



People's Massive Protest Action

BOMBAY: AUGUST 20, 1963 WILL GO DOWN IN THE HISTORY OF THE INDIAN TRADE UNION MOVEMENT AS A DAY OF A GIGANTIC PROTEST ACTION OF THE WORKING PEOPLE. IT IS THE DAY OF SUCCESSFUL IMPLEMENTATION OF A MAGNIFICENT MANDATE OF THE TOILING PEOPLE OF BOMBAY THAT UNLESS GOVERNMENT ATTENDS TO THEIR GRIEVANCES, BOMBAY SHALL BE CLOSED, AND BOMBAY WAS CLOSED AS IT WAS NEVER BEFORE DURING THE REGIME OF THE CONGRESS RULERS.

MORE than twelve lakhs of toiling people—of the textile mills, factories, port and docks, banks, transports, shops, hospitals and other trades and professions, as well as shopkeepers, students, teachers and all—went on a day's token general strike.

It was the superb manifestation of unity and strength despite utmost attempts of the leaders of the INTUC and various government agencies to sabotage it. It was the biggest joint action of recent times by the toilers of Bombay who are the proud heirs of so many glorious traditions of working class actions.

The "Bombay Bandh" slogan was first put forward by S. A. DANGE in the trade union conference in Bombay in the month of May this year. The conference formed an action committee against high prices, increased tax burden and compulsory deposit scheme, and for nationalisation of banks, oil industry and export-import trade, and urged upon government to redress immediately the grievances of the lower income groups. Following the 21st session of the Indian Labour Conference when government undertook to take certain measures to check erosion in the earnings of the workers, the action committee decided to defer the strike. Meanwhile, other trade union organisations, except the INTUC, had formed a Sangharsha Samiti and

reiterated the call of a token general strike.

The action committee on July 22 wrote a letter to Maharashtra chief minister calling upon him to take immediate measures to meet the demands of the workers. Since no concrete steps were taken by Maharashtra government, the action committee also decided in favour of a token general strike. The AITUC and other central trade union organisations barring the INTUC supported the move for the strike.

From
Our Correspondent

It has been amply proved in this strike that in face of genuine grievances of workers, the exhortation, threats and intimidations of the INTUC and other governmental agencies fail to yield any result.

Though the INTUC and government spokesmen have claimed that the strike was "a failure", everybody in Bombay that day has seen for himself how successful the strike was. Except taking recourse to trotting out blatant falsehood, there was no other face-saving device left for those who had opposed the strike.

Bombay on August 20 was a city to be seen: the throb-

bing hearts of giant factories were silent, chimneys did not belch smoke, offices did not work, roads deserted—as if at the swing of an all-powerful wand, life had come to a stand-still in this biggest industrial city in the country.

It was pathetic to see the hopeless attempt of government to run a few buses with the help of policemen and home guards. And all the more pitiable was it to hear the wallings of Maharashtra government through the microphones fitted to police vans urging people to "make use of these buses" and "we charge only ten naye Paise for any place." It only provoked laughter.

While the main city area had a deserted look, the working class areas brushed up to a festive look with thousands of red flags fluttering over the dilapidated chowls and striking workers jostling in the street corners in a holiday mood.

The elite of society were "inconvenienced" because the top hotels like the Taj, just could not work. Most of the other hotels and eating houses were also completely closed. In some places, the INTUC volunteers called upon the owners to open their hotels assuring them of "all protections" but none accepted their gracious offer. In one hotel, the South Indian owner just shooed them away.

In the Prabha Devi area, an old textile mill worker

told NEW AGE with a beaming face: "If only MORARJI and SADOBA PATEL could see our strike"—the pride in his voice was unmistakable.

Now that the token general strike is over, a sober appraisal of facts should make the government shed its complacency-cum-arrogance. Bombay workers cannot be toyed with, nor can they be insulted and repressed.

A Bombay daily has rightly pointed out: "Bombay Bandh" was no call for revolution—

against the established government or even a token of ill-will to it, it was also not a political battle as some who groan with wisdom have tried to make out; it was simply a spontaneous demonstration of great dignity and power by the underdog—to show first that he exists and secondly, that he has a right for a place under the Congress's socialist sun. To look at it any other way, or to take credit or apportion blame, would be futile and also dangerous. Only the people won..."

NEW AGE

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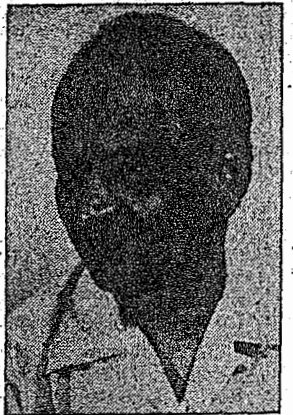
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VICTORY OF UNITY Dange's Congratulations

Congratulating the people of Bombay on their wonderful response to the call of the token general strike, S. A. DANGE said in course of a statement on August 20 that the "marvellous unity" "will act as an example to the whole country". Following is the text of the statement:

IN response to the united call of all the trade unions, except the INTUC the working class, the middle class employees, the shopkeepers, students and all have gone on strike. The strike is total and complete. The marvellous unity, class-consciousness and organisation shown by the workers and the people is unprecedented and will act as an example to the whole country.

Today's total general strike was called against the high prices, the taxes, the CDS and surcharges and the policies of the government which allows the profiteers, mono-



* ON PAGE 13

SEPTEMBER 13 : DELHI CHALO

THE RED FLAG AND MUBARAKPUR

On August 16, the results of the elections to the local body in Mubarakpur (Azamgarh District), the largest town area in UP, were announced. Abdul Hafiz Bharati, the Communist candidate, was elected chairman of the Town Area Committee in a straight contest, with an overwhelming majority. Twelve other Communist candidates were elected, also with thumping majorities. Only three seats out of a total sixteen were won by non-Communists.

BEHIND the victory of the Red Flag is a story, which will make every Communist and every other patriot in our country proud. For, the victory of the Red Flag is a victory against the worst of those fascist tendencies, of which Prime Minister Nehru is increasingly talking these days. This is the story of the Red Flag and Mubarakpur.

This town area has a population of about 20,000—predominantly (80 per cent) Muslims. In the 1957 elections to the local bodies, Mubarakpur committed the "crime" of electing a Communist Chairman, and nine out of the 15 other members elected were also Communists. It had been an intense struggle—that election—and the opponents had used the dirtiest weapons against the Communist Party, including, and above all, communalism.

Under the new Communist administration, Mubarakpur became a symbol of communal harmony. In the whole district, there was no cleaner or more efficient administration. Naturally, the story of Mubarakpur spread. And with it the influence of the Red Flag.

The Congress bosses of Uttar Pradesh could not stomach Mubarakpur. They acted fast. Barely a year and a quarter after the Communist administration began to work, the town area committee was suspended by the state government. How could a Communist administration be allowed to function—specially,

when it was doing so well! Bang came the fiat from Lucknow—local self-government was at an end in Mubarakpur.

But the influence of the Red Flag could not be killed in this way. The authorities then took other steps.

A communal riot was engineered... and the district police and administration came down heavily on the people of Mubarakpur. The terror and repression was meant to teach Mubarakpur a lesson: it should never vote for the Red Flag again. Note was spared from the lathis and the blows—old women, children, all received their share.

The local bosses thought they had "cured" Mubarakpur of its love for the Red Flag. Fresh elections were ordered at last after all these years, to take place in August. Congressmen decided not to contest as Congressmen; they took the guise of the PSP or of "independents."

The slander campaign was let loose in a big way. The Communists were agents of China. Communalism was used as a major weapon by the "secular" Congressmen; they tried to raise the bogey of Shia-Sunni quarrels, as also that of Sunni-Wahabi differences.

But Mubarakpur refused to succumb. It voted overwhelmingly for the Flag, which has served it all these years, giving the Communists still more seats and reducing the non-Communists from six to three!

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★ BY VIGILANTE

Slanders, lies, falsifications, forgeries—all the weapons used against the Communist Party in these days, by the enemies of progress can never succeed in destroying the love of the masses for the Flag of the working class.

Is this True, Mr. Chacko?

I have here before me a report of serious allegations of police terror in Kerala. These allegations are contained in a moving letter addressed to Home Minister P. T. Chacko by Annamma Thomas, the daughter of K. C. Thomas, one of the stalwarts of the old Travancore State Congress, who braved police terror and torture himself under the autocratic regime of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer.

Anamma writes that she and her younger brother were taken into custody by the Inspector of Police at Chengannoor, in connection with a family feud. She alleges that both of them were beaten and manhandled by the Inspector of Police (one Thomas Mathew) and other officers in the police station, that her hair was pulled and she was beaten till she fell unconscious; that her younger brother Espen was "dealt with" for over an hour by the Sub-Inspector of Police, the Special Branch Officer and on top of all this, the Assistant Public Prosecutor.

Now the arrests of Annamma and Espen took place on a complaint, filed by their own brother, Cherian Thomas, in regard to certain disputes over property.

It is reported that when reports of these allegations were shown to the Home Minister, he quickly declared them "false", without any enquiry whatsoever. Annamma Thomas has demanded an enquiry into her serious allegations of police beatings. It is necessary that her demand is backed by all who stand for democracy in this country.

Organiser's Hero

HERE are several photographs in the current issue (August 19) of the Jan Sangh's Organiser—but all of them are news photographs (of the Jan Sangh demonstration before Parliament, of the Jan Sangh Council meeting, etc.). But there is one photograph which is just a portrait—a portrait of an Organiser "hero", we presume.

Guess who? The caption below the hero's portrait reads:

"Shri Nawab Singh, ICS, signed the deal is a Jan Sangh Secretary, Information and Broadcasting Ministry, who signed the AIR-VOA agreement under instructions. The Organiser seems to want to suggest, that the Naturally, since the Jan President gave 'instructions' Sangh is all for VOA, one who to Nawab Singh.

Slogans for THE GREAT MARCH

महान याचिका आन्दोलन के नारे :
(इन नारों की भाषा सुचारी जा सकती है। लेकिन अर्थ नहीं बदलना चाहिए।)

- देश की रक्षा : हम करेंगे, हम करेंगे।
- जनता को रक्षा : हम करेंगे, हम करेंगे।
- मिलकर बढ़ते जाना है : देश को बचाना है।
- मिलकर कदम बढ़ाना है : जनता को बचाना है।
- संकट-काल का देखो हाल : टाटा-ब्रिडला मालामाल।
- देश की जनता करे पुकार : बंद करो टैक्सों की मार।
- हमने पैदावार बढ़ाया : तुमने मंहगी टैक्स बढ़ाया।
- पैदावार बढ़ाना है : मंहगी भत्ता लेना है।
- पैदावार बढ़ाना है : मजदूरी-बढ़ती लेना है।
- पैदावार बढ़ाना है : वाजिब बोनस लेना है।
- मेहनतकश जनता की मांग : सस्ती कीमत, सस्ती दूकान।
- सोना कानून बोगस है : वापस लो, वापस लो।
- सोना कारीगर मरते हैं : सोने के तस्कर हस्तै हैं।
- राजे, महाराजे, नवाबों के : सोने के खजाने जल्द करो।
- जबरिया बचत वापस लो : बैंकों का राष्ट्रीयकरण करो।
- जबरिया बचत वापस लो : तेल कम्पनियों का राष्ट्रीयकरण करो।
- जबरिया बचत वापस लो : विदेशी व्यापार का राष्ट्रीयकरण करो।

- लगान बढ़ती बंद करो : भिची परं जन्त करो।
- जीवन-नीमा निगम के पैसे की : सट्टेवाजी बंद करो।
- मद्य निषेध बोगस है : बोगस निषेध बंद करो।
- मुनाफाखोरी : बंद करो।
- चोरबाजारी : बंद करो।
- अश्रुचाचर : बंद करो।
- मंहगी पर रोक लगाओ : चोरबाजारी बंद कराओ।
- बोनस कमीशन पर अमल करो : डालमिया-जैन कम्पनियों को हाथ में लो।

- राजकीय उद्योगों का : विस्तार करो।
- राजकीय उद्योगों का : जनवादीकरण करो।
- अमरीकी आवाज का सम्मोक्षा : रद्द करो।
- सम्राजी आवाज : मुदाबाद।
- भारत की आवाज : जिन्दाबाद।
- अपनी जमीन : अपना आसमान।
- अपनी फौज : अपने वायुयान।
- भारत की घरती पर : भारत की फौज।
- विदेशी फौज : नहीं चाहिये।
- हवाई छतरी : नहीं चाहिये।
- मजूर-किसानों की ललकार : खबरदार सरमावेदार।
- मजूर-किसानों की ललकार : खबरदार इजारदार।
- साम्राज्यी-दलालों से : होशियार ! होशियार !!
- शैलीशाह-दलालों से : होशियार ! होशियार !!
- मुनाफाखोरों के दलाल : मुरार-पाटिल को बाहर निकाल।
- शैलीशाहों के दलालों को : सरकार से निकाल दो।
- अमरीकी दलालों को : सरकार से निकाल दो।
- तटस्थता के दुश्मन : देश के दुश्मन।
- राष्ट्रीय नीति के दुश्मन : देश के दुश्मन।
- राष्ट्रीय सुरक्षा और विकास के लिये : राष्ट्रीय नीतियों का पालन करो।
- तटस्थता की नीति की : रक्षा करो।

—Issued by Central Secretariat of CPI for September 13 March to Parliament.

The Prime Minister's statement on the VOA does not give this impression, and the sooner the Jan Sangh story of the Rashtrapati's alleged involvement with VOA is contradicted, the better.

Hardly had Keshav Deo Malaviya stepped down from the ministerial office, the oil industry in the public sector began showing signs of cracks in its organisational policy.

SOME persons now at the helm of affairs do not seem to hesitate to scuttle those policies that initiated an independent oil industry in the country and achieved a break through from monopoly domination. With their help, American shadow is creeping in slowly to influence the industry.

Fat contracts have already been given to American firms for jobs which our own engineers are quite capable of performing. Some of the high-ups in the oil ministry seem to have an abiding faith in their American friends and do not hesitate to appoint them as "supervisors" of the jobs, the construction of which has been undertaken by another public sector concern. These high-ups forget that not long ago the New York Journal of Commerce proclaimed that "India set as battlefield in world oil struggle", and therefore any quarter given to America will only lead to India's own peril.

The facts do not indicate such awareness on the part of the present bosses in our oil industry.

Haldia-Barauni Pipeline

Take for example, the pipeline laying work in the Haldia-Barauni area. The contract for the actual construction of this project has been given to the ENI (Ente Nazionale Idro-

carburi—the Italian state sector oil company that earned the wrath of American oil companies for its independent policies). This company has also advanced a loan of about \$100 million to our country for the development of our independent oil industry.

But surprisingly an American company—Messrs. Bechtel (Asia) Corporation—has been appointed recently to "supervise" the work of ENI at a charge of 4 per cent of construction cost! The total cost of the project is estimated to be about Rs. 30 crores, which means that this American company will be paid about Rs. 13 crores—more than the foreign exchange required for a VOA-type transmitter.

American Fraternity

The American fraternity is all the more glaring, because the engineers of the Indian Refineries themselves are quite capable to supervise the construction work and hence the contract with the American company was absolutely unnecessary.

The contract with ENI for the construction of the pipeline was in the nature of a "package deal", yet strangely enough the present bosses in the national oil industry to rely on this company so much?

WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THIS MURDER?

Shocking Story Of Nagda Explosion

"The murderers must be punished." This slogan resounded on the streets of Ujjain and more vehemently on the Nagda Railway platform, when the dead bodies of the victims of the August 8 explosion of the CS2 gas furnace were brought home.

WORKERS in their hundreds gathered together with the bereaved families at the railway station. It was a shocking sight, and many among those present could not hold back their tears at the sight of walling widows and orphaned children.

Nagda, a small hamlet, is the site of the GRASIM factory built by Birlas to manufacture rayon staple. The factory constantly vomits poisonous gas, pollutes the waters of the river and has also polluted all the wells of Nagda and surrounding villages.

The factory is minting fabulous profits. Its annual net profits have been over rupees two crores per year. The wages of the workers working in this dangerous chemical factory are the lowest in the region. The conditions in the mill are abominable. The gas pipes leak, safety measures are thrown to the winds, safety apparatus is provided only in name.

The Expert Committee appointed by the factory inspectorate of the Government of India some years back, reported high sleeplessness, nervous breakdown and even impotency among the workers due to conditions of work. The Committee made comprehensive recommendations for safeguarding the

"Unnecessary" Contracts Given To "Interested Firms"

American Shadow Over Public Sector Oil

★ From A Special Correspondent

sultation with ENI on behalf of the Oil & Natural Gas Commission" regarding the amendments to the plan of the Haldia-Barauni pipeline suggested "by the engineers of the O&NGC".

Capable Indian Engineers

ENI readily agreed to the amendments suggested and this resulted in the saving of about Rs. 3 crores in the project cost. But obviously some high-ups in the government could not trust the Indian engineers and had to get approval of their American mentors.

Incidentally, this Bechtel corporation was one of the bidders in the global tenders that were invited for the construction of this pipeline. Hence the appointment of this particular company as supervisors to the work for which its tender failed is most disquieting and requires immediate scrutiny. What is it that leads some of the present bosses in the national oil industry to rely on this company so much?

The appointment of Bechtel

corporation as "supervising agents" was also done in a most surprising manner. It was originally taken for granted that the actual construction work by ENI will be supervised by the engineers of the Indian Refineries, particularly in view of the fact that the amendment suggested by these engineers was accepted by ENI. These engineers are fully competent to make such supervision also. This was the position till July end and suddenly in the beginning of August, the American company was given the contract. But this was not an isolated instance.

The supervision work of Gauhati-Siliguri pipeline has also been given to the Bechtel corporation at a charge of Rs. 42 lakhs. The cost of the project itself is Rs. 6 crores. It was understood that in all stages of work the personnel of the O & NGC will be closely associated with the work of Bechtel Company and as far as possible this company will take those men in employment whom the O&NGC may refer. But it did nothing of the kind.

Similarly for the five pipelines (another ENI contract) in Gujarat, which were so long being supervised by engineers of Indian Refineries, the Oil and Natural Gas Commission appointed some days back two engineers of Messrs. Brown and Roots of USA according to the recommendations of Bechtel Corporation. These two American experts have already arrived in India and they will cost the O & NGC about Rs. two lakhs per year. The construction work is expected to be finished by December 1964.

What is most worrying to the workers is that three more boilers are in a similar state. Other machineries are also not being properly cared for. Whereas the capacity of the factory has increased from 25 tons to 40 tons and the production has increased from 15 tons to 100 tons, the strength of the workers remains the same and has even been reduced. This has led to inordinate increase in work-load and lack of proper attention to the plant machinery.

Immediate Enquiry Needed

There is no dearth of competent engineers for supervising such construction work in our country. A few engineers of the Indian Refineries and O&NGC have also obtained practical experience of such work in Europe. And despite all that, American supervision is considered to be a must by some high-ups in the oil ministry. Their love for American "experts" and absolute confidence in Bechtel corporation is extremely suspicious.

With the nefarious VOA deal recently coming to light, it is expedient that the activities of some of the bureaucrats in our national oil enterprise be immediately enquired into. How is it that despite promises given for no change in the oil policy following Malaviya's resignation by the Prime Minister, things have begun to pan out in a different way? Who can explain why this particular American firm has been contracted for supervision work when there are already competent engineers available in the country? Unless the trend is

immediately checked, future developments may prove to be disastrous for us.

It is also time that the very working of our national oil industry is reoriented. Like our big business tycoons who float a number of companies to cheat the consumers and income tax department, the multiplicity of organisations in our oil industry is most incongruous.

Multiplicity Of Organisations

It may be noted that the Oil & Natural Gas Commission does the job of actual exploration and extraction of oil. After the crude oil is tapped, Oil India lays the pipes to transport the crude to re-



Evil Eye of Bats Begun Soon After You Left.

fineries. Refineries belong to the Indian Refineries and after processing, the product is sent to depots through another set of pipelines. These pipelines belong to Indian Refineries while the depots to the Indian Oil Company. The IOC then distributes the products through its pumps and terminal depots.

Very often, employees of these four organisations work under the same roof and the multiplicity of agencies leads only to unnecessary expenses, rigmarole of red-tapism and inefficiency. The Estimates Committee of Lok Sabha in its 34th Report (1962-63) recommended merger of these agencies under one organisation "with a view to achieving economy, efficiency and coordination as also to eliminate duplication of effort and wasteful expenditure".

It is reported that K. D. Malaviya was striving to implement this recommendation, but he resigned before this could be realised. Instead of pursuing the matter further in this direction, attempts are being made for its further diversification. For example, in the Gujarat oil field, employees of Indian Refineries have been asked to work "on behalf of O&NGC" leading to unnecessary paperwork.

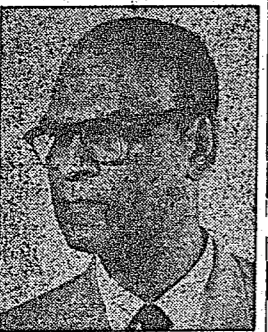
A clean-up in the national enterprise is therefore necessary before it begins to stink!

AJOY GHOSH MEMORIAL FUND

LAST week Bourilal from Madras walked into my office and gave Rs. 50 which he said he had set apart as his contribution towards this fund. Since he was in jail under the DIR, for sometime, he said he could not give it earlier.

Manjula Devi Bhavsar of Makrana (Rajasthan) has sent two Prize Bonds of Rs. 5 each for the Fund. In her letter she says that "The labourer friends of Makrana have decided to chisel a statue of Com. Ajoy Ghosh". We are very thankful to the workers of Makrana for their noble gesture.

B. Subbarao of the "Medical Digest", Bombay, has sent his personal contribution of Rs. 21. Then there is Rs. 5 from Umapada Jha of Malda.



Jayant Bhatt from Ahmedabad have sent in their second instalment of Rs. 10 and Rs. 5 respectively. P. Krishnappa of Pakkaladkal Yuvak Sangh of Mangalore has sent Rs. 5.

Last but not the least comes from T. Madhavan of our office who has collected Rs. 750 towards the Fund.

S. V. GHATE August 21

★ By Romesh Chandra

Searchlight On Non-Alignment

The series of statements made by the Prime Minister in Parliament, covering the vital issues of the VOA deal, the joint air exercises and Kashmir, enable us to examine more closely the direction in which government's foreign policy is going.

THE very fact that the Prime Minister found it necessary to make these statements is a reflection of the deep anxiety with which India's patriotic and democratic masses have viewed these particular issues.

The Prime Minister's statements categorically assert that there is no intention whatsoever of giving up nonalignment and the basic policies which go with it. This assertion will be received everywhere with profound relief. Non-alignment is to stay.

Proof of the desire to halt the drift away from non-alignment is seen both in government's admission that the VOA deal needs to be revised and in the straight declaration that India will have nothing to do with the proposals (it is an open secret that these are proposals made by the US and Britain) for the internationalisation or partition of Kashmir.

The Prime Minister's Kashmir statement withdrawing previous offers and concessions to Pakistan and coming immediately after new declarations by the US Congress Foreign Aid Committee that a settlement of Kashmir is a condition for fresh "aid" to India—have been rightly seen as an attempt to stand up against further imperialist blackmail and pressure.

It would be a serious error not to see what is positive in these statements. These attempts to reverse gear and pull back away from the precipice of alignment are the result of the nation-wide protests against violation of nonalignment and in defence of our basic policies. They are the result also of the friendly criticism of these actions by our well-wishers abroad.

among the socialist and non-aligned countries.

But these first victories in today's struggle in defence of our basic policies (which has assumed special urgency in view of the dangerous deals being made in nonalignment), are not by any means the end of the struggle. This is clear from the very same statements of the Prime Minister in Parliament.

As regards the VOA deal, it is necessary to remember that the agreement is still not scrapped. Negotiations are going on to revise it. In the meanwhile the US lobby is busy as ever, intruding to save the essence, the core, of the deal—permitting some face-saving amendments.

All sorts of arguments are being advanced in favour of the continuation of the VOA agreement in one form or the other. And the Prime Minister's statement, while reassuring in some ways, falls short of a clear and categorical declaration that the Voice of America will, in no circumstances, be allowed to broadcast from our soil.

If non-alignment is not to be weakened, the deal must be torn up altogether; no "amendments," no dressing up of the sordid contract in new clothes.

Joint Exercises

Far more serious, however, is the question of the joint air exercises. The Prime Minister is at pains to explain that the exercises do not constitute an infringement of nonalignment; that they are nothing more than training

exercises for the Indian Air Force, under Indian Air Force "aegis," that they are necessary for the strengthening of our defence.

The Prime Minister insists that "foreign aircraft will come for a limited period—for a few weeks—participate in the joint training exercises and go away."

The questions Indian democratic opinion has been putting are, however, still not answered:

1 How many foreign armed personnel will come with the mobile radar sets and related communications equipment? Is it true that their number will run into thousands, as has been reported in sections of the American press? Where will they be stationed with their equipment? Will they be here for the twelve to eighteen months, during which the mobile sets are to be in India?

2 For how long exactly (what does a "few weeks" concretely mean?) will the high performance fighter aircraft of the USA and UK be on Indian soil? Will they fly under the command of the Indian Air Force? The Prime Minister says that the exercises will be under IAF "aegis." What does "aegis" mean? Does it mean command or does it not?

3 When do we expect to have supersonic, high performance aircraft of our own? Does it take longer to train our men in the use of radar than to train them in flying supersonic aircraft? The Prime Minister in his statement says:

"If we wait till we acquire high performance aircraft and train our pilots to man them before we undertake training of the Indian Air Force technicians in manning the permanent radar and related communications equipment, the whole programme of strengthening our

IMPEACHMENT! Editorial

THE MILLION AND more workers of Bombay, who walked out on strike on August 20, have by their mighty action, voted with their feet against the anti-people policies of the Government, for which the primary responsibility rests on two members of the Union Cabinet.

Not all the demagogy in the Lok Sabha of Morarji Desai and S. K. Patil can defend them against their impeachment by the working masses of this country. Bombay has pointed its accusing finger at the men responsible for high prices, for anti-people taxes, for the CDS and the surcharges, at the men who allow the monopolists, the profiteers and the blackmarketeers to rule the roost in this country.

Bombay's unprecedented impeachment of reaction is backed and supported by millions in the cities and villages, in the factories and the fields, in every State of the Indian Union.

The impeachment by the masses has been carried into Parliament by the Communist Group's devastating attack on the Morarji-Patil combine.

The Right reactionary opposition parties single out Prime Minister Nehru for their attacks, and give a comparatively clean bill to Morarji and Patil. The alliance of the Right inside and outside the Congress and the Government is scarcely masked any longer.

Against the growing collaboration and collusion of the Right reactionary forces, the democratic and patriotic masses must unite and act.

The glorious action of Bombay's heroic working-class is an inspiration and an example for our entire people.

The Government of India must take heed and halt its drift to the Right. It must withdraw at once the anti-people taxation measures and put a stop to the loot and plunder by the monopolists and profiteering sharks. The Union Cabinet must be reorganised: the twin pillars of reaction inside the Cabinet must go.

air defences will be delayed for a considerable time." Nobody wants to delay strengthening our defences. But the pertinent question is the one above.

4 Could the training in radar not be arranged for our personnel on the territories of the countries with high performance aircraft? Why must this training be on our soil, with the presence of foreign armed personnel in large numbers on our borders?

5 Perhaps the most important question has been posed in this regard by the Times of India in an editorial today (August 21). It says:

"It needs to be asked why the Western Powers have agreed to a radar network, without providing the aircraft that will make such a defence system very much more meaningful than it can otherwise possibly be. Since the Western assessment of Chinese intentions does not, almost categorically, envisage an early major invasion, the radar network is clearly intended to serve a long-term objective rather than one of immediate security. Since, moreover, it is not proposed to provide India with supersonic aircraft it also suggests that if ever the radar network is activated, the intervention of foreign air forces will inevitably follow. What else is this but a 'slot' system and 'umbrella' about which so many disparaging things have been said in the past?"

These are serious questions demanding serious answers. Any step taken to strengthen national defence will receive the unanimous support of our people: but do the joint air exercises really strengthen our defences?

Or will they make us only more and more dependent on US-British military "aid"? Will the Western radar only be the open door through which a military pact and military bases will follow?

(August 21)

Following are excerpts from the speech of Deputy Leader Hiren Mukherjee made immediately after Acharya Kripalani had moved his motion on August 19 in the Lok Sabha.

It is tragic that so soon after the crisis of November, 1962, when our people with heart-warming unanimity had entrusted this government with the twin tasks of maintaining the country's integrity and dignity and of accelerating its social and economic development at the same time, a situation has been created when, in sheer desperation at the government's ineptitude, so many of our people have come to feel that this government should quit the job which it appears unable to perform.

If government, secure in the thought that it has a massive majority in this House, ignores the grave significance of this reversal of public feeling, so much the worse for this government. For all the pride that power and pomp may have lent them, the people have put the Council of Ministers in the pillory, and irrespective of the fate of this motion they will remain in the pillory, morally, till they justify themselves.

I have not hesitated to say this though my Party and I do not by any means fully subscribe to the motion made by Sri Kripalani. In the motion for which we had vainly sought the permission of this House, we had tried to make our position clear. Unlike Sri Kripalani and most of his allies, what we want is that the Council of Ministers as constituted at present should go, and that, the Prime Minister should reorganise it, keeping out reactionary ministers among whom, of course, the Finance and Food and Agriculture ministers take the cake assuring the country that the basic national policies would be genuinely implemented. Nonalignment in foreign policy, which Sri Kripalani chose to ridicule by referring even to Panchsheel in terms which go against the very grain of Indian culture and Indian history, non-alignment in foreign policy and the quickest possible advance to a socialist society are pre-eminently matters which most of those who have massed behind Sri Kripalani resist. That is why we dissociate ourselves emphatically from their stand.

The camp of which Sri Kripalani is the principal spokesman is aimed against the Prime Minister, against nonalignment, against planned development, against the public sector, against friendly relations with the USSR and other socialist countries, against building up of our own independent defence potential.

We have no truck with all that, and we seek to halt the shift to the Right which has taken place very seriously inside the government. We want to help our people to secure relief by strengthening our economy, by building up our defences without surrendering to Anglo-American blackmail and the anti-national pressures of our own profit-mongers.

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Declaration And Practice

Only recently the Prime Minister wrote an article in the American journal Foreign Affairs of April, 1963, where he made a statement which I am quoting: "India is such an outstanding member of the nonaligned community that her defection, whether voluntary or enforced, cannot fail to bring grave and far-reaching consequences in its train."

And then the Prime Minister went forward to say that we shall not be panicked into abandoning either the goal or the methods of our foreign policy. This is a very heartening statement. But in the Voice of America agreement episode, by no means over yet, we find a hideous reminder of the dangers that lurk in so many places. The Prime Minister has said since that the agreement has to be changed since it involves an infringement of our nonalignment policy. He has said also that it

Communist Stand On No-Confidence Motion

Hiren Mukherjee's Opening Speech in Lok Sabha

those machines. Those other people who are helping us get all the credit in the world—I am sometimes sickened by the exaggerated effusions of expression of gratitude to the United States and others for aid given from this country?

Time being limited, I have to turn to questions relating more closely to our internal policy. There what we find is that disaster is wrought on millions of our people and vast gains are conferred on the biggest financial sharks but the two Ministers responsible primarily for this, the ministers of Finance and of Food and Agriculture are going scot-free.

Gold Control Order

The Finance Minister issued a gold control order; we welcomed it. We wanted the stoppage of gold smuggling. We wanted the unnatural preoccupation of our people with gold as a very wonderful metal to go. We wanted our foreign exchange position to improve. But what happened?

The net result has been that however Sri Morarji Desai might choose to repudiate it by answers which do not conform to facts, the fact remains that several hundred thousand goldsmiths, the poorest sort of people, who work in the jewellery shops—not those who are owners of those shops—are starving and they are thrown out of their jobs.

The Finance Minister himself comes to this House and gives answers which are a study in callousness. He does not even know that suicide cases have taken place. It is his business to know. Only the day before yesterday the Finance Minister chose to say, "I do not know if hundreds or thousands of people are going to jail."

These poor suffering people, starving people, thrown out to the scrap-heap of unemployment are trying to register their grievance with the people's government as they choose to call this government. But nothing happens, and the Finance Minister chooses to say, "I know nothing about it; I do not care."

But what is he doing, otherwise? Has he done anything to get something out of the privy purses of our princes, some of whom are most estimable people and whom we know personally? Has he done anything substantial? Can he show anything to stop evasion by tax thieves as far as income-tax evasion is concerned? Has he done anything to touch the gold boards which are there all over the country? Surely, gold is hidden somewhere, and can you not find them out? Cannot the Home Minister find out who is doing damage to the defence interests of this country? He is scooping down on Communists and other people. Can he not do something to find out something more about those hoards of gold in this country?

Nothing of the sort is done because that is not the policy of the government. It is not a government which will support, as far as the Finance Minister particularly is concerned, the interests of the common man. It is as government which will stand only by the interests of a few money-bags.

That is why I make this charge, subject to correction, funds out of the LIC money are sent to the stock exchange at particularly critical times so that the big speculators, the monopolists, who are deeply in collusion with government, are not in trouble, so that the stock exchange might come back to something like the normal equilibrium. The monies of the LIC are very often utilised for that purpose.

concurrency with the states had formulated schemes to that end.

Our minister had no heart for such schemes of interference. With what he calls the normal channels of the trade. He waxed eloquent once upon a time on the World Food Bank Centre in the United and which we are going to get, the bounty which has come from America. He has wasted his energy



and time because he has not taken steps regarding increase of food-grains production.

In the meantime, the rise in prices has gone forward so much. During the financial year 1962-63 the wholesale price index of rice went up by about 7.8 per cent, while in the short period of three months, March to June, of 1963 the rise has been of the order of 12.5 per cent. What happens to distribution? What happens to the cooperative method of doing things? Sri Patil has said that he is the businessman's best friend, and that is why the results are as dismal as they have been.

Sri Patil has also complained that the states do not pay much attention to agriculture. The states on their part hold the centre responsible for the confusion. Up to now his ministry has not cleared the states' confusion about the centre's stand of state trading. The states set up the machinery and spent money on it, but now that Sri Patil has scuttled state trading they find themselves in a quandary.

Therefore, I am sorry to have to say that in spite of oozing so much of optimism and energy he is a symbol of inaction and ineptitude.

Sir, I do not wonder if men fail in their jobs or even when they act wickedly, but I often wonder to see them unashamed, and these two ministers, particularly—they have their bed-fellows also in the Cabinet—appear to us always unashamed about themselves. Perhaps they wear a mask of pride, but its real name is fear, fear of the people when they do not wish to approach.

It is not easy to judge one's fellowmen, to judge even these ministers. But this Parliament must, and if we do, they are bound to be impeached. Instead of that what happens is; there is a pursuit of men like Sri K. D. Malaviya, but these crucial members of the Cabinet who are subverting the entire basis of the country's agreed policy are there flourishing.

Sir, the Congress, I feel, has

★ ON PAGE 15

The Venerable Ones

OVER the years the professional class has always attached an aura of pseudo-respectability and integrity around certain types of officials.

The Attorney General is one such venerable creature. Then we have the Solicitor General, Governor of the Reserve Bank, Comptroller General, and so on. They are all supposed to be beyond any suspicion, like Caesar's wife.

As for this poor scribbler, this halo has been wearing thin. The greatest slump in my veneration, say for the Reserve Bank Governor, occurred when the last incumbent went into private business.

He got a comfortable berth in the Eastern Distilleries. Do you know how much he makes from it? A mere Rs. 12,000 a month—all told.

For a moment I did not grudge even this much. After all, this gentleman is a Padma Bhushan and not a poor mortal like me.

Then I came across some papers in the Company Law Administration. What do I find in that? He has in addition been made Chairman of the Canadian-owned Indian Aluminium.

And now here is the rub. As Chairman he is not entitled to draw any salary. And to circumvent this difficulty, the company made him financial adviser to boot, and applied to the Government for a sanction of Rs. 4,500 per month. Long live Socialist Pattern!

★

YOU may now ask what do I think of some of the members of the top judiciary. I just don't think anything now after I came across the other month, a case of a raw graduate, son of a very top judge, being made a zonal representative of one of the biggest cement companies.

This took place at the height of the excitement over the Vivian Bose Commission Report on the Dalmia-Jain group of cheats.

Another case occurred recently of a similar nature. A judge inquired into the conduct of a VIP and gave an adverse opinion. I now find the son of this judge is a divisional manager of one of the top foreign oil concerns.

I know the link in both these cases. But if I express it, the whole state machinery will go into operation against New Age.

★

IT was an observation made by Congress member Arjun Arora in the Rajya Sabha early this week, which made me ramble along in this fashion. Arora was speaking in the debate on the report of the Vivian Bose Commission.

Arora criticised the Attorney-General for what he called the anti-social opinion of his on the Bose findings. The Attorney General and another legal luminary

Whispering Gallery

had counselled against prosecution of Dalmia-Jains. In the case of major beneficiaries, they said, any proceedings would be vigorously defended and considerable time and cost would be involved!

In the case of minor beneficiaries, they opined, the proceedings would be sustainable but would not be worth the trouble!

Coming as it did from a Congress MP the remark against the Attorney General—went off like a bomb. And when Industry Minister Nityanand Kanungo announced next day that he had apologised to Daphary on Arora's behalf, the latter stood up and repudiated the apology!

Any way, the powerful speeches delivered in the Rajya Sabha had some effect. Kanungo, who mumbled and got away with it in the Lok Sabha in the budget session, had to come down a peg this time and announce that prosecution was likely on ten counts.

Let us wait and also be vigilant, because Ministers have the knack of eating their own words.

—VIJAYAN

FACTS & FIGURES

On January 1, 1963 the population of Rumania was 18,750,000. The average life expectancy is now 63 years, as against 42 in 1930.

The country's industrial output is now almost eight times bigger than in 1948, the year which marked the beginning of socialist construction in Rumania.

The increase recorded in the first three years of the Six-Year Plan of Development of the National Economy (1960-1962) is 2.5 times the whole industrial production of 1948.

Steel output per capita amounted in 1962 to 130 kg compared with 18.2 kg in 1938.

The electric and thermal power output at the end of 1962 was 15 times bigger than in 1938.

The consumption of electric power per industrial worker grew from 2,323 kWh in 1950 to 5,202 kWh in 1961.

The machine-building and metal-working industries—almost non-existent in the past—account now for more than one quarter of the gross industrial output, covering more than 70 per cent of the country's requirements of machinery and equipment, and ensuring at the same time export availabilities.

The chemical industry turns out more than 3,500 products. Its output is 18 times bigger than in 1938.

The output of the consumer goods industry is growing constantly with the output of means of production. The output of textiles is some 5 times bigger, of garments 9 times, and of leather, fur and footwear 4.5 times bigger than previous period.

State investments in the first years of the Six-Year Plan amount to 82,000 million lei, a sum nearly equal to that invested in the six preceding years.

The conclusion of the collectivisation of agriculture in the spring of 1962 was a powerful factor contributing to the extension of mechanisation of farm operations, the many-sided development of the collective farms, and the steady growth of the vegetable and animal output.

Early this year, Rumanian agriculture had at its disposal more than 56,000 tractors, 52,600 mechanical seeders, 28,400 cereal harvesting combines and many other modern farming machinery.

In 1962, despite unfavourable natural conditions, the overall cereal output exceeded by 1.7 million tons, the average crop of the 1934-1938 period.

While 20 years ago the Rumanian peasant had to spend 15-20 work-days for a ton of wheat. Today, due to mechanisation, a collective farmer takes 1.5-2 days for the same quantity.

In the first three years of the Six-Year Plan, Rumania's national income exceeded by over 30 per cent the 1959 level. The national income is now nearly 3.5 times bigger than in 1938. The rapid growth of the productive forces has been permanently accompanied by the growth, in

* On Facting page last column.

RUMANIA : Steady

August 23 is the anniversary of Rumania's liberation from the fascist yoke. The victory of the armed insurrection of August 23, 1944 marked for the Rumanian people a turning point which opened their way towards the setting up of people's power and the building of socialist Rumania.

As they are advancing towards ever higher peaks, under socialism, the significance of August 23, 1944 as a milestone between two historical epochs appears ever more obvious: on the one side, the slavery of the working people, the country's oppression, the war damages, poverty and benightedness for the broad masses; on the other side, the widest rights and liberties for the working people, national independence, the impetuous upsurge of peaceful construction, a steady improvement in the material and cultural standards.

The old ruling classes trampling underfoot the national interests, the country's independence and sovereignty, furthered a policy of putting Rumania at the beck and call of foreign monopolies. The betrayal of the country's interests reached its climax with Rumania being hurled into the odious anti-Soviet war which brought her to the brink of national catastrophe.

Keeping aloft the banner of the country's rescue, the Communist Party organised and led the struggle of the people's patriotic forces against the military-fascist dictatorship for withdrawal from the anti-Soviet war and turning the weapons against fascist Germany, for the liberation of the homeland.

As far back as the summer of 1943, the basic cadres of the Party, under the leadership of Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, started drafting the plan of armed insurrection.

The victorious offensive of the Soviet Army, the powerful impetus of the people's anti-fascist struggle, baffled the

foundation underlines the impetus of the whole national economy, its steadily ascending, rapid development.

Industry, which has become the leading branch in economy, holds the preponderant role within the material production. Last year, the gross industrial output was nearly 8 times bigger than in 1948. The entire output of the Rumanian industry of 1938, the peak production year under the former régime, is being turned out now in less than two months.

Triumph Of Socialism

Former Rumania, which the ruling classes of the time considered destined to remain an "essentially agrarian" country, used to import even ploughs. The then industry did not ensure even five per cent of the machinery and equipment required by the national economy. The enterprises of the extraction industry, of the food and light industries carried the greatest weight. Oil products, timber, cereals, animal produce, mostly in a raw or semi-finished state, formed some 80 per cent of the Rumanian export at that time.

The triumph of socialism has changed the life of the Rumanian village, the working and living conditions of the peasantry, labour productivity in the fields has risen owing to mechanisation, the use of high-grade seeds and chemical fertilizers, owing to advanced agrotechny.

The balanced development of the entire economy provides a lasting foundation to the continuous improvement in the living standard of the working people. The national income last year was 4.7 times bigger than in 1948. In the last ten years the incomes of the wages and salary-earners have doubled. The peasants' income recorded similar increases. The growth of the population's purchasing power is mirrored in the fact that in the last three years alone the volume of retail sale through the trading network has grown by more than 50 per cent.

The steadily increasing funds earmarked by the state for socio-cultural purposes contribute to the permanent improvement in the living standards of the population. These funds ensure a free-of-charge education at all levels at present one out of six inhabitants is getting education), a vast network of medical assistance; they are used for hundreds of thousands of working people, children and students holidaying in mountain or seaside resorts. They are also used for building annually scores of thousands of comfortable dwellings for the working people. In the last few years, Rumania holds one of the first places in Europe as regards housing construction per capita.

The rapid development of national economy has led to the expansion of the economic relations with foreign countries. The volume of foreign trade exchanges has grown more than 6.5 times as against 1948, concomitantly with

a steady improvement in the structure of foreign trade.

An important role in the building of the new social order in Rumania—just as in the other social countries—is played by the relations of cooperation and mutual help established among the socialist countries, based on the principle of equality and mutual advantage, on the strict observance of national sovereignty and independence, for the ever ascending development of each socialist country and of the world socialist system as a whole.

The coordination of the economic plans, the application of the principles of socialist international division of labour, approved by the CMEA Conference of June 1962, provide favourable prerequisites for equalising the levels of all socialist countries, for the steady development of their economic cooperation.

August 23, 1963 has been welcomed by the working people in Rumania with the resolve of scoring fresh successes in the completion of socialist construction in their country by fulfilling the tasks charted by the Directives of the Third Party Congress.

The endeavours during the first three years to fulfil these tasks have yielded rich fruit. This year, the average rate of growth of industrial production was 15.7 per cent as against 13 per cent envisaged by the Directives. The facts prove the profoundly realistic character of the Party policy which blends the creative spirit and revolutionary élan with a thorough study of realities during the process of socialist construction. Providing for sustained rates of increase in all branches, the plans mapped out by the Party ensure the rising to a higher stage of the economic potential of the country and of the people's welfare.

For Peace In The World

The Rumanian people, devoting all their forces to the construction of socialism, are at the same time deeply interested in securing peace in the world. They unanimously endorse the foreign policy of the Rumanian People's Republic.

The Rumanian People's Republic—considering that the changes occurred in the contemporary world, the growth of the strength and influence of the world socialist system has created for the first time in history—the possibility for the fundamental issues of international life to be solved in a new way, in keeping with the peoples' interests, considering that in our epoch war has ceased to be an inevitable fatality—consistently militates for the unity of all peace-loving forces, for the triumph of peaceful cooperation among states, for the exposure of the aggressive acts of the imperialist circles, for the liquidation of hotbeds of war and for detente in the relations among states.

The Rumanian People's Republic considers that the

March Of Socialism

achievement of general and complete disarmament is a key problem of international life. In the United Nations and in the 16-Nation Disarmament Committee, Rumania has consistently campaigned in support of the proposals conducive to the fulfilment of this ardent wish of the nations of the world. In view of the interests of strengthening peace in Europe, the Rumanian People's Republic declares in favour of the conclusion of the peace treaty with Germany and the normalization on this basis of the situation in West Berlin, for the conclusion of a non-aggression pact between the Warsaw Treaty member-countries and the NATO countries and the settlement of their relations.

Against Colonialism

The Rumanian people have strongly condemned the attempts of certain states to prevent the liquidation of the last remnants of the odious colonial system; they have supported at the same time, by the acts of their government, the strivings of the newly-liberated nations towards eliminating the vestiges of the colonialist rule.

Under the present circumstances, all governments have to make efforts to settle the outstanding international issues by means of negotiations, through peaceful, mutually acceptable solutions in compliance with the supreme aspiration of the peoples for an enduring peace.

An important role in the achievement of a detente in international relations may be played by the actions on a regional plane aimed at improving good neighbourly relations among states, irrespective of their socio-political system. That is why the Rumanian Government firmly militates for the development of Balkan cooperation, for the turning of this region into a zone of peace, free from rockets and nuclear weapons.

The proposal submitted by the Rumanian Government in the United Nations and UNESCO for measures to be adopted meant to promote in the ranks of the youth the ideals of peace, mutual respect and understanding among peoples, have enjoyed a hearty approval from many states, and important national and international public organisations.

Rumania's international prestige has been enhanced due to her consistent activity

unfolded in support of a broad co-operation among peoples on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence. Rumania has diplomatic, political and economic links with more than 80 countries on all continents, and makes her contribution to the activity of the U.N. and other international organisations and bodies.

Entering the twentieth year

of their new life, the Rumanian people, closely rallied around the Rumanian Workers' Party, reassert their determination to devote in the future too all their forces to the carrying through of the grand programme of completing socialist construction, to make an ever-bigger contribution to the triumph of the lofty cause of socialism and peace.

INDO-RUMANIAN RELATIONS

With India's independence in 1947, relations between our country and the People's Republic of Rumania began with the formal recognition of free India by the Rumanian Government.

INDO-Rumanian trade exchanges, stimulated by the existence of an official framework—the 1954 agreement—have pursued a continuous upward course.

In 1954 the commercial exchanges amounted to just a few lakhs of rupees, and the proposed commercial exchanges in 1963 will be to the tune of 12.6 crores of rupees.

Indo-Rumanian cooperation has developed rapidly in the oil equipment sector. On the basis of an Indo-Rumanian inter-government agreement,

the Gauhati Refinery in Assam was constructed. In the beginning of 1963 an agreement was signed providing for the delivery and erection by Rumania of a Thermo-Power station at Singa- reni.

To create a basic core of skilled staff both for the refinery and drilling, a number of Indian civil engineers and technicians took specialisation courses in Rumania in oil drilling, extraction and processing.

Apart from these, many Indians learned from the Rumanian technicians the know-how to operate the drilling rigs and the refinery.

A vivid illustration of the possibilities of development of Indo-Rumanian trade was provided by the pavilion of the Rumanian People's Republic at the second Indian Industries Fair in 1961, where the latest achievements of the Rumanian industry were on show.

Cultural relations have steadily developed on the basis of the Indo-Rumanian Cultural Agreement signed in 1957.

Recent Agreement

Recently, a programme of Cultural and Scientific exchanges for 1963 was concluded in New Delhi. It outlines the exchange of scientists, educationists, journalists, artists, experts on technical-scientific subjects, radio and television programmes.

Personal contacts between state leaders from both countries have played an important part in the further development of Indo-Rumanian relations.

In 1956, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, then Vice-President of India visited Rumania.

In October 1962 Gheorghe Gheorghiu Dej, President of the State Council of the Rumanian People's Republic, accompanied by Ion Gheorghe Maurer, Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Corneliu Manescu, Minister for External Affairs paid a state visit to India. On this occasion letters were exchanged between Corneliu Manescu, Minister of External Affairs and K. C. Reddy, then Minister of Commerce and Industry, on Indo-Rumanian economic cooperation in the coming years.

These results have opened up new and important possibilities for the further development and strengthening of Indo-Rumanian relations.

A RELENTLESS FIGHTER FOR THE CAUSE OF PEOPLE

GHEORGHE GHEORGHIU-DEJ, Chairman of the State Council of the Rumanian People's Republic, and First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers' Party, was born on November 8, 1901 in a workers' family in Birlad city. Since he was 11 years old he began working first as an apprentice and later as an electrician. From his eighteenth year, he has been taking part in the working class movement.

In 1930 he joined the ranks of the Communist Party of Rumania—illegal at that time—and in a short time became one of its most prominent activists.

At the national conference of the railway workers of Rumania in March 1932, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej was elected secretary of the Central Action Committee, which—under the leadership of the Communist Party—in January-February 1933 organised the strikes of the workers of the railways and oil industry—the most powerful struggles of this kind in the history of the country.

After his arrest and trial by the War Council, he was sentenced to 12 years of forced labour and detained at Doftana—the most abominable jail in Rumania—and at other jails and concentration camps. While serving the term he maintained a close contact with the anti-fascist and workers' movement in the country and in the summer of 1945 he spearheaded the planning of the scheme to overthrow the military-fascist dictatorship in Rumania.

In August 1944 he broke out of the concentration camp and directed the overthrowing of the fascist government and of armed resistance against the

Hitlerite invaders. After Rumania's liberation from under the fascist yoke, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej—carried on a wide activity for the democratisation of the country and for the building of a new Rumania.

In October 1945, he was elected the general secretary of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Communist Party and in February 1948 was elected the general secretary of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Communist Party, which emerged from the fusion of the Communist Party and the Social-Democratic Party.

In November 1944 he was appointed Minister of Communications and Public Works, and next year he became the Chairman of the Superior Council of the National Economy and in 1946 he was Minister of National Economy and later Minister of Industry and Commerce.

In the same year he was a member of the Rumanian Delegation which participated at the Peace Conference in Paris.

After the abolition of the monarchy and the proclamation of the Rumanian People's Republic (in December 1947), he was appointed First Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers. From 1952 till 1955 he was Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Rumanian People's Republic.

At its session in March 1961—the Grand National Assembly elected Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej as President of the State Council of the Rumanian People's Republic.

As the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers' Party and President of the State Council, he leads the Rumanian People



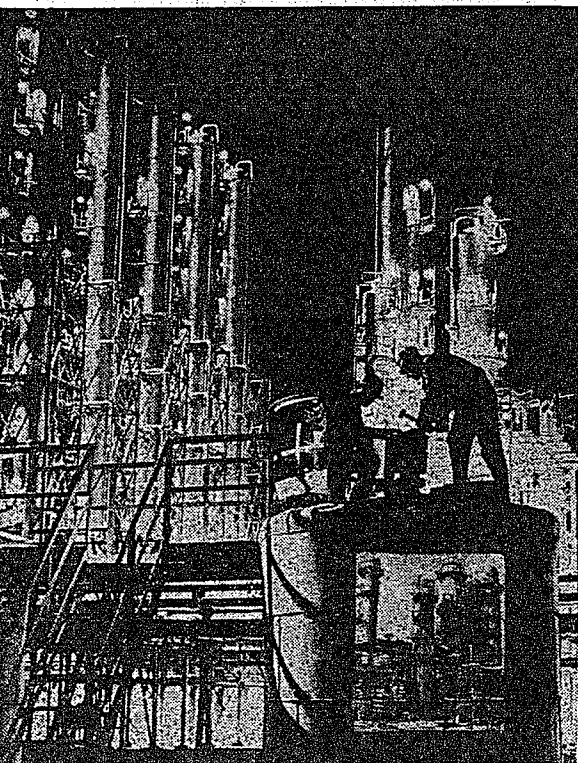
Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej

in the continuous economic and cultural development of the country, for the upbuilding of socialism.

Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej visited a number of friendly countries as the leader of some governmental delegations. He was the leader of the delegation of the Rumanian People's Republic at the 15th Session of the United Nations Organisation.

As the representative of the Rumanian People—Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej is very much concerned with the promotion of the ideas of peace and progress, extension of the friendly relations and international collaboration with all countries irrespective of social systems, supporting of the struggle for national liberation.

For his long and devoted work for the cause of the Rumanian People, the title of "Hero of the Socialist Work"—the highest distinction of Rumania—was twice conferred upon Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, besides other orders and distinctions.



Brazil Oil Refinery in Rumania. Inset: "DAV-2" installation at the Teleajen Oil Refinery.

various forms, of the material and cultural standards of the working people. A rise of 2,250,000 wage and salary-earners was registered in the last 14 years.

Following the increase in the nominal wages, the reduction of the taxes on wages and the price cuts, the real wages of factory and office workers, and engineers grew twice in the 1951-1962 period.

Besides the increase in the real wages, the working people in Rumania avail themselves of a number of advantages thanks to the socio-cultural expenses covered by the state.

Education is completely free of charge in Rumania, from the elementary standards upto the university level.

In the 1962-1963 school year, the educational network at all levels covered 3,360,000 pupils and students. The state spends from its budget approximately 3,000 lei annually for a pupil in a general-education type of school, some 10,000 lei for a student in a faculty or a higher learning institute, and some 10,000 lei for a student in an art institute.

All wage- and salary-earners in Rumania are granted free-of-charge medical assistance. There is now one doctor for some 700 people as against one for 1,900 people in 1938.

The working people have nothing to pay for social insurances. The state grants now old-age, disability and dependent pensions to some 900,000 people, and monthly allowances for some 2,100,000 children.

The state pays special attention to the continuous improvement in the housing conditions. An amount of nearly 9,500 million lei was earmarked to this end in the 1957-1963 period from the state budget. No less than 181,672 flats were put at the disposal of the working people in towns during the same period, in which more than 550,000 persons moved. The rent amounts to only 4 to 5 per cent of the wages.

Following the increasing incomes obtained in the 1950-1962 period, the collective farmers built for themselves some 800,000 dwellings. This means that one in four peasant families moved in that period into a new dwelling. The eight-year compulsory education has been introduced in all villages, just as in the towns. The peasants' children have then the possibility to attend schools at all levels.

Free from the hard toil they had to carry out in the past, free from the worry of the morrow, the collective peasantry in Rumania rose to a higher living standard. The collective peasants now consume three times more industrial products and foods than in 1938. More than 12,000 houses of culture, 4,000 cinema as well as mass agrotechnical schools are disseminating science and culture in the villages.

There are now in Rumania 23,800 public libraries with some 76,000,000 volumes. The number of permanent readers reached 8,300,000 at the end of 1962, that means half of the country's population.

More than 7,000 libraries have been set up in the countryside in the years of people's power, which in 1962 lent books to some 3,700,000 readers, mostly collective farmers and agricultural workers.

CAMPAIGN STRONGER THAN EVER

PROGRESS OF MOVEMENT IN WEST BENGAL

CALCUTTA: The Great Petition movement is spreading in the districts of West Bengal. There is inspiring news from Midnapore, the cradle of the national movement in West Bengal.

THE district has taken a quota of 50,000 signatures, and has already deposited 7,908 signatures at the provincial office and the district leadership says that large numbers are still lying at different centres. Now it is monsoon in West Bengal and the sowing season is on. Peasantry is busy in the fields and communications are difficult. So till now the main concentration has been at urban and semi-urban centres and at village markets.

At Midnapore, the district town, five meetings were held and 2,000 signatures have been collected. Two squads in the town collected 800 signatures. At Kharagpur, the biggest town in the district and the railway centre, the quota was 5,000, of which already 2,500 have been collected.

After a big meeting of 4,000 people addressed by Indrajit Gupta, MP, who spoke mainly on the Great Petition, the tempo has risen appreciably and Narayan Chaudhary, MLA, the beloved leader of the Kharagpur people, told me confidently that over 10,000 signatures would be collected.

At **Tamluk**, a sub-divisional town, a 70-year old member of the district council of the Party, Smt. **Nirmala Sanyal**, single-handed, collected 304 signatures, mostly from women, through door to door campaign.

At **Cantal** town, 1,100 signatures were collected in a day. From the peasants and agricultural labourers in Keshpur, Garbeta, Salbani to physicians, pleaders and professors in the town, from Communists to Congressmen—all are signing the Petition, where approached.

During the campaign week of August 16-21, the district pressed into action 100 squads. The district leaders are confident that the quota of 50,000 will be over-fulfilled.

From **Budge Budge**, the jute and petrol industrial centre has come the news of beginning of intensive work. Squad collection—in the jute mill workers' bustees and inside the petroleum installation have so far resulted in more than 1,500 signatures out of a

quota of 10,000. Two mass meetings have been held.

A local struggle is going on against wrongful suspension of five leading workers in jute mill which is engaging the main attention of the active workers. Despite this, the secretary of the local committee expressed his confidence of fulfilling the quota.

PAY STRIKE CONTINUES

THE token pay strike protesting against CDS continues: during the last week among its participants were workers and employees of East India Pharmaceutical Works; Hoare Miller Manufacturing Division; Burr & Co. at Durgapur and Refrigerator Co.

CENTRAL GOVT. EMPLOYEES' DAY

THE Central Government employees observed August 8 as the protest day against CDS and the repression on the trade unions. After office hours, a large number of employees from different offices came out in a procession and assembled at the Raja Sobodh Mullick Square. The meeting, presided over by K. C. Bose, President of the Coordination Commit-

tee of Central Government Employees' Unions, passed resolutions demanding that CDS be applied to persons earning more than Rs. 8,000 a year, and the scheme be in the form of income tax slabs. It demanded reinstatement of the victimised leaders of the Audit Dept. and South Eastern Railways, full neutralisation of cost of living index upto 125 (1949=100) and then increase in D.A. according to First Pay Commission formula on the basis of six monthly review and immediate introduction of Whitty Council type committees for settlement of disputes. The speakers stressed the need to keep the morale of the staff engaged in administrative

GOLDSMITHS' SATYAGRAH

THE satyagrah of the goldsmiths for real rehabilitation completed its third phase on August 10, beginning from July 25 till August 10, 2,586 persons including nearly 100 women and 50 children have courted arrest in Calcutta alone. At different districts and sub-divisional centres a total of almost a similar number have participated in satyagrah and were arrested.

CYCLE JATHAS START IN PUNJAB

JULLUNDUR: The first cycle jatha of marchers to Delhi started on August 12 from a village of great revolutionary tradition, **Chuharchak** in Ferozepur District. The jatha is led by the state secretary of the Communist Party **Avtar Singh Malhotra** himself. Groups of cyclists converged on this village from various directions, having collected thousands of signatures which will be presented to the Party leaders.

MANY more jathas will start moving during the next week and all will have enough time to carry the message of the Great Petition deep into the villages. The Hariana districts have already planned rousing receptions for the jathas coming from various directions.

The **Karnal** district council of the Party is to hold receptions in honour of the provincial jatha in Shahabad, Rattangarh, Umri, Ladwa, Indri, Nelokheri, Karnal, Charaunda, Panipat and Samalkha—all along the Grand Trunk Road.

The **Hissar** district council of the Party is to receive the cycle jatha of Bhatinda district, including marchers of adjoining areas of Ferozepur in Dabwali, Odau, Sira, Mahaudi, Daryapur, Fatehabad, Badopal, Hissar, Hansi, Maudhal—besides other villages.

The campaign will naturally receive a further impetus from a three day tour of Communist Party Chairman **Dange** from August 25 to 27. His programme includes public rallies at Amritsar and Ludhiana and an address to the State Council and other cadres.

As the campaign gathers momentum, new features are being introduced. At the present moment, a spirit of emulation is characteristic of the fervour with which work of signature collection is carried forward by the comrades. Competition between branches and between individuals members of the same branch is an important aspect of this.

Lamochar Kalan branch in Ferozepur district collected at least half the signatures from women. At a rural fair at **Sohawati**, all the wrestlers signed the petition. In village **Tehli**, signatures of women were more than those of men. **Ilaga Mukatsar** shall overfulfill its quota by collecting 42,000 signatures. **Jalalabad** thana is leading in signatures (15,000 already collected). Having overfulfilled their quota, they have fixed their target three times higher at 25,000.

The **Amritsar City** Committee has collected more than 32,000 signatures. It is expected that their quota of 40,000 will be achieved according to schedule (and the quota will be increased to 50,000).

Reports From

- * Ajoy Dasgupta
- * Prem Singh
- * Ramesh Sinha
- * C. R. Krishna Rao
- * Madhusudan Bhattacharya

CAMPAIGN RALLIES IN ASSAM

SHILLONG: The Great Petition campaign has been gaining momentum in Assam, drawing ever-wider sections in support of it. During the last fortnight, several public rallies were held in different parts of the state, according to reports available here.

IN Shillong, the state capital, a largely attended public meeting was held under the auspices of the Communist Party on August 7 with a local motor worker, **Bishen Singh** in the chair. State Council Secretary **Phani Bora** and **Bishnu Rava**, a legendary figure in the cultural life of the State, addressed the meeting. A packed hall listened to the Communist leaders for over two hours.

According to local people, seldom if ever has such a big gathering turned up to a public meeting in the post-election period. Earlier **Phani Bora** addressed a largely attended public meeting at **Karimganj**, a sub-divisional town of Cachar. Despite heavy showers, people patiently listened to the Communist leader till late hours in the evening. That was one of the biggest public meetings of the period in that sub-divisional town, bordering East Pakistan. Incidentally, it may be mentioned that almost all the important party leaders of Cachar are still in detention.

At **Tezpur**, a district town bordering NEFA which is now well-

known throughout the country, **Bora** addressed a public meeting on July 29 which was presided over by **Bishnu Rava**.

According to local people that meeting was a bigger one than even the one addressed by no less a person than the Prime Minister himself, immediately after the Chinese withdrawal.

Phani Bora addressed a large public meeting at **Morajhar**, a predominantly Muslim inhabited area of Nowgong district a good part of which is now under flood water on August 5. In that meeting **Bora**, while explaining the policy of the Communist Party and the demands raised in the Great Petition, also exposed the game of Pakistani rulers against India and exhorted the people to foil that game.

Despite flood and erosion havoc that they have been suffering from, the people of Nowgong have widely responded to the call of the Communist Party to sign the Great Petition. Party workers of the district have opened a signature collection booth at Nowgong bazar. Hundreds of people turn up to the booth to sign the Peti-

tion. Common people who come to sign the petition themselves, bring in more people to the booth to sign the petition and call upon all passers-by to sign it.

Signature collection squads have been moving in the rural areas approaching people to sign the petition. These squads are reported to have got wide response from the rural people.

Dadhi Mahanta, a member of the State Council of the Communist Party, has been touring different parts of **Sibsagar** district organising and leading the signature collection campaign.

A message from **North-Lakhimpur**, a sub-division of Lakhimpur district, bordering NEFA, shows that the campaign has got into stride there also, since the release

of the Communist leaders of the locality. Public meetings in support of the Great Petition have already been held at **North-Lakhimpur** town, **Bhogpur Chari Ali**, **Dhalpur**, **Bihpuria**, **Laluk**, **Dalauhat** and other places. Attendance in these public meetings varied from 500 to 1,000.

Though peasants are now busy with harvesting their summer paddy, and parts of the area are submerged in flood water and frequently it rains heavily, people turned up in these meetings in their hundreds and listened to the speeches of the Communist leaders for hours together. They responded enthusiastically to the call of the party.

Bishnu Bora, a member of the State Council who was released from jail only recently, and other local party leaders like **Mukut Konwar**, **Bhaba Saikia**, **Maharanda Bora** and others addressed these public meetings.

A section of Congressmen attended these meetings and listened to the speeches of the Communist leaders. A local Congress leader, **Khagen Bora**, attended the public meeting at

from July 21 in five days, more than 38 villages were covered by the volunteers squads. The squad commenced its march from **Jilpigaripalli**, a village in **Bagepalli taluk**, with band and music and a number of Red flags and posters and handbills, and completed the march on July 25.

INTERESTING EXPERIENCE

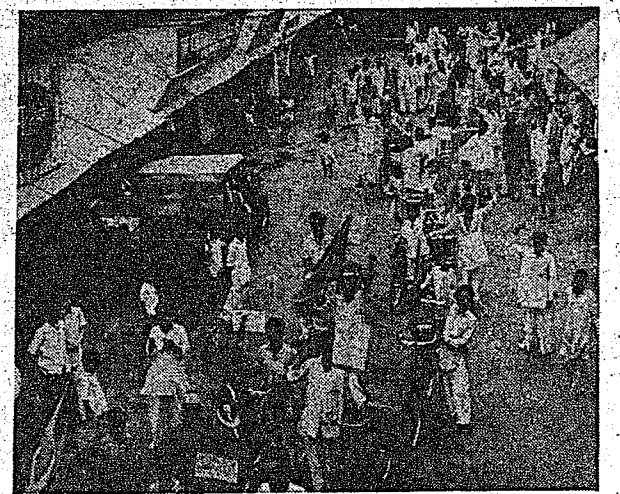
In all the villages, the chairmen of the Panchayats received the squad and the leaders of the village enthusiastically assisted the marchers in collection of signatures. The squad had interesting experiences wherever it went. The village leaders and the people received them warmly, and looked after their comforts including arranging for their food and lodging.

Another squad commenced **padayatra** on July 27 and covered a number of villages for three days. The third batch started on July 31 and completed its march on August 2. From village to village, the petition is being taken in this taluk. Already over 20,000 signatures have been collected in the district.

In **Mysore**, over 3000 signatures have already been collected. A broad based committee is formed to intensify the campaign. Signature campaign is also launched in **Kollegal taluk** and **Mandya**.

In **Sirsi taluk** (North Kanara) alone 5,000 signatures have been collected. **Belgaum** has collected 1,000, **Shimoga** 6,000.

The State Council at its meeting held last month had fixed a target of two lakh signatures for the State and 60 volunteers for Delhi. Following the reports received so far it is certain that the target will be over-fulfilled.



Signature collection squads in Bhopal.

Bhogpur Chari Ali and after listening to the speech of **Bishnu Bora**, who explained the party policy in general and the demands in the Great Petition, himself called upon the people to join hands with the Communist Party to fight for the defence of the basic national policies and to defeat the reactionary forces. He exhorted Congressmen to come forward and join this struggle. However, some Congress lead-

ers, who seem to have harboured the illusion that by gagging the voice of the Communists under the DIR, they had "finished" the Communist Party. They are also reported to "regret and repent" that in spite of all that they did to eliminate the influence of the Communist Party upon the people of that area, and to present the Communist Party before the people as "anti-national," the Communists should now be getting wider support than even before.

One Lakh Signatures Collected In Karnataka

BANGALORE: In Bangalore City, already 25,000 signatures have been collected. Squads of volunteers are moving from one area to another collecting signatures and explaining the Great Petition.

IN Mangalore so far 45,000 signatures have been collected. From August 4, squads of volunteers have started moving from village to village. The response from the people for the campaign has been very encouraging. The Party has planned to hold meetings in all important centres as part of the campaign. Meetings have been planned at **Udupi**, **Coondapur**, **Buntwal** and a big mass rally on August 28 in Mangalore city.

In **Kolar** district, signature campaign is in full swing in all the taluka centres and villages. In **Bagepalli taluk** **padayatra** for collecting signatures has been going on. Beginning

Kanpur Workers Rally

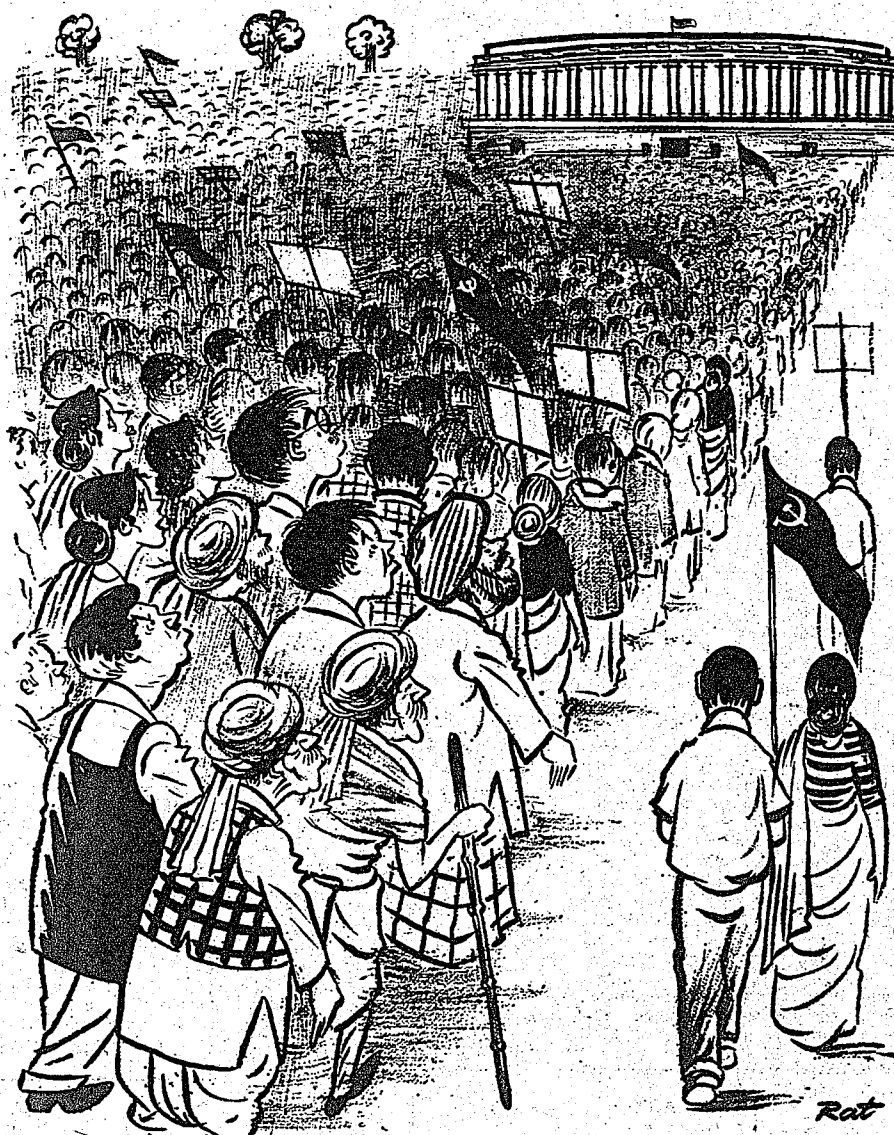
A huge rally of the workers and citizens of Kanpur was held on August 15 to support the Great Petition.

The demonstration and the meeting were held in the open on the famous **Parade Grounds** of the city. The weather did not appear very kind and the organisers were apprehensive whether the people would respond to the call of the Party and the trade unions associated with the Petition movement.

But Kanpur is Kanpur. It seldom fails to rise to the occasion where political issues are concerned. So, despite everything, 15,000 persons turned up for the rally, which was the grandest held recently.

S. S. Yusuf, veteran leader of the working class, presided over the rally. The speakers included **Kali Shankar Shukla**, Secretary, U.P. State Council of the Communist Party, **S. M. Banerji**, MP, leader of the defence workers, **Harbans Singh**, Secretary of the District Council of the CPI, **Sultan Niazi**, advocate and popular leader, and **Sri Ram**, local labour leader.

The campaign for collecting signatures is in full swing in Kanpur. Nearly 40,000 signatures have been collected. In another week or so, the quota of 1,00,000 signatures will be completed. The quota of those who will go to Delhi for the March to Parliament has now been raised from 250 to 500.



World-Wide Condemnation of Chinese Path of Struggle

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND'S ANALYSIS

The East German Communists' main newspaper NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in course of an analysis of the Chinese leadership's stand in the international communist movement has once again castigated the Chinese rulers for launching upon a military conflict with India instead of solving the border question "in accord with the principles of Bandung through peaceful negotiations."

In course of a comprehensive review of Chinese leadership's policy and practice the Socialist Unity Party (SED) organ's editorial on July 20 pointed out that "the militarists and revenge seekers in West Germany are making a special effort to use the publications of the Communist Party of China in order to weaken the peace movement."

The editorial in part reads as follows:

The thwarting of US aggression against revolutionary Cuba was a great victory of the Cuban people, who could rely on the direct help of the Soviet Union and the world peace movement.

But what did the leaders of the Communist Party of China do? As the US imperialists through their aggression against socialist Cuba brought the world to the edge of a thermonuclear war, the CPSU and the other socialist workers' parties, including our Party, did everything in order to maintain peace for mankind in order to protect the revolution and the construction of socialism in Cuba.

In this critical situation in which it was necessary to unite all forces against US imperialism in order to preserve peace, the leadership of the CPC launched slanderous attacks against the Soviet Union. Was the leadership of the CPC perhaps unaware that the danger of a thermonuclear world cata-

strophe did exist? The leadership of the CPC neglects no opportunity to declare that the struggle must be directed in the first place against American imperialism as the main enemy. How are their own actions to be explained, however?

At a time when American imperialism brought the world to the brink of an atomic war, the leadership of the CPC permitted themselves to be misled into playing up the border conflict with India which had been inspired by reactionary forces. Is that what the struggle against imperialism looks like?

Instead of solving the border question like all other disputed questions in accord with the principles of Bandung through peaceful negotiations, China entered a military conflict with one of the national states that had been freed of colonial domination.

The atom bomb and atomic war are life and death questions for the German people. The US imperialists favour the striving of the Bonn militarists to obtain the equal right to decide about the installation of atomic weapons and the control over atomic warheads.

In this way the ruling circles of the US speculate that in the event of a war provoked by West German militarists the counterblow of the military forces of socialism will be restricted to West Ger-

many. What should our party tell the masses in such a situation? Should it for "fear" of being accused by the leadership of the CPC of "fright" surrender its responsibilities and conceal from the people the truth about the consequences of an atomic war? We shall not permit ourselves to be forced into such a position; we will do everything to prevent the outbreak of war.

The better people understand the danger and devastating consequences of a modern war, the more determinedly will they struggle to prevent it and to guarantee peace. This is all the more necessary since the militarists in West Germany seek to convince the people that there is no immediate danger of an atomic war and that an atomic war is not as bad as the Communists assert.

We do not want to build socialism on ruins, nor on millions of corpses. Socialism is directed towards the maintenance and development of life and not to its destruction. For the victory of socialism in West Germany also, no war among the states is necessary. Therefore the entire population of the GDR opposes the ideological views of the leaders of the CP of China.

Our experience proves: the GDR arose and became strong under the conditions of struggle for the maintenance of peace and for the achievement of peaceful coexistence.

Our Party has concentrated its main strength on strengthening the GDR economically and developing the economic collaboration with the socialist countries, particularly the Soviet Union. The cause of socialism will not be advanced, the socialist system will not be strengthened further, by round-

communism directly, with a permanent "Great Leap", while circumventing the necessary stages of development. But Marx and Engels already stated explicitly that communist society can only be created on the basis of material and spiritual wealth.

Is it not absurd that the Chinese leaders accuse the Marxist-Leninist parties of the socialist countries of not leading the socialist revolution forward and instead doing everything in order to raise the living standards of their people? Do not socialist construction and the raising of living standards belong to the goals of socialist revolution?

It is characteristic that in the entire letter of the Central Com-

the national independence movement in attempting to impose a dogmatic strait-jacket on all the peoples who are struggling for their national independence. That can only lead to neglect of the peculiarities of the national independence movement of the individual countries. This can only result in damage to the national independence movement of the individual countries.

Each people must itself decide about the forms and methods through which it will achieve its political and economic independence and its own democratic structure.

The national independence movements and the new national states receive their greatest sup-

In Search of Renegades West German Press Report About Chinese Propaganda Efforts

UNDER the headline "Letter from Peking" a recent issue of the Hamburg magazine STERN reports of the propaganda efforts made from Peking on the territory of the FRG.

"The Chinese Communists are seeking allies also in the FRG," writes the magazine. "Former comrades of the Communist Party of Germany (banned since 1956) ever more frequently receive letters from Peking. Red China is looking for helpers in the ideological struggle against the Soviet Union."

"The Chinese communist writings," the magazine goes on to say, "reach the FRG by the ordinary way

of mail. The export department of the Peking publishing house makes small inconspicuous envelopes with the inscription 'To dear readers' and sends them out by air mail. The friendly messages contain the request to the recipients to let the publishing house know the addresses of other interested persons."

It is well-known that the West-German authorities confiscate any Marxist-Leninist literature coming in by mail—pamphlets, newspapers or magazines. However, the magazine says in conclusion, "the Bonn defenders of the constitution" raise no obstacles to mail from Peking.

mittee of the CPC of June 14, 1963, not a word is said about socialist democracy which is an essential characteristic of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is perhaps associated with the fact that the leaders of the CPC have a unique understanding of socialist democracy.

We recall, for example, that they carried on a campaign under the slogan "Let all flowers bloom, let all schools contend." Our Party leadership already at that time pointed out that one should not encourage the blossoming of weeds. But this slogan of the leadership of the CPC served only to deceive the Communist and Workers' parties in other countries. The leadership of the CPC itself did the opposite in that it discriminated against and subjected to repression those sectors of the intelligentsia who must be won during the transition period.

The Marxist-Leninist parties are guided by the conviction that the national struggle for emancipation is an inseparable part of the world revolutionary process. It can, however, in the first place, solve only the general democratic tasks of national liberation.

The Communist parties of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries support the national independence movement both morally and materially.

Of course, we are of the opinion that the national liberation movement should be led by the peoples themselves. We consider it false and harmful when the leadership of the CPC attempts to regiment

port and encouragement through the further strengthening of the world socialist system. It is the main force in the struggle against imperialism.

Our Party is of the belief that it was correct for N. S. Khrushchov to visit the USA, England, India and other countries and to spread there the ideas of peace and communism. Not the lifeless dogmatism of the leaders of the CPC, but this policy of the Soviet Union, in the spirit of the general line of the world communist movement leads to great successes for our cause!

It is fundamentally antagonistic to relations among Communist and Workers' Parties when the leadership of the CPC attempts to impose its views on the other brother parties through factional and disruptive activities. It is fitting for the leaders of the CPC to consider why the West German spy agencies print the Chinese materials and send them into the socialist countries. They should face the fact that the distribution of these materials is described by the official West German government agencies as not harmful to the state. Our party enjoys no such preference in this clerical-militarist totalitarian state of West German monopolies.

The comrades of the Chinese Party leadership should finally consider that they in making their differences of opinion and unwarranted attacks have not only given comfort to the imperialists but have damaged the Communist and Workers' parties.

The valuable article given on this page is published, as a letter from the International Institute for Peace in the August issue of the Bulletin of the World Council of Peace. The Chinese leadership has singled out the World Council of Peace for some of its most virulent attacks, particularly after the nuclear test-ban accord in Moscow.

We are publishing on this page also a few of the many statements made by Chinese peace leaders supporting a test ban only a few years ago, just to remind them of what they said then and compare it with the campaign of slander against the test ban which they have now launched.

The materials given here from the Bulletin of the World Council of Peace provide interesting facts, which all our readers will find vital for a proper understanding of the distorted attitude of the Chinese leaders towards the Moscow accord and the entire struggle for peace and disarmament.

—EDITOR

China has lately been carrying on a noisy campaign against the World Peace Movement which has persistently spoken out for the banning of nuclear tests. This campaign is studded with a multitude of groundless accusations against the peace supporters. It grossly distorts facts and directly falsifies the not too distant past.

TAKING a hostile attitude towards the nuclear test ban was the concentrated expression of a general negative attitude of the Chinese leadership towards the peoples' struggle for disarmament and peace. The service of many representatives of the Chinese public are being enlisted to speak the meanest kind of slanders against the peace movement.

It is profoundly regrettable that the role of detractors of the peace movement has been set aside in Peking, for such well-known public figures as Kuo Mo-jo and the writer Mao Tun. Apparently their names are being used to cover up the absence of convincing argument, to back up the refusal to adhere to the partial nuclear test ban treaty.

A letter from the Chinese Peace Committee running down the World Peace Movement is being circulated in many countries. At international meetings the Chinese delegates slander the World Peace Council. They have directed wrath and mean attacks against the World Peace Council's Executive Chairman, Professor John Bernal, the noted scientist, and other prominent people in the movement.

Therefore the International Institute for Peace consider it their duty to expose the falsifying methods to which Peking is resorting. The world public must know the real state of affairs. Right from the first days when it was founded, the World Peace Movement has persistently worked for the liquidation of the possibilities of a nuclear war. With this aim in mind it demanded an agreement on banning atomic and hydrogen bomb tests and firmly called for banning weapons of mass destruction. Striving towards these goals, it greeted any partial measures which made a real contribution to the cause of stopping the arms race.

If one is to believe the earlier statements of Chinese representatives in the World Peace Movement on the question of the banning of nuclear weapons tests, then they have no differences with the policy of the World Peace Council on this question. They supported these policies.

When all the peace-minded forces launched a powerful campaign for getting an immediate ban on nuclear weapons

WORLD PEACE COUNCIL EXPOSES

Chinese Falsifications And Distortions

Speaking at a meeting in Peking on August 1, the deputy chairman of the Chinese Peace Committee, Lao Cheng-chih, made a violent attack on the ban of nuclear tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water. He was not stopped even by the fact that at that very time members of the Japanese Movement for banning atomic and hydrogen weapons, were marching in peace columns to the Hiroshima Conference to demand an end of the nuclear tests.

Lao Cheng-chih even went as far as to claim that the partial nuclear Test Ban Treaty only increases the danger of contamination of the atmosphere and water, since it allegedly "allows the nuclear powers to resume nuclear tests at any time".

The Chinese delegation acted in very much the same way at the Conference in Hiroshima itself, where it sought to get the partial nuclear test ban condemned and sought to sow dissension among the ranks of the Japanese people's movement against the nuclear threat. To what steps one must descend in order to be able to preach on the atom bomb-scorched earth of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the mad idea of continuing the contest in perfecting deadly weapons.

In the light of Peking's obvious hostility to the cause of disarmament and an easing of world tension, one can now understand more clearly the splitting policy which Chinese representatives have been pursuing recently in the World Peace Movement. It is common knowledge that at the Congress for General Disarmament and Peace in July, 1962, the Chinese delegation voted with the rest of the participants for the Appeal to the Peoples of the World calling for the prohibition of nuclear tests poisoning our planet. Yet on their return to Peking they went back on the document and slandered the results of the Congress.

The Chinese representatives in the World Peace Movement have fenced themselves off from the activities of those working for a nuclear test ban and they are sabotaging their efforts. Their only concern is to try and justify the policy of the government of the Chinese People's Republic which seeks at any cost to take part in the nuclear arms race.

That is the only interpretation that can be put on the behaviour of the Chinese delegates at the meeting of the World Peace Council in Malmo in March, 1963. Chen Shen-Yu had a great deal to say about the right of all countries to possess nuclear weapons and demanded that the Council "oppose the monopoly of nuclear weapons". Monstrous though it may sound, it is a fact that a peace champion called for the spread of deadly weapons throughout the world.

And at the meeting in Peking on July 26, 1963, none other than the chairman of the Chinese Peace Committee, Kuo Mo-jo who had only recently just spoken of the dangers of experimental nuclear explosions called bluntly for a continuation of the nuclear arms race. In his speech larded with slanders on the peace movement, he drew a line, not between the forces of peace and the forces of war, but between

nuclear and non-nuclear powers. He declared:

"There does not exist any new technique which could remain inaccessible and which a small number of people and countries could hold a monopoly in a fairly short space of time. The attempts of a small number of countries to decide the destiny of the peoples of the whole world through the monopoly possession of nuclear weapons will be broken also."

There was a time in the peace movement when the peace movement had to work for peace in a situation when only the United States possessed the atom bomb. Then there really existed a nuclear monopoly. Nuclear weapons in the hands of the aggressive circles of that power created in that situation a threat of a direct and unpunishable attack on certain countries.

It should be well remembered in Peking that it was the liquidation of this monopoly, that helped the people to foil the plans to use nuclear weapons against China and Korea during the Korean War and prevent a world conflagration. That is the historic truth.

The World Peace Movement says a unanimous and decisive "No" to such a stand. (Letter from the International Institute of Peace)

WHAT THEY SAID THEN!

★ March 1st, 1957: In its message to the Ceylonese Peace Council, the Chinese Peace Committee denounced nuclear tests and spoke out in favour of banning them. In particular the message said: "The Chinese people wholeheartedly support the Soviet proposals for banning atomic and hydrogen weapons beginning with a ban on testing these weapons".

★ March 29, 1957: The Chinese Peace Committee issued a statement, pointing out that the people of the world were persistently demanding a ban on nuclear tests.

★ April 2, 1957: The Chinese representatives at the session of the World Peace Bureau in Berlin voted in favour of the appeal calling for an end to nuclear weapons tests.

★ April 26, 1957: The permanent executive of the Chinese Peace Committee approved the appeal of the World Peace Council Bureau.

★ May 19, 1957: Kuo Mo Jo, the chairman of the Chinese Peace Committee made a statement, in which he favoured the idea of immediate banning of nuclear tests.

★ June 16, 1957: At the World Peace Council Session in Colombo, Ceylon, the Chinese delegation voted in favour of the Appeal to all governments calling for an immediate stopping of nuclear tests.

★ July 2, 1957: A mass meeting in Peking, which was addressed by the Chinese delegate from the Colombo Session of the World Peace Council adopted a resolution fully approving the decisions of this Session. In particular the resolution pointed out that "the decision adopted by the Session in Colombo can encourage and inspire the people of the world in the struggle for peace, for banning nuclear weapons tests, and against the threat of nuclear weapons".

★ July 16, 1958: At the Stockholm Congress for Disarmament and International Cooperation, the head of the Chinese delegation, Kuo Mo-jo said: "We are all for stopping nuclear tests. We hope that the United States and Britain which possess nuclear weapons will follow the Soviet Union's example and also stop their tests".

★ July 22, 1958: The Chinese delegation at the Stockholm Congress voted in favour of its appeal which says: "The testing of nuclear weapons must be stopped. This will clear the road to general and controlled disarmament".

★ August 6, 1958: A mass meeting in Peking adopted a resolution which spoke of the Chinese people's hearty support for the decisions of the Stockholm Congress. It also expressed its readiness to work tirelessly for their implementation.

PEOPLE'S PROGRESSIVE PARTY OF CYPRUS

General Secretary's Statement

THE statement, made by the Government of the People's Republic of China in connection with the conclusion of the nuclear test ban treaty in the atmosphere, outer space and under water, is an unacceptable document, which no one could expect to come from a socialist country.

All the peoples hailed this treaty as a serious step towards lessening tension and relieving mankind of horrors of thermonuclear destruction.

Apart from running contrary to the sentiments and interests of the nations of the world, the statement of the PRC government also contains, in fact, some monstrous accusations against the Soviet Union and, consequently, against the working class parties which took part in the Moscow meeting of 1960 and approved a corresponding statement.

It is quite clear that the

leadership of the Communist Party of China has left the road of Marxism-Leninism, the road mapped out by the statement of fraternal parties which it also signed; thus it has taken a petty-bourgeois "revolutionary" and, ultimately, an anti-Marxist, anti-Leninist stand.

The statement of the PRC government can satisfy and make happy only the enemies of peace and socialism. The Working People's Progressive Party of Cyprus unequivocally condemns the PRC government's statement. Our Party expresses its ardent gratitude and congratulations to the Soviet Government and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which opened the road to lasting peace, socialism and progress by pursuing unwaveringly and consistently the Marxist-Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence, as is recorded in the statement of the 81 Parties.

Reactionaries' Manoeuvres In India

(Extracts from this recent Pravda article appeared in the Indian press and roused considerable interest. We are printing it here in full.)

Political storms are lately raging over India. The struggle of parties and classes has been sharpened and concerns the cardinal questions of home and foreign policy. The facts show that a serious activation of the reactionary pro-imperialist forces is taking place within the country. Prime Minister Nehru recently pointed out that the voice of the rightists in India who are placing emphasis on the most extreme form of nationalism is sounding ever more loudly.

In the course of recent years the main trends in India's policy were industrialisation within the country and nonalignment with blocs in external affairs. During these years considerable successes have been attained in India in liquidating the survivals of feudalism and colonialism, a number of important industries have been set up which are of decisive importance for ensuring the country's economic independence.

India has attained great achievements in education, in developing culture and public health. The country's industrial output almost doubled during the 1951-1961 period, with agricultural production increasing by approximately 45 per cent.

It is, however, no easy matter to overcome the grave legacy of the colonial past, and especially in improving the standard of living of the multi-million masses. At the same time one cannot but also note that the social contrast of present-day India would not be so glaring and her achievements in this sphere would be incomparably greater if not for the counteraction of the big capitalists and landowners who are striving to multiply their wealth and profits.

Behind this verbal camouflage the Indian reactionaries are attacking along a wide front all progressive aspects of the country's home policy. Rajagopalachari, a prominent leader of the Indian National Congress in the past acting now as the patriarch of the reactionary forces of India and Swatantra ideological leader; Acharya Kripalani, independent but actually a henchman of the Swatantra Party; Jai Prakash Narayan, one of the main theoreticians of the Indian Social Democrats; Golwalkar, leader of the Jan Sangh; and the notorious General Cariappa coming out with the demand "to hang all Indian Communists"—this is a far from complete list of those heading the campaign of the sinister forces for changing the country's policy along reactionary, pro-imperialist lines.

Monopoly Profits

Thus, according to official data, the profits of Indian monopolies increased more than 50 per cent from 1950 to 1958. The Indian press notes that in recent years they have grown even more sharply. At the same time the bulk of the country's population did not have the opportunity of fully enjoying the fruits of economic development which had taken place during the years of independence. The exploiting classes appropriate the bulk of the values which are on an ever growing scale being produced in the country. The All India Trade Union Congress pointed out in 1961.

After the gaining of political independence, N. S. Khrushchev pointed out at the 22nd CPSU Congress, when on the agenda is the task of tearing up the roots of imperialism and introducing social reforms, "the differences in class interest are coming more and more into the open. Broad sections of the working people and also that considerable section of the national bourgeoisie interested in the

accomplishment of the basic tasks of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution, want to go further in strengthening independence and effecting social and economic reforms."

Interests Of Right

However within the ruling circles of the countries which have liberated themselves from colonial oppression there "are forces that are afraid to go further in their collaboration with the democratic, progressive strata of the nation. They would like to appropriate the fruits of the people's struggle and hamper the further development of the national revolution."

These words can be fully applied in characterising the processes taking place in present-day India.

Monopolies and big landlords strive to exert ever greater influence on Indian policy, both home and foreign. In the field of home policy they attack the government's "excessive passion" for planning, the "stepped up" development of the state sector to the detriment of the interests of the "private" enterprise owners, businessmen and landowners.

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In foreign policy they have taken the cudgels against the neutralist policy, the policy of non-alignment expressed in India's non-participation in military alliances; they come out for the establishment of close economic and military contacts with the imperialist powers, against economic cooperation with the USSR and other socialist countries.

It must be pointed out that for many years the rightists did not dare to come out openly against non-alignment policy, knowing its tremendous popularity among the masses. The Sino-Indian border conflict, particularly big

armed clashes in the region of the Himalayas in October-November 1962, were a blessing for them. The Indian rightist circle did all they possibly could to create an atmosphere of war psychosis and chauvinistic fever in the country.

In the atmosphere created by the Sino-Indian border conflict they managed to strengthen their positions considerably. A vivid example of that was furnished by the victory of such notorious reactionaries as Acharya Kripalani and Swatantra Party leader Masani at the recent parliamentary byelections.

Under the pressure of the reactionary parties, which found allies for themselves in the rightist wing of the ruling party, the Indian National Congress, Ministers Krishna Menon and K. D. Malaviya, who came out for the implementation of the progressive points of the ruling party programme, were removed from the Government.

Inflaming passions in connection with the Sino-Indian conflict, the reactionaries are making use of the fact that the Indian Government has already announced its readiness to start talks on peaceful settlement on the basis of the proposals of the Colombo con-

idea of Indian cooperation with socialist countries, for strengthening the positions of the reactionary forces within the country and drawing India into a close war and political alliance with the West.

Imperialist Strategy

Pretending to be "true friends" to India, the imperialists vie with one another to offer their "aid". In a short interval of time Delhi was visited by high-ranking political figures of the USA and Britain, and many military missions of those countries.

The visits and the pressure of Western imperialist circles and their allies within India were not without result: the Indian press reports about plans to hold joint Anglo-American-Indian air exercises on Indian territory this autumn. The Washington Post indicates that these exercises "do not differ in any way from similar exercises in which Pakistan has been taking part on the basis of alliance with West, within the SEATO and CENTO."

India's future will greatly depend on whether the national patriotic, democratic for-

settlement of the border dispute with China.

The Indian Communist Party is credited with the mobilisation of public opinion against agreement to relay the "Voice of America" programmes by an All-India Radio Station. The Indian Communist Party leads the struggle against the participation of the US and British air forces in air exercises on Indian territory, for lifting the state of emergency, war taxes and dues, imposed on the working people.

Voice Of Democratic Forces

The scale of this struggle is telling evidence of the tremendous potential of the Indian democratic forces. Though, unfortunately, it must be said that their rallying is often hampered by the anti-communist policy of many influential people within the ruling Indian National Congress party, which weakens the front of the national-patriotic democratic forces of the country and, objectively speaking, plays into the hands of the reactionary, pro-imperialist circles in India. The arrest and long imprisonment of a great number of active workers, the trade unions and other democratic organisations was a great service to reaction.

The difficulties of the Indian progressive forces are compounded by the fact that the Indian Communist Party is concurrently attacked by the Chinese leaders who openly interfere in its internal affairs. They haughtily allege in public that the Indian Communist Party is not a Marxist-Leninist Party. They have even taken such a monstrous step in the eyes of all Communists of the world as to openly declare that the leadership of the Indian Communist Party is a "clique"; they are intent on splitting the ranks of Indian Communists who, under the present conditions in the country, need unity and cohesion as never before.

All sincere friends of the great Indian people, express confidence that they will not only be able to defend their gains, the policy of peace, friendship and cooperation with all countries, but also ensure the advance of the country along the road of democracy and progress.

(Pravda, August 10)

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FROM BOTH SIDES OF HOUSE

RIGHTS GANG TOGETHER

he were to have his way. This not only by providing the ultra-Right with the demagogic cover which it so badly needs, but even more by the utter vulgarity and indecency of the suggestions and insinuations in which his mind reveals.

One feels at a loss whether at all and how far to regard it as an attitude of serious opposition to government's anti-people policies, when it turns out that the ultimate purpose of all criticism is to run down and abuse the person of the Prime Minister. One also wonders how utterly indifferent and irresponsible towards over-all national interests can a self-proclaimed super-patriot become when he proceeds headlong to provide ammunition, by his ill-conceived, irrelevant, malicious and vulgar attacks on Nehru, to all India-baiters from Peking and Pindi right up to Washington.

This malicious hatred of the Prime Minister again is a link which unites the leader of the Socialist Party with Masani and others and explains their strange bed-fellowship. Lohia goes one better than Masani, for Masani, in calling upon the Congress Party to reorganise the government in a manner acceptable to the Swatantra, dared suggest only indirectly that they throw out Nehru.

From their own ends all of them—Patil, Masani and

Lohia—come to adopt positions of rabid anti-communism. Both Patil and Lohia in attacking the CPI dragged in the Pravda with absolutely no justification or basis whatsoever. Besides showing their disregard for facts, it showed their disregard for national interests as well.

Standing apart and in a class by itself was the performance of the Finance Minister, Morarji Desai. One would have thought that since the debate had risen principally because of the tremendous discontent roused among the people by the government's taxation policy, by the CDS and the Gold Control Order, the Finance Minister directly responsible for these would try to meet the criticism with some humility and seriousness.

What one found was that after rambling over the whole field, the Finance Minister had absolutely nothing to say about the CDS and gold policy except to remind the House of what he had told them six months ago in course of the budget debate. And even this slight reference would not have been there had the Finance Minister not been reminded by interruptions from the opposition benches.

After this cavalier and casual treatment of a matter which has become literally one of life and death for the people, if the CPI charges the Finance Minister of being callous to the sufferings of

the people and demands his removal, can anybody call it an unfair demand? And how does it matter if his policies and measures enjoy the full support—as he claims—of the Prime Minister?

In reiterating Government's stand against nationalisation of banks, etc., Morarji Desai only confirmed the conviction of the people that Government was bent upon carrying out the defence and development effort not in keeping with the interests of the entire nation and the whole people, but in the interests exclusively of the upper classes.

LOK SABHA

He trotted out the usual charges against Communists of being unpatriotic for trying to stand by the people.

It is too much to expect that the Finance Minister and his colleague will appreciate that the mulish obstinacy with which they are determined to persist in their present policies will result in further spiralling of discontent which will only be utilised by the Kripalani-led alliance to attack and destroy the objectives and policies by which the Finance Minister also now swears.

(August 21)

Revise Cost Of Living Index Now—Demands Dange

*FROM FRONT PAGE

pollists and bankers to fleece the people.

Today's strike is a precursor of similar actions and protests throughout the country, if government does not change its policy and take over wholesale trade in foodgrains and the banks and control the hoarders and reduce the taxes on the tolling people.

One of the hopeful outcomes of the workers' action has been that the Government of Maharashtra held a conference with all the central TU organisations yesterday at the Sachivalaya to evolve a machinery to correct the cost of living index, on which depends the dearness allowance and the demand for its increase.

It has now been decided that government is to appoint an Experts' Committee to re-tune and reorganise the values and prices of the index to conform with the reality of the market. It was also decided that the report will be available within a period of two months. The trade unions feel that this will pave the way to increase the present low dearness allowance and prevent the workers from being deprived of their just dues as at present.

If the revision and correction of the existing index does

not take place and the workers are not given their due compensation by the end of October, Bombay's working class will go into action again.

Already the workers in Bombay and the rest of the country lose several crores every month by this fraudulent index made by the government under the influence of big employers. We hope this general strike will change government's policies and control the big employers' opposition to wage increase to meet the high prices and taxes.

Our Action Committee will continue the struggle on the basis of our demands, until they are won. We are confident that we of the All India Trade Union Congress and the Unions of the Sangharsha Samithi and Hind Mazdoor Sabha will continue to take united action and hold consultations for the common cause irrespective of any political differences or the disruptive moves of reactionary elements. Today is the day of the great united action of the tolling people, which alone will lead us all to further victory.

We hope the government will settle the pending municipal dispute and release the people who are in prison for defending the workers' interests.

Scrap VOA, Joint Exercises

*FROM BACK PAGE

remains de jure. Also, in some US papers it has been said that India's nonalignment is dead and has only to be buried. So, when such statements are published in papers and when then they say that they want joint air exercises, certainly we have to be very suspicious about these joint air exercises.

This gradual sliding down the inclined plane in our foreign policy has gladdened the hearts of the sponsors of the motion and their friends in the country and abroad. Today they are emboldened precisely because of this sliding down to demand a scrapping of this policy and complete and unalloyed alignment with the Western bloc.

As far as the economic policies pursued by the Government are concerned, they have only helped the growth of monopolies, and collaboration with the monopolist houses of the West has strengthened their power in the country. Also, the Defence of India Rules have been utilised to put down the voice of the people seeking to change these policies. The emergency has been abused and misused. I quote as an example what is happening today in Bombay. The Defence of India Rules have been utilised not to curb speculation and profiteering and to put behind bars these elements. It has been said that the speculators have not been caught but those who oppose speculation and blackmarketing have been

caught and put inside jails. Today it is being resorted to suppress strikes and struggles of the people, the workers and the peasants who demand a reversal of this policy as in Bombay.

What has happened in Bombay? What is the strike for? The strike is to say, "Stop the Compulsory Deposit Scheme" or, as far as the prices are concerned, "Prices have gone up; increase the dearness allowance." That is the basis of the strike, because really the people were suffering today.

The lesson from the strike which the Government should recognise is that it is high time that drastic measures are taken to check the rise in prices. But it is a matter of deep regret to say that instead, the Defence of India Rules are used to break the struggle of the tolling millions. They say today, "We want to work more and produce more. To produce more and to work more we want at least the same food and the same requirements which we had yesterday." They do not say anything as far as the question of standard of living is concerned. What they are asking today is not that the standard of living should go up. They say, "We want to remain where we were a year or two ago." So, if they want the same amount of food as well as other things, you must either bring down the prices or you must see that the CDS is withdrawn and also dearness allowance according to the rise in prices is given, when they had played a very positive role at the time when there was a

very big crisis in the country. The result today is that the speculators and the blackmarketers who are raising prices, who made use of the emergency are left free and the workers who worked more, when today they say, "We want something more" because they want to work as effectively as they had worked a year ago, are arrested under the DIR and the Government does not want to see what the reason behind this is. It is now clear that the DIR were enacted not to put down the speculator, the blackmarketeer and the profiteer but to break the working class party, the CPI, and the working class struggles against rising prices.

So, to sum up, we want to say this. We are for nonalignment. We will fight all those who are against nonalignment as well as fight these policies of the Government which weaken nonalignment, for defending the interests of the country, and its people. We will fight those who demand freedom for private capital and also fight those who are against all land reforms. To fight them effectively we will fight the Government's concessions to and compromise with the private sector and the vested interests and also the tardy implementation of faulty land legislation.

We are expressing no confidence in the Government for the shift to the Right which has already taken place in its policies. We dissociate from those who want to drag the Government's policies still further to the Right.

WEST GODAVARI PEACE CONFERENCE

A widely representative district Peace Conference was held at Nidadavole in West Godavari (Andhra Pradesh) on August 6. Eightyone delegates and a hundred observers participated in the Conference. A mass rally of over 1500 people followed the conference.

The presiding committee of the Conference was composed of the popular independent MIA Vavilala Gopalakrishnayya, Congress leader Sattiraju Ramamurthy and trade union leader M. V. N. Kapardi.

The Conference hailed the nuclear test ban agreement and expressed the hope that further steps would be taken towards the achievement of an underground nuclear test ban and general disarmament leading to world peace.

The stand taken by the Soviet Union and Premier Khrushchov was specially commended.

Dr. B. V. L. N. Raju, secretary of the Nidadavole Peace Committee, welcomed the delegates to the Conference.

The Conference devoted a good deal of time to a discussion on the policy of non-alignment. It was resolved that people's voice must be roused in favour of the non-alignment policy pursued by the Nehru government. The resolution stated that non-alignment is vital for India's defence and development.

The deal regarding the VOA was the subject of critical comment at the Conference. It was hoped that wiser counsels would prevail and the deal would be scrapped.

The troop movements of Chinese forces on Indian borders engaged the serious attention of the Conference. Strong exception was taken

to the attitude of the Chinese leaders towards the Moscow test ban agreement, as well as their action in mobilising troops once again on India's borders.

Attempts to divide the Kashmir Valley were mentioned in the course of another resolution, and the stand taken in this regard by the All Kashmir and Jammu National Conference against the manipulations of the imperialist forces was fully endorsed in the course of another resolution passed by the Conference.

The public meeting was presided over by B. Anjaneyaraju, president of the Nidadavole Peace Committee. P. Patbharamarao, sub-editor of Visalandhra, P. Bhaskararaju and others spoke in the meeting.

A new district Peace Committee was elected with Dr. D. Rajasekhara Rao as president and Dr. B. V. L. N. Raju as general secretary.

ALL-INDIA PEACE CONGRESS PUNJAB TO PLAY HOST

NEW DELHI: In view of several requests made by State Peace Councils, the Secretariat of the All India Peace Council has decided to postpone the dates of the All India Peace Congress to October 25, 26 and 27.

The venue now will be Amritsar in Punjab. Interest in the Peace Congress has grown rapidly in view of the attacks being made by Right reactionary forces on the policy of non-alignment. The Amritsar Congress will be a powerful demonstration in support of non-alignment.

The VOA deal has sharply underlined for peace workers throughout the country, the urgency of strengthening the mass movement for peace.

State and District Peace conferences are being planned in different parts of the country. All these conferences are also forums for discussions on the questions of disarmament and the Moscow nuclear test ban treaty.

The test ban is being widely welcomed in a series of meetings and conferences, and the wrong attitude of the Chinese leaders in this regard exposed and condemned.

PATIL'S WATERLOO: HIS MISERABLE RECORD

S. K. PATIL's "resignation," and its sudden withdrawal have already formed part of a story in New Age, and howsoever hard his fans might strain their nerves to paint these as vindication of his "high principles," the Indian people are not convinced. All his demagogic defence of his food policies in the Lok Sabha may win the plaudits of the Right, but the people judge him from the brutal facts of his record as Food Minister.

Patil's predecessors, with the honourable exception of the late Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, had been past masters in bungling the affairs of their ministry, but none of them had his audacity and nonchalance to match their mediocrity. In Patil these attributes and "inaction and inaptitude" have had a happy blending with the result that while nothing moves up under his charge, except of course the prices, the government and the nation are made to believe that everything is wonderful. Now, of course, the veneer of this peculiarly Patilish smugness is wearing thin, and the people are awakening to the dangers involved in his continuing to hold office.

Patil took over his charge at a time when the production was low and prices were going up. The government, worried at this situation, had set up the Asoka Mehta Committee, which had suggested progressive socialisation of foodgrains trade. But Patil, whose first loyalty is to the "normal channels of trade," could have no use for such "abnormal" measures.

He, however, talked brave about his "bounden duty" to provide food to the people, and even belied out the "El Dorado" of a "World Food Bank" coming up soon. The United States, the land of his inspiration, and the crest of the triumph of the "normal trade channels," was to be the obvious centre of this bank, but when he returned from there the next year, all his baggage contained was a Public Law 480 agreement to import 16 million tons of wheat and a million tons of rice.

Weather further helped Patil, and this, together with his magic wand—the PL-480, were enough to take care of India's food requirements in his view. But in this he counted without the vagaries of the first, with the result that with a couple of unfavourable years, he found himself wholly dependent on the PL.

Patil has no heart for agriculture as such, not even to the extent his former junior, Punjabrao Deshmukh had for his pet, the Japanese method of paddy cultivation. He has, therefore, been consistently neglectful of increasing agricultural production.

He, of course, holds the states responsible for shortfalls, not knowing that as the man in charge of this vital sector at the centre, it is his job to make them move in the matter. It is not often that one bears of his visiting the state capitals to discuss the problems of agriculture, nor of the benefit of researches, conducted in institutes under his charge, trickling down to fields, in spite of a network of extension agencies being available for the purpose.

Patil's love for the US is so overpowering that it has to be reflected in his choice of tractors too. Unmindful of their suitability, or otherwise,

to Indian fields, he is said to have imported a vast number of these machines from the US. The result is the spectacle of American tractors rusting in disuse, and the farmers having to do with their antediluvian ploughs. He could have, of course, imported smaller tractors from elsewhere, but will that not divide his exclusive affection for the US? Patil's Waterloo have however been the prices, which have continued to spiral because of his pathological attachment to the normal trade channels. The general index of wholesale prices rose by 6.3 per cent during March-June 1963, while the food index—for which Patil is responsible—went up by 11 per cent. In fact, according to statistics, collected by the government agencies, the index of rice prices rose even higher—that is by 12.5 per cent.

But this rise in wholesale prices is no index of the actual increase in prices paid by the consumers. Patil will, no doubt, talk big about the efficacy of his price policy, but facts, compiled by official bodies from rural areas, give a different picture.

Rice prices in Assam increased from 59 nP. per kilogram in the second fortnight of January to 81 nP. in the second fortnight of May, while the corresponding increases in Orissa and West Bengal were from 53 nP. to 65 nP. and 70 nP. to 86 nP. respectively.

Patil, who prides himself in being the "best friend" of the traders, is not, however, perturbed by these increases, which go only to fatten the coffers of his friends. How can he, therefore, tolerate the Planning Commission, or any other authority, moving to curb prices or resort to DIR to put down profiteering?

Economic notes

That is why soon after the government's directive to the states to use the emergency powers to curb this anti-social activity, he rushed to Bombay to virtually assure these gentlemen that he would stand no such nonsense. Yet, such is the tolerance of the Prime Minister that he does not find him a misfit in the "socialist pattern."

This does not by any means exhaust the inventory of Patil's defaults. He is responsible for the sugar muddle, and the failure of cotton production to go up. But all these point to only one conclusion: that Patil should be shown the exit before he is able to do more damage to the government, the people and the nation's food prospects.

Galbraith's Salvage Operation

EX-Ambassador Galbraith is fighting hard in Washington to salvage his country's image as a friend of India. He is running from one Committee to another to convince the die-hards at the Capital Hill that to aid Bokaro is in fact to aid themselves. But these people seem to have no use for his woolly ideas, because they know that to create a capacity for steel in India, while their own industry is underemployed, is a disservice to their steel tycoons' interests.

Galbraith has, however, done one service in his desperation. He has exposed the real face of the so-called "enlightened" approach of people of his ilk, and also our government's proneness to fall for it. The

government, he says in his latest contribution on the subject to the Washington Post, had agreed to set up a separate (from the Hindustan Steel Corporation) to take up Bokaro, and "to accord to the American builder not only a large measure of autonomy during the construction period, but also thereafter for several years."

Thus, he adds, "what would be a public operation from the Indian point of view would be a private operation from ours." How candid indeed, and yet our Steel Minister had no hesitation to hug the US suggestion to his bosom.

With Bokaro thus virtually scrapped, in spite of the Steel Minister's sickening reiteration of resolve to build it, with or without US aid, it is time to give serious thought to our steel programme.

The National Council of Applied Economic Research has sounded the tocsin in its latest "reappraisal" of steel demand, according to which, the production, at the present pace, will fall short of the requirements by more than 6 million tonnes by the end of the next plan. What is the government doing to create capacities to obviate this disaster?

Bokaro could not be taken up during the Third Plan because of the government's obsessive concern for helping the US associate its name with a prestige project. That this was a mistake has been shown by results. Surely, such mistakes cannot be allowed to be repeated in future without doing irreparable damage to the steel programme itself. But is that the government's view as well?

The proper way for the government will be to actively explore alternative avenues to undertake Bokaro and other projects, without letting the Americans, even of the Galbraith brand, have any opening to scuttle them from within or without.

—ESSEN (August 20)

A notable feature of the activity of the INTUC unit in Andhra Pradesh is to organise rival unions in industries and establishments where the most representative AITUC affiliates are working. For this activity, more often, they get the support of the managements and specially from some ministers.

THE game of forming rival unions has become a somewhat morbid attraction for the INTUC leaders with the result that one group of the INTUC is now forming rival unions against the unions led by the other group of the INTUC. The ministers and the Congress leaders aligned with the rival Congress groups give support and inspiration to these activities.

Recently, the central leadership of the INTUC had intervened to patch up the group rivalry in Andhra Pradesh. During the last seven years, this is the fifth time that they have announced that all differences have been patched up. The patched-up unity never lasted for long.

The strong-arm methods and rowdiness in which some INTUC leaders specialised have also been brought into play to settle the group squabbles. The rowdy gangs of rival groups within the INTUC made an open display of their strength in the Allwyn factory. The inauguration of this kind of activity took place in "Gandhi Bhavan". It has now expanded to the Asbestos factory, Nagarjunsagar and to a number of other places.

At Nagarjunsagar, one group of the INTUC staged a black-flag demonstration against D. SANJEEVAYYA, Congress president, and the other group demonstrated against SANJEEVA REDDY, the chief minister of Andhra Pradesh, when they

visited the dam site recently. Another and a more remarkable feature of the INTUC activity in the state was the signing of anti-worker agreements with the managements.

By an agreement signed with the management of Rayalseema Textiles, Adoni, the INTUC leaders accepted the work-loads

of Coimbatore mills without the Coimbatore wage structure. The workers clearly lost Rs. 20 to Rs. 30 a month because of this betrayal.

Another agreement was recently signed with the Birlas in regard to the workers in Sirpur paper mills and silk mills. Out of

that even the most reasonable and just demands of the workers are not being attended to. It was against this background that the conference formulated a charter of 19 demands and decided to demonstrate for their demands as well as for the AITUC's all-India demand as put forth in the Great Petition to Parliament.

The INTUC, HMS and the management did everything possible to foil this demonstration. The scare of mounting tension on the borders, false alarms that the union aimed at "slowing down

INTUC ANTICS IN ANDHRA PRADESH

9,000 workers, 5,000 have been kept temporary depriving them of even minimum wages fixed for the factory, leave facilities and festival holidays. By the agreement, the INTUC perpetuated this ghastly situation.

Another slick horse-trading was the bartering away of the right to permanency of 1,800 workers in the Asbestos company, for a pittance of Rs. 7 DA increase for only 480 workers.

The fourth agreement recently signed by the INTUC was

again with the Birlas in the Allwyn factory. Out of 5,000 workers employed in the factory, 2,700 are kept as temporary workers. These "temporary" workers have put in service of several years. When the company earned a profit of Rs. 6 lakhs, three-months wages were paid as bonus to the permanent workers, without any agreement with the union. Last year when they got a profit of Rs. 23 lakhs, the INTUC, despite protests from workers, went in and signed for three months' wages as bonus.

production," threats of repression—all these were pressed into service to frustrate the demonstration.

Throwing all deencies to the wind the personnel manager Misra himself came out with the statement trying to connect the demonstration with the mounting tension on the border. But the workers could not be shaken.

Sensing this, the management tried to divert the workers from the demonstration by organising the various diversions on the same day and time. A football match, a wrestling match, a dance performance, a free variety entertainment and a tea party—all these were arranged to coincide with the time of the demonstration. To cap it all the weather was the devil's own: it rained for two

days continuously. But the workers who produce steel had been steeled enough to brave all this, and they came in large numbers, beyond the expectations of the foes of the working class, and foiled their game by bringing out not only the really mammoth and inspiring demonstration but also maintaining complete discipline throughout.

The procession was led by Homi Daji, MP, Sudhir Mukerjee, and Prakash Roy. Together with the Bihilai workers marched the workers from the nearby BSP mines—workers from the iron mines, the dolomite mines—all joined together to voice their mighty protest against the CDS and rising prices and to impress upon the management the urgency of their demands.

COMMUNIST STAND

*FROM PAGE 5

got its responsibility, and I myself might be permitted to say very humbly that even one like me who had the privilege of having been a member of the All-India Congress Committee in the Harijura-Tripuri days feels that a great deal of thinking is needed.

The Prime Minister does it fitfully and occasionally and unapologetically but can the Congress really continue as a conditioning force in Indian life if it abandons the socialist pattern at home and nonalignment abroad? Is democracy workable in an underdeveloped country like ours without the vivifying and unifying pursuit of a national minimum programme by the ruling party?

But the Congress makes an unimaginative approach—the declaration of the emergency, the attack on the Communist Party, the misuse of the Defence of

India Rules about which the jurists of this country are nearly unanimous that they are ultra vires of the Constitution.

The bludgeon is no instrument for national progress in a country which is conscious and proud of its historic role, and this is what I am reminded of when, earlier this morning, the government showed an attitude to the Bombay strike which only reiterated the government's character, namely, that it is callous, that it does not care to what happens even to a city like Bombay. That is why I stress what I am convinced is the demand of our people, that the Prime Minister reorganises the government, removes reactionaries from his Cabinet, tones up the administration and restores in governmental work the values and the objectives which Indian freedom necessarily connotes.

EMC WORKERS' STRIKE CONTINUES

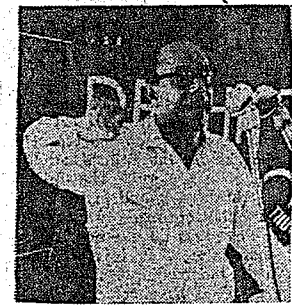
CALCUTTA: The workers of the Electrical Manufacturing Corporation (EMC) are on strike since June 10, 1963. The facts relating to this strike were reported earlier in New Age.

NOW the strike has already entered the third month of its duration, but still the Labour Directorate of West Bengal government is not showing any signs for initiating any steps for settlement of the dispute.

Deputations of the union have met the Labour Minister at Delhi and the state Labour Minister at Calcutta and a memorandum was submitted to Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru.

The workers are willing to execute defence jobs. But they contend, and rightly so, that to enable them to do so, the factory must be taken over by the government. It may be recalled that many criminal cases are pending against the management of the concern, which have been lodged by the Special Police Establishment under the Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India.

Meanwhile, loss of production is continuing. But neither the state government nor the central government has so far intervened to get the just demands of the workers conceded and thus save hardship to the workers and loss of production.



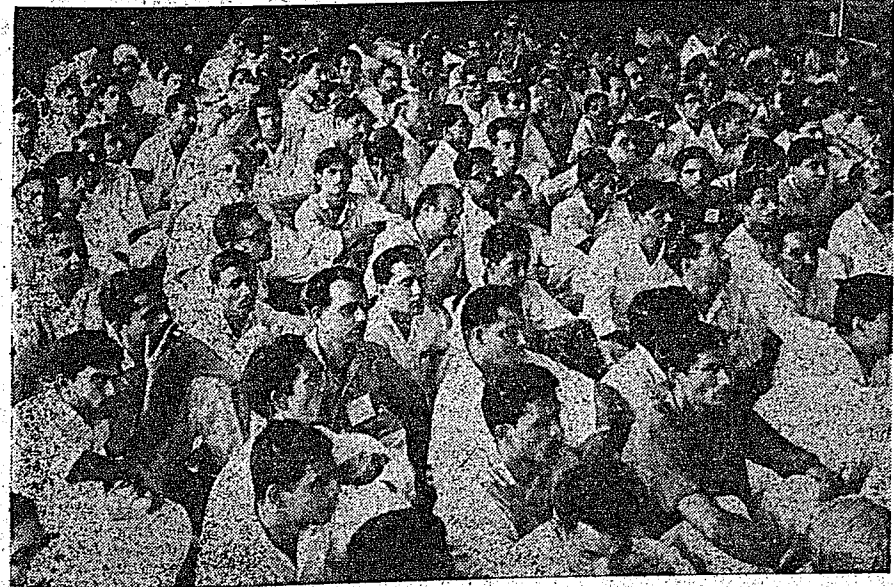
Phabhat Kar addressing the convention.

Over one thousand delegates representing over 100 trade unions of Delhi with a total membership of eighty thousand met in

DELHI TRADE UNION CONVENTION

a convention on August 11 at the N. M. Joshi Hall, New Delhi. The convention was presided over by H. L. Parvana, general secretary, Delhi State Bank Employees' Federation and inaugurated by Phabhat Kar, MP. S. A. Dange, general secretary, All-India Trade Union Congress, addressed the convention, among others.

The convention adopted a resolution, moved by A. C. Nanda, general secretary,



A section of the delegates to the Convention. Photo: R. Parasher.

No-Confidence Debate in Lok Sabha

Gopalan Indicts Morarji, Patil

Leader of the Communist Group in Lok Sabha, A. K. Gopalan, took the floor in the No-Confidence debate on the second day (August 20), immediately after his return to Delhi from Kerala. Below are given excerpts from his speech:

It is with a heavy heart that I speak in this debate to express want of confidence in the government, though for different reasons from those of the sponsors of the motion. On many issues like corruption, high prices and taxation, there would appear to be a common ground. But in fact our approach is totally different from that of the others.

THE speech of Sri Masani was the epitome of the approach of people like him. He wanted the government to concentrate on investments in agriculture and not aspire to be self-sufficient in iron and steel. According to him, it would mean that we will have to import our requirements of iron and steel, obviously from America.

That would show that his attack against the government is more to weaken the national interest than to strengthen it. The same voice was raised in the US Senate Foreign Aid Committee last week against the fruition of the Bokaro project. America wants our country to be economically and militarily weak and permanently dependent. That is why I say that our approach, as far as this motion is concerned, is totally different from that of the others.

Promises & Policies

My charge against the government is that there is a total divergence between the promises that the government has given and the policies of the government.

In the election manifesto of 1957 they (the Congress) declared as follows:

"In economic relations, there should be no exploitation and no monopolies, and disparities in income should be progressively lessened."

In practice, however, they have actually helped the widening of the disparities and the concentration of wealth in a few hands. At no time in the history of our country did monopolists own or control such a big chunk of our economy as now, and the process is continuing.

★ Out of the total of 28,000 private and public limited companies whose total assets come to nearly Rs. 2,800 crores, seven top houses, of Tatas and Birlas alone have between them Rs. 706 crores.

★ In the sphere of banking, three top banking companies control 30 per cent of the deposits in all banks. These were the figures in 1959, and the position today will be worse.

Ever since the Congress Party took over the reins of government, in their election manifesto of 1946, 1952, 1957 and 1962 and also in the First Five Year Plan and Second Five Year Plan, they have promised that they would hold the price line and prevent inflation. What has happened to their holding of the price line and inflation? The entire economic history of India during the last 16 years has been one of continuing inflation and rise in prices.

After the declaration of the emergency the Prime Minister got an undertaking from the big business in this country that they would not resort to speculation and profiteering. Even then, now, the government admits that the prices have swelled.

The Food Minister talks again and again about buffer stocks. He has to admit now that there is a sharp fall in rice production. His only answer is to make an annual pilgrimage to America and beg for food. Last time when he went to America he appealed to the Americans to lend more rice. So what is the image of India that is presented? It is an image of a perennial mendicant that he projects of us to the people of the world.



The Food Minister expects people to be satisfied and to live on false statistics. Such a minister who gives us only statistics and not rice has no business to be in office. The sugar muddle has made it all the more imperative that he quits office here and now.

On top of this, government is taking advantage of the emergency. In the name of the emergency it has put an unbearable burden by way of taxation and compulsory deposit on the teeming millions of our country.

How can a man getting Rs. 125 put Rs. 3 every month in CDS when he has to spend actually Rs. 150 for the same food, for the same amounts of rice and other things that he had been getting a year ago?

Some Members say that he will be saving something and that is good for him. He wants to live first and then only he can think of saving.

What about the peasants? In Thiruvelli district of Madras state, which I visited last month, the land revenue on one acre of double crop wet land was Rs. 22½ two years ago. It has increased today to Rs. 50 because of the surcharge on land revenue imposed by the Madras government. Adding the amount to be deposited under the compulsory deposit scheme, a man has to pay Rs. 75 from this year. A man who paid only Rs. 22½ two years ago has to pay today Rs. 75 by way of tax and compulsory deposit.

Morarji Desai: May I correct the hon. Member? That is not correct, because half of the land revenue which he was paying two years ago is to be considered and not the amount he is paying today. So it comes to Rs. 11 and not Rs. 25.

A. K. Gopalan: He was paying Rs. 22½ and today even without the CDS he has to pay Rs. 50 because of the surcharge imposed by the Madras government. How can a man owning two acres or one acre of land pay this amount of surcharge, CDS and other levies. It is not only the surcharge that he has to pay.

Burden of Taxation

As far as water tax and other taxes are concerned they have also increased. Not only the rates have increased, I know that in many districts of Kerala and other states they are asked to pay the taxes for five or six years together.

Actually the prices of their paddy at the time of harvest procure less price than what they got last year, despite the increased prices in the market two months later.

More indebtedness will be the lot of these millions and ultimately their lands will be grabbed by the money-lenders.

My question is, is all this necessary for the defence of the country? Are there no other sources from which funds could be raised?

(A. K. Gopalan then spoke of land reforms and referred particularly to the manner in which the Kerala Government had acted against the Agrarian Bill.)

On foodgrains, in future trading, and in the stock exchange and also in urban land, speculation has actually intensified during the period of emergency. Is this speculation necessary for the growth of our economy and for the defence of the country? We demand that serious measures be taken to curtail drastically this unproductive waste of our resources on speculation.

It is with this end in view that we have said that Government should take over the banks and general insurance in order to find resources. The money deposited in these banks and insurance companies is not the property of those who control them. It is the wealth of the suffering people of the country which is today utilised by a few monopoly houses of the country to enrich themselves and their families through speculation and otherwise.

Coming to the question of foreign trade, it is admitted by many industrialists that there is under-invoicing of exports and over-invoicing of imports. This has become a common feature in the conduct of business by a few big business houses. This could be put a stop to by taking over the entire export and import trade by Gov-

ernment. Also, we will get some money.

Coming to the oil industry, the foreign monopolists in this country refuse even to give proper accounts of their profits to Government. It is known that in many parts of the world there had been even wars fought between the Government and foreign oil companies and Government toppled down because of the greed of the oil magnates for the control and exploitation of the oil resources.

By nationalisation of the oil industry we will get not only cheap petrol and cheap oil but Government will also get a few crores of rupees which now the foreign oil companies are pocketing as profits. So, we demand the nationalisation of both production and distribution of oil.

These are not very revolutionary programmes. They have been carried out in our neighbouring countries, Burma and Ceylon even

political party, says that here is an issue on which some inquiry must be made. Yet, no inquiry is made. That only shows the weakness of the party and how it is afraid of impartial inquiries.

Government's efforts to evade responsibility for the Voice of America agreement cannot convince anybody. It is said that the agreement was not passed by the Cabinet, that the Prime Minister himself was given information only in bits and pieces and that officials of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting had negotiated it. Even if the information was only in bits and pieces, the obvious fact must have been evident that the United States was going to use our soil for its imperialist propaganda.

That the agreement with the Voice of America is not just an aberration has been proved by the agreement with USA and Britain for joint Air Exercises. This agreement has come after a number of

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during peace time. And yet our Government refuses to do this even during the period of emergency.

The only reason for that can be that it does not want to take even the smallest steps which would hit the vested interests.

The Finance Minister is a personification of the class policies and the class bias in favour of the vested interests. He is supremely callous to the miserable conditions of the people and revels in putting more misery on the people.



The Finance Minister is not prepared to take drastic action to bring out the thousands of crores of rupees worth of gold kept in the hoards of princes and rich people. The only effect of his measure has been the blatant anti-social onslaught on the common people and uprooting of about five lakhs of goldsmiths and condemning them to perpetual starvation and death.

Whenever a social or economic reform measure is brought out, it is the duty of the Government to see that people do not suffer unnecessarily. They must introduce measure in such a way that people, instead of becoming unemployed, get more jobs so that they will become prosperous, which is one of the objects of the Plan.

The corruption that is rampant in the highest places is an inevitable concomitant of the power of money that has grown rapidly during the Congress regime.

There is no use of the Prime Minister shouting that the charge of corruption against Ministers is the biggest lie. Photostat copies of letters pertaining to corruption charges are published in the newspapers and yet nothing seems to have been done by the Prime Minister in this direction. Why is it that a judicial inquiry is not conducted? Such a state of affairs is unimaginable under any democratic regime.

In Kerala, the head of the Congress Party, not a member of the Communist Party or any other

military missions from these countries had already visited India on invitation from the Government. Right from the beginning it has been evident that the Western Powers were not interested in helping us to build any defence self-sufficiency and that they wanted us to depend on them for our defence needs. It has been officially admitted that they are not willing even to give the super-sonic jets the Government has asked for.

It is also evident that whatever the West is doing is not just to repel any Chinese attack but with very deliberate long-range plans in view. When the Government announced recently the news of the massing of troops on the border, what did the British and the American press say? The British press ridiculed it and in the USA statements were made to the effect that there was no question of any Chinese attack. It is after that, that the radar equipment and joint air exercises have come.

What does it mean? It means that the USA specially wants to get a military foothold on Indian soil. They are not so crude now as they had been before. Now they do not insist on India formally joining any military bloc, but they are acting to make India in fact a part of their global military strategy.

No Scuttling Of Non-Alignment

What does this joint air exercise mean? It only means that the Government helps to further the plans of US imperialism. Non-alignment in the eyes of our people as well as in the eyes of the people of Asia and Africa does not mean balancing between two camps but it is only a continuation of the anti-imperialist content of our freedom struggle. Our people are concerned today because involvement with the USA, has led to a gradual loss of sovereignty, ending up as a satellite of the USA, as in the cases of many countries in the past.

We can recall how we reacted when the aggressive SEATO bloc was formed. So, we should not be surprised if the Afro-Asian countries look at us with suspicion when today we enter into agreements with the imperialist powers for joint air exercises. Our people and the people in Asia and Africa have also read statements from responsible representatives of the US and British ruling classes who have said that nonalignment has been given up de facto though it

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