

ALGERIA: OMINOUS PORTENTS

new age
CENTRAL ORGAN OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

Vol. XIII No. 27 NEW DELHI, July 4, 1965 25 Paise

Africa being ripe for revolution, did they have this type of revolution in mind? If so the prospects are only too grim and awe-inspiring. Second, in order to cut at the roots of Soviet influence in a country, the Chinese seem to have taken to heart a policy of uniting even with the devil. This may be repeated in other countries too if situation for a similar putsch does come about.

The Algerian coup has also thrown up several new factors in the course of development of the newly-emerging nations. In countries where the non-capitalist path of progress is being followed as a transitional step towards reaching the stage of socialism, the ruling force of the national democratic front which consists of various elements appears to be particularly vulnerable to crises and schisms. In this context, it would now become necessary for the

progressive, democratic forces to examine the precise role of military participants in the national-liberation movements after the liberation and whether to make them completely subservient to civilian control. A failure to do so might contain in it the seeds of a reversal.

The Algerian coup has already brought about a fissure in the unity of the Afro-Asian countries and weakened its bulwark against imperialism.

It has raised the question of stability of the governments in the newly-liberated countries and from now on a fear will haunt every Afro-Asian: will Algeria be repeated? What steps the Afro-Asian countries will take to allay this fear? The portents of Algerian coup thus are ominous; they must not be allowed to materialise.

(June 30)

7 - AUG 1 2 1965

to the Afro-Asian conference had virtually recognised the new regime, "were unauthorised". And in any case no recognition can be had by implication.

The Algerian coup and the subsequent developments thus raise a number of very pertinent questions.

When the Chinese talked of

WHERE IS TALUKDAR REPORT ON OIL PRICES?

By Our Special Correspondent

NEW DELHI: Why is it that the Talukdar Committee, which is enquiring into the oil price structure, has not yet submitted its report?

The committee was set up on May 12, 1964 and was to have submitted its report by December 31, 1964.

It has already been given two extensions: one till March 31, 1965 and then the second till June 30, 1965. Another extension now seems to be in the offing.

The Oil Price Enquiry Committee, popularly known as the Damle Committee, was set up by the government in 1960. Its report was given effect from October 1, 1961.

The price structure arrived at as a result of the Damle Committee report was to remain in effect till March 31, 1965.

It was to report on what the price structure should be after that date that a committee headed by J. N. Talukdar was set up.

Three months have already passed since a revision of the oil prices was due. And it seems that some more time would pass even before any negotiations with the foreign oil companies could start on the price structure.

Each passing day means a good deal of loss to India, both in terms of money and foreign exchange; for any revision of oil prices cannot but be downward.

An idea of the extent of losses can be had from the savings which India is making as a result of a "voluntary" cut which the foreign oil companies made in the crude prices recently.

The foreign oil companies (Burmah-Shell, Esso and Caltex) reduced the crude

prices by two US cents a barrel: from 1.59 dollars to 1.57 dollars a barrel.

This resulted in a saving of Rs. 53 lakhs annually for the country. In other words, a reduction of one cent a barrel in crude prices would give India Rs. 26.5 lakhs a year.

Even at the reduced rates, the three western oil monopolies are charging exorbitant prices for the crude they are importing (from their own sources in Iran, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Indonesia) into India.

For example, the price of 1.57 dollars a barrel they are charging compares very unfavourably with the price which the foreign collaborators have agreed to charge for the crude for the Madras refinery.

NIOC And AIOC Terms

The National Iranian Oil Company and the American International Oil Company, which are collaborating in the Madras refinery, have agreed to import crude from Iran at the rate of 1.35 dollars a barrel.

It is true that the Darius crude which is to be refined at the Madras refinery is slightly inferior to the Agha Jari crude which is being imported by Burmah-Shell, Esso and Caltex for their refineries.

Even taking this difference in the quality of the crude, the price charged by the NIOC and the AIOC are very low compared to what the three oil monopolies are charging.

The pricing of crude is a tricky job indeed. It is mainly determined on the capacity

of bargaining on the part of the consumer country.

The bargaining point starts from the "posted price": the imaginary price which the foreign oil cartels put for their crude. At present it is 1.80 dollars.

The better the bargaining position and the more independent the oil sources of the consumer country, the lower this price would come. It was as a direct result of the Madras refinery agreement that the three oil monopolies cut their price by two cents.

Hence the urgency in finalising the report by the Talukdar committee and compelling the foreign oil companies to come still further down in their price quotations.

When questioned in Parliament during the last session, the Minister for Petroleum and Chemicals made it clear that the delay in finalising the report was due to the dilatory tactics of the foreign oil companies.

The companies were taking a "long time" replying to the questionnaire sent by the committee and a still longer time in replying to some supplementary questions.

The Minister also said that the data on cost of refining and marketing given by the companies were so complicated that the special unit of the Cost Accounts Branch of the Finance Ministry was taking more time than expected in deciphering them.

It is more than three months since the Minister gave these as reasons for the delay in finalising the report by the Talukdar committee. Now, one is tempted to ask whether there are any other reasons too.

The so-called 'bloodless' coup in Algeria in the eerie morning of June 19 has already accounted for a lot of blood. The fate of Ben Bella is unknown; so are of many other top leaders of the Algerian Liberation Front. Boumedienne, the army chief and leader of the coup, and his gang of armymen are seeking to smash the national upsurge of the Algerian people against the military rule.

THERE is no doubt that the coup has been perpetrated by the forces of right reaction and as days pass it becomes more and more clear that the new regime is certainly not trying to establish an atmosphere conducive to the socialist path of development which Algeria had undertaken. It is a reversal of the progressive content of Algerian politics.

While the blood of Algerian people was being shed on Algerian soil, the Chinese Premier Chou En-lai welcomed the coup and declared: "We always support whatever is beneficial to the interests of the Algerian people and to the cause of opposing imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. We are convinced that the Algerian people will overcome all difficulties and obstacles and continue to push forward their revolution."

Hence the Chinese Premier immediately accorded recognition to the coup leaders as

people and the country if they serve the purpose of the Chinese political motivations. Otherwise why should they rush in to recognise the new Algerian regime?

It should be noted in this connection that not a single socialist country has recognised this new regime of Boumedienne. Cuba, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Poland have expressed disquiet at the turn of events. Other socialist countries are following a policy of caution and appraisal.

The French and the Italian Communist Parties, who should know better what is happening in Algeria, have roundly denounced the coup and condemned the new regime. The Cuban Prime Minister has pricked the Chinese balloon of assertion by describing what the new regime in Algeria really is. The youth section of the FLN has declared: "We condemn the military...reactionary and unpopular coup...the murder of true revolutionaries...and we demand the release of Ahmed Ben Bella, who is for us the sole leader of the Algerian Revolution. We demand the immediate release of the central committee of the FLN."

The declaration also "notes with surprise, the recognition of the fascist government by some revolutionary states."

The UAR government, the neighbour of Algeria, following more or less the similar path of socialist transformations, is wary of the new regime. Its relations with Algeria have become very much strained.

Even the Government of India, which according to the Chinese is an ally of American imperialism, has not recognised the new Algerian regime. A spokesman of the government explained a couple of days ago in New Delhi that the earlier statements that the Government of India by agreeing to send a delegation

by

SADHAN MUKHERJEE

constituting "the government of the Algerian people," having decided that it was 'good' for the Algerian people. Removal of Ben Bella (whom the Chinese considered more an ally of the Soviet Union), the coming to power of a military junta, the shedding of blood in Algeria—all are "beneficial" to the "interests of the Algerian people"—this is the Chinese logic!

No wonder the Chinese Foreign Minister Chen Yi before leaving Algiers on June 29 expressed "sincere thanks" to the "heroic Algerian people, brother Boumedienne, leader of the Revolutionary Council, brother Bonteflika, Foreign Affairs Minister."

And, of course, he did not forget to assure that "the Chinese people will always remain friends of the Algerian people". Obviously to the Chinese leaders any gang of military rulers represent the

agreement to send a delegation

AFRO-ASIAN SUMMIT

Editorial

THE POSTPONEMENT of the Afro-Asian summit conference to as late as November will be deeply regretted by all who sincerely desire that the full force of Afro-Asian solidarity be brought to bear against imperialism, for national independence and peace.

The urgent need for united Afro-Asian action is specially underlined by the US aggression in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic. And there is no doubt that had the summit taken place as scheduled, it could have given a powerful impetus to the struggle against the latest acts of US imperialist aggression at a moment when that impetus could be of decisive significance.

But let there be no mistake: after the reactionary coup d'etat in Algeria, it was impossible to hold an effective and powerful Afro-Asian anti-imperialist summit in Algiers.

In conferences of this nature, the host country's delegation has a key role to play: and the leaders of the right coup in Algeria could not be counted upon to play the kind of role necessary for the success of the conference. Thus, even if Boumedienne's martial law could have guaranteed "security", it would still have been unwise and against the interests of the anti-imperialist struggle to attempt to hold the summit in Algiers in the immediate future.

The correct course would have been to change the venue and hold the conference in the shortest possible time as is being done in the case of the World Youth Festival.

In the case of the Afro-Asian summit, the insistence of the usurping junta in Algeria to hold the conference and not to agree to any change in venue is costing the common anti-imperialist struggle heavily.

First the Boumedienne group insisted that the conference be held according to schedule. This was a sign of the dangerous adventurism of the leaders of the coup, their isolation from the militant spirit of their own people. They mistook the initial sense of shock of the Algerian people as a sign of its acquiescence in the coup. But they learnt their mistake as the resistance to the coup grew, embracing the vast majority of the population.

Faced with the virtual mass revolt of the people, faced with the insistence of the vast majority of participating countries for a postponement, the Algerian coup leaders were compelled at last to agree to put off the summit. But instead of themselves suggesting a change in venue, to enable the conference to be held earlier, the Boumedienne gang insisted that Algiers must be the venue. The result is the putting off of the conference to as late as November.

Particularly reprehensible in the whole affair has been the role played by the Chinese leaders. Their support of the Algerian coup leaders ahead of everybody else is another proof of how what they consider to be their personal or national interests are given precedence over all principles, over Afro-Asian solidarity, over the needs of the anti-imperialist struggle.

When Communists and progressives were being hunted down by the new regime, when the vast majority of African nationalist forces were coming out openly against the reactionary coup, the Chinese leaders insisted that the summit should take place on schedule and sang hosannas to the perpetrators of the coup. While Fidel Castro openly attacked the junta and its leaders, the Chinese government hailed and recognised the new regime with shameless haste.

It is perhaps too early just yet to anticipate what will happen in Algeria in the months before November. But it is already clear that the mass resistance movement is developing fast against the putschists. If the legitimate government is restored by November, Algiers will be the best possible venue for the Second Bandung. If however Boumedienne, Bouteflika and Co. remain in power in Algiers, sitting astride a prostrate people, it will be strongly advisable to think again in the interests of Afro-Asian solidarity and the common anti-imperialist struggle.

(June 29)

WATERLOGGING: Calcutta's Monsoon Misery

From AJAY DASGUPTA

CALCUTTA: When the monsoon clouds come over Calcutta, it is said, the city begins to sink in sewage. For, waterlogging during rains is an appalling phenomenon of life in this city and a curse which it has carried through decades of its neglected existence.

THIS year again, the story is repeated in all its ugly details.

With the first heavy showers on June 21 Calcutta streets were waterlogged. Entire traffic system was dislocated and in the greater part of the city tram services were suspended for three to five hours. Buses had to be diverted from their usual routes.

Three and half inches of pre-dawn rain on June 25 disrupted the traffic more. Trams went off the roads and in the Belgachia depot in North Calcutta 93 cars were marooned till 3-20 p.m. Bus services were also dislocated.

Particularly hard hit was Khidderpore, the dock area, where traffic stood still till 2-30 p.m. The working population was put to great inconvenience and loss of earnings in many cases.

This horrible mess is the result of long neglect dating from war years. Nearly half of the 32 square miles of Calcutta Corporation area is still unsewered—mostly the south-eastern part of the city beyond the Circular Canal, called the added area. The kutchas drains in this vast area are seldom cleared and overflow with the first rains.

Formerly tanks, open drains, creeks and canals helped to drain off much of the rain water. Large open spaces also absorbed part of it. With the increase of built up areas and filling up of tanks and canals, flooding of the city has been increasing. Filling up of the new-cut canal and the reclamation of the Salt Lake in the eastern part of the city will increase the waterlogging problem.

Outdated Sewer

The situation in the sewerage areas is no better. The main sewer system was laid more than a hundred years ago. Made of brick and mortar it has caved in in many places which have filled up with earth. Due to virtual stoppage of de-silting work during the war and post-war years, 30 lakh cubic feet of silt has accumulated in the sewers choking three-fourths of the capacity of the sewers.

In many places the silt has solidified into hard rocks and can only be cleared by pneumatic drilling or blasting with explosives. But it is hazardous, as the entire drains might collapse. At places the drains are of such small diameter that men cannot move into them for clearing work.

Another problem has also been reported by an engineer of the Corporation. The entire sewage and storm water of Calcutta is led through a 21 mile long

canal, which is also getting silted. Moreover, the river Kulti into which the Calcutta sewage is discharged can only be used at low tide. At high tide the lock-gate has to be kept shut to prevent river water entering the outfall canal.

Rapid but unplanned and haphazard urbanization of the outlying areas of Calcutta has made the drainage problem a vast and acute one. The state government from time to time declares with much fan-fare drawing up of schemes of drainage or inauguration of such schemes. But none of schemes seem to get off their feet and never the situation improves.

Master Plan Deadlock

Master Plan Deadlock

The entry of the Calcutta Metropolitan Planning Organisation has created further deadlock, it is reported. In the name of preparing a Master Plan and working according to it, all work of Calcutta's development has been shelved or kept in abeyance for the last four years. This has worsened the already critical situation.

Further complications are being created by the apathetic and step-motherly attitude of the Union Government.

It has been estimated that more than 100 crores of rupees will be needed to restore Calcutta Metropolitan district to normal habitable conditions. Hiren Mukherjee in his motion in the Lok Sabha during the last budget session brought the problems of Calcutta into sharp focus and made a convincing case for Union Government undertaking the financial responsibility

for Calcutta's development. B. R. Bhagat, the Minister for Planning then assured that the Union Government was alive to the situation and would take necessary responsibilities.

Recently a large team from West Bengal led by the Chief Minister himself was in Delhi to discuss the Fourth Five Year Plan. What transpired during their talks with Union Government officials and Planning Commission Deputy Chairman has not been given out officially. But news items have appeared in the daily press that the Union Government is backing out of its commitments.

Communist MPs Renu Chakravorty, Hiren Mukherjee and Indrajit Gupta therefore sent telegram voicing their apprehension and urging that the Central Government honour its commitments. In reply Bhagat has informed Renu Chakravorty that there was no question of Centre going back on promises and commitments. But he wrote that resources would be found from whatever sources possible.

But there exactly is the grouse of West Bengal government. It seems that the Centre and the Planning Commission are pressing on the West Bengal Government to provide resources for the development of Calcutta which would mean abandoning many industrial and other projects envisaged in the draft of the Fourth Plan prepared by the state government.

Thus when bold and imaginative measures are needed the state and central governments are quibbling over financial responsibility.

To focus the attention of the people of Calcutta and to bring them into action so as to force the powers-that-be to some activity to give immediate relief and to start implementing the long term plans, the Communist Party has decided to launch a campaign, preparation for which has already begun.

FOR PARTY MEMBERS ONLY

RESOLUTIONS OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

New Delhi 5-11 April 1965

ORDER THROUGH PARTY COMMITTEES

GOVERNMENT SEEKS TO PLACATE FOREIGN OIL CARTELS

More Concessions & Collaboration Ventures Are Being Discussed

By PAULY V. PARAKAL

More than twenty days have passed since the Government of India armed itself with two ordinances to deal with the foreign private oil companies in case they sought to sabotage oil distribution in the country. The oil position has improved somewhat since then, not because of any change of heart on the part of the oil monopolies and subsequent increased cooperation with the government but because the initial bunglings on the part of the Indian Oil Company have been surmounted and its distribution network has gone into smoother operation. Several areas are still suffering from shortage of high speed diesel and kerosene, especially the rural areas and inland zones. But the acute scarcity which marked the months of May and June is no more in evidence.

It is time now to evaluate the roles played by both the government and the foreign oil companies in creating such an artificial scarcity which had almost thrown the entire transport in the country into dol-drum.

The first thing to be noted in making any assessment of the new oil situation is that the decision of the Government of India to ban imports of finished petroleum products from free foreign exchange areas was not part of its oil policy; the decision was that of the Finance Ministry. Even the Finance Ministry did not take the decision on the economic merits of such a step. For example, the price of Soviet oil is cheaper than that of oil from western sources.

In 1964, India imported 17 per cent of her kerosene needs from the Soviet Union but the payments amounted to only 10 per cent of the total payments for oil imports. As much as 15 per cent of lubricants came from the same sources against a payment of only 11 per cent.

India's balance of payments position has never been quite rosy in recent years, but never before did the Finance Minister deem it necessary to consider restricting oil imports to rupee payment areas.

Only the compulsion of the foreign exchange difficulties reaching the crisis point has made him to take such a step.

Lack Of Foresight

Once such a decision was taken, the Ministry of Petroleum and Chemicals did not make any preparations whatsoever to meet the situation which it knew would arise from the decision.

It had been suggested to the foreign oil companies as early as January last that they might distribute through their apparatus oil imported by the Indian Oil Company from rupee payment sources, that is the Soviet Union.

But the oil companies had refused the request flatly on the lame excuse that these were not "truly commercial but politically motivated" products.

There was no reason for the Petroleum Ministry and the IOC to think that the oil companies had changed their mind. And there was no reason why they should not have made proper alternative arrangements for distributing the increased imports of petroleum products from the Soviet Union.

It was this lack of foresight on the part of the Petroleum Ministry and unpreparedness on the part of the IOC that were really behind the confusion and chaos in distribution we saw in May and June.

Having not made any alternate arrangements for the distribution of the Soviet oil products, the

But the oil companies did not keep to the schedule. Listen to Petroleum and Chemicals Minister Humayun Kabir: "After a study of the movement of kerosene and HSD from the coastal refineries to different parts of India, it was found that in recent months there has been a significant decline in the volume of these movements."

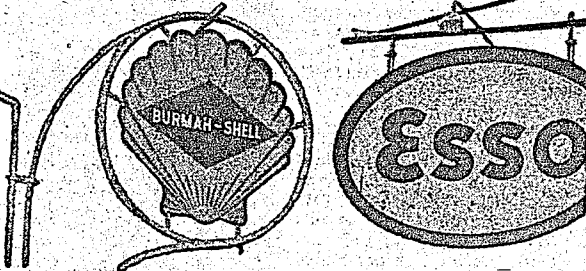
Again, "evidence has come to the Ministry that some companies have been deliberately restricting their normal supplies to dealers and agents although adequate stocks were available."

It is now known that against the normal 57 thousand tonnes of diesel which should have flowed from the refineries in the first 15 days of June, only 42 thousand tonnes did move to retail outlets.

Even then the Minister did not take any punitive action against these companies under the Defence of India Rules! He waited till June 10 to issue two ordinances "enabling" him to take action against the oil companies.

As yet, he has not taken any action under the "enabling" powers. He is still awaiting the foreign oil companies to "see reason" and "move with the

The oil sharks hoped to reap rich harvests from their line of action. They hoped to turn the popular discontent into a weapon to fight the government and the public sector in oil. All their propaganda was



Nationalise them!

directed against the public sector refineries.

The anti-public sector line was faithfully picked by some of the pro-imperialist newspapers in the country too. They all "discovered" that the oil crisis was the result of the bunglings done by the public sector oil refineries and their failure to keep to schedule.

Even after all this, the government did not take effective action against the foreign oil companies. The authorities invited them to talk things over and draw up a schedule of movement of the oil products from the coastal refineries inlandwards. And such a schedule was drawn up on May 29.

1964 was 320 thousand tonnes out of which only 82 thousand tonnes were imported: in other words, only 25.9 per cent were imports.

Same is the case with Esso. Its spokesman claimed at a press conference in New Delhi that it can supply "only what Esso has" and that was 80 per cent of last year's supply of high speed diesel. The implication was that Esso's imports amounted to 20 per cent of its total sales which has now been cut down.

The fact is: Esso's sales for 1964 was 405 thousand tonnes and out of this only 24 thousand tonnes were imported stuff; the share of imports was 5.9 per cent. In other words, Esso should be in a position to distribute 94.1 per cent of what it supplied last year.

Govt's Dilemma

Burma-Shell's total sales in 1964 was 841 thousand tonnes and the share of imports in it 123 thousand tonnes. Just 14.6 per cent of its total sales depended on imports.

The government is yet to find a way out of the predicament: it has to distribute the oil being imported from the Soviet Union. Imports from the Soviet Union in June was 50 thousand tonnes; it is expected to be of the tune of 90 thousand tonnes in July.

Even conceding that all these imports need not be distributed as and when it comes (the plan is to build up a sufficient buffer stock to meet the challenge of artificial scarcity) the imports of storage of these imports remain.

The very fact that the IOC has been called upon to handle as much as 500 thousand tonnes more of petroleum products annually (the deficit in indigenous production) is awe-inspiring.

The way out is to nationalise the foreign oil companies. But the government does not fail to announce at every opportunity available that it has no intentions of doing so. So, the only way out is to "persuade" the oil companies to handle the Soviet products.

But the way the government is going about it is certainly not the way to achieve results. It is immense pressure that has to be brought on the foreign oil companies, not sweet words and palliatives. Grave doubts remain regarding government's intentions in this regard, as indicated by some of the recent developments on the oil front.

According to reports, the government is currently carrying on negotiations with the Burmah Oil Company for collaboration in as many as four new oil projects! The BOC is to have equity participation in all the proposed projects.

the Soviet oil products in the eastern region of the country. It did provide a breakthrough in the solid and adamant offensive line of the foreign oil companies.

But it has also to be remembered that the same BOC is a holding company in the Burmah-Shell which has outright refused to handle the oil products imported by the IOC. Why can't the government insist on the Burmah-Shell handling this oil before negotiating for further collaboration with the BOC?

Again, there are reports that the Ministry of Petroleum and Chemicals has decided to permit the Caltex to expand its Vishakapatnam refinery from its present 1.05 million tonnes capacity to 1.5 million tonnes.

There is also the report that the government has promised the Esso favourable consideration of its proposal to merge its marketing and refining organisations and enlargement of the dollar equity capital of the unified company.

Why all these concessions to the foreign oil monopolies when they are bent upon sabotaging India's oil distribution mechanism for their own profit motive?

The contracts which are being entered into by India with western oil companies for the new refineries to be set up are also turning out to be quite disheartening.

For example, the Phillips Petroleum, which is collaborating in the Cochin refinery, has been allowed to import crude from whichever sources it liked, which means western sources.

The agreement for the Madras refinery (with the National Iranian Oil Company and the American International Oil Company) provides for import of 40 million tonnes of crude from Iran over a period of 20 years!

At a time when India's own oil exploration work is progressing successfully and prospects of striking oil are very bright, why has the Petroleum Ministry bound itself with such contractual obligations?

Why could it not have insisted on a provision that the refineries would handle crude from whichever source cheaper oil is available? Why should we go on paying the inflated, imaginary price imposed by western oil cartels?

There is only one answer: the Ministry of Petroleum and Chemicals is still playing it soft with the foreign oil companies; it is not prepared to take definite action to curb the foreign cartels and put the infantile Indian oil industry on a firmer footing.

The Indian people's demand remains: NATIONALISE FOREIGN OIL COMPANIES. As a first step towards that, take over the distribution machinery of the foreign oil companies; insist on using rupee payment crude only in their refineries.

Stand Firmly By The Agreement

With effect from the morning of July 1, ceasefire in the Rann of Kutch will become formal. Although details of the Indo-Pakistan agreement in this regard have not been made public till this writing authoritative information indicates that the three-clause agreement broadly meets the requirements originally laid down by India.

INDIA's basic stand that the status quo ante of January 1, 1965 should be restored has received due consideration. The broad features of the agreement are reported to be:

- 1) Vacation of Biar Bet, Point 84 and Kanjarkot by Pakistani troops;
- 2) Vacation of Sardar Post and Vigokot by the Indian police patrol;
- 3) Free movement for the Indian patrol upto the border;
- 4) Concession of the right to Pakistani troops to use the 16-mile-long track by it into Kutch; No Pakistani post in the disputed territory;
- 5) Indian troops to remain undisturbed in Chaad Bet.

It seems that certain steps that will follow the ceasefire have also been agreed upon. There will be a withdrawal of forces by the two sides and a conference at official level to

do preparatory work for a meeting of ministers of the two countries who will finalise the border agreement. A tribunal also seems to have been provided for in case of ministerial-level meetings proving infructuous.

Pakistan's insistence that the Kutch ceasefire be linked with the entire range of Indo-Pakistan disputes obviously could hold no water.

Leaders of the Hindu communal rightwing opposition have lost no time in coming out in opposition to the agreement. They have described it as a "violation of Parliament's solemn pledge to liberate occupied territory". They have given notice of their intention to raise hell over the agreement.

There is nothing unexpected about this stand. It was known very well in advance that whatever the provisions of the ceasefire agreement, the Jan Sangh and the rest of the commu-

nalist lot are bound to discover "surrender" and "betrayal" in them. It is understandable that they should try their worst to mislead the people in order to cash in on the situation.

Responsible opinion and secular political parties would remain unperturbed by this hullabaloo. It has been a correct course that the government has followed—subjecting the British proposals to the most searching scrutiny at every step and insisting their being brought in line with the basic stand of restoration of the status quo ante of January 1, 1965.

This firm stand has certainly yielded results. To insist that there should be no ceasefire under any circumstances, and never on terms that could be acceptable to the two sides concerned, is certainly a most irresponsible and opportunist stand to take.

While firmly upholding the correctness of the step taken by the Government of India in signing the ceasefire agreement and demanding that it should remain firm in its resolve to honour it, no one can be so naive as to imagine that this step is going to lead to some dramatic improvement in Indo-Pakistan relations in the immediate future.

The odds against a decisive turn for the better in Indo-Pakistan relations are indeed very heavy; it will serve no purpose to delude ourselves about the nature of the hard road that lies ahead.

Only cool-headed and firm leadership, determined to persist and persevere in its

efforts in face of the worst discouragement from the other side and the most ferocious sallies from our own communalist reactionaries, could hope, in course of time to bring about an improvement in the climate that would provide the basis for steps to solve some of the outstanding issues.

indifference towards them. While the import of food has doubled in quantity during the last three years and negotiations for another seven million tonnes of wheat and rice to be imported from the United States under the PL 480 are under way, the dispensers of food in this country have been taking things easy and con-

Comment

There can be no running away from the task, for there is really no other way to ensure peace and tranquillity in the subcontinent.

PLAIN-SPEAKING ON FOOD

THE controversy unleashed by the Maharashtra Chief Minister's criticism of the Centre's policies and implementation can only be welcomed by all serious-minded people not blinded by partisanship.

Addressing a Congress workers' camp last Saturday he had stated that the food policy of the Union government was creating difficulties for deficit states. He was reported to have said that till the Centre fixed more remunerative foodgrain prices and launched a monopoly procurement drive, food shortage could not be eliminated.

Maharashtra Chief Minister Naik was subsequently joined by the West Bengal Chief Minister in charging the Centre for its failures.

Whatever be the immediate provocation and purpose motivating these gentlemen, the problems to which they have drawn attention would hardly permit any further

gratulating themselves on the "bumper crop" that seems to lie ahead.

The Union Food Minister in his peevish reply to the Chief Minister's criticism has side-stepped the issue of monopoly procurement and talked of his inability to "turn deficit into surplus" by mere policy-making. It is a cheap gibe which will cut no ice.

The question at issue is not of turning deficit into surplus overnight but of taking urgently necessary and long-overdue measures like monopoly procurement which would make it possible for the country in course of time to reduce and ultimately bridge the gap between people's requirements and the marketed supply.

The whole destructive philosophy of PL 480 and reliance on imports consists of never allowing the country to take those very urgently necessary and long overdue measures.

It is by no means certain that the ball that has been set rolling by Chief Minister Naik will stop short of achieving at least a thorough discussion of the problem which would draw in all sections of serious minded people and political parties.

—SHARIF

(June 29)

COMMONWEALTH CONFERENCE

GAINS: PLUS OR MINUS

Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri is evidently very much pleased with the Commonwealth Conference—at least that is what his public statements at the end of the conference indicate. And Indian pressmen have been singing praises to Shastri's successful initiatives during the conference.

Is the Prime Minister's satisfaction warranted by the actual outcome of the deliberations in London? And does he really deserve all the bouquets which are being showered on him in evidently much-briefed despatches of special correspondents?

My answer to both these questions is a definite no.

THE Commonwealth Conference this year has shown more clearly than ever before that there is nothing common between the anti-imperialist policies which certain of the Afro-Asian members of the Commonwealth pursue and the imperialist policies of the British government and its closest backers.

On every important issue of the struggle against imperialism, the contradictions between the stand of the anti-imperialists and that of Britain and its supporters was apparent at the London conference.

So sharp was this contradiction that we had the unprecedented spectacle of Commonwealth leaders publicly expressing their disassociation with specific Commonwealth proposals and even with the final communiqué.

And the completely contradictory interpretations of the communiqué, at least on the key issue of Rhodesia, go further to prove, if proof were necessary, that the Commonwealth is literally on its last legs, the differences within it growing more and more difficult to surmount.

There are those who argue that the Commonwealth Conference this year deserves the plaudits of anti-imperialists because the sharp and clear voices of the Afro-Asian anti-imperialist leaders dominated the conference for the first time in the history of the Commonwealth.

Strange Argument

This is a strange argument, to say the least. In the first place, why is it necessary for the anti-imperialist leaders to go to London to voice their anti-imperialist sentiments?

And in the second place, even a cursory examination of the final communiqué would show that there is no reason whatsoever to suggest that anti-imperialist views prevailed or triumphed in the Conference.

Take the vital problem of Vietnam and the Wilson proposal for a so-called Commonwealth Peace Mission. Despite all the objections raised by anti-imperialist leaders, the final communiqué indicates that the "guidelines" remain far from those which could have made any contribution towards the ending of US aggression:

★ Wilson remains leader of the mission despite the opposition of those African

leaders who pointed out that the British Prime Minister was too brazenly a supporter of US aggression in Vietnam to be accepted as a genuine searcher for 'peace'.

★ Australian troops continue in South Vietnam, taking part in the aggressive war against the Vietnamese people.

★ Despite Prime Minister Shastri's earlier insistence on the Commonwealth giving a call for an end to the US bombings, all that the "guidelines" suggest finally is a "suspension"—and this is accompanied by an amazing demand for a "North Vietnamese undertaking to prevent the movement of any military forces or assistance or material to South Vietnam".

Mere Whitewash

This is a deliberate attempt to whitewash the US bombings by repeating the Pentagon lie that North Vietnam is violating the Geneva Agreements and attacking the South.

DOES SHASTRI DESERVE ALL THE BOUQUETS?

By ROMESH CHANDRA

★ While it appears that the Mission is now free to meet the South Vietnam Liberation Front, which alone can speak for the South Vietnamese people, it is clear that no approach has yet been made to the Front formally by the mission.

In these circumstances, it is a travesty of truth to suggest that the anti-imperialist nations have succeeded in ensuring that the original Wilson proposals have been sufficiently changed to make the Commonwealth mission effective.

On the contrary, Wilson has been able to use the prestige of the anti-imperialist nations in the Commonwealth in his attempt to whitewash the US aggression.

★ Wilson remains leader of the mission despite the opposition of those African

desia, Wilson did not budge. The final communiqué indicates that the Commonwealth countries agreed to differ.

The African governments demanded British action within limited period against the South Rhodesian racialists. Wilson refused to accept any time limit; insisted it was a British concern.

Issue Of Rhodesia

Once more, on this issue, it is suggested that the Africans succeeded in pushing the British government further than it had gone before in support of the nationalists in Rhodesia.

But this is a doubtful point. And even if it were so, the question remains whether

African pressure would be less effectively exercised if the same countries were outside the Commonwealth.

On other issues, particularly those of the British colonies, the Portuguese colonies and South African racialism, the communiqué is weak and goes little if at all beyond the British government's formal stand.

What is undoubtedly a negative feature of this year's conference is the establishment of the so-called Commonwealth Foundation and the decisions to go ahead with the plans for a Commonwealth Secretariat and measures to increase economic ties among Commonwealth countries.

Dirty 'Ties'

At a time when it is necessary for anti-imperialist countries to consider seriously whether it is not time to break with the Commonwealth and its imperialist leadership, these decisions to strengthen the Commonwealth ties can only be looked upon with concern and anxiety.

They are a victory for British imperialists' designs to perpetuate its neo-colonialist position in the countries of the Commonwealth.

It is in the context of this broad and brief examination of the results of the Commonwealth Conference that one must assess the work done by Prime Minister Shastri and the Indian delegation.

It can be admitted at the start that Shastri did not

ing of respect than the performance he gave at the Cairo conference of nonaligned countries last year.

But having said all this, it would be a mistake to be taken in by the carefully prepared "build-up" of the Prime Minister in the Indian press.

One cannot help but note that on most anti-imperialist issues, the Indian delegation was content to march behind others instead of taking the lead.

On Vietnam, when Kenya and Tanzania and later Ghana came forward with concrete public statements criticising the original Wilson proposals, India was content with talking inside the Conference on the necessity of guidelines.

At no point did Prime Minister Shastri question Wilson's leadership of the peace mission.

At no point, as far as we know, did he demand, as other anti-imperialist countries did, that the Australian troops should withdraw from Vietnam and that New Zealand troops should be ordered not to proceed.

In fact, from his latest utterances being reported in the press, one would be inclined to think that Shastri has retreated from his previous stand—that the US bombings must end as the first prerequisite for peace.

A Quick Retreat

He is now talking of merely a suspension, a pause in the US bombings while joining the American chorus in the insinuation that North Vietnam is violating the Geneva Agreements by sending men and materials to the South.

On the issue of Rhodesia too, India could and should have played a leading role in attacking the British government's untenable position. But all that our delegation did was to play second fiddle to the African governments.

It is good that India supported the African governments, but that was not enough. India failed to take initiative on its own on the Rhodesia issue.

Aquiescence in all the British plans for strengthening the Commonwealth, silence on the serious problem of racial discrimination in Britain itself and the final hosannas to Wilson in post-conference interviews—these cannot and do not reflect Indian public opinion.

One has to judge India's performance not by comparing it with how bad it could have been, but by seeing how far it lags behind what the Indian people and democrats and anti-imperialists the world over expect.

Judged by that yardstick, there is little reason to cheer. Shastri has not taken steps to extricate India from the coils of the Commonwealth: he has, on the contrary, helped to tie the coils together.

Cholera is Still Raging in Assam

From M. BHATTACHARYA

SHILLONG: Six hundred and seventythree people have so far died in Assam as a result of cholera, according to official figures available here today. Unofficial accounts however put the number of persons dead at over two thousand.

IT took many weeks and many hundreds have died before the bureaucracy could or would recognise the disease as cholera. Even then the recognition had to come from outside intervention.

Thus it was that Dr. K. C. Patnaik, Director of the Central Bureau of Health Intelligence, Government of India and Dr. Saha, Professor of epidemiology at the All India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health, who came to Assam to investigate into the nature of the epidemic, gave their opinion that it was cholera.

They also brought with them three teams of doctors and they gave their opinion on the basis of clinical tests conducted by the Shillong Pasteur Institute and the Government of India team.

As has been reported before, the Public Health Department of the state government had all along refused to declare the epidemic cholera and said it was gastroenteritis.

Dr. Patnaik also stated that gastroenteritis was a symptom and not a disease. According to him, the Government of India had, in a circular earlier, said that when there was a widespread outbreak of gastroenteritis, it should be treated as cholera.

All this raises a number of questions. Was the Assam government deliberately trying to belittle before the public the

dangerous spread of the disease by calling it gastroenteritis and refusing to recognise it as cholera?

Are the people at the top of the state Public Health Department really qualified to hold their posts? Were they not just playing with human lives? Why were the central experts not consulted earlier, in spite of repeated demands from the public?

These questions are being asked by the people here today and they are dissatisfied with the role of the state health authorities in this crisis.

The president and secretary of the Medical Relief Committee of the Assam Branch of the IMA, who visited some of the affected areas, have also declared in a public statement that all the cases they had seen appeared to them as cholera cases.

Further, they have made the startling disclosure that sulphadiazine, which cannot be sold except on prescriptions from a qualified doctor, were being purchased by people in the affected areas even from "pan" shops. They wondered how it was possible when a drug control office was supposed to be functioning.

Meanwhile, it is said that in some of the affected areas the disease has started subsiding. But there are reports of fresh outbreaks of cholera in other areas.

T. B. VITTAL RAO

The sudden death of T. B. Vittal Rao, member of the central control commission of the Communist Party of India, at Kothagudem on June 25 has shocked the entire Communist Party and the trade union movement.

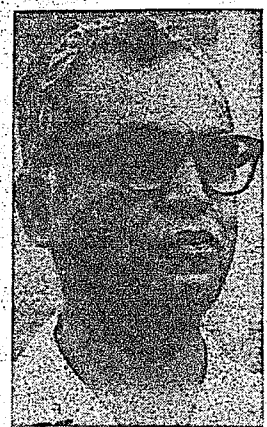
Born on August 15, 1915 in a lower middle class family, he began his life as a clerk in the accounts section of the Nizam's Railway. He started his trade union career also there. From 1943 to 1949 he was the secretary of the Nizam Railway Workers Union.

In 1949 he was victimised and dismissed from service. He spent his next two years in jail.

He was the founder-president of the Indian Mine Workers Federation and served in that capacity till his death. For some time he was one of the leaders of the post and telegraph employees.

At the time of his death he was the treasurer of the AITUC.

In 1952 and again in 1957 he was elected to the



Lok Sabha from the Khammam constituency.

As a Communist, parliamentarian and trade unionist, Vittal Rao had won admiration from all quarters for his quiet diligence and the able leadership he could give to a wide variety of problems.

For over twenty years Vittal Rao was one of the leading members of the Communist Party in Andhra Pradesh. At the time of his death, he was the

secretary of the Khammam district council and a member of the state council of the CPI.

He was distinguished for his integrity, simplicity and loving concern for others. It was a tribute to this humble servant of the people that the whole of Kothagudem shed tears on his untimely death.

Vittal Rao's funeral at Kothagudem was a massive demonstration of sorrow of the people. The funeral procession passed through the entire town. Over 20 thousand attended the funeral meeting, which was addressed by Rajasekhar Reddy, Makhdoom Mohiuddin, Raj Bahadur Gour and Satyanarayana Reddy.

Vittal Rao leaves behind his wife and six children. The Singareni Collieries Workers Union has decided to collect Rs. 50 thousand to be handed over to the bereaved family.

NEW AGE dips the Red Banner in revered memory of Comrade T. B. Vittal Rao. It sends its condolences to the bereaved family.

CPI TO ORGANISE HUNGER-MARCH

TRIVANDRUM: The executive of the Kerala state council of the Communist Party of India which met at Ernakulam on June 23 and 24 has decided to organise a "hunger march" across the state with a view to focus attention on such pressing demands as introduction of statutory rationing, doubling of rice ration, state trading in food grains etc.

WITH the widespread outbreak of cholera, the distress of the people has further mounted and the food problem in the state is going to be more serious.

The party executive was of the view that the Presidential rule imposed on the state had already miserably failed in affording any relief to the mounting miseries of the common people. The food situation and the cholera situation were proof of this miserable failure of the state and central governments' policies towards Kerala.

United Action

It was clear that only sustained and united struggles of the people could reverse the process and ensure relief and redress to the common people of the state.

The executive was of the view that all democratic-minded people have to be roused and united to raise their voice against exorbitant price rise of essential articles, scarcity of rice and kerosene and against the regime of black market and corruption and on top of it the spreading menace of cholera epidemic.

The executive therefore decided to organise a hunger march from Cannanore to the state capital with a view to strengthening the campaign in favour of the introduction of statutory rationing, doubling of the present rice rations and for state trading in food grains and nationalisation of banks etc. The march will start from Cannanore on July 9 under the leadership of P. T. Punnoose.

NEW AGE

Subscription Rates

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

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

Managerial Office

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

It will cover all the nine Districts and will be received by the units of the Party and mass organisations. It will reach Trivandrum on August 9 and will present a memorandum to the Governor. Kallat Krishnan will be the vice captain and K. T. Jacob the director of the Jatha.

The scarcity of kerosene and diesel oil deliberately created by the foreign oil companies was discussed by the Party executive which demanded that it was high time that the entire oil industry was nationalised and the recurring threats from these foreign monopolies overcome for good.

As a first step to focus attention on the urgent need for nationalisation of these foreign oil firms and to protest against their policy of profiteering and greed, the Communist Party will organise satyagraha in front of the offices of Esso, Burmah Shell and Caltex situated at Ernakulam in the beginning of July.

The executive reiterated its view that the state and central governments, particularly in the absence of a popular government and legislature, should have associated popular leaders and representatives of political parties in formulating the state's share of the Fourth Plan. The neglect of the state by the Central Government in this regard has become a byword and even the Pradesh Congress Committee and their spokesman have come out against this policy of discrimination practised successively against Kerala.

All-Party Convention

It is necessary for all political parties, representatives of various organisations and leaders of public opinion and local bodies to come together and discuss the draft Plan for the state and press for such radical changes as are necessary in it. The executive directed that efforts should be initiated to convene such an all-party Plan Convention.

The continuous detention of the leaders and workers of "Marxist Communist Party" even in the face of the last electoral verdict in the state as well as mounting public opinion against detention is a matter of concern. It was unfortunate that the Marxist Communists were adopting their own forms of protest against detention, after breaking away from the general united protest that was sought to be built up by all the left parties in the state.

VISALAANDHRA CELEBRATES 14TH ANNIVERSARY

From MOHIT SEN

HYDERABAD: The daily of the Andhra Pradesh state council of the CPI, VISALA-ANDHRA, celebrated its fourteenth anniversary on June 22.

A special issue of the paper carried a supplement giving the history of the paper and the manner in which it has voiced the aspirations of the Telugu people.

Messages of greetings from the central secretariat of the CPI and from NEW AGE were prominently displayed. Banner headlines announced the greetings of the central organ of the CPSU, PRAVDA. A colourful field meeting was held at Vijayawada, presided over by the veteran Telugu writer, Tapi Dharma Rao.

The chief speaker was Andhra's Mahakavi Sri Sri who not only paid passionate tributes to the paper but announced that he was bequeathing all his manuscripts,

all the poems written and to be written to the Visala-andhra.

Noted writer K. Narayana-charyalu also spoke.

In Hyderabad and Secunderabad also birthday meetings were held.

A noteworthy feature was the speech made by Tenneti Viswanatham MLA, leader of the National Democratic Party, who demanded that it should more and more become a paper of the national resurgence of Andhra.

Other prominent speakers were well-known poets Ram-bhatla Krishnamurthy and Sambasiva Rao.

Narayana Rao, respected leader of the library movement in the state, also sent a written message.

The circulation campaign of the paper has got off to a very good start.

It has taken the character not merely of a sales campaign but of a regular celebration of the foremost spokesman of democratic Andhra.

pepper should be determined by the government and the export trade taken over by the government.

The executive, in another resolution warned the gov-

ernment against evicting kisans from the high ranges without implementing the guarantees given to them regarding alternative arrangements for rehabilitation etc.

BIHAR

From K. GOPALAN

NEW PAY SCALES FAIL TO MEET NGOS' DEMANDS

PATNA: The much-awaited decision of the Bihar government on the pay revision of its employees has totally failed to meet the minimum demands of the employees.

NEITHER the NGOs nor the other sections of the employees are satisfied with the new pay scales which were announced by the government on June 15.

Though the decision was taken by the cabinet in the face of a threat by the NGOs as well as gazetted officers to resort to direct action, it failed to pacify the growing discontent.

The pay award of the cabinet is likely to provoke widespread unrest among the NGOs who are totally frustrated by the government's callous attitude towards their just and reasonable demands.

The Bihar State Non-Gazetted Employees' Federation is expected to revise its earlier decision to resign en masse to press their demands.

Ram Ekbal Singh, president of the Bihar State Non-Gazetted Employees' Federation, has said that the cabinet award was "thoroughly unjust and discriminatory" and hence unacceptable to the Federation.

The NGO leader said that while taking the decision the

government had not taken into account the hard lot of almost 99 per cent of the non-gazetted employees.

The cabinet decision is considered to be a deliberate effort to create division and disruption among the NGOs. While no benefit has been provided for the vast majority of the 172,000 NGOs, the cabinet has recommended a nominal increase of pay for a few hundred employees of the state secretariat.

Certain categories of LD assistants have been given an initial pay of Rs. 135 instead of Rs. 130 recommended by the pay body. Minor adjustments have been made in the pay-scale of UD assistants.

Incentive Allowance

Another recommendation is a provision for incentive allowance to a section of the secretariat staff. This allowance will be paid on the recommendation of the depart-

CHANDIGARH: The Congress squabbles in the Punjab have reached a new high in recent weeks, after the expansion of the Ministry, and contrary to the expectations of the Congress High Command.

THE letter which allowed the expansion of the Ram Kishan Ministry, with the hope that it might help to strengthen the hands of the Chief Minister, has singularly failed in its objective. The situation today is such that groupism in the Punjab Congress, never a new feature, has reached a far higher pitch than before, and the Chief Minister has become too strong after taking more people into his cabinet.

The Punjab FCC chief, Bhagwat Dayal Sharma has hit the headlines with his announcement that the FCC would shortly be presenting to the Congress President a charge-sheet against the Chief Minister.

Not only has the fight between the Ministerialists and the Kairon group continued and intensified, but among the Ministerialists themselves dissension is more marked today. The tussle between the supporters of the Chief Minister and of the Home Minister, Darbara Singh, has become more acute.

This preoccupation with their internal quarrels has pushed into the background all other issues in the state, as far as the Congress groups in the Punjab are concerned.

Among the many causes contributing to this intensification of groupism in the ruling party, the most important to any observer today, is the keen desire of the factions and their champions to secure control of the organisation, well before the next general elections.

Accordingly, it is noted that a furious effort is being made by all concerned to boost their res-

pective memberships, and the obvious method adopted is of enrolling bogus members.

Meanwhile, in the opposition camp, the parties are faced with the choice of forging a united front of progressive sections and organisations to fight the Congress or playing into the hands of reactionary elements who are striving to exploit the situation for their own ends. Thus already there are attempts to reactivate and consolidate the so-called united front of non-Communist opposition parties in the state.

Reaction's Strategy

Devil and some others of similar views are actively trying to rope in Sant Fateh Singh and his supporters into this alliance. With this end in view, they have been trying to bring about a rapprochement between Sant Fateh Singh and Master Tara Singh, so that the Akali support could be ensured for a reactionary alliance. Though the attempt has not succeeded so far, it continues.

Commenting on these moves and the present situation in the state, Achar Singh Malhotra, secretary of the Punjab State council of the Communist Party of India told NEW AGE in an interview, that it will be harmful to the interests of the people of Punjab if these moves for a united front of so-called non-Communist opposition parties were to succeed.

The main gainers in such a united front will be the Jan Sangh, the Swatantra and other

Squabbles Reach New High in Punjab Congress

From OUR CORRESPONDENT

reactionaries. On the other hand, a progressive united front against the Congress is the dire need of the hour and of the next elections too.

"What is necessary is to provide a progressive alternative to Congress as against a reactionary alternative. And it is possible to present such an alternative before the people of Punjab today," he said.

Avatar Singh Malhorta said that this would, however, depend on the awareness of other leftist and progressive sections, of the dangers accruing from these moves for a reactionary alternative to Congress, and also on increasing the Communist Party's own mobilising capacity.

In this connection, the Communist leader pointed out that the Party in the Punjab has taken up a number of national political and local issues recently, and is paying special attention to mobilising masses on them.

Among them, he listed particularly the campaign launched by the Party against American intrigues to help Pak aggression in the Rann of Kutch, the campaign to demand the withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam and end American aggression against North Vietnam, and the campaign for the nationalisation of foreign oil companies.

Punjab has suffered very much from the recent diesel shortage artificially created by the foreign oil companies. The CPI has taken

up the issue and held mass meetings. A poster on the subject is being issued.

Another positive feature of the situation, Avtar Singh Malhorta pointed out, has been the activation of mass organisations. There was the heroic strike of Amritsar textile workers lasting for 53 days. Now attention is focussed on the Kisan front and steps are being taken to reactivate the Kisan Sabha and the Dehati Mazdoor Sabha (agricultural labourers' organisation).

A youth conference has been held at Shakat in Jullundur district and preparations are now under way for holding the state youth festival in the middle of July in Ludhiana.

The state conference of the Lok Istree Sabha (women's organisation) is scheduled in Jullundur in the fourth week of July and its preparatory work has made progress. Meetings of women and collection of funds for the conference is going on. The All India conference of the National Federation of Indian Women also is to be held in Punjab, in Amritsar in October.

This attempt at disruption by the "leftists" has come at a time when there is all the more need for unity and action by the peasantry to protect their rights, Avtar Singh Malhorta said.

Following the last harvest of the wheat crop, government had decided to procure 1.5 lakh tons of grain, but in the absence of state trading and even effective procurement machinery, the peasant has been left to the mercy of private traders and exploiters, he pointed out.

Though the government has fixed a floor price for procurement, since there is no effective government machinery to buy grain from the peasants at that price, the latter are forced to sell their product to private traders at even lesser prices.

While the peasant is thus fleeced and stocks are covered by wholesalers, there is every possibility that after one or two months, the price in the open market will go up and the consumers will be left to the exploitation of hoarders and black-marketeers. The government has not fixed any maximum price for the consumer.

The present experience has sharply underlined, Avtar Singh Malhorta said, the necessity of introducing state trading in food-grains, an effective procurement machinery and a maximum price for the consumer.

Andhra NGOs Demonstrate

From MOHIT SEN

HYDERABAD: The protest day of the government employees in Andhra was a tremendous success.

On June 26 Hyderabad saw one of the biggest demonstrations in recent times. A conservative estimate would put the number of demonstrators at 80 thousand.

A notable feature was the unity displayed between the NGOs, teachers and Class IV employees on the one hand and the workers of various governmental departmental undertakings on the other.

The clerks, the teachers and the peons jostled shoulders with the PWD workers, medical employees, press workers in a veritable symphony of militancy and discipline.

The government employees had printed small flags with the main slogans of action. One such slogan expressed their readiness to do their all for the defence of the country.

Another took up Justice Das' ruling: DA is not a matter of charity. Still another demanded immediate interim relief. Representation on the Pay Commission, full citizenship rights and the need for unity were among the other slogans.

The immediate issue on which the Joint Council of Action of the NGOs, teachers and Class IV employees is concentrating relates to the issue of interim relief.

The NGOs' popular leader Sriramulu declared that it was a very simple question. The government had simply to raise the DA now being given to the level already fixed by the Madras and Mysore governments.

He stated that this was not a question into which the Pay Commission had to go. The learned judge should not waste his time on the matter.

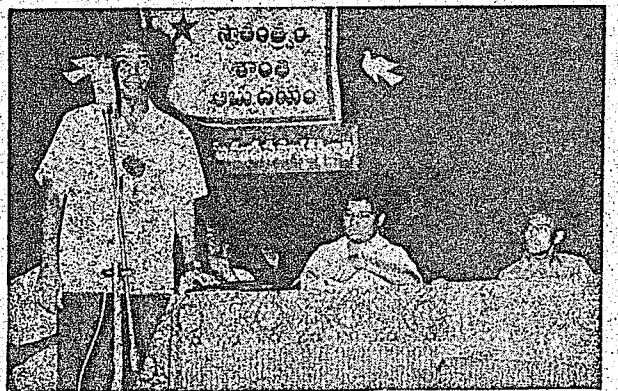
This was an issue directly between the government and its employees as of now—there were no problems of grades, scales etc. to be gone into.

In a fighting speech congratulating the demonstrators, he asked: are you ready for action, whatever form becomes necessary? Tens of thousands raised a mighty shout—ready! ready!

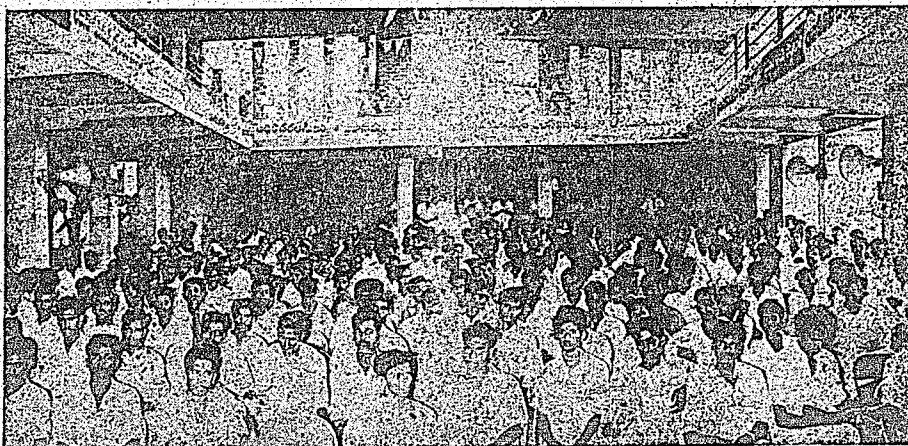
The government employees have served notice that unless the government takes a proper decision by July 9, they will take to direct action.

The speakers at the meeting included K. L. Mahendra of the Andhra state unit of the AITUC. In Vijayawada, an impressive procession of thousands of government employees marched through the main streets and declared their intention to go for still stronger forms of protest in July if the government proved adamant.

Reports have been received of similar demonstrations in Kakinada, Guntur, Rajahmundry, etc. On June 27 there will be demonstrations in the smaller mofussil towns.



Narayan Rao presenting the general secretary's report at the delegates session (below) of Andhra Youth Federation Conference.



ALGERIAN COUP DENOUNCED

Despite Repression Popular Resistance Grows Against New Regime

The uncertainty about the political correlation of forces as it stood on June 19 and a couple of days after the coup in Algiers, is now over. The events during the last week throughout Algeria have shown that the people are not going to accept the reactionary regime of Boumedienne and are preparing to put up a defiant fight.

There is now a popular upsurge in Algeria against the new regime and military officers are trying to quell it by using brute force. In Oran, Constantine, Algiers, Bone, Philippeville and many other cities and towns of Algeria

there have been powerful manifestations against the Boumedienne regime demanding restoration of Ben Bella to power.

According to the French Communist Party's central organ L'HUMANITE 10 per-

cents have been shot in Oran, 50 in Bone and 150 in Philippeville, by the army. Sporadic shootings have taken place in Algiers itself.

According to some sources, Hadj Ben Allah, the former president of the National Assembly is believed to have been killed. The office of the central organ of the Algerian Liberation Front, ALGER REPUBLICAN, is under the control of the army and since the day of coup no other paper except the one run by the military junta—the MOUJAHID—has been allowed to be published. Henri Alleg, Boualem Khalfa and Abdehamid Benzine are missing. Several hundreds of FLN leaders are in custody.

A group of militants of the FLN has already called upon the people of Algeria to organise a fierce resistance to the "reactionary coup".

The central organisation of the trade unions in Algeria which was called upon by Boumedienne to send a representative to his "revolutionary council" has not yet done so.

Heykal, the editor of the influential UAR daily AL AHRAH in an article pointed out that 70 per cent of the people in Algeria are with Ben Bella and against Boumedienne.

A leaflet distributed on June 25 in Algiers announced the formation of Movement for People's Liberation and called for a relentless struggle against the military ruler Boumedienne.

Several thousands of people demonstrated in the heart

of Algiers on June 25 demanding the release of Ben Bella and shouting "Down with Boumedienne." The demonstrators were dispersed by tear gas and sub-machine-gun fire. The number of casualties is not known.

The Cuban Prime Minister Fidel Castro has denounced the Algerian coup in unmistakable terms. He said that to side with the new regime would be the worst form of political opportunism.

"We do not act as opportunists, but as Marxist-Leninists," he said on June 26 at Havana in a nationwide television broadcast.

He openly expressed support to Ben Bella and asked "who could deny that Ben Bella was a leader of the Algerian people?" "Who could deny his historic position in Algeria and the revolution?"

Elaborating the point he added: "who could say Ben Bella was not a revolutionary, was not interpreting the sentiments of Algeria, that Ben Bella was a traitor to the revolution or was an imperialist, that Ben Bella was a reactionary or a despot?"

Referring to the coup and its leader Boumedienne, he said that "military despotism, political reactionism and repression cannot last in a country whose people rose to independence through hundreds of thousands of dead and fought against an army much better armed than that of Boumedienne."

On Bouteflika, Castro said, "revolutionary positions (in Algeria—ed.) were represent-

ed by Ben Bella, not by Bouteflika, the Foreign Minister whose insubordination marked the culminating point of the putsch."

"Bouteflika is not a revolutionary but a man of the right, an enemy of socialism, an enemy of revolution. Bou-

President Ben Bella and other arrested leaders.

Far from wishing to interfere into the domestic affairs of a country which displayed such admirable heroism in the struggle for its sovereign rights, the statement says, the International Association

moved from power.

THE OBSERVER of London has described in a tongue-in-the-cheek manner that "the cabinet, the political bureau of the party, the men who sit far into the night on revolutionary councils are all Ben Bella's colleagues. There are no outsiders. The new team is identical with the old one, except that Ben Bella is gone and with him a small group of Communists who had occupied positions of influence in his immediate entourage. In the press, the radio and the government machine."

Other papers suddenly discovered that Ben Bella had been ruining the country and Boumedienne came forward to save it. Take for example the TIME report: "... Ben Bella's bumbling efforts have wrecked Algeria's economy and agriculture. More than 30 per cent of the work force is unemployed, and 3,000,000 Algerians are being kept alive by surplus US wheat. France has been contributing outright aid more than \$200 million a year, and was currently negotiating a new Algerian oil deal with Ben Bella."

NEW YORK TIMES went one step further. It even suggested that in fact Ben Bella himself had been planning a coup against Boumedienne and other army officers. Boumedienne scotched it in time by a counter coup.

But what was really happening in Algeria under the direction of the FLN with Ben Bella at its head? Some facts would be revealing:

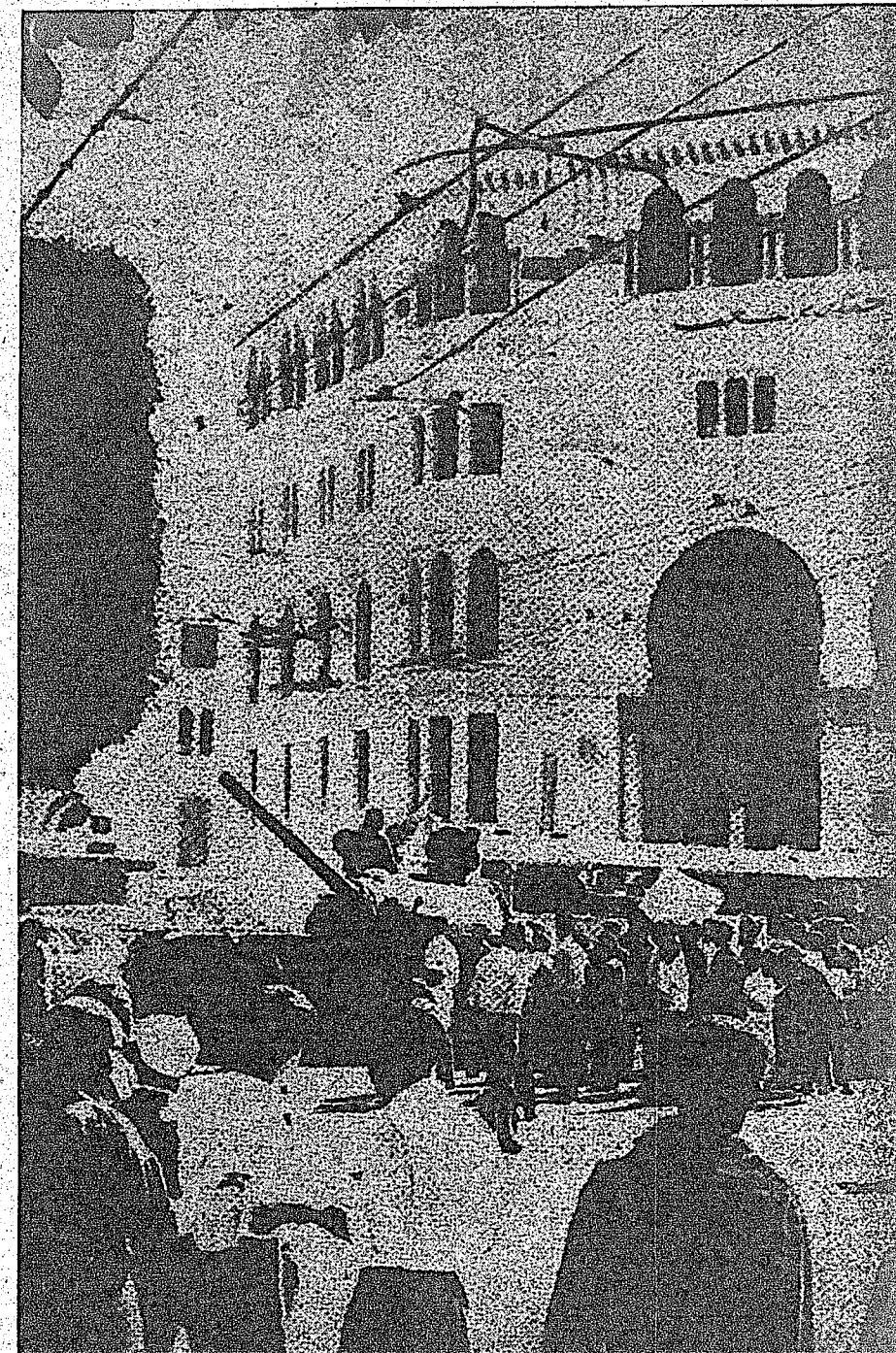
By January 1965 about 1.4 million students were studying in schools. This number was 90 per cent of all the children of school-going age in Algeria. Before independence only two out of 100 teachers were Algerians; by January 1965 this proportion decreased to 46:54.

In 1964, 6,500 students attended university lectures as against only about 2,000 two years earlier.

There are about eight million Algerians and the total arable land barely exceeds six million hectares; even this area is also under continuous erosion. During the war the colonialists' napalm bombs reduced to ashes more than one million hectares of forests. The reforestation programme undertaken by the FLN had helped to reclaim considerable areas. The self-government sector in agriculture grew stronger every day proving the western forecast about its failure only a wishful thinking.

The FLN put Algeria on a firm base depending on which the country undertook massive industrialisation programme. Already in September 1964, over 400 industrial enterprises with 15,500 workers had been set up which were being run successfully on the principles of workers' self-management.

On the eve of the revolution Algeria's imports from France exceeded its exports three-fold. A large chronic deficit in the trade balance weighed heavily on the Algerian economy binding it



Popular demonstration in Algiers. A tank is poised against the demonstrators

YOUTH FESTIVAL OUT OF ALGERIA

THE Boumedienne government has arrested the general secretary and the national secretary of the youth wing of the FLN besides a number of other activists. The work of the Permanent Commission of International Preparatory Committee of IX World Youth Festival, which had its headquarters at Algiers, has been rendered impossible.

A resolution of the Permanent Commission of the IPC, which was handed over to the UNITA correspondent at Algiers by a member of the commission and which was published on June 27 states: "Since June 19 the members of the Permanent Com-

mission have been isolated inside Algiers. They have no opportunity of establishing contact with their countries. In such conditions the commission cannot continue the preparations for IX World Youth Festival..."

Reports available later indicate that it is virtually the opinion of the majority of the participating countries in the IPC that the festival should not be held in Algiers and that its venue must be shifted immediately.

On June 26, the available members of the Permanent Commission met in Paris to take stock of the situation. It has convened a meeting of the IPC in the first week of July to take a final decision about the venue and time of the festival.

Young generation: FLN guaranteed new opportunities

teflika is reactionary." The general secretary of the French Communist Party Waldek Rochet has described the Algerian coup d'etat as "a heavy blow to the cause of the new Algeria and the national liberation movement of the people."

Reports reaching Paris reveal that the correspondent of L'HUMANITE in Algiers, Robert Lambotte, had been arrested at his residence in the early morning of June 28 and later expelled from Algiers.

Mario Alicata, member of the central secretariat of the Italian Communist Party, in an article published in L'UNITA on June 28 said that Boumedienne has done "terrible damage" to Algeria and the Arab peoples.

The Yugoslav daily KOMMUNIST has outlined the grim prospects of the military rule under Boumedienne. In the matter of internal affairs, the paper says that the new rule "will replace the advanced institutions, interrupting the dynamic development of the country."

In international affairs, the paper says, the new men will limit the former broad scope of Algerian activity, especially for liberation movement.

The International Association of Democratic Lawyers in a statement issued in Paris on June 28 expressed "profound alarm in connection with the arrests and disappearance of some individuals during the recent events in Algeria."

The organisation is alarmed by the absence of any information about the fate of

of Democratic Lawyers, which tirelessly supported the Algerian people's struggle for independence, nevertheless demands the protection of the life and security of these people and respect for the principles outlined in the general Declaration of Human Rights.

Just before the coup the central committee of the FLN was scheduled to meet to decide on a number of issues concerning land reforms, cooperatives and similar other vital matters. The new government has not convened the meeting so far nor does it show any desire to do so in the near future.

The real face of the Boumedienne government is further revealed in an unmistakable manner if one takes into account the way western newspapers hailed the coup. They gleefully described that the coup is anti-Communist but maintained deliberate silence as regards the approach of the coup leaders to the socialist reconstruction programme undertaken by the FLN in Algeria.

The most urgent problems of the country, the organisational strengthening of the FLN, the continuation of the fight against the remnants of counter-revolution, the implementation of agrarian reforms, and the problem of rehabilitation of former fighters etc., do not merit mention in the western press.

The western papers seek to give an impression that the coup has virtually changed nothing except that one person, Ben Bella, has been re-



The flag of freedom: jubilant Algerians celebrate the anniversary of independence (1964)

SOVIET PRESS ON ALGERIAN EVENTS

From MASOOD ALI KHAN

MOSCOW. The events in Algeria continue to remain in the centre of attention here.

The Soviet press has taken the attitude of critical caution and restraint. No pronouncements have been made which could mean any approval of the methods and the turn of events in Algeria.

Unlike the Chinese, the Soviet government has not rushed in with recognition and pats on the back of the new regime.

The press has given considerable publicity to the disturbances in Algeria and the pro-Ben-Bella demonstrations there.

The resolutions of the Italian Communist Party and the International Association of Democratic Lawyers, which express alarm and anxiety at the happenings in Algeria, were published.

Arrests and disappearance of individuals, the prevention of the work of the democratic organisations of Algerian revolution have been mentioned. Concern has

been expressed in these statements over the fate of Ben Bella and other activists of the National Liberation Front (FLN).

The Italian Communist Party hopes that the Algerian people will be able to reestablish their unity to continue their advance towards socialism and desires that Ben Bella and prominent workers of the FLN be saved and returned to social life and work as soon as possible.

As far as the conference of Afro-Asian heads of governments is concerned, Soviet political observers continue to stress the need of unity of the Afro-Asian movement.

They emphasised that the dates and place of the next conference must not be made issues for disunity and disruption and the maximum participation in the conference should be the aim. The conference of just a few states would defeat the anti-imperialist purpose of the conference.

Party Press Month

The Party Press Month (one month during the period May 15 to June 30) is being currently observed throughout the country. Of the highpoints of the campaign, the most important one is the mass-scale drive for popularisation of the Party papers published by the centre, namely the central organ NEW AGE weekly (English), JANYUG weekly (Hindi) and HAYAT weekly (Urdu).

In order to intensify the WIN MORE READERS campaign, the central secretariat has decided to offer incentives to enterprising Party members and sympathisers who would take initiative in securing subscribers for these papers.

The incentives offered by the central secretariat are as follows and are valid till August 15, 1965. It is, of course, understood that crediting of subscriptions to one's name will be considered only after the amount has been received at the managerial offices of these papers.

PRIZES

★ For those who would secure FIVE ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS or TEN HALF-YEARLY SUBSCRIPTIONS or TWENTY QUARTERLY SUBSCRIPTIONS of any one of the three papers or the three papers together:

One-year free supply of one copy of either of the three papers.

★ For TEN ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS or equivalent thereto:

Coupons worth Rs. 30 negotiable with the People's Publishing House, New Delhi for buying books according to choice.

★ For TWENTYFIVE ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS or equivalent thereto:

Rs. 100 in cash or utility goods of that amount according to choice.

★ For ONE HUNDRED ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS or equivalent thereto:

Rs. 300 in cash or utility goods of that amount according to choice.

★ Those who would secure 100 or more annual subscriptions or equivalent thereto, would also have:

- His photograph and a short life-sketch published in the Party papers.
- The fact of this achievement recorded in the Party card, if he is a Party member.
- Be declared as a honorary member of the NEW AGE family.

★ Those who would secure highest number of subscriptions (beyond 100 annual subscriptions or equivalent thereto) shall have the distinction of receiving:

- Cash prizes or utility goods worth a big sum, the exact amount of which is to be decided by the Party's central secretariat;
- Special honour by the Party and the Party press; and
- Special awards and benefits.

Agents Note

★ For six weeks, any time upto August 15, 1965, agents can receive extra copies in addition to their existing orders on SALE OR RETURN basis. The number of extra copies ordered must be reasonable.

★ On the extra copies sold, a commission of 40 per cent will be allowed for six weeks effective from the date of the order.

★ After six weeks, when sale of extra copies would be stabilised, new terms can be worked out for the entire bulk of copies to be sold every week.

NCDC WORKERS TO STRIKE ON BONUS

From OUR CORRESPONDENT

PATNA: The general council of the Coal Workers Union which represents the workers of the public sector National Coal Development Cooperation has decided to go on strike against the reactionary modifications effected by the government in the Bonus Commission recommendations.

A meeting of the council on June 13 decided to conduct a strike ballot on the issue of bonus by the end of July.

The Bihar Mica Mazdoor Sangathan has also decided to organise a general strike of the mica workers for redressal of their grievances which includes the deletion of the reactionary provisions of the Bonus Ordinance.

Other demands of the mica workers are 25 per cent increase in wages, introduction of DA linked to the cost of living index, etc.

More than a thousand coal and mica workers demonstrated before the sub-divisional officer of Giridih and submitted a memorandum which demanded the deletion of the reactionary provisions of the Bonus Ordinance and adequate supply of food rations.

Attendance Bonus

The bonus struggle of the coal workers of the NCDC has a long history. Coalminers have never had the benefit of profit bonus; they have only an attendance bonus, paid quarterly and equivalent to one month's basic wage.

So, when the Bonus Commission made its recommendations providing for a minimum four per cent bonus irrespective of profits or losses, there was great enthusiasm among the coal workers.

The NCDC produces about one-sixth of the total coal in the country. And Hazaribagh district produces 80 per cent of the NCDC coal.

However, the NCDC authorities created many a doubt about their intentions. They not only talked about losses but retrenched quite a few workers early this year and were talking of more retrenchment.

An impression was sought to be created among the miners that payment of profit bonus would add to the losses thereby increasing the threat of more closures of mines and subsequent retrenchment.

This propaganda created grave doubts in the minds of the workers; for that would be like going in for cake and loosing even the bread they have.

The CWU however countered the argument of the NCDC management. It was pointed out that it was the pro-private sector attitude of the NCDC management which was resulting in losses to the public sector concern.

It is true that the NCDC hardly makes any profit. About a dozen of prospected mines and even some working mines have recently been closed. More mines are on the closure list.

The NCDC has a potential capacity of 31 million tons and a rated capacity of 18 million tons. But last year production was reduced by two million tons to just a total of eight million tons.

Such a policy of bringing down the production would certainly increase the losses. And further closures would only increase the losses and not reduce them.

Why is it that the NCDC cannot step up its production and make itself a paying concern? The authorities claim that there is no market for coal. But that is a lame argument.

It is true that since last year there is a peculiar phenomenon of temporary over-production in coal due to imbalance in planning. Selection of certain categories of coal for power generation and the desilencing of the Railways are slackening the demand for coal.

But instead of going into the restricted market in a competitive manner, the NCDC seems to take the easy way out by reducing production. It can only have one aim: help the private sector to have the field to itself. And it is exactly this attitude that is responsible for the losses of the NCDC.

The CWU pointed out that the Energy Commission had estimated that the public sector undertakings of the Centre and the states together required a total of 57 million tons of coal. The NCDC produced only eight million tons of coal.

Workers' Unity

If only the government laid down a policy that all public sector concerns should give priority to NCDC while buying coal, the problem would be solved and the public sector would be given a boost.

Even while campaigning on this issue, another problem which faced the CWU was that of forging the unity of all the 45 thousand miners in the area. The influence of ATTUC spread to just half of these workers; the INTUC influenced the rest. Though there is an HMS union also, it did not have a big following.

In the first week of February 1965 the CWU held a bonus conference, which created considerable enthusiasm among the workers. The conference decided to

have a strike ballot on the issue of bonus.

The CWU held the strike ballot by setting up 88 polling booths covering 35 thousand workers. As many as 68 per cent of these workers voted, 98 per cent of them in favour of the strike. In some areas no ballot could be held because there was no CWU organisation.

The HMS openly opposed the strike. But its own followers among the workers attacked their leadership and came in active support of the strike.

The reaction of INTUC was to turn the bonus struggle into a fight between the Congress and the Communist Party. It came out with pamphlets attacking the CWU and the CPI.

The CWU however did not get provoked. It offered to support any struggle for bonus which the INTUC conducted. This resulted in the rank and file of the INTUC pressing the leadership to take up the bonus issue.

The approach had its critics in the CWU also. A small group of "left" Communists wanted to go hammer and tongs against the INTUC and spoil all chances of united action with the workers under the INTUC's influence.

Intensive Campaign

Some intensive campaigning done in the pits by the CWU and its dedicated workers helped in bringing round a large section of the INTUC following to favour the strike. They promised to abstain from work provided the CWU was able to keep strong pickets at pit-heads.

The strike was to take place on March 22. And by the second week of March it was clear that it was going to be a tremendous success.

On March 20 the Minister for Mines gave an assurance in Parliament that there would be no retrenchment and that the bonus issue would be settled through negotiations.

On March 21 the NCDC opened negotiations with the CWU and promised to settle the issue of bonus within a month's time.

However, the issue of bonus is still pending. And the government has in the process of issuing an ordinance introduced retrograde provisions into it.

The coal workers of Hazaribagh and neighbouring areas are determined to resist this reactionary onslaught. That is what their decision to take a strike ballot again shows.

This time there would no division between the ATTUC and INTUC workers. They are all united and determined to win their rights, particularly bonus.

New Journal Of 'Marxists' Peddles Old Splitting Wares

NEW AGE had looked forward to the birth of the PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY, the new central organ of the "Marxists", in the hope that it would, for all its differences with the Communist Party of India, be another powerful organ in the common struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

In a country, where such a large part of the effective press is controlled by monopoly interests, any addition to the family of anti-monopoly journals is welcome. But NEW AGE had more reason than that to welcome the decision of the "Marxists" to launch PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY: for in the present context of the increased offensive of imperialism and reaction, the necessity has grown greater than ever for united action in all fields by the Communist Party of India and the "Marxists"; and in working for such action, NEW AGE looked

forward to cooperation from the new central organ of the "Marxists". The inaugural issue of PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY (dated June 27) is now in our hands. A careful reading of its 16 pages leaves one in no doubt that those responsible for its editing and direction have not the slightest intention to work for that unity and united action among Communists, which is so vital at this moment for the future of our toiling masses.

Every single page which deals with national news or

comments is sullied with lying slanders and abuses against the Communist Party of India.

Naturally, when there are differences on ideological issues, one expects discussion of these issues, criticism and polemical thrusts—preferably in a fraternal and constructive manner, but in any case, based on facts and not on deliberately concocted fabrications.

But PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY is unfortunately not discussing the differences on ideological and political issues between the party it represents and the Communist Party of India; all it is doing is to peddle the old wares of splitism—slander, lies, abuse.

Mission Of Slander

On the front page itself, an article titled "Our Mission" (signed by Jyoti Basu who is announced as the editor of the journal) deliberately distorts the Programme of the Communist Party of India in the crudest possible manner. It says:

"The revisionists (the journal never calls the Communist Party of India by any other name than "revisionists" or "Dangeites") dream of effecting fundamental changes under the leadership of a section of the Congress representing the national bourgeoisie, which will oppose monopolists and condescend to share power with the workingclass. ... It is their objective to work for some sort of a coalition Government with a section of the Congress party, and in this combine, the working masses to begin with, will be junior partners. They are afraid to visualise workingclass leadership lest the national bourgeoisie is frightened."

It is regrettable that this crass distortion of the Programme of the Communist Party of India should be made in print in the "inaugural issue" of PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY, and under the signature of Jyoti Basu.

This distortion is the normal stock-in-trade of the "Marxists" in the course of their verbal campaign of vilification against the Communist Party, but to see it in cold print in the central organ of the Marxist Party is another matter.

Not wishing to enter into further details, all that is necessary is to quote the relevant passage from the Programme of the Communist Party of India and leave it to any honest man to judge whether Jyoti Basu's "interpretation" has any relation to reality.

The Programme of the Communist Party, adopted at the Seventh Congress in Bombay, says:

"As the National Democratic Front becomes ever more broad-based, militant and powerful in the course of the rising tempo of the mass movement, it defeats the forces of reaction inside and outside the ruling party and comes to the position of taking governmental power into its own hands."

"As the National Democratic Front is born out of struggles, mainly led by the workingclass in alliance with the peasantry, and the revolutionary middleclasses, along with whom the patriotic sections of the national bourgeoisie will also play a positive role and become its component part, the front on assuming power will eliminate the grip of foreign monopoly and break Indian monopoly combines, carry out fully all the necessary land reforms and establish national democracy."

"The state will no longer be the organ of the class rule of the bourgeoisie developing capitalist economy accompanied by its inherent contradictions and crises to the detriment of national interests and the interests of the common people. The monopoly of power of the bourgeoisie will be ended."

"The national democratic state in the hands of the National Democratic Front will be a transitional stage, in which power will be jointly exercised by all those classes which are interested in eradicating imperialist interests, routing the semi-feudal elements and breaking the power of the monopolies. In this class alliance, the exclusive leadership of the workingclass is not yet established, though the exclusive leadership of the bourgeoisie no longer exists."

"As the government of the National Democratic Front and the class alliance it represents will be based on the worker-peasant alliance as its pivot, the workingclass will increasingly come to occupy the leading position in the alliance, as it is this class which is the conscious initiator of the National Democratic Front."

(Programme of the Communist Party of India, p. 41)

Where does the editor of PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY find any mention of "effecting fundamental changes under the leadership of a section of the Congress, representing the national bourgeoisie?" Where does he find mention of a "coalition Government" with "a section of the Congress"?

There is a feeble reference to colonialism and to disarmament but not one word about the great movement for world peace, participation in which is a primary task for all Communists the world over.

One could dismiss these omissions as merely slips, if it were not also a fact that in the whole paper, there is not one word said, directly or indirectly, in criticism of the parties of right reaction like the Swatantra or the Jan Sangh.

The articles on Vietnam and the Dominican Republic correctly glorify the valiant struggles of the peoples of these countries against US imperialism, but conveniently ignore the worldwide solidarity actions of the peace movement.

Far from "being afraid of visualising workingclass leadership", the Programme repeatedly emphasises precisely this leadership, as is clear as daylight from

its relevant paragraphs quoted above, particularly the last paragraph.

The CPI states its position boldly and clearly. The government of the national democratic front is not envisaged as "under the leadership" of any "section of the Congress representing the national bourgeoisie." The Programme categorically refutes this concept.

It clearly and explicitly debunks any notion of the working masses being "junior partners" in the government, even at the very first stage.

And yet the editor of PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY, presumably counting on the ignorance of his readers, distorts the Communist Party's position in order to "prove" his charge of "revisionism" and of being "agents of the Congress".

One would welcome honest discussion: but this is plain distortion, and abuse based on that distortion.

Jyoti Basu's editorial "Our Mission" is followed by General Secretary E. M. S. Namboodripad's article titled "The Gap Our Weekly Will Fill". Suffice it to say that of the four columns this article covers, nearly three are devoted to an attack on the Communist Party of India and its newspapers. Here too the attack is full of totally unfounded charges and assertions.

CPI Is Enemy No. 1!

Namboodripad's article makes it clear that the key purpose of PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY is "to express the point of view of those who are carrying on a determined struggle against Right revisionism within the Communist movement."

Evidently "Right revisionism" is Enemy No. 1 for Comrade Namboodripad. For, though he lists a whole series of struggles which he says PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY will do its utmost to carry out, there is no mention either of the struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism, which threaten India or of the struggle against right reaction in this country.

Willful Distortion

Where does he find any suggestion that the "working masses" at any stage are to be "junior partners"?

And how did he jump to the conclusion that the CPI is "afraid" to "visualise workingclass leadership"?

The editor of PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY and his colleagues of the Politbureau of the "Marxist" party have read and studied the CPI's Programme well. Therefore, they cannot plead ignorance.

Far from "being afraid of visualising workingclass leadership", the Programme repeatedly emphasises precisely this leadership, as is clear as daylight from

FIRST ISSUE OUT

PARTY LIFE

Inner-Party Journal

To be published every month in English by the Organisational Department of the National Council of the Communist Party of India.

PARTY LIFE will regularly carry: (i) inner-Party reviews containing critical appraisals of mass and political struggles; (ii) experiences of building the Party and mass organisations; (iii) lessons of building the united front; (iv) contributions of Party cadres and members containing their opinions and experiences on political, ideological and organisational problems facing the Party, including the resolutions of the Party. This does not mean that a general discussion can be opened on issues on which the National Council has taken a decision and has not thrown it open for general discussion; (v) clarifications of Party line when and if necessary. (From the resolution of the National Council, April 2, 1965).

First issue contains:

- Promotion of new cadres—by C. Rajeshwar Rao
- Party and youth front—by Sarada Mitra
- Discussion on functioning of Party Branches

Please send immediately your contributions, especially on experiences of functioning of Party branches.

Annual subscription Rs. 5.00 } Note: Subscriptions will be accepted only through the Party units.
Single Copy Re. 0.50 }

Send all contributions to:

The Organisational Department of the National Council of the Communist Party of India
Central Office
7/4 Asaf Ali Road, New Delhi.

All money-orders, cheques and managerial communications should be addressed to T. MADHAVAN, Communist Party Office, 7/4 Asaf Ali Road, New Delhi.

RSS CAMP: TRAINING FOR SUBVERSION

From K. GOPALAN

PATNA: A one-month officers' training camp of the RSS (popularly called OTC in RSS circles), which was held here under strict secrecy and heavy security measures, has attracted the attention of political circles.

THIS was one of the eleven OTCs simultaneously organised in different parts of the country to train the "officers" of the RSS, who will head the thousands of "shakhas" all over the country. This is considered a bid on the part of the RSS to expand its paramilitary organisation, by taking advantage of "the favourable situation" created by the recent Pakistani aggression on the borders.

The Patna OTC was considered in RSS circles most important because of its "international character". This was the first camp in which RSS organisers from a foreign country, Nepal, were admitted in large numbers.

The RSS leaders are naturally jubilant over their success in establishing close co-ordination in the RSS activities in Nepal and India through Bihar. They are confident that the "Hindu Kingdom" would be a safe base for RSS operations in the event of an emergency. RSS sources indicated that the camp had the blessing of King Mahendra of Nepal.

Over 400 officers from Nepal and different districts of Bihar attended the camp. It was held in Jalan High School, a government recognised educational institution. The SDO, Patna city is the chairman of the managing committee of the school.

In view of the importance attached to the Patna camp all top brasses of the RSS, including its chief M. S. Golwalkar, came down to brief the officers of the strategy and tactics of the RSS in the present circumstances. Briefings were made in closed-door meetings.

Even RSS men who were not admitted in the OTC were prohibited from entering the premises of the camp and attending the closed-door meetings. Arrival and departure of the top RSS leaders were also kept very secret.

READERS AND CORRESPONDENTS PLEASE NOTE

All communications for the editorial department of New Age should be sent to the following address:

New Age Weekly
5 Rani Jhansi Road
NEW DELHI 1

Those who were admitted in the camp were not allowed to go out during the whole month.

According to RSS sources a number of government employees including some top officers were among the trainees. But all of them were admitted under fictitious names. In order to maintain strict secrecy, RSS discipline prohibits seeking personal introduction among camp mates.

Guerilla Training

Apart from routine parades, regular training in mock fight, guerilla warfare, handling of fire arms etc. were taught to the trainees.

Golwalkar is learnt to have told the trainees that people have completely lost faith in the capacity of the government to protect the country and its cultural heritage. This situation had provided a golden opportunity to the RSS to

attract more and more Hindu young men in its fold.

He asked them to mobilise the people through the attractive slogans of self-defence and national defence from "external and internal enemies." The RSS Chief impressed upon his followers that this time their crusade against the Muslim minority and the desecrated government would bring more favourable results than ever before. He asked them to keep the entire RSS rank and file alert to meet any emergency.

It is indicated in RSS encircles here that Golwalkar was planning to start a bigger training centre somewhere in Nepal in the near future. Selected RSS organisers from all over India and Nepal would be given "higher form of training" in that camp. The RSS chief thinks that there would be more freedom in Nepal for organising advanced course of training for officers and men.

Despite these highly prejudicial activities of the RSS the government appears to be indifferent. No step has been taken by the government to curb the provocative activities of this communal organisation. This has created misgivings among the people here.

Old Wares Of Splittism

*FROM PAGE 11

Even more alarming is the refusal to say a word in the whole issue regarding the role of the Soviet Union in the struggle for peace, in solidarity with the peoples fighting against imperialism, and particularly in assisting India in defending its independence and sovereignty.

There is no mention of the Soviet Union or other socialist countries in the write-ups on Vietnam and the Dominican Republic.

And to cap it all, an article on the Second Afro-Asian Summit conveniently ignores the question of the participation in it of the Soviet Union—not one word is said about this vital question, presumably again not because of any ignorant slip, but as a conscious decision.

If one takes this silence together with the open anti-Sovietism in the other papers of the "Marxists" (one example we published in last week's NEW AGE, taken from the Bengali organ of the "Marxists", DESH HITAI-SHI) it is clear that, despite the protestations of certain of the "Marxist" leaders now in charge of the party apparatus, the anti-Soviet dogmatic ideological positions in the international Communist movement are fully shared by the "Marxists".

Before concluding, it is necessary to say a word about the unfortunate attitude taken by

DHORI: What Is Govt's Aim?

WE strongly protest against the way the court of enquiry into the Dhori mine disaster has been formed.

The trade unions have once again been ignored. What is most sinister is the inclusion of an employee of a monopolist concern like the Tatas while Members of Parliament have been excluded from the Assessors' list.

All these have created serious doubts in the minds of the working people as to the true intention of the government.

We therefore demand the inclusion of a trade union representative and a Member of Parliament and the exclusion of all employees of private sector from the proposed enquiry.

DEVEN SEN
President, All Indian Khan
Mazdur Federation
KALYAN ROY
General Secretary, Indian
Mine Workers Federation
Calcutta

House Rent And Taxes

IN accordance with Section 10/15A of the Direct Taxes (Amendment) Act 1964 and Rule 2A thereof, income tax assesses are allowed to deduct upto Rs. 300/- per month (of course with certain qualifications and conditions) if a part of the return for

labour is named by the employees as "rent allowance."

Generally, in this country, most of the employers are not interested in the welfare of their employees and are not interested even in taking advantage of certain facilities offered by the government towards housing their employees.

As regards the governments are concerned, they provide accommodation to at least a fraction of their employees and hence the governments consider a part of the "return for labour" as house rent allowance; consequently the government servants benefit in accordance with the above section and rules.

Similarly, the managerial and executive staff of the industrial concerns (in accordance with the policy of enabling the rich to become richer) specifies certain portion of the return for their labour as house rent allowance and they also get the same benefit. This should be viewed in the context that the cost of living index has a house rent element and even otherwise the salary includes rent element.

But the vast majority of wage earners, and especially those to whom a double up rate of 100 per cent on the second Rs. 5000 as compared to the first Rs. 5000 has been charged are denied of this benefit simply because no fraction of their return for labour is termed as house rent allowance.

Will the government be kind enough to somehow afford the benefit (at the same time safeguarding the Provident Fund contribution) to the vast majority whose lot the socialism it professes aims to improve.

S. VISWANATHAN

New Delhi

Youth Festival

THE recent changes in Algeria, the news of demonstrations and clashes which have followed since then and particularly the arrest of several leaders of the Youth of FLN, which is the host organisation of the World Youth Festival, have raised grave doubts about the advisability of holding the Ninth World Festival of Youth and Students in Algiers as scheduled.

The postponement of the Afro-Asian summit conference has further confirmed our view that the present situation in Algeria is not favourable for holding an international gathering like a World Youth Festival to which 25,000 youth from all over the world are expected to participate.

We are of the opinion that the International Preparatory Committee should not waste any more time. The Ninth World Festival should not be postponed indefinitely. An urgent meeting of the IPC should be convened to decide a change of venue.

SARADA MITRA
General Secretary,
All-India Youth Federation
New Delhi

(June 28) New Delhi

LETTERS

GYANI HIRA SINGH "DARD"

IN the death of Gyani Hira Singh "Dard" on June 22, the Communist Party in the Punjab has lost a standard bearer and the entire Punjabi literary world a writer and poet whose contribution to Punjabi is perhaps not excelled by anyone in recent times.

Gyani was 77 at the time of his death. From the days of Jallianwalla Bagh to his last hours, he took an active part in the political struggle of our people.

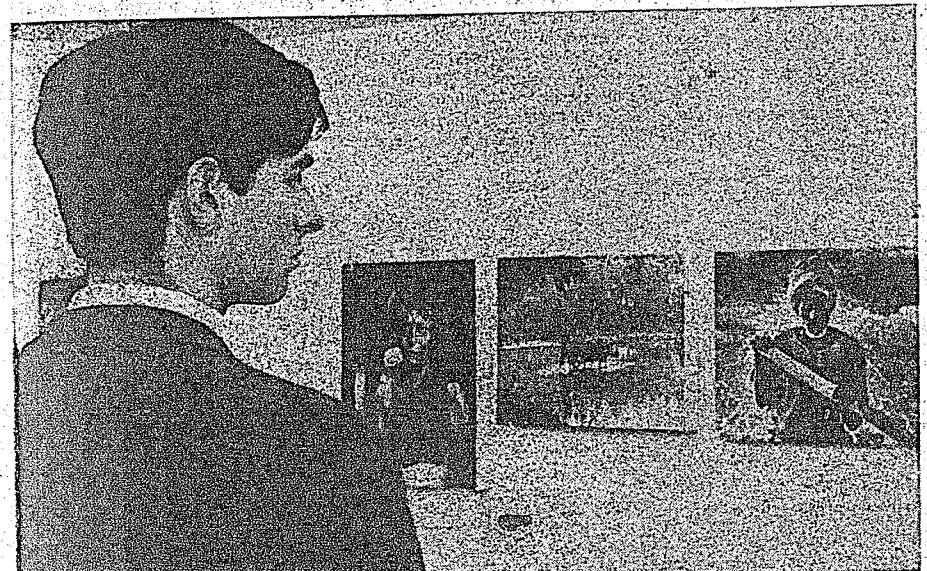
Jailed by the British imperialists repeatedly, Gyaniji spent altogether some six years in prison.

As a Marxist writer, Gyaniji attained the highest position in the literary field. He was one of the

founders of the central writers' organisation in the Punjab which brought into its fold all writers, irrespective of ideological differences. He has been its general secretary and president, and was its vice-president at the time of his death.

Gyaniji took part in every struggle of the toiling people. His earliest associations were with the Akali movement. He joined the Congress during the freedom struggle. And then for the last several years from before independence, he was a member of the Communist Party.

NEW AGE mourns the memory of an outstanding son of our people and sends its condolences to the bereaved family.



Indian exhibits at a photographs exhibition in the GDR.

Legal Position

The government could have asked for report or reports by June 25, 1965, considered the same and then decided itself. This is all that the law requires.

This is what the workers representatives proposed in the committee, but was not accepted. Then they handed over their report on June 24.

By extending the life of the committee when there is no possibility of any agreement, the government has gone back on its assurance (under which the 53 days old strike was called off by the action committee) that the minimum wages for the disputed categories would be fixed within 15 days.

This has rightly roused the anger of the workers. The responsibility for worsening of industrial relations will be that of the government itself.

Trade Union Stand

The AITUC has in a statement said that in extending the term of the tripartite committee on minimum wages for textile workers the Punjab government has once again proved itself incapable of honouring the assurances made at the highest level.

The workers and trade unions of all affiliations had never wanted the tripartite committee itself which was ostensibly to review the wages fixed after due procedure statutorily.

Trade Union Stand

In fact, the trade unions had agreed to serve on the committee on the strict understanding that failing agreement, government would take full responsibility to enforce the minimum wages without any further delay.

The AITUC strongly condemns the failure of the state government to honour the assurances made to the textile workers.

This attitude of the state government has emboldened the employers and several cases are still pending in Amritsar, of workers being kept out of work even though the government had categorically assured that there would be no victimisation.

The deterioration in industrial relations which would inevitably follow such a policy would have very serious consequences. The AITUC demands that the state government should abandon its pro-employer policies and enforce the statutorily-fixed minimum wages without any further delay.

THE LANKY SARDAR

THIS Sunday Gulzarilal Nanda will be 67. I expect that the Home Minister will be at home on part of the day receiving countless visitors wishing happy returns.

Newspapers are bound to assess his worth as the Home Minister. He will be compared and contrasted with the Sardar of Bardoli who is supposed to be the model Home Minister free India has produced.

Gulzarilal Nanda has very little in common with his great predecessor. For one thing, Nanda was more inclined towards Nehru in his political thinking. Nanda is one of the architects of Indian planning. Incidentally, economic planning started only after the Sardar died.

The Home Minister takes great pride in describing himself as a Gandhian socialist. It is an omnibus term. Faith in God, service to those whom God has created poor, austerity in life and implicit trust in astrology are some of the common characteristics of a Gandhian socialist. And Nanda is a typical amalgam.

The non-Sadacharis held a conclave in the distant Ranchi and fired a salvo. Within a week Nanda folded up his tents and the Sadacharis went home.

Again, his Sadachar Samiti circulated a pamphlet on black money at the Durgapur session of the Congress. It estimated unaccounted money in this country at Rs. 3,400 crores and called for application of Gandhian technique in dehoarding the money.

The result was the administrative measure which went by the name of voluntary disclosure scheme. It was another fiasco.

About two years ago he announced with a bang that he would resign if he failed to eradicate corruption in public life within two years. This bombastic claim was later modified to say that he would resign if he could not make a sufficient impact on that front.

In pursuance he launched the Sadachar Samiti and ordered a series of tents to be put up in his residence and recruited a battery of Sadacharis, men and women, to receive complaints of corruption.

Samsi, Sadhu Samaj and what have you.

He must be another Sardar to make himself known better among his countrymen. He must show to his compatriots that he is not that weak as they think he is.

So he went in for the Left Communists; a thousand of them were hurled in jail under the DIR. He couldn't do anything with the hoarders of foodgrains and currency notes.

We are told that the dramatic arrest of Sheikh Abdullah and Beg is of the same genre: spectacular exhibition of strength, a la the late Sardar.

By these actions of his Nanda thinks that he has effectively rebutted the charge that he is a weakling.

Next he proceeded to erase the impression in certain quarters that he is a radical, a socialist. He rushed into a conclave with G. D. Birla, sort of a Sadachari, I suppose.

This is the dismal logic of anybody, however innately good he may be, imitating the Sardar. I am sure the lanky Sardar can never conform to the original.

—INSIDER

JANYUG

(HINDI WEEKLY)

**NEW GET-UP
NEW FEATURES**

PRICE 25 PAISE

Order From

The Manager
JANYUG WEEKLY
5, Rani Jhansi Road
New Delhi

WILSON CANNOT ENGAGE IN PEACE NEGOTIATIONS

Ho Chi Minh Tells Daily Worker

LONDON: Wilson cannot engage in peace negotiations since he has himself supported the US policy of aggression and expansion of the Vietnam war, President Ho Chi Minh said in an interview given to the Hanoi correspondent of the DAILY WORKER, published on June 26.

Ho Chi Minh charged Wilson that he has "not correctly carried out his obligations as Co-Chairman of the 1954 Geneva Conference on Vietnam."

On behalf of the Vietnamese people, President Ho Chi Minh greeted the British people who, in general, have warmly supported our just struggle against the US imperialist aggression and demanded that the British government should correctly carry out its obligations as Co-Chairman.

He also conveyed "cordial greetings and gratitude to the British working class, intellectuals and progressives who have taken part in the struggle for peace."

The Vietnamese leader was answering questions put to him on behalf of the DAILY WORKER. Here are the questions and his replies:

What are the causes of the struggle in South Vietnam?

The main cause of the South Vietnamese people's patriotic struggle is the barbarous aggression of the US imperialists, by which they are trying to turn the Southern part of our country into a new type of colony, a military base for the expansion of their war of aggression in realising their aim of world domination.

What are the basic aims of the National Liberation Front in South Vietnam? What is the relation between the policy of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and that of the South Vietnam Liberation Front?

The programme of the South Vietnam National Liberation Front clearly specifies its principal aims. These are: to struggle against aggressive US imperialism, to liberate the south, to achieve independence, democracy, peace and neutrality, and to advance step by step toward the reunification of the country.

Patriotic Movement

The National Liberation Front is an organisation of the patriotic movement, set up by the mass of the people. The Front is the leader, the organiser of the South Vietnamese people's struggle against US imperialism to recover national independence. It is the only genuine representative of the South Vietnamese people. It is the sacred duty of the whole people of Vietnam to support the South Vietnamese people's liberation struggle, waged under the leadership of the National Liberation Front.

We respect the policies of the Front and hold that the two zones must take their respective characteristics into account, understand each other, restore normal relations between them and gradually achieve national reunification. The Vietnamese

What in your view are the most important provisions of the Geneva Agreements?

I think that the most important provisions are: the sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity of Vietnam must be respected, no military base under the control of a foreign state may be established in Vietnam. Vietnam shall not join any military alliance; democratic freedoms must be guaranteed to create favourable conditions for the restoration of normal relations between the North and South of Vietnam with the view of reunification of the country.

Do you still think that the Geneva Agreements provides the basis for the solution of the war in Vietnam?

Yes. The Geneva Agreements are still the basis for the peaceful solution of the war.

What do you consider to be necessary at the present time for

the implementation of the Geneva Agreements?

The 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam are an important international agreement. All countries participating in the Geneva conference, including the US, must respect these agreements and carry them out correctly. A country which is Co-Chairman of the Geneva Conference, like Great Britain, should all the more respect its obligations and carry them out correctly.

What have you to say about the latest proposal of Harold Wilson for a Commonwealth Mission?

Wilson has not correctly carried out his obligations as Co-Chairman of the 1954 Geneva Conference on Vietnam. He has tried to support US imperialist aggression in Vietnam. He cannot engage in peace negotiations since he has himself supported

the US policy of aggression and expansion of the war.

What are the main achievements of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam during the past period?

Our country was formerly a poor and backward colony. Since liberation, after the completion of the land reform and the socialist transformation of the economy, we strove to develop agriculture. To solve the food problem, to develop light industry which can now supply most of the consumer goods, to take the first steps in building heavy industry—the basis for an independent economy.

We have recorded fairly good results in the cultural and social sphere, illiteracy has been eliminated, every village now has a primary school, and higher education is developing rapidly. The living conditions and cultural level of our people have been greatly improved.

UAR: Progress and Achievement

A collection titled "Statistics of the UAR in 1964" has just come off the Cairo press. The data contained in it testify to the further progress in the development of the United Arab Republic.

According to the latest statistical data the population of the UAR is now 28,721,000. The average annual per capita income is 58.8 Egyptian pounds.

The collection points out in part that the area of farmland confiscated by the government from feudals and big landowners and distributed among landless peasants has reached 944,457 feddans (feddan equals 0.42 hectare).

At the same time the volume of industrial output in 1964 grew by 350 per cent as compared to 1952. It is pointed out in the section "Education" that 14,361 students graduated UAR universities in 1964. 21,975 foreign students are now studying in the country's establishments of higher education.

The collection says that allocations out of the UAR State budget in 1964 amounted to 1,184.4 million Egyptian pounds whereas before the revolution of 1952 they amounted only to 207.8 million Egyptian pounds. The collection notes that the death-rate in the country including infant mortality has dropped sharply in recent years.

FIGHT FOR HUMAN DIGNITY

THE All-Africa Federation of Trade Unions appealed to all countries to

work effectively and consistently in the name of the freedom and happiness of mankind. This appeal is contained in the message of the federation's general-secretary Tettega on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the United Nations.

The message notes the need to wage struggle for human dignity and the liquidation of all forces that are working day and night with the aim of starting a new world war—a catastrophe for mankind.

The existence of imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism poses a tremendous danger to peace, the message says, and should be swept away from the face of the earth. The sinister machinations of these forces are a serious danger for mankind.

BETTER IRAN-SOVIET RELATIONS

UNDER the caption "The Moscow Talks" the influential Teheran newspaper Ettelaat says editorially that the visit of Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi and Queen Farah Pahlavi to the Soviet Union will produce the desired results. "Whereas the first trip of the Shah to the Soviet Union a few years ago was tantamount to the opening of doors in relations between us and our northern neighbour, the present visit will further strengthen these relations, which are based on mutual respect."

In conclusion, the newspaper stresses that contacts between

Iran and the Soviet Union showed in the past few years that both countries wish to abide by the policy of good neighbourliness and peaceful co-existence.

DANGEROUS CONSPIRACY

THE agreements between Tokyo and Seoul, negotiations for which continued on and off for almost fourteen years, were at long last signed on June 22.

Formally they serve to "normalise" relations between Japan and South Korea but actually they constitute a dangerous conspiracy of the reactionary forces, detrimental to the national interests both of the Korean and Japanese peoples, and fraught with danger to the cause of peace in the Far East.

The main among the documents signed is the "Treaty on Principal Relations between the Republic of Korea and Japan." It says that Japan recognizes only the South Korean regime as the "lawful representative" of Korea.

Tokyo, however, is fully aware of the actual tragedy of Korea, which is suffering from national division for twenty years now. It cannot but know also that the only reason behind this tragedy is the continuation of the American occupation of South Korea, which is headed by a regime alien to the people and propped up only by American bayonets.

By recognizing this regime as the "only lawful" representatives of Korea, the Japanese ruling quarters not only openly express their hostile attitude to the workers' and peasants' Korean Republic—the K DPR—not only encourage the Seoul clique, but come out together with the United States as the most zealous advo-

cates of the deepening of the Korean split.

It is not fortuitous that the Japanese government has sided with the United States in this matter. After all, during all the seven rounds of the Japanese-South Korean talks, the United States was the third, though officially unrepresented, side, which constantly overshadowed the negotiations.

As a matter of fact, Washington was the initiator of this deal between Tokyo and Seoul as far back as 1951, when Japan was still an occupied country. Since then the United States efforts were concentrated ironing out the Japanese-South Korean contradictions and help the achievement of the agreement. It took Washington almost fourteen years to achieve this end.

The Japanese monopolies calculate to make use of their past experience of administering Korea and get as deep as possible into every pore of the South Korean economy.

The United States is interested in the collusion between Tokyo and Seoul from the political point of view also. Now that the American policy in Asia has met with complete bankruptcy, Washington is not averse to using Japan as a tool for furthering the American political plans. In other words, the United States would like to use Japan for carrying out its policy in certain areas of Asia.

But the most sinister aspect of the Japanese-South Korean agreements, perhaps, is Washington's desire to form a military bloc in North-East Asia (NEATO), which will constitute a sort of a complementary to SEATO. Now that Korea are formally "normalised", relations between Japan and South there is great scope for such projects. It is interesting to note that the head of the South Korean delegation in Tokyo, Kim Do-Cho, openly came out on June 18 for the establishment of a "regional system" with the participation of Japan, South Korea and Taiwan.

"Marxism is being discarded!" a lot of western newspapers told their readers, when they reported experiments in the USSR about the use of a profits index.

It is really surprising how little many western "experts" really know about the principles of socialist management.

Here, for their information, is a quotation from the very first paragraph of the Rules on Combines, approved by Lenin in 1921: "The Combine is a state-operated enterprise, set up with the purpose of making a profit." Incredible? Not at all: that formula is perfectly correct. In the saying that the combine is a state-operated enterprise, doing business in socialist conditions, the rules indicate clearly the ways to make profits and where to channel them.

ONLY WAY

The fact that it is a socialist enterprise rules out anti-social methods of making profit: exploitation, artificial price boosting.

Since it is a socialist enterprise, there can be no question, in theory or practice, of profit being made in any other way but through the scientific organisation of labour, the steady raising of workers' skill and the rational use of equipment and materials.

That is one side of the question. The other side is profit. Profit made by a socialist enterprise is used for three purposes:

- 1. Further expansion of the enterprise that made it.
- 2. Material incentives for the workers.
- 3. Expansion of the state budget to satisfy the vital requirements of all the people.

The shares taken by these three parts vary, of course at different time, in different sectors of the

PROFITS? WE NEED LOTS OF THEM Says Soviet Professor Alexander Birman

economy, and in different regions. On the average, however, about a fifth of the profits go for expansion of the enterprise, about five per cent for incentive and the other three-quarters swell the state budget.

This lion's share of the profit, however, returns to the people in the form of the free education and health services, pensions, subsidised holidays, housing and other sound benefits.

NOTHING NEW

The desire to make a profit, therefore, is nothing new in the Soviet economy. It in no way signifies a departure from Marxism.

Foreign economists who seem confused by the combination of such terms as socialism and profit, should get their facts straight!

Profit is nothing but the value "shadow", so to speak, of the extra production turned out by the more efficient enterprises.

Let us take two coal mines of the same capacity, with the same number of workers and with the same production costs per ton of coal. One produces a thousand tons

of coal a day, while the other more profitable pit extracts 1,050 tons.

The profit of the second pit is expressed in these extra 50 tons of coal.

ONE-SIDED

The pit gives society nothing but coal. It pays for its production outlays with coal, and its profit is expressed in coal.

In the same way, the profit of a textile mill is expressed in an extra quantity of fabrics.

We are used to regarding profit as though it were extra gold or securities. This approach is correct, but one-sided.

We must bear in mind that these additional funds are an expression of extra production, of the better use of every minute of working time.

This is particularly so in conditions of socialism, when every rouble is backed by material values.

If the plant operates at full capacity and not an ounce of materials is wasted, we get extra production, which yields additional profits when it is sold.

What is the actual position with regard to profitability?

Of course we have very big differences in such a complex economy as ours.

Highly profitable industries include steel, engineering, many branches of chemicals, textiles, clothing and footwear, furniture, household goods, electrical goods and watches.

If justified by supply and demand, high profits can be used to lower retail prices.

Thus, in recent years we have seen a systematic reduction of prices over a wide range—radio sets, watches, cameras and other goods—where production is growing particularly quickly, with substantial cuts in production costs.

At the same time, however, many enterprises are not very profitable.

These include coal pits, past mines, many lumber and wood-working enterprises, many chemical plants, and some branches of the food industry.

Profitability in this group ranges from one to six per cent.

Since prices in the USSR are fixed by the state, it could raise the profits of these enterprises simply by raising the prices. But this is not done.

THE SOLUTION

We believe here that an enterprise must strive to raise its profits by tapping its own reserves.

The main reserve for the sectors I have mentioned are better use of machinery, integrated mechanisation of production processes, and higher quality of output.

Finally, about one-twentieth of our enterprises we say are "planned-unprofitable."

In these, the state fixes prices lower than the cost of production. Let me give an example.

A pit's planned outlay per ton of coal is, say, seven roubles, but the ton is sold for 6½ roubles. The half-rouble difference is made up by a subsidy from the profits of other enterprises.

There is no unanimity among Soviet economists on the value of such "planned unprofitability."

Some economists believe that

working at a loss is permissible if the branch as a whole—or the entire economy—is profitable.

In their opinion a planned loss may be the inevitable result of high costs at specific enterprises.

Other economists think the opposite. They are sure that an enterprise cannot function normally if it is subsidised. For that means the more coal the pit in our example produces, the bigger the "loss" to the state!

These latter economists believe special prices should be fixed for settlements between centralised marketing agencies and certain enterprises which, due to special operating conditions, are permitted by the state to plan high production costs.

The number of "planned-unprofitable" enterprises is in fact diminishing yearly, so the theoretical dispute I have mentioned is also disappearing.

FOR ABUNDANCE

Soviet society has set itself the task of creating communist abundance in a brief period.

This means that we must have sufficient quantities of material and other values to satisfy all the requirements of at least 250 to 275 million people.

Tremendous financial resources are needed to create such abundance.

So we need immense profits in Soviet conditions, where 92 roubles in every 100 of state revenue come from factory profits, and where, within a few years, the whole revenue will come from profits.

This is made absolutely clear in the Programme of the Communist Party.

"The immutable law of economic development," it says, "is to achieve in the interests of society the highest results at the lowest cost."

We must strive to work as economically and efficiently as possible—that means, to make profits.

So we are all for profits—but profits without exploitation, profits without speculation, profits without adulteration. In a phrase—profits for the people.

—From SOVIET WEEKLY

Growing Cooperation Between India & USSR

From MASOOD ALI KHAN

MOSCOW: On the friendly front of Indo-Soviet cooperation there is continuous activity. An unending chain of Indian visitors is coming to the Soviet Union helping to establish closer contact and mutual understanding.

THERE is a shipping delegation here to plan increased traffic on the seas between India and the Soviet Union.

K. L. Rao, Minister for Irrigation and Power has been studying here the Soviet power development and the possibilities of further Soviet help in India's electric power production.

Talking to Indian correspondents here the Indian Minister emphasised India's great need for more electricity as the basis of further development in industry and agriculture. India could learn a great deal from the Soviet Union in this matter, he said.

In 1920, the Soviet Union and India both produced exactly the same amount of electricity i.e., about half a billion kwh.

Today the Soviet Union following the path indicated by Lenin (who had declared that communism was Soviet power plus electrification of the whole land) produces five hundred billion kwh and has planned to raise it to three thousand billion kwh in 15 years. India today with a much bigger

population produces about 30 billion kwh only.

Electricity was the base of all prosperity, the Minister said. The Soviet example showed that enlightenment and cultural revolution in rural areas came with electrification.

Besides Rao, P. B. Gajendra-gadkar, Chief Justice of India, and a number of other jurists are also here.

They have been invited by the Soviet Supreme Court. They will acquaint themselves with the system of Soviet law and jurisprudence.

The Chief Justice visited the Lumumba University where the first batch of students from Asia, Africa and Latin America have just graduated. Among them are four Indians, two boys and two girls.

The university now has 138 Indian students, some of whom have calculated that the Soviet Union spends about 75,000 rupees on each student during the period of five years.

The university is expanding rapidly and each year seven

hundred students are admitted. A big new university town is being built outside Moscow in picturesque surroundings.

At present there are three thousand students from 82 countries in the Lumumba University and their number is to rise to four thousand.

SOVIET PRESS WELCOMES HELSINKI PEACE CONGRESS

MOSCOW: The World Peace Congress to be held at Helsinki from July 10 to 15 is to be a democratic event of great and lasting importance.

THE Soviet press has been stressing the opportunities it will offer to the peace movement for a new advance all over the globe.

The Helsinki Congress will provide a wonderful occasion for uniting all peace champions and consolidating their cooperation. The Congress will mark a new, important stage in the people's struggle for durable peace, for the discontinuation of American aggression, for freedom and independence of all peoples, declared PRAVDA on June 27.

The article said that ideological

controversies must not be introduced in the world peace movement which united people of different views. Unlike those who would like to introduce such controversies, the Soviet peace movement adheres to the view that the main strength of the world movement is its unity, the article says.

Earlier speaking at the Soviet Congress for Peace, National Independence and Disarmament, Nikolai Tikhonov, chairman of the Soviet Peace Committee, stressed the same idea.

FOURTH PLAN TARGETS

ARE SLASHED

Planning Commission Knuckles Under US Pressure Tactics

By Our Special Correspondent

NEW DELHI: The Planning Commission has slashed some of the targets of the Fourth Five Year Plan as set in its memorandum of October 1964, it is reliably learnt. The memorandum was accepted as the basis of the Fourth Plan by the National Development Council.

WHAT is ominous is that most of the targets scaled down are in the important industrial field, particularly in the steel and heavy machine-building sectors.

For example, according to the latest thinking in the Planning Commission a target of 14.6 million tonnes of steel ingots would be "more realistic". The memorandum had set the target at 16.5 million tonnes.

The target for pig iron has been reduced from four million tonnes to 3.5 million tonnes.

Similarly, metallurgical and other mechanical equipment target has been reduced from 1.6 lakh tonnes to one lakh tonnes and cement from 30 million tonnes to 25 million tonnes.

Under the new targets set, only 10.6 million tonnes steel ingots capacity will be built in the public sector; the remaining four million tonnes will be in the private sector.

Fifth Steel Plant Is Out!

This means that the Planning Commission has dropped the idea of completing the fifth steel plant in the public sector during the Fourth Plan.

Another casualty of the revised targets will be the tractor project for which Czechoslovakia had offered assistance. The zinc project for which Poland had offered aid will also be dropped.

Financial allocations have also been revised downwards in consonance with the slashing of the physical targets.

The total allocation proposed for the industrial and mineral development programme in the Fourth Plan is now only Rs. 3,150 crores against the requirement of Rs. 3,750 crores.

Allocations for iron and steel have been reduced from Rs. 1,088 crores to Rs. 1,049 crores; for Mines and Metals from Rs. 658 crores to Rs. 458 crores; for heavy engineering from Rs. 417 crores to Rs. 333 crores; for chemicals from Rs. 360 crores to Rs. 300 crores; and for other industries from Rs. 201 crores to Rs. 119 crores.

The only increase is in the

allocation for petroleum. It has been raised from Rs. 315 crores to Rs. 370 crores, which of course is to be welcomed.

Another ominous decision of the Planning Commission is to set apart Rs. 225 crores in the public sector outlay of Rs. 3,150 crores for the promotion of industries in the private sector.

Of this, Rs. 175 crores will go to the Industrial Development Corporation, Rs. 34 crores to the plantations and Rs. 16 crores to the Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation of India.

This provision has been made, despite earlier objections to such a step which artificially inflates the public sector's outlay while in reality the investment is in the private sector.

It is also objectionable because the plan is to spent public money for the benefit of the private sector.

Political circles in the capital have seen the hands of USAID officials behind the new orientation which the Planning Commission has given to the Fourth Plan proposals.

The USAID chief, Joseph M. Green Jr., had been a frequent visitor to the Planning Commission in the last week of May and the first week of July.

Though paying lip service to the necessity of India's massive effort for development, USAID officials have been putting pressure on the Planning Commission to be "realistic".

American Persuasion

Their main angle was to reduce the outlays in the industrial sector in favour of consumer industries and agriculture. That would achieve better rate of growth, they claimed.

It seems the Planning Commission has finally obliged them. After all, the United States is giving "massive aid" for India's development!

However, there are quarters even in the Planning Commission which are worried

over the trend Indian planning is taking in recent months.

The Perspective Planning Division of the Planning Commission has expressed anxiety over the fact that the targets of growth during the Fourth Plan will be much lower than those envisaged before.

It has found that the Fourth Plan, as it is emerging from the doctoring being done in recent months, visualises a lower rate of development, a smaller investment, slower growth of exports and larger foreign aid than it had planned.

According to the perspective of development it had in mind, by the end of the Fifth Plan the entire population would have been assured of a minimum consumption level of Rs. 20 per capita per month.

It also envisaged that beyond the Fifth Plan India would be in a position to sustain a seven per cent rate of income growth without any foreign assistance as such.

So, the Perspective Planning Division has pointed out that if the targets set for the Fourth Plan are lowered, a bigger effort on all fronts would have to be made in the Fifth Plan if the 1975-76 targets are to be realised.

The Division had envisaged a growth rate of 7.5 per cent during the Fourth and Fifth Plans. But the Fourth Plan now envisages only a six per cent growth. Even that may be scaled down when the Plan emerges in its final form.

of six per cent a year in India's exports during the Fourth and Fifth Plans. The present thinking in the Planning Commission is in terms of a four per cent growth during the Fourth Plan.

If the performance cannot be improved beyond that, then the rate of growth in exports would have to be to the tune of 7.5 per cent in the Fifth Plan.

With a larger volume of investments and the slower pace of import substitution in the Fourth Plan, the volume of foreign assistance needed during the Fifth Plan would be much more than what the Division had outlined in its perspective.

More Foreign Aid

The perspective was to have foreign assistance to the tune of Rs. 425 crores in 1965-66 which would decline to Rs. 200 crores in 1970-71 and would be nil in 1975-76, that is the end of the Fifth Plan.

But the Perspective Planning Division now fears that the foreign assistance would have to be much more than what is envisaged if things were to proceed according to the latest thinking in the Planning Commission.

It is to be hoped that the National Development Council would initiate the necessary correctives in the approach of the Planning Commission to problems of rate of growth, sector allocations, foreign assistance—indeed to the entire concept of planning to make it in consonance with the aspirations of the Indian people.



ASOKA MEHTA:
Planning Backwards?

If this so, the rate of growth in national income would have to be 8.5 per cent in the Fifth Plan, the Division says. This involves larger investments and faster capital formation than planned earlier.

Again, the Division had outlined an average growth

EMPLOYERS' OFFENSIVE AGAINST BONUS ORDINANCE

From Our Correspondent

HYDERABAD: The provisions of the Bonus Ordinance do not go even half way to meet the demands of the working class in this country, but the employers have launched their offensive even against them.

Their current plan seems to be to file writ petitions in the courts of law, challenging the provisions of the Ordinance and thereby delay the implementation of even the meagre provisions.

A test case on the "constitutional validity" of the provisions of the Bonus Ordinance has been filed by two salt manufacturing firms before the Andhra Pradesh High Court.

The chief point made in the petition is that the ordinance was discriminatory insofar as it was not made applicable to factories and establishments engaged in any industry carried on by or under the auspices of any department of the central or state governments or local authorities.

The ordinance was also not made applicable to public sector except as were covered by clause 21 and hence the provisions of the ordinance violated Article 14 of the Constitution, it has been pleaded.

The employers have taken the position that the provision in the ordinance relating to minimum bonus, despite losses, virtually amounts to payment of deferred wages.

The employers submitted that the wages paid by the industrial establishments had not been taken into account while fixing the rate of minimum bonus. Concerns which paid living wage, fair wage or need based wage were all placed in the same category and all of them have been compelled to pay the 'deferred wage'.

According to the employers, under the terms of the ordinance, while employers' paying low wages would not be affected much by the compulsory payment of minimum bonus, it would be a severe burden on those paying a higher wage and would affect their competitive position in business.

It is also argued that while

fixing minimum bonus in the nature of a deferred wage, the capacity of the industry to pay has not been taken into consideration by government.

The employers have obtained an interim stay on the proceedings of the industrial tribunal before whom the 1962 bonus dispute in relation to their establishments are pending.

It is also argued that section 33 of the ordinance was discriminatory.

The position as it obtains in terms of section 33 would be that while for the period 1962 to 1964, certain industrial establishments would be governed by the LAT formula, certain others (where disputes are pending) would be covered by the ordinance.

This provision, according to the employers, worked to the disadvantage of unions which took a reasonable stand on bonus matters and entered into mutual settlements and avoided raising disputes.

Under the ordinance, those establishments where bonus disputes were pending would be unfairly discriminated against, it is argued.