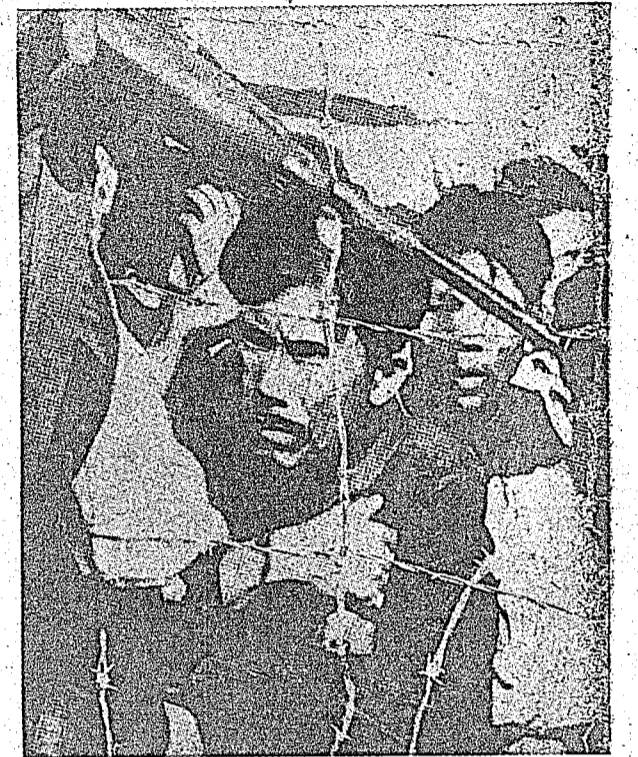
The forces led by President Caamano are showing great restraint since they have not attacked the Americans anywhere despite being attacked. They are only seeking the help of the United Nations to help the Dominican people solve their domestic problem without the US intervention.

This is what the UN must longer hold the tide of freedom back in South Vietnam. The marines will add to the rush of the tide and no amount of force will be able to stem it.

Reports, neither confirmed nor denied officially, point out that by the end of next month the total US forces in South Vietnam would be brought up to 100,000 adequately supported by arms, ammunitions and all types of transport including bombers.

It is clear what the US is preparing for. It is a losing battle it is waging in South Vietnam; the Vietcong is holding initiative all along the Delta zone and areas near Saigon. Massive raids are being carried out inflicting heavy losses on the American side.

Dalat is now in the hands of the Vietcong and the pre-monsoon rains helped to cut off all approaches to the city from Saigon. The 46,500 US soldiers in South Vietnam and 27,000 on board the warships of the 7th Fleet can no



Menaced by a rifle (made in the US), behind barbed wire (made in the US), South Vietnamese Liberation fighters in the Cat-Cat concentration camp await the fate of men who dared to fight for their country's freedom. But this will not continue for ever.

Vietnam: New Phase Begins

WITH the latest US bombing round-the-clock on North Vietnam, close to its capital Hanoi, the area of war has now been further extended.

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Cyprus: Fight Starts Again

A SERIES of skirmishes between the Cyprus government troops and the Turk's broke out again on May 23.

Although, no solution has been found of the Cypriot problem as such, an uneasy but somewhat stable peace had been established in Cyprus.

The latest incidents only pinpoint the necessity to quickly solve the problem instead of allowing it to hang fire.

The UN team presently stationed in Cyprus therefore cannot go on performing police duties only. The UN must solve the issue of nationalities which had been posing quite a problem in Cyprus, particularly because of the instigation of the imperialists.

(May 25) —SADHAN MUKHERJEE



A picture from the reportage Cyprus 1964, which was awarded the Grand Prix at the World Press Photo exhibition at the Hague.

SHASTRI VISIT TO SOVIET UNION

* From Page 10

and both would follow this path firmly.

Shastri made his speech dressed in Uzbek National costume and cap which were presented to him. "A strange love and affection is being born in my heart as I love your country", said the Indian Prime Minister, much moved by the sincerity and warmth that surrounded him. He was given a hearty send off at the airport and the Indian guests were loaded with bouquets of flowers.

The joint communique issued in Moscow and Delhi called this historic and far-reaching visit "an important milestone in the further development of friendly relations and mutual understanding between India and USSR".

A PRAVDA comment on May 21 said that the success of the visit and its palpable important results would cer-

tainly give new strength to those national circles which struggle for a continuation of the Nehru line.

PRAVDA mentioned the fact that recently Indian reaction in union with US imperialists increased the pressure on the Indian government to get concessions for local and foreign monopolies and to abandon policies of peace and peaceful co-existence, anti imperialism and anti-colonialism. With this aim in view, reaction had launched an attack on Shastri in person, to discredit him.

Observers here feel that after Shastri's return, reactionary circles will leave no stones unturned to undo the beneficial results of the visit. All progressive, patriotic people will see to it that they are maintained and gains of the deep understanding of India's position and the personal contacts established in the USSR are further developed.

PRICES MOVE UP AGAIN, SCARCITY ALSO

Madhya Pradesh : Govt Appeasing Traders

From B. K. Gupta

ASSAM: BUMPER CROP BUT NO STOCKS IN FOODGRAIN SHOPS

From Madhusudan Bhattacharya

SHILLONG: Monsoon is about to set in Assam. Monsoon is a lean period when prices of rice and other food articles go up. But this year the government maintained that there was "bumper production" and there was enough of "surplus". The government gave the impression that there was no danger of scarcity this year.

IN SPITE of these claims of the government, reports have been coming of sudden spurt in prices of foodstuffs particularly rice. In Garo hills, for instance, rice has been selling earlier at 82 paise a kilogram. Finer varieties sell at prices varying between Rs. 1.12 to Rs. 1.25 a kilogram.

According to available reports even at this price the supply of rice in the open market is erratic.

The authorised dealers in government-supplied rice maintain that they do not get their allotted quota regularly from the distribution centres and so they cannot maintain a regular flow of supply.

Even in the rural areas rice is selling at the whole-sale rate of about Rs. 36 a maund. According to the local people the price of rice in Garo hills never before shot up as high as at present.

Not only rice, but many other essential commodities have become scarce, with consequent rise in prices. Vegetables, fish and similar items are selling at prices beyond the purchasing capacity of the low and middle income groups of people. Baby food is now a luxury for the low and middle income groups.

While the prices have been rising, the Supply Minister has been making "appeals" to the traders to refrain from doing anything that might create a serious situation. People here believe that these appeals will fall on deaf ears, as has happened in the past. Along with these appeals the Supply Minister "assured" the people that the government had enough stocks to meet any emergency. He also said that if the situation so warranted, the state government might arrange supply of rice from the central stock before the monsoon set in.

But the experience of last year was that at the beginning the government made similar appeals to the traders and assured the people that there would not be any difficulty. But yet by the middle of the year there appeared an acute

scarcity and prices shot up abnormally.

People therefore feel worried that this year also a similar situation might arise if the government would not shake off its complacency before the situation went beyond control.

The Supply Minister himself admitted indirectly that the available stock was not being distributed equitably, at reasonable prices.

It is also noted that so far only 57 per cent of the target of procurement has been fulfilled, according to official sources. The government has in its stock about 22 lakh maunds of paddy.

It is being indicated that the government has now been counting upon the "ahu" (summer paddy) which is to

be harvested after another couple of months. The government's calculation is that with the available stock, the state can pull on till "ahu" crop was harvested.

But observers point out that the prospect of "ahu" paddy is unpredictable. An unusually heavy rainfall and other vagaries of nature may completely upset the government's calculation.

Besides, defects in storage system and other bunglings often lead to a wastage of considerable quantity of stock with the government.

Considering all these factors, it is felt that the government should wake up to the disturbing prospect of a severe scarcity and make provisions against any possible worsening of the situation.

It is being pointed out that as soon as the Indo-Pak border in Assam sector warmed up, stocks of various commodities began to disappear from open market and prices began to shoot up. This clearly indicates the manipulation of the unscrupulous traders.

BHOPAL: The Madhya Pradesh government's policy of appeasement towards big traders and big kisans has brought a serious wheat crisis in the state.

THE state government decided a few months ago to resort to partial state-trading in wheat and also to fix the price of wheat.

However, the government did not enter the market or fix the price till April 13 though new crops had started arriving in the market from the second week of March.

This gap gave the traders sufficient time to corner the stocks and defeat the aim of the government.

The price policy of the government itself was topsyturvy. The prices fixed by the government were higher than those prevailing in the open market. Instead of announcing the support price, the government fixed the maximum prices.

The traders and big kisans seized the opportunity and raised the prices overnight. Another result was the complete disappearance of wheat from the market for some time.

This policy of price fixation of the Madhya Pradesh government was so patently absurd that even the Union Food Minister criticised it.

The government has divided the state into wheat-producing and non-wheat-producing areas. The division is based on revenue districts which are unnatural and do not take into consideration the flow of market bypassing the barriers of revenue districts.

Such a division naturally has

created a strange situation. The traders and big kisans brought pressure on the government by not bringing wheat into the mandis and the government had to bow down by announcing further rise in prices.

Again, the government decided to build a buffer stock of wheat by taking over 40 per cent of the wheat stocks with the traders. While taking this decision the government overlooked the possibility that big kisans could sell wheat directly to the consumers.

The traders intervened and asked the big kisans to hold back the stocks and not to bring them into the mandis. The traders advanced money to the kisans for this purpose.

Ultimately, State Food Minister Gautam Sharma had to say that the big kisans were responsible for the present crisis. He announced that if the producers did not bring wheat into the market, the government would requisition the stocks directly from them.

But the warning remained just a warning. No steps were taken to requisition the stocks with the result that the big kisans are hoarding the wheat and selling it directly to the consumers at high prices.

The Madhya Pradesh state council of the CPI has said that the present crisis has shown that half-hearted measures would not help solve the food crisis. Only if the government took over the foodgrains trade can the problem be solved.

BIHAR SMARTS UNDER FOOD CRISIS WHILE CONGRESS NEROES PLAY

From K. Gopalan

PATNA: While attention of the people of the country as a whole was centred around the developments on our borders and people of Bihar were smarting under the heavy pressure of the galloping prices and scarcity of foodgrains, the ruling Congress Party in the state held a political conference at Hazaribagh with royal pomp and splendour.

THIS was an effort on the part of the ruling group to demonstrate that Bihar Congress under the leadership of Chief Minister K. B. Sahay had been able to consolidate and improve its hold on the people.

But developments inside the state Congress, which subsequently came in the open, have made it clear that despite the Hazaribagh show the state Congress was threatened with disruptive fissures.

On the eve of the political conference news came from Ranchi that former Jharkhand Chief Jaipal Singh MP, who is aggrieved by what he described as the betrayal of the Congress leadership, has finally decided to walk out of the Congress and revive the Jharkhand Party.

Similarly the former Swatantra leader Rajabhadur K. N. Singh,

who is disgusted by the unusual delay in taking a final decision on his entry into the Congress, is understood to have made up his mind to revive his old Janata Party.

The revival of both the parties and their unity in opposing the ruling party would cut into the Congress prospect in Chotanagpur region of the state.

Now the supporters of Jaipal Singh who met at Ranchi on May 22, have finally decided to revive the Jharkhand Party. Twelve out of 23 former Jharkhand Legislators have announced to quit the Congress Legislative Party and sit in the opposition as Jharkhand group.

This decision was taken, according to Jharkhand sources, due to the failure of the Congress in implementing the terms of agree-

ment of the Jharkhand-Congress merger, which was signed in the middle of 1963. Jharkhand leader Gopal Munjal, while confirming the decisions to revive the Jharkhand Party said that they were forced to take the decision due to pressure of the Jharkhand masses.

Former Swatantra Chief Rajabhadur K. N. Singh and 48 other Swatantra legislators, who applied for Congress membership nine months back but not yet admitted in the Congress, are meeting shortly to decide their future course of action.

A spokesman of Rajabhadur said that they had lost patience; "We have been put to rethinking and feel that we have been let down badly", he added. It is indicated that the erstwhile Janata Party might be revived at their meeting.

Revival of the Jharkhand Party and Janata Party will reverse the process of rehabilitation of the Congress in Chotanagpur districts and prove to be a great blow to the leadership of Sri Sahay. Though the chief Minister is not inclined to accept this reality, the former Chief Minister B. N. Jha categorically admits it.

The Congress was routed from the six Chotanagpur districts in

the last general election mainly by these two parties and the CPI.

These developments, immediately after the Hazaribagh conference have led the Congressmen to think what was its real achievements? What was the use of spending about Rs. three lakhs, which was collected under pressure of ministers and official machinery, in organising the show while the country was passing through an emergency? What was the need of putting heavy strain on the state exchequer by importing a large number of policemen and holding a special meeting of the Cabinet there?

The conference undoubtedly attracted a large gathering because of the presence of Indira Gandhi, who came to inaugurate the conference.

None of the major problems facing the state was seriously discussed there. Two resolutions, one on Pak aggression and the other on the food situation, were adopted. The Central Government was held responsible for high prices and food crisis in the state. A ten-point organisational scheme was also adopted. People failed to understand why this big show was organised for adopting only three resolutions without providing any solution for the difficult problems of the state.