

# WE ACCUSE REAL

## KILLERS OF KENNEDY

HUMANITY POINTS ITS ACCUSING FINGER AT THE MURDERERS OF PRESIDENT JOHN F. KENNEDY. WHOEVER MAY HAVE PULLED THE TRIGGER, BEHIND HIM STOOD THE WHOLE AND MOST DANGEROUS FORCES OF REACTION IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

THOSE who may have been taken in first by the cock-and-bull yarns put out by the police, had their blind-spots removed, the moment Oswald was killed and the Dallas authorities announced the case "closed."

The *Hindustan Times* Washington correspondent, commenting on the killing of Oswald, writes that "the course of events since Friday afternoon have sent a chill through the USA, the like of which has not been felt since the Civil War a hundred years ago." (November 26.)

The chill is not confined to USA. It has spread to every country of the world.

This is not a cheap tale in a penny thriller. This is the grim truth.

In a flash, we see the USA—land of "hope and glory", land of "democracy"—for what it really has become under the whiplash of its imperialist rulers.

The gods who rule in the USA have decreed:

★ HE shall not live, who dares to be realist enough to take even one step towards peace and friendship with the Soviet Union.

★ HE shall not live, who dares to work for the slightest reduction in the terrible discrimination against the Negroes.

★ KILL him and then wipe out all possible evidence which could lead to the real criminals responsible.

★ KILL him and use the assassination, as the Reichstag Fire was used thirty years ago, to whip up a hate campaign against progressive forces in USA and to fan anti-Soviet, anti-Communist hysteria.

★ ★ ★

All the elaborate lies notwithstanding, MURDER WILL OUT. The blood cannot be washed clean from the hands of the war-maniacs, the racials, the armament profiteers, the ultra reactionaries—who sought to blow out the candle lit by the test ban treaty, by assassinating Kennedy.

Our charge is: murder premeditated, elaborately planned, through a giant conspiracy, in which men in high places in the political and administrative



He died at the hands of the enemies of all that is good and decent in the world, of peace, of racial equality, of progress.

The real murderers must be brought to book.

Their nefarious aims must not be allowed to succeed. The positive and realistic aspects of his policies must be continued and further strengthened.

NEW AGE joins the rest of the Indian people in sending its deep condolences to Mrs. Kennedy and her children in their great personal loss.

life of the USA were deeply and directly involved.

In the name of all honest men and women the world over, we demand that the guilty men be brought to book.

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The assassination is not the affair only of one country. It affects the whole course of world history.

The killing of Kennedy was aimed not against his person, but against his policies—above all against the relaxation in tension which had begun following the test ban treaty and the growth of US-Soviet contacts.

Make no mistake about the grim dangers ahead. Only the resolute will and action of the peoples, above all those of USA, can prevent the forces of war and hate, racialism and reaction from reaping the harvest from the bullet-seeds which stilled Kennedy's heart.

Let us not underestimate the strength of the forces of darkness. They did not hesitate in taking the life of President of the USA. They will stoop to any evil deed to gain their purposes.

It is time to strike back at the killers. Their real target was not Kennedy. It was peace. They must never be allowed to reach that target.

## NATION MOURNS

Some of the finest officers of our army and air force have been snatched away from us in the prime of their lives, as a result of a tragic helicopter accident in Poonch.

The nation mourns the death of these brave sons of our people, whose records of service in the defence of the Motherland were unparalleled.

NEW AGE sends its heartfelt condolences to the bereaved families.



Mourners at the cremation on November 23.



# Progressives Winning in Panchayats

★ From S. Sharma

TRIVANDRUM: The first results of the panchayat elections in Kerala have started to come in. The citizens fronts and democratic fronts, in which the Communist Party is also included, have won in most of the seats, defeating representatives of Reaction and feudal remnants.

THE elections to the 922 panchayats in the state started on November 21 and will be completed by December 6. The elections are held for the first time after the Kerala state came into being. The last elections were actually held in 1953.

The reasons for postponing the panchayat elections so far have been ranging from the integration of panchayat legislations in the various areas of the state to monsoons and floods. After 1960, it was mainly to suit the conveniences of the ruling party.

There are 6988 wards in all the panchayats together from which 7174 members are to be elected. So far, 358 members have been elected without contest. For the remaining

seats, there are 18710 contestants including 76 women.

The major political parties are not contesting the panchayat elections as parties. It was the Communist Party which announced its decision a year ago not to enter the contest as a party. The Party appealed to all other political parties to agree to keep the local bodies out of party strife and political rivalries and to work for clean efficient and democratic administration of these bodies.

The Kerala Congress did not agree to this at that time, and even requested the AICC to exempt them from the latter's decision to keep party politics out of the panchayats. However,

the political changes in the state and its own isolation have compelled the Congress also to give up its earlier stand and not to contest the panchayat elections as a party.

However, barring a few places, the Congress leaders have refused to cooperate with the other parties including the Communist Party to get elected to the panchayats the best men of the area.

The party has striven everywhere to implement its decision for electing the best men of the area to the panchayats, so that an uncorrupt, efficient and democratic administration might be given to the panchayats. Naturally, the best men, belonging to parties as well as those belonging to

no party, have rallied round this platform and popular fronts have come into being.

Against these progressive forces are pitted the reactionary representatives of feudal and other local vested interests who seek to utilise the panchayats for preserving and advancing their own narrow interests. In many places Congressmen are found to back these forces.

However, the early results have shown that these forces of reaction are on the retreat everywhere. The people have elected the best of their leaders to administer the panchayats. By the time the elections are over, the rout of the reactionaries would be complete, it is believed here.

## KERALA POLL POSTPONEMENT OPPOSED

ALL plans not to hold elections in Kerala in 1965 when it is due are likely to be met with serious opposition from the people of the state. The state Party secretariat has issued a statement condemning any such moves. The statement

stated formally and without any justification.

The results of the elections to Parliament in 1962, of the elections to the municipalities held six months ago have proved beyond doubt that the present legislature does not longer reflect the opinion and aspiration of the people of Kerala. The Kerala Congress and its leaders know well what fate awaits them if they have to face the electorate now. It is natural therefore for the Congress leaders to conspire and consider moves to get the people's verdict postponed to as distant a time as possible.

The secretariat warns the people of Kerala against this conspiracy of the Congress leadership who, with a view to continue the anti-people regime of their own party in the state, are out to flout the Constitution and use the emergency as a cover to get the life of their Assembly majority extended by two years.

We are confident that the voice of enlightened democratic opinion in the State cutting across political affiliations will be raised against this conspiracy which is a challenge to the democratic rights of the people of our state and that this nefarious move will be nipped in the bud.

## BYELECTIONS IN WEST BENGAL

★ From Ajoy Dasgupta

NOVEMBER 23 was the last date for filing of nomination papers for the ensuing byelection in the state for both the Assembly and the Lok Sabha. The day also saw one of the Communist Party candidates being arrested by the police under the Defence of India Rules.

When BENJOY CHOWDHURY, Party's candidate for the Burdwan Assembly seat, went to file his nomination papers, objections were raised against his filing nomination papers. But this was later withdrawn, only to arrest Chowdhury after he filed his nomination papers.

The Party candidate for Siliguri, the other Assembly seat for which byelection is to be held, CHARU MAZUMDAR, is already under detention. He

is lodged at the Dum Dum central jail as a detainee.

As far as the parliamentary byelections are concerned, the Party has put up DINESH CHANDRA DAKUA for the Cooch Behar seat and has decided to support independent candidate N. C. CHATTERJEE in the Burdwan seat.

The Congress has put up candidates in all the seats. Forward Bloc is contesting the two parliamentary seats, while the PSP is contesting both the Assembly seats. In Cooch-Bihar, the Swatantra Party is also making a bid with an independent candidate.

(As we go to press news has come that the West Bengal government has released ten Communist detainees including Benjoy Chowdhury and Charu Majumdar.—ed.)

—Essen

(November 26)

NEW AGE

# NO IMPACT OF PLAN

The Mid-Term Review of the Third Plan has set the thinking ones thinking anew. The Third Plan was to guarantee faster economic advance for the country and greater welfare for our people. During the last two years of the current plan Indian economy has been standing nearly still. This is no more a point of dispute but universally admitted.

THE PATRIOT (Nov. 11) editorially opines, "The Plan is straying into a blind alley". Generally objective and consistent middle of the road ECONOMIC WEEKLY (Nov. 16) states: "Over the decade significant improvement has been achieved, a long historic spell of stagnation has been broken, but that improvement is coming to an end or slowing down, resulting in a loss of momentum and the symptoms of stagnation."

H. VENKATASUBBIAH, the economic commentator of the conservative HINDU (Nov. 8) notes: "The Plan stands in danger of becoming rather like the grinning Cheshire Cat in 'Alice in Wonderland', where the grin remained and the cat disappeared. The Plan promises are getting disembodied."

The only honest conclusion that emerges from the very data given in the Planning Commission's Mid-Term Appraisal is that the Third Plan has failed to make any worthwhile impact either on the growth of the economy or the living conditions of the people. The picture becomes more grim if it is realised that the financial inputs have been made but the production outputs have failed to materialise.

## Grave Situation

A bare statement of naked facts, in the very words of the official Mid-Term Appraisal, makes the present economic situation one of national emergency, no less grave than the political emergency that followed the Chinese Aggression.

1 "The annual rate of increased national income in the first two years is established to have been of the order of 2.5 per cent, as compared to the rate of over five per cent envisaged in the Third Plan."

2 The official forecast for the last year puts it at a bare two per cent, lower than the population rise! Thus the rate of growth is so slow that our national economy is not moving forward but getting dragged behind.

3 When the Third Plan was announced, utmost stress was rightly laid on agricultural production and the highest allocation provided. The actual position, however is, "the index number of agricultural production, which increased from 116.8 in 1955-56 to 139.6 in 1960-61, rose to 141.4 in 1961-62 and fell to 136.8 (provisional) in 1962-63."

4 "Everybody admits that the worst stagnation is in the agricultural sector and nobody believes that the not-so-bold Five Year Plan target can be achieved."

5 "The general index of the industrial production increased by 6.5 per cent in 1961-62 and 8 per cent in 1962-63 (1956-57 as base) as against the average increase of 11 per cent (1950-51 as base) visualised in the Plan."

6 "The public sector has done better than the private sector. Most of the advance is due to the former and the lag to the latter."

"There were significantly larger growth of producer and basic industries compared to general 'index': most of these are in the public sector. The increase in output of consumer industries was comparative-

ly small": most of these are in the private sector.

"In the private sector during the first two years of the Plan, conditions were generally favourable for investment and licenses to cover the entire Plan targets were issued in large numbers. Progress in private sector in several important industries like alloy and tool steel, aluminium, steel castings and forgings, machine tools, certain types of industrial machinery, cement, fertilizers, paper, newsprint etc. has been unsatisfactory."

Indian Big Business had fought in the beginning of the Plan for the right to enter new and basic industries despite the Industrial Policy Resolution. The government did give it major concessions and now its own practical record underlines the lesson that the Indian private sector should cut it out as a reliable agency that can be trusted to advance Indian industrialisation.

4 "The unemployment has to some extent worsened... unemployment amongst the educated classes has also generally increased... the first three years of the Plan may generate employment opportunities of the order of 45 per cent of the Plan target in the non-agricultural sector."

5 The only target that threatens to get overfulfilled is the additional taxation. "The resources likely to be realised over the Plan Period at the Centre from additional taxation are expected to be in excess of the Plan target."

6 Price line is out of official control, "particularly since April 1963 prices of some essential commodities have risen sharply."

The official apologia and the summation of the overall situation is damnation enough: "The full benefits from the Third Plan programme would be available only after a year or two and the Fourth Plan would start at a comparatively lower base than originally contemplated."

7 The standard of living of the masses of Indian people has remained stationary since the end of the Second Plan.

8 Again, even where ceiling legislation has been passed the loopholes officially left had made the legislation nugatory in practice. In many states the ceiling legislation was not being put into operation. In other states ceiling legislation was not even proposed. The reality revealed made the Nagpur resolution and the Plan Policy look a mockery and that at the hands of the Congress state governments themselves!

9 At the National Development Council, discussion on every other aspect of the Plan was eschewed to concentrate upon ways and means to boost the agricultural production. The Prime Minister made a moving plea for consistent implementation of land reforms and clearly indicated the direct relationship between the policy of Land to the Tiller and the rise or fall in the agricultural production.

10 He even admitted that the Congress-directed land reforms were less drastic and effective than the US-directed one in Japan!

Ultimately a Committee to supervise the further implement-

ation of the land reforms was appointed under the chairmanship of Home Minister NANDA. He is certainly the best choice for the job, but his fellow members in the committee are the chief ministers themselves, the real culprits responsible for scuttling land reforms so far.

11 The second basic issue and the big new disease in our economic life is the unprecedented growth of Indian Monopoly. The rapid all-sided industrialisation during the Second Plan led to the spectacular growth of Indian Big Business. A handful of business houses became powerful monopoly groups who arrogantly demand that the Third Plan be run primarily in their interest, the government accept the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry as the defacto Planning Commission, sack the central

ministries who resist their demands and so on.

12 Earlier official experts like Dr. HAZARI have exposed the growth and the far-flung expanding tentacles of Indian Monopoly. Recently Dr. NIGAM, Research Director of Company Law Administration, in his latest study has exposed the power and control of the Big Banks over Indian trade, industry and the economy as a whole.

13 What the official experts discovered through painstaking research was however living experience to the mass of the people. This was sharply revealed during the Jaipur discussions and there has been no slow down in the weeks following.

14 During the last Parliamentary session, Congress MP SUBHADRA JOSHI moved the motion for Bank Nationalisation in the Lok Sabha. During the current session independent MP RAGHUNATH REDDY moved a similar motion in the Rajya Sabha and got enthusiastic response not only from the Communists but also from the Congress MPs.

15 The powerful All India Bank Employees' Federation has been campaigning for bank nationalisation for years. This week the All India Bank Officers Association which met in New Delhi for its conference, has called for nationalisation of banks and a simultaneous programme to train the personnel to run nationalised banking efficiently.

16 As a part of the campaign to win the good fight at Bhubaneswar, the progressives inside the Congress are not only campaigning for bank nationalisation, for extension of state trading in exports and imports but also for nationalisation of wholesale trade in food and commercial crops to guarantee a fair price to agricultural producers.

17 Despite these healthy developments below, the policy of concession from above has not ended. Indian Monopoly, from all evidence, is trying to hug the new Finance Minister T.T. KRISHNAMAHAJHAR as warmly as it did MORARJI DESAI.

18 TTK had once declaimed against Indian Monopolists as mananeters. He now seems partly afraid and partly in love with them.

19 He balanced his withdrawal of credit to the private sector, his

proposed Unit Bank is also being acclaimed as welcome aid to the private sector from the public funds.

In a well publicised interview with Birla's Hindustan Times, he appears to be actively toying with the idea of revising the whole tax structure and if the past can indicate the future, there are likely to be minor concessions to the people, coupled with major concessions to Big Business, in TTK's next budget.

The tricks of the traditional acrobat no more deceive the Indian people. It only perpetuates the mess that is the Indian economy of today, it can never lead to the break-through, towards the desired growth based on the active support of the toiling people.

20 The third major issue in Indian economy is that of foreign aid

## Mid-Term Review Reviewed

★ by P. C. JOSHI

and private capital investment. It yet remains the blind spot not only of the Congress government but also of healthy discontented Congressmen struggling for the way out.

The evil, however, is being shamefacedly admitted. The Mid-Term Review acknowledges: "It is not desirable to go on relying on foreign aid to the extent as has been done in the past and as indicated in the Third Plan. Every effort should be made to reach a reasonable degree of self-reliance by the Fifth Plan."

Thus if the existing official planners have their way, Indian economic independence based on self-reliance is about 12 years away and that too only in a "reasonable degree."

Indian bourgeois ruling circles may go on drifting and nourishing the illusion about Western friendship and their capacity to persuade the unwilling and the exacting.

The self-proclaimed friends of Indian development from among the Western statesmen and monopolists are however saying and doing enough to make sense to any thinking and self-respecting Indian.

The World Bank instead of increasing has been decreasing its aid year after year during the current Third Plan, and not going beyond aiding the building up of infra-structure and pressing that for speeding up Indian industrialisation, foreign private capital must be invited and duly encouraged.

The failure of negotiations over Bokaro has burst Indian faith in US bonafides to aid Indian industrial development, in terms of Indian national policies, as nothing else has done in the recent past.

We have the worst possible trade deficit with West Germany and as the price of any increase in trade and aid, a West German minister, currently visiting our country, has publicly demanded that the Indian government change its existing policies towards foreign private capital.

We have long known British private capital operating within our country. It was Rupees 206 Crores in 1948 and has risen to Rs. 446 crores in 1960. This represents an average increase of Rs. 20 crores a year, and most of it is

He balanced his withdrawal of credit to the private sector, his

supervise the further implement-

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## LETTING IN THE U. S. BANK

## Economic notes

THE assassination of President KENNEDY by one of his own countrymen is an index of the power of reaction in America, which he had dared to challenge in his own limited way. Yet, our Finance Minister, who is never tired of expressing his allegiance to socialism, goes out of his way to curry favour with a representative body of this reaction, and invite it to extend its operations to our country.

The racists and the negro-baiters, the fascist hoodlums, and Ku Klux Klan members, might be the open expressions of America's reaction, but its base is deep down in that country's industrial and banking monopolies, which provide succour to it. The Finance Minister has permitted one of these—the Bank of America N.T.S.—to open a branch in India, which, to quote its Vice-President in charge of business development, "will take an active part in financing business in India."

## Dangerous Step

The permission for opening of a branch of an American bank is not an ordinary step. It marks a departure from an established policy, which had ruled out any extension of American banking to India for the simple reason that America does not allow any Indian—or for that matter any foreign bank—to extend its operations into its territory.

Even the states in the US are chary of granting permission to banks, not incorporated in their borders, to open their branches in them. Reciprocity—which is, an accepted practice in such matters—is foreign to the US, which believes only in one-way traffic in banking as in trade.

The British had allowed the National City Bank of New York to open a branch in India more than sixty years back. But beyond that they did not go. Even MORARJI during his inglorious tenure as Finance Minister, is reported to have held strong views on the subject. But TTK, with scant regard for the

policy pursued so far, has allowed the Bank of America to open a branch in Bombay, which will start functioning from January next year.

TTK's explanation for his extraordinary step is that it will enable India to get short-term funds and to that extent help in easing the tight foreign exchange position. But this, on its very face, is a perille explanation. The American bank's short-term loans will bear interest, which it will be able to repatriate to the US. It is, besides, always open to India—if it is really so anxious to get dollars—to raise short-term foreign exchange loans in New York.

TTK's decision has been described as "humiliating" in a section of the press. But this obviously is an understatement. It is not only humiliating but dangerous to the country at a time when reactionary American circles are striving to create pockets of their influence in countries seeking America's economic assistance.

These pockets are the increasing "joint ventures", in which US combines join hands with indigenous big business to set up industries in various lines. The Bank of America has already provided ample evidence of its policy in this respect. For quite some time it has been cultivating the executives of the Indian Investment Centre in New York.

M. GOPALA MENON, Resident Director of the Centre and CHESTER R. LEABER, its Investment Adviser, have already participated in a number of meetings with American businessmen in West Coast, arranged through the Bank. An officer of the Bank is also a member of the Centre's governing body.

The Bank's entry into the Indian scene is thus no innocuous move to ease India's foreign exchange position, as TTK has made out. It is rather a sinister design to facilitate penetration of American private capital into India, either on its own or in partnership with Indian entrepreneurs.

The United States has already acquired so huge an amount of rupee resources through the sale of PL-480 foodgrains that it has begun to have second thoughts about the propriety of "wasting" any dollars on aiding India. Its Senate has also discussed a proposal of this nature. If, on top of it, one of its leading

banks has successfully negotiated the establishment of its branch in India it can only be because of its financial circles' eagerness to further the formation of joint ventures, in which, being stronger partners, they can be sure of having an upper hand.

## Free Run for "Paper King"

ANOTHER representative of US big business, the "paper king", KARL F. LANDEGGER, has also benefited at our government's hands.

According to his own statement, he has been permitted to create "paper monopolies" in five states—besides Madras and Mysore in which he has already helped to set up paper factories in collaboration with indigenous capitalists. He is thus free to use our precious raw material to produce paper, which will be sold to us at high prices.

The government owes an explanation to the people in respect of this blanket licensing. If they could rely on DASTUR AND CO., to handle a complicated engineering job of setting up a steel plant, why was it necessary for them to allow an American tycoon to have a free run of our paper industry?

American monopolists had not given up their aspiration to penetrate India in a big way even under the "enlightened" administration of John Kennedy. But now that they, and their minions, have succeeded in removing him from the scene, they will not be inhibited in showing their fangs.

It is not incumbent on TTK and the government to take note of this changed situation and retrace their steps in respect of decisions cited above? If VOA agreement can be revoked, why should it be difficult to rescind the permission given to an American bank to set up a branch or to a "paper king" to establish paper factories here?

—Essen

(November 26)

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# BHUBANESWAR AND THE MONOPOLIES

As the first reports appear of the preparations for the January session of the Indian National Congress at Bhubaneswar, there is increasing evidence of an attempt to face up to the growing challenge of the monopolists, on the part of a section of Congressmen at least. The opening up of the discussion on Congress policies, initiated at the Jaipur AICC meeting, has led to a welcome sharpening of the issues at stake.

**THE** Utkal Congress executive adopted a 16-point resolution last week calling for nationalisation of banks, stock exchanges and all foreign investments in consumer goods industries such as tea, tobacco, matches, jute, cotton, paper, rubber etc.

Former Defence Minister V. K. KRISHNA MENON addressing the Bihar Working Journalists' Association at Patna over the weekend, also made an emphatic demand for the nationalisation of banks and said that there was no hope for socialism in India, unless this nationalisation took place.

## Nationalise Banks

Former Oil Minister K. D. MALAVIYA, addressing the All India Bank Officers' Association in Delhi, said "it would be impossible to make India a welfare state... unless the banking industry was nationalised." He said that "so long as this industry was designed to serve the interests of a few families which controlled and monopolised it, it could not be used as a tool to promote social justice."

Last Friday, the Raja Sabha debated Independent MP, K. V. RAGHUNATH REDDY's resolution demanding nationalisation of banks. There was widespread support for the resolution, among Congress MPs, just as there had been in the Lok Sabha for a similar resolution moved by SUBHADRA JOSHI during the last session.

Leading Congressmen everywhere are taking the battle against the stranglehold of the monopolists to the masses and to the Congress rank and file.

Krishna Menon, speaking at Saharanpur on November 21, launched an all-out attack on the monopolists and accused them of using their funds for their own interests and to influence elections. He went further to say that a few monopolists had formed their own "parallel authority", thus endangering the country's unity and progress.

At Patna two days later, Krishna Menon pointed out that the growth of monopolies is the most dangerous part of our country's economic life, as this concentration of wealth created powerful lobbies and pressure groups, and gave rise to a kind of "parallel authority."

If the issues are clearly posed before the Bhubaneswar session, it will be useful both for the Congress and the country as a whole. For too long have democratic and progressive Congressmen remained content to wait and watch while the Right reactionist chieftains and the hirelings of the monopolists have continued to crow and grab the party machine for their nefarious purposes.

The factional fights inside the Congress have been largely questions of personalities, castes, groups—with little or no relation to political policies.

policies, which have only fed the monopolists and enabled them to grow.

The monopolists themselves have leaped into the fray. K. K. BIRLA, presiding over the second quarterly meeting of the Indian Chamber of Commerce on November 22, made "a vigorous attack on some of the speeches at the Jaipur session of the AICC that the rich were getting richer" (*Hindustan Times*, November 23). He jugged his figures to "prove" that there was neither concentration of wealth and economic power, nor any perceptible trend towards formation of more monopolies.

Birila's "figures" and "statistics" do not take into account the fact that everyone knows: the manner in which all the accounts of the monopolists are faked. No "statistics" are required to tell the Indian people how rapidly the house of Birila itself has grown in these years. And the same applies to other monopolists.

Birila's open attack on the anti-monopoly spirit of the bulk of the Jaipur speeches is a sign that the monopolists sense the danger to them that lies in this new spirit. The issue of nationalisation is a key issue in the pre-Bhubaneswar debate. The Great Position, presented to the Parliament by the Great March on September 13, rightly emphasised the importance of demand for nationalisation of banks, as an urgent essential step forward.

It is a welcome and hopeful development that the demand has already become a major plank of all democratic forces, including those inside the Congress itself.

## ABOLISH PRIVY PURSES

**THE** Utkal Congress executive has also demanded the abolition of the privy purses of the princes. In the Raja Sabha last week, where a non-official resolution calling for legislation to do away with the rule of primogeniture was debated, several Congress MPs demanded the abolition of privy purses.

Here again is an issue on which the national democratic forces are united. The facts are these: ● Over five crore rupees is annually paid out even now to 281 princes. The biggest beneficiary is the NIZAM who gets 50 lakhs.

Next come:

Mysore 26 lakhs;  
Jaipur and Travancore 18 lakhs each;

Patiala 17 lakhs;  
Baroda 14.57 lakhs;  
Bikaner, Bhavnagar, Gwalior, Jammu and Kashmir, Jodhpur, Kohapur, Navanagar, Rewa and Udaipur—10 lakhs each.

It is amusing to read the Indian Express pleading for the princes in its main editorial of November 27; it considers that any step to abolish this senseless drain on our meagre resources would be 'unprincipled' and 'breaking faith'!

Goenka's daily even claims that "the sums paid (as privy purses) have been fully earned", and pays tribute to the princes for their "wisdom and sagacity" and their

# notes of the week

sacrifices for the "ideal" of a "united democratic India"!

This nonsense is poured forth in a vain effort to turn back the tide of the peoples' will, which will not tolerate any more this loot by a handful of maharajas and nawabs of the fruit of the toil of hundreds of millions.

The Indian Express amuses us. At the same time it gives us satisfaction. The demand for the abolition of privy purses is no longer a demand raised only by the Communist Party; it has won the support of all democrats. That is why the press of the vested interests squeals....

## A SECOND BELGRADE

**THE** proposal made by President NASSER and Prime Minister SIRIMAVO BANDARANAIKE for a second conference of non-aligned nations has been rightly supported by the government of India.

The Right reactionary forces have been attacking non-alignment furiously, seeking to drag India into a military pact with the imperialist powers.

All who love this country's independence and sovereignty will welcome the holding of a conference of non-aligned countries, first of all precisely because it will strengthen our own non-alignment policy.

But quite apart from that, the getting together of the non-aligned countries can provide a powerful stimulus for further steps towards disarmament and relaxation of tension.

The non-aligned nations can and must throw their united weight behind proposals of a practical nature to carry forward the gains of the test ban treaty; to bring about the liquidation of colonialism; to halt the cold war.

The brutal assassination of President KENNEDY makes the necessity for a second Belgrade even greater. The forces of war and reaction, responsible for the murder must be checked; and the non-aligned countries have a special responsibility to act to halt them.

## INDO-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP

**THE** visit of the Soviet cosmonauts to India has been an unprecedented success. Above all it has demonstrated that the bonds of Indo-Soviet friendship have grown stronger than ever, despite the efforts of the imperialists and Right reactionaries to use the period since the Chinese aggression to weaken these bonds.

Soviet Ambassador BENEDIKTOV, in an informal summing up of the results of the visit, emphasised that the tremendous reception accorded to the cosmonauts testified to the feelings of sincere friendship of the Indian people for the Soviet Union.

The warm approval accorded to the cosmonauts' speeches in regard

to the Soviet policy of peace and disarmament showed that the Indian people share the same ideas in regard to the struggle for peace.

The visit to India of VALENTINA TERESHKOVA and her fellow cosmonauts has been like a dream of joy and happiness for the lakhs who had the opportunity to see them. We saw in them the heralds of that tomorrow, which we are determined to build. They gave us the confidence that that tomorrow shall be ours.

## RELEASE DETENUS

**THE** news of the release of ten Communist detenus in West Bengal is an indication that the release campaign has begun to make itself felt even on the West Bengal government, which has so far refused to follow in the footsteps of the other state governments, which have released Communist detenus earlier.

## RELEASE DETENUS

In the meanwhile, government has moved Parliament for the extension of the hated Preventive Detention Act. Opposition parties opposed the introduction of the Continuance Bill and forced government to vote.

The vast majority of detenus in West Bengal are still imprisoned. And the campaign must be intensified.

In some other states too, Communist detenus continue to be imprisoned. Conditions in all are generally bad and vindictive.

There are instances also of fresh arrests under the hated DIR in Delhi, for instance, MAHENDRA ACHARYA of the Communist Parliamentary Group's office, who was detained only a few weeks ago has still not been released, despite repeated representations at the highest level.

Instead of scrapping the lawless laws, it appears that the government intends to perpetuate them. The release campaign, as it gathers force, must ensure that the DIR and the Preventive Detention Act are removed from the statute book for all time.

## RELEASE DETENUS

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## AFTER KENNEDY

**HOW** will President JOHNSON shape in place of KENNEDY at the White House? This question is uppermost in New Delhi today.

Johnson's announcement that he would continue with the Kennedy policies has come as a relief, though there are lurking misgivings in the External Affairs Ministry. What will be the new US President's stand on the Kashmir question? This is creating a lot of worry in the Ministry.

There is also a certain amount of apprehension that Washington may not now be as firm in its aid commitments as it was under Kennedy. On principle, Johnson also believes in the principle of aid for friendly developing countries. But would he stand up to the powerful pressure groups in the US Congress that fight against any large-scale aid to India?

Besides, Pakistan has been repeatedly opposing India getting defence equipment from America. This might also carry more weight with the new administration.

There is considerable speculation in New Delhi about Ambassador CHESTER BOWLES' future. He had gone to Washington and met Kennedy only a few days before his assassination. It is learnt that Bowles was anxious that Washington should take a more active interest in India.

to the Soviet policy of peace and disarmament showed that the Indian people share the same ideas in regard to the struggle for peace.

The visit to India of VALENTINA TERESHKOVA and her fellow cosmonauts has been like a dream of joy and happiness for the lakhs who had the opportunity to see them. We saw in them the heralds of that tomorrow, which we are determined to build. They gave us the confidence that that tomorrow shall be ours.

## RELEASE DETENUS

**THE** news of the release of ten Communist detenus in West Bengal is an indication that the release campaign has begun to make itself felt even on the West Bengal government, which has so far refused to follow in the footsteps of the other state governments, which have released Communist detenus earlier.

## RELEASE DETENUS

In the meanwhile, government has moved Parliament for the extension of the hated Preventive Detention Act. Opposition parties opposed the introduction of the Continuance Bill and forced government to vote.

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# CONGRESS PASSING THROUGH UNPRECEDENTED CRISIS IN UP

There are no lack of indications that the Congress in Uttar Pradesh is passing through a severe crisis and the conflict between the warring factions of state leadership is growing more acute every day.

**THE** open conflict between the acting president of UPPC ALGURAI SHASTRI and Chief Minister SUCHETA KRIPALANI, the removal of DARBARI LAL SHARMA one of the general secretaries of UPPC from office by Shastri, refusal of Sucheta Kripalani to change the composition of her ministerial setup though it does not correspond to the advice given by the High Command shows the depth of the conflict and determination of the factions to fight it out.

As is natural in the situation, administration has virtually collapsed and bureaucracy rules supreme from villages to the state secretariat.

In a village where Home Minister HAR GOVIND SINGH himself was present the constables are reported to have taken a bribe of Rs. 600. Of course, the constables have been suspended but the incident throws light in what contempt the minister is held by even ordinary officials and the extent of corruption.

## by Kali Shankar Shukla

The Home Minister had no knowledge of the orders of extermination served on some Communist leaders and had assured SARJOO FANDEY who waited upon him only a few days before the order of extermination that nothing of the kind could happen.

Later on he explained that the matter was in the hands of Sucheta, who informed the two deputations which waited upon her that the orders were not on political grounds but on the grounds that these Communist leaders were guilty of unsocial activity.

Incidents implicating policemen in criminal activity have increased and gangs of goondas operate freely in many districts harassing the people.

Of course ministers have little time to consider questions of politics. They have lost all touch with the people.

Ministers fought and argued in the legislature that 28 per cent levy on land revenue would continue till the emergency, but the government was forced to withdraw it only after a few days.

Food Minister NEGI issued his notorious order on sugar rationing, ruling that poorer the people, less the sugar they should get but before he had opportunity to apply the same to grain rations he had to withdraw his original scheme.

However nothing would be more wrong than to think that the crisis is due to existence of factions and conflicts between them, as some people wish to tell the people. The roots of the malady lie deeper and it is the result of far more powerful, deeper political and economic factors.

Economic backwardness of the state has relatively grown during twelve years of planning. The central government as a true bourgeois government did nothing to help Uttar Pradesh while it accepted the principle of rendering special assistance to help backward states and areas. The state government, under the influence of feudal elements and monopolists,

did not go even to the extent central government wanted it to go.

Opposed to development of state sector in industry, it left the matter in the hands of monopolists and state funds which could be used to build a strong base for industry, were given to the textile magnates of Kanpur who squandered the amount or used it to swell their profits. Sugar magnates were allowed to amass fortunes and ruin the industry.

In the name of helping small-scale and cottage industries, only supporters of the ruling party were helped. Bogus cooperatives bungle funds procured from the state and the artisans and manufacturers somehow continue their existence.

The P and SP leaders tried to cover their crimes under anti-Communism. Gupta lent his support to their effort. However the situation was heading towards a change. Congress Right-wing bosses had to yield under the pressure of the centre and democratically minded Congressmen and democratic opposition.

Since then the struggle between the democratic and reactionary forces in the state has continued to intensify. May be that the democratic voice is still weak in the legislative wing of the Congress leadership but what is important is that for the first time, the question of policies is acquiring importance.

It is symptomatic that the Jan Sangh has asked its legislators to lend all support to the Sucheta Gupta faction while Congress leaders opposing it have more and more lent their support to democratic causes.

But increase in price of sugar, inability of the government to get sugar out of the clutches of profiteers and blackmarketeers and above all its refusal to ask the mill owners in certain districts of the state to pay Rs. 2 per maund to the cane growers is bound to cause trouble for itself.

What is needed is a drastic review of the economic policies that have been pursued and a change in the direction of the people. Victory of this or that faction is not going to matter. What is going to matter is what policies are going to be followed.

If the ruling party in the state continues its policy of appeasement towards sugar and textile magnates of the state and refuse to carry out necessary land reforms and shape its agrarian policies in the interests of poor and middle peasants it cannot meet the demands of the situation.

Similarly in the field of industrial development the government has to adopt a policy of either nationalisation of sugar and textile industries or to have effective control on them and move forward to lay down the basis of industrial advance by building basic units in the state sector.

In the field of education, public health, social welfare and administration drastic and bold measures are necessary to bring out a change and meet the challenge of the situation.

Economic policies helpful to monopolies and feudal interests could not but have their reflection in the political field. They strengthen the Right elements in the Congress and Jan Sangh outside.

The 1962 general election results were a clear indication of the deteriorating political situation.

The PSP used to be the main opposition in the assembly. As a result of the election result it was knocked out of this position. The SP also lost and the Jan Sangh emerged as the main opposition party in the legislature. Leaders and deputy leaders of PSP and SP could not get elected. The anti-Communism of PSP and SP had helped only Jan Sangh.

This was realised by many of them and an effort was made to unite the democratic forces in opposition. However such was the impetus that the forces of reaction received from the Chinese attack on the borders that once again the opportunist leadership of the socialist parties plunged headlong into its anti-Communist game.

An undecorated united front between Jan Sangh and Right-wing state Congress leaders with the rabid anti-Communist PSP and SP leadership operated, allegedly only against the Party, but really against the democratic forces.

During the MA KI PUKAR exhibition the emergence of two alignments cutting across all party affiliations were most clearly visible.

Jan Sangh and the blessings of BANARSI DAS and Sucheta Kripalani and supported by many

impact the working masses were on the move.

It is true that by withdrawing the 25 per cent levy on land revenue, doing away with the CDS scheme so far as it affected the peasantry and lower income groups in urban areas and declaring the sugar cane price Rs. 2 per maund in the case of almost 40 mills, the government has been able to set off the avalanche that otherwise would have overtaken it.

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# Reserve Bank Employees Build Holiday Home

★ By AJAY DAS GUPTA

The trade unions in our country are generally looked upon as forums for collective bargaining only. The employers, be they in the public sector or private, keep the unions constantly involved in struggles for wages, bonus and conditions of service so that they may not have even time to pay attention to other aspects of social life.

THE Reserve Bank Employees' Association was born and has grown in no different circumstances and it functions in that context as a part of the All-India Bank Employees' Association. But, instead of confining itself to that task alone, it has already succeeded in creating a sports club, a cultural wing, cooperative credit society, cheap canteens, etc.

A housing society has also been formed. By moving further it has to its credit today a remarkable achievement—the beginning of a chain of HOLIDAY HOMES.

Realising the hardships of convalescing members unable to go to a health resort in view of the cost of securing suitable accommodation, and realising the need for providing holiday ameni-

ties to others who despite earning a leave cannot dream of an outstation camping without a serious upset in their budget—especially when there is no bonus for Reserve Bank employees—the Association decided to expand its social functions and set up these HOMES. It was in the year 1955 that a fund was created out of donations from the members when they received lump-sum amounts due to change in pay structure. Further donations were subsequently raised. Simultaneously, from the Cooperative Credit Society a separate fund was earmarked in 1959. Savings from profit through reduced dividends and diversion of the office-building fund helped accumulate quite a reasonable sum.

Selection of a suitable site and purchase or construction of the



The Haludpukur Holiday Home of the Reserve Bank Employees' Association, Calcutta. It has two family units

HOMES within the limitations of the funds were the next hurdles. Successive efforts at different places like Puri, Ranchi, Ghatsila, Darjeeling did not bring forth the desired results. And ultimately HALUDPUKUR, in the Sing-

bhum district, 12 miles from the steel town of Jamshedpur on the Chaibasa Road and SIMULTALA in the Santhal Parganas have given the cherished homes to the members. One home at a hill station and another on the seaside are the next targets.

bership of the organisation, availability of the facility has been restricted to a period between one and four weeks, and rightly so. It is to be noted that Haludpukur's water is very beneficial for all stomach disorders and Simultala's climate is good for weak hearts and lungs.

## Amenities Provided

The HALUDPUKUR HOME has two family units at present and SIMULTALA has four. Total expenses for building these HOMES have been Rs. 14,000/- and Rs. 17,000/- respectively. Each unit consists of one fairly large-sized bed room, a small kitchen and attached bath with sanitary installations. Common room for recreation and wide covered verandah have not escaped attention.

Furnishing include cots with mattresses, a table, a chair and a clothing rack. There are sofa sets for relaxation and materials for indoor games in the common room.

The story does not end there. The kitchen has all the necessary equipments, right from a stove and cooking utensils to dining plates, tea-sets, not overlooking the spoons either. And, all that for a nominal charge of Rs. 1.25 nP per day for those drawing salary below Rs. 250/- p.m. In case of two individual members sharing a unit, the rate is Rs. 1/- per head per day.

The number of units being only six as against a large mem-

ber of the organisation, availability of the facility has been restricted to a period between one and four weeks, and rightly so. It is to be noted that Haludpukur's water is very beneficial for all stomach disorders and Simultala's climate is good for weak hearts and lungs.

Holiday Homes in countries abroad are a common feature. In the Socialist countries it is a part of the working conditions of the working people. But in our country it is still a rarity. Indian Railway administration has some Homes for their staff, may be some other employers too. Some unions have of late started rest homes in rented houses. Of course AITUC's BETUL SANATORIUM is in a separate class.

But establishment of permanent Holiday Homes by any trade union in houses owned by itself is not known. Reserve Bank Employees' Association and the Cooperative Society, can perhaps, legitimately claim to be the pioneers in the field, inaugurating a new horizon for the trade unions. It is hoped that other trade unions will soon follow the example of the Reserve Bank employees.

The Haludpukur Home was inaugurated by Dr. U. MISRA, MP on October 17, and KEDAR DAS, Vice President of AITUC was the chief guest. The Simultala Home was inaugurated on November 19 by SATYABRATA SEN, Vice-President of the Association. Prof. NIRMAL BHATTACHARYA, President of the Association was also present on the occasion.

# THREE YEARS SINCE

THREE YEARS HAVE PASSED SINCE THE LEADERS OF 81 COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES SIGNED, AFTER PROLONGED DELIBERATION AND THOROUGH DISCUSSION, THEIR FAMOUS STATEMENT AND APPEAL TO THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD IN MOSCOW. NEVER BEFORE HAD SUCH A BIG AND REPRESENTATIVE GATHERING OF LEADERS OF THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT SO FULLY AND ALL-SIDEDLY THRASHED OUT THE ISSUES FACING HUMANITY, SUMMING UP THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT AND SHOWING THE PATH FORWARD.

NOT only the movement which had been confined to a few countries earlier had now become literally international—that is embracing a great majority of the world's nations—but it was a new epoch in the advance of humanity that the 1960 meeting marked. The assessment of the new epoch and the formulation of commensurate strategy and tactics begun by the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and carried forward in the meeting of the twelve ruling Communist and Workers' Parties in 1957 was thoroughly scrutinised, confirmed and further condensed in the 1960 meeting of the 81 parties.

Those conclusions are too well-known and it is not necessary here to try to summarise them. It can no longer be hidden that even while they were signing the Statement the Chinese Party had serious reservations about it. These reservations amounted to having their own interpretations of the formulations of the Statement, interpretations which were the very opposite of what the Statement said in so many words.

With the passage of time it was revealed that the Chinese leaders were bent upon propagating their own "interpretation" of the Moscow Statement which amounted in fact to actual negation of it and this subversion of the agreed

a real possibility will have arisen to exclude war from the life of society even before socialism achieves complete victory on earth, with capitalism still existing in a part of the world. The victory of socialism all over the world will completely remove the social and national causes of all wars." (Emphasis in original)

Again, it was in the opening days of November 1962 that the world saw the strange spectacle of Chinese official organs describing Soviet withdrawal of rockets from Cuba—after the US President had given specific assurance that Cuba would not be invaded—as a Munich. As early as November 1, 1962 Chinese Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi in a letter to Cuban Charge d'Affaires in Peking declared, "Cuba's destiny is in the hands of the Cuban people, and not in the hands of any other countries. Cuba's independence and sovereignty can never be negotiated," thus publicly placing Soviet Union on par with US imperialism and insinuating that the Soviet Union was bartering away to the USA,

Cuba's independence and sovereignty. All this was weeks before the Party Congresses in Sofia, Rome or Prague.

October-November 1962 also were the days when the Chinese interpretation of the Moscow Statement's formulations on the newly independent countries found its practical implementation in the massive invasion of India by Chinese forces across the McMahon line—despite their repeated assurances that they would never do so. In theoretical justification of it the

magnum opus on "More on Nehru's Philosophy" was produced by People's Daily at the end of October 1962 and the People's Daily in its November 15, 1962 editorial "On Developing the Revolutionary spirit of the Moscow Declaration and Moscow Statement," said:

"Marxist-Leninists must distinguish between anti-imperialist progressive nationalism and reactionary nationalism which is collaborating with imperialism, and must, while supporting progressive nationalism, struggle against reactionary nationalism. If they do not wage necessary struggles against reactionary nationalism, but sympathise with, chime in and support the reactionary nationalists, and become their partners, they will be running counter to Marxism-Leninism, running counter to proletarian internationalism and falling into the quagmire of bourgeois nationalism."

This was a clear warning to all those socialist countries, above all the Soviet Union, who were still following what they had agreed upon in the Moscow conference. Defining what attitude

the socialist countries should adopt towards the newly independent countries the Statement had said:

"The socialist countries are true and sincere friends of the peoples fighting for liberation and of those who have thrown off the imperialist yoke. While rejecting on principle any interference in the internal affairs of young national states, they consider it their internationalist duty to help the peoples in strengthening their independence. They help and support these countries generously in achieving progress, creating a national industry, developing and consolidating the national economy and training national personnel and cooperate with them in the struggle for world peace, against imperialist aggression."

Nowhere had the Moscow Statement defined the Indian State as an embodiment of reactionary nationalism as the Chinese leadership was now making out, insisting that all socialist countries and Communist Parties accept its assessment. On the contrary the Moscow Statement considered India part of the peace zone and therefore a standard-bearer of progressive nationalism.

"We have dealt with the India-China relations at some length because it is not just an issue between India and China. It was on this issue that the Chinese Communist Party's new assessment of the role of the national bourgeoisie of India found its sharpest and most devastating expression. This assessment is contrary to the understanding given by the 12-Parties' Declaration. It is an assessment which can only lead to tactics that damage the unity of the peace zone and help reaction. It is, therefore, a matter of concern for the whole world Communist movement." (Emphasis in the original)

## AJOY GHOSH'S SPEECH

Then the late General Secretary of the Party, Comrade Ajoy Ghosh, who led the Indian Party's delegation to the Moscow Conference said in his speech at the Conference:

"While waging a determined struggle against its people and anti-democratic policies, we nevertheless realise that the Indian Government, led by Nehru, constitutes a very significant force for world peace, despite its vacillations. We are also conscious of the big influence that India exerts over many countries of Asia and Africa. That is why we strive our utmost to strengthen the independent and peace-loving policy of the Indian government.

"We support every single move of the Indian government that strengthens peace and weakens imperialism while at the same time, criticising its vacillations. We constantly press for closer cooperation between India and the countries of the socialist world. Our Party considers it a task of great importance to keep India on the rails of peace and nonalignment and to further strengthen this policy through mass activity on the broadest scale.

"In the struggle to uphold peace and isolate the instigators of a new world war, the newly-independent countries of Asia and Africa can play a great role. The Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist world have been fully conscious of this fact. The significance of the emergence of the peace zone which in-

# THE 81 PARTIES'

conclusions of the 1960 Moscow meeting on the part of the Chinese leadership assumed dangerous proportions by November 1962.

## CONTRAST IN POSITIONS

It was in celebration of the second anniversary of the Moscow Statement that the People's Daily and Red Flag in their issues of November 15, 1962 called for "head-on struggle against US imperialism" and denounced as revisionists those who "hold that when imperialism still exists and when the system of exploitation and oppression still exists, it is possible to eliminate war, eliminate arms throughout the world." (Red Flag editorial, 15-11-62)

Contrast this characterisation of revisionism with the following from the Moscow Statement: "The foreign policy of the socialist countries rests on the firm foundation of the Leninist principle of peaceful co-existence and economic competition between the socialist and capitalist countries. In conditions of peace, the socialist system increasingly reveals its advantages over the capitalist system in all fields of economy, culture, science and technology. The near future will bring the forces of peace and socialism new successes. The USSR will become the leading industrial power of the world. China will become a mighty industrial state. The socialist system will be turning out more than half the world's industrial product. The peace zone will expand. The working-class movement in the capitalist countries and the national-liberation movement in the colonies and dependencies will achieve new victories. The disintegration of the colonial system will become completed. The superiority of the forces of socialism and peace will be absolute. In these conditions

It is thus that the last one year has seen the Chinese CP and State leadership openly coming out to malign in its pronouncements and its concrete practice the Moscow Statement which they signed in 1960 along with 80 other Communist Parties. This has culminated in their putting forward an alternative General Line in their Letter of June 14 and intensifying their disruptive and splitting activities inside all Communist parties.

All this has caused and is causing tremendous harm to the Communist movement and progressive forces all the world over. The Communist Party of India which was the first and most direct sufferer as a result of Chinese determination

to go against the line of the world Communist movement was also among the first to warn the world Communist movement of the grave consequences of the Chinese stand.

## CLEAR WARNING

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India at its meeting in early September 1960 adopted an inner-Party resolution for the guidance of its delegation to the Moscow Conference in which it dealt at length with the India-China relations. Explaining why it found it necessary to do so, it said:

clues these countries was emphasised in the Moscow Declaration of 1957. "Here I would like to mention about the disinterested aid given by the socialist countries and, above all, by the USSR to India and the other newly independent countries. This aid has immensely helped India to build basic industries like the Bhilai steel plant. We attach great importance to such economic aid from socialist countries. It helps the development of the economy of the countries of Asia and Africa and enables them to resist imperialist pressure as well as overcome economic dependence on

★ ON PAGE 14

RETURN FROM THE BRINK

The socialist system has repeatedly shown that the hands of the brinkmen can be stayed and, given the necessary vigilance and the correct tactics as laid down in the 1960 Statement, peace can be safeguarded. Even a beginning of the return from the brink and winding up of the cold war has been made by the signing of the partial test ban treaty.

These are all tangible and obvious gains registered under the banner of the Moscow Statement.

How much greater would have been the gains for the world peace forces and for the world Communist movement if only one particular Communist Party and the socialist state led by it which has chosen to denounce the Moscow Statement in all but name, had also faithfully adhered to it!

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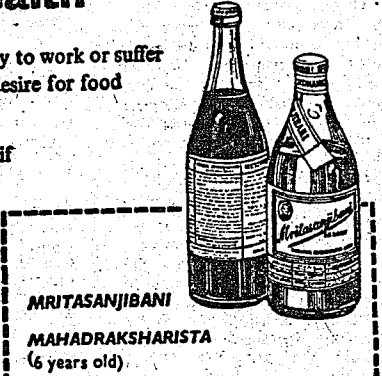


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36, Sadhana Ausadhalaya Road  
Sadhana Nagar, Calcutta 48



**MRTISANJIBANI**  
MAHADRAKSHARISTA  
(6 years old)

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

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## OPEN LETTER

of CPSU Central Committee to Party Organisations, to all Communists of Soviet Union

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by **ZIAUL HAO**

# Public Sector Undertakings

AFTER a long period of gestation, marked by controversies and doubts about constitutional rights of the two Houses of Parliament, the Lok Sabha last week adopted a resolution appointing a Committee on Public Sector Undertakings. While welcoming this step to ensure Parliamentary control over public undertakings, members on both sides in the House had pleaded for widening the scope of the committee's functions and giving it more powers. The point is further emphasised in newspaper comments on the decision.

The terms of reference defining the scope of the proposed committee's functions seem unduly restrictive, wrote THE STATESMAN on Monday. It said that the Union Industries Minister Nityananda Kanungo who cited the British precedent in the matter was out of date by eight years and persisted in being so.

The select committee of the House of Commons with similar terms reported in November 1955 that the restrictions imposed upon it were so severe that it could do nothing useful; while removing them one year later, Mr. Butler agreed that it was wiser to trust the good sense and goodwill of the Committee itself though he added that many of those limitations would continue to be observed in practice.

Commenting on the exclusion of 'matters of major government policy' and 'matters of day-to-day administration' from the purview of the Committee, THE STATESMAN said:

'Obviously the proposed joint committee cannot place itself in the position of an undertaking who has to decide major policy matters, as distinct from business or commercial functions; nor can it be constantly looking over the shoulders of those responsible for its day-to-day working. But since most aspects may come under one or other of these categories, the committee should not be assailed by doubts or impeded in its work by technical objections raised by those who have something to hide.'

The NATIONAL HERALD asks:

'What is a policy matter and what is a matter of day to day administration? The official motion uses the phrase 'major government policy as distinct from business or commercial functions of public undertakings'. This may not be adequate as a practical guide to the committee, and some elucidation may be found neces-

price structure, relationship with labour, rate of output per man or per unit of capital employed, unit cost of production. Are these matters of day to day administration? Will cases of nepotism when they are brought to light be outside the committee's purview? The right way, therefore, would be to define its scope as far as possible in broad, positive terms rather than in prohibitory terms.

## LANGUAGE TROUBLE

THE recrudescence of Hindi-English quarrel in the Lok Sabha last week, when an undignified, almost violent scene was enacted over a minister's reply to a

question has provoked comments from different standpoints in newspapers. Thus THE HINDUSTAN TIMES wrote on Saturday:

'The whole question of the position of Hindi and the extent to which English should be associated with it as the official language has been discussed threadbare, and conventions have been established governing the use of the two languages in the House. To tilt the balance still further in favour of Hindi, as some members tried to do in the Lok Sabha on Wednesday, would only be to attract the sort of reaction which occurred on Thursday when a member insisted on putting a supplementary in Tamil.'

On the other hand, THE TIMES OF INDIA at the same date said that the matter should have ended

when the Prime Minister told the House that the statement made by Lakshmi N. Menon in English and to which objection was taken by supporters of Hindi had been prepared only that morning and there was no time to get a Hindi translation.

But some Blimps used the occasion to attack the very practice of answering in Hindi questions put in that language. It is absurd to argue, as they did, that ministers who did not know Hindi would be pushed in the background or that Hindi fanatics were conspiring to oust non-Hindi speaking ministers from the cabinet. By playing on the fears of non-Hindi speaking people such statements only created bad blood between different language groups.'

-SANJAYA

# WITHDRAW EXTERNMENT ORDERS, RELEASE COMMUNIST DETENUS

## U.P. Memorandum

LUCKNOW: The Uttar Pradesh state council of the Communist Party of India has submitted a memorandum to the union Home Minister GULZARILAL NANDA demanding immediate release of all the Communist detenues in the state and withdrawal of externment orders served on most of the released Communist leaders.

The memorandum, signed by the secretary of the state council KALI SHANKAR SHUKLA and SARJOO PANDEY MP, deals at length with the misuse of the Defence of India Act and Rules in the state and demands its scrapping, or at least stopping its misuse.

Describing how the state government had not heeded to appeals even by Congressmen to release many of the detained Communists, and now many of them were arrested only at the instance of local officials, due to displeasure and also because of political enmity of some ministers, the memorandum says that the release of a few Communists now effected were at the instance of the courts.

The memorandum says: Even today when most of the states have released all Communist detenues, the Uttar Pradesh government has released only a few of them. It refuses to release even Dr. DAMODAR SINGH of Mathura who has lost 40 lbs. in weight in prison and whose release was recommended by the doctor in Agra on medical grounds.

Among state Party leaders arrested in the month of November 1952 only three comrades have been released so far. One of them was released on medical grounds and the other by the Allahabad High Court and thus only one comrade was released after review.

Four members of the state Party secretariat, namely SHIV VERMA, S. D. TEWARI, ASHOKE BOSE AND P. K. TANDON continue to rot in the prison. Along with these are nine other leading comrades. Two of them are on parole.

To the question why the U.P. government is reluctant to release Communist detenues when many other state governments have released all Communist detenues, the argument was trotted out that this is so because U.P. is a border state.

The release of all Communist detenues in Punjab has knocked out any logic of the argument, also and the only reason that remains is that the U.P. Government in keeping Communist detenues in jail is motivated by reasons other than it makes out...

Time and again it has been pointed out to the U.P. government how vindictive its attitude was towards detenues but it took months to get

even gross injustices to the detenues removed.

Even members of the state Party secretariat were given 'C' class treatment. Books and writing material were denied and even works of Shakespeare were considered objectionable.

Not only no games were given; even playing cards and chess boards were not permitted to be deposited. Neutera and cigarettes were given to the detenues nor were they permitted to deposit them. And it was only after a long time that meagre family allowances were granted to some.

However, even this attitude was surpassed when the government was forced to release some detenues.

MANNA, a textile worker of Kanpur, had been detained and a family allowance of Rs. 75 per month was granted. After eight months, his release was ordered but he was asked to report to the district magistrate of Kanpur, furnish a personal bond and security of Rs. 1,000 each to him and leave Kanpur within 24 hours.

Manna has been working for twenty years in a particular trade and knows no other. The U.P. government releases him and orders him to leave Kanpur within 24 hours without thinking how he would maintain himself and his family.

## SITUATION WORSENS

Similar restrictions have been placed against CHANDRA SINGH GARGHWALI and HAE SAHAI SINGH of Bareilly. Most of those who have been released have been either externed or interned.

Lately the situation has further worsened, with the order of externment on four Communist leaders from Ghazipur.

There were demonstrations organised by our Party at two police stations in Ghazipur district. They were against corruption and high-handedness of police. One of the sub-inspectors against whom charges of corruption were made was transferred and even suspended later on but the police was very annoyed. So it framed a case and asked the state government to detain a number of comrades.

It succeeded in getting four of them externed and we have been told by the Chief Minister of U.P. government SUCHETA KRIPALANI that the ground for externment was that they were anti-social elements.

One of the comrades externed is an ex-MLA; another is a member of the state Party executive; the third is an old and respected political worker of the district. The fourth, a local worker, is a member of the Party for the last five years and during this period there is nothing in the police records against him prior to the demonstration held by the Party.

There would be no justification for our Party if we did not raise our voice against malpractices prejudicial to the interests of the people and the country because that would annoy the police and the country would go to dogs if the ruling party allows the DIR to cover up the corruption that has grown to monstrous lengths.

Frankly, we are worried the way civil liberties are denied to our Party in the state and the state government is misusing its power to curb our lawful activities. We are still more worried by the collapse of the administration in the state, growing corruption and the state government's policy of allowing police officials to put down opposition to their malpractices with the help of the Defence of India Act and Rules, the memorandum said.

NEW AGE DECEMBER 1, 1963

# A FESTIVAL OF FRIENDSHIP

★ From Ajoy Dasgupta

They came, they saw and they conquered—in these words could the visit of the three Soviet cosmonauts to Calcutta be best summarised.

THE moment VALENTINA TERESHKOVA, ANDRIAN NIKOLAEV and VALERY BYKOVSKIY landed at the Dum Dum airport on November 21 morning they captured the hearts of the people. Till they left the city on November 23 morning the people of Calcutta and suburbs expressed their love, admiration and friendship for them and the land of socialism they came from and whose tremendous advance they symbolised, in a thousand ways.

When Nikolaev told the huge gathering at the civic reception that they were leaving part of their hearts in India, the audience replied that parts of their hearts were also being taken away by the cosmic heroes, the messengers of peace and friendship from the Soviet Union.



Mayor Presenting Address to Tereshkova

Trade unions and citizens committees erected arches on the roads they travelled. Thousands upon thousands of men, women and children lined the route and on November 21 Calcutta made history with the biggest ever women's rally at the Rabindra Sarovar Stadium.

Ninety women's organisations of all shades of opinion in the state came together to give a reception to the heroine of the new age, the symbol of womanhood of the future. Through more than a lakh of their representatives assembled at the stadium, the women of Bengal poured out their hearts to the cosmonette.

Addressing Tereshkova they said: "You symbolise the era of great awakening among the women, which is the present time. By opening with your firm hands the door of the limitless possibilities and strength latent in women, you have become the object of thanks and gratitude of the women of the world over."

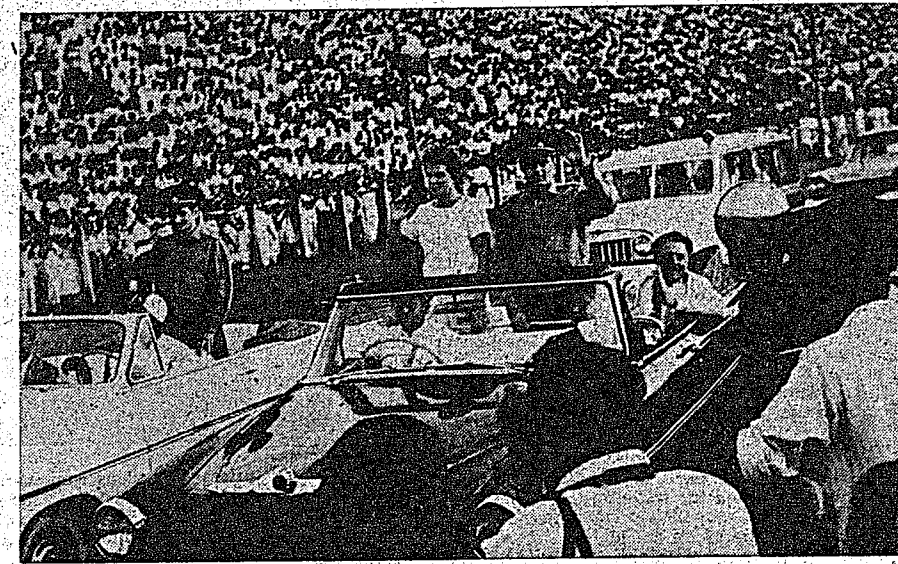
The centre of attraction, love and affection was, of course, Valentina, the first woman to break the barrier

simplicity. But her "space brother and space husband," as she put it, were also given rousing ovation and a warm reception.

The cosmonauts had two very busy days in Calcutta. They began their programme with a press conference, attended the women's reception, had a steamer trip on the Ganges, witnessed their cosmic path in the Birla planetarium, had discussions with the scientists, attended a tea party on the roof of the thirteen-storeyed new secretariat building and lunched with the governor. They attended the civic reception, which was joined by thousands of school children organised by the "Science for Children Society" besides the citizens, and rounded off their public engagements with the reception by the Indo-Soviet Cultural Society.

At the civic reception, Calcutta mayor CHITTRANJAN CHATTERJEE welcoming the cosmonauts said: "Let your visit make the hearts of men and wo-

men from Volga to Ganga beat in unison. Let the hearts of the people be filled with eternal hope and bliss."



Soviet Cosmonauts entering the Rabindra Sarovar for the Civic Reception on November 22. Below: A view of the huge Women's Rally on November 21. Photos by Sambhu Bannerjee



At the Women's Reception

they brought the goodwill of the Soviet people with them and they were taking back with them the warmth of the Indian hearts.

Yes, they stole the hearts of the people of Calcutta with their easy charm and grace, their simplicity and sincerity, their dignified and warm-hearted behaviour. When on November 23 morning they bade goodbye with 'namaskar' everybody's heart went with them.

## WEEK-LONG CELEBRATION

AN Indo-Soviet cultural week was observed by the West Bengal branch of the Indo-Soviet Cultural Society from November 16 to 22.

It once again eloquently expressed the mutual friendship of Indian and Soviet peoples and proved that today this friendship rests on the firm foundation of common outlook on the world problems and close economic and cultural ties.

The whole celebration came to a fitting finale with the reception given to the visiting Soviet cosmonauts.

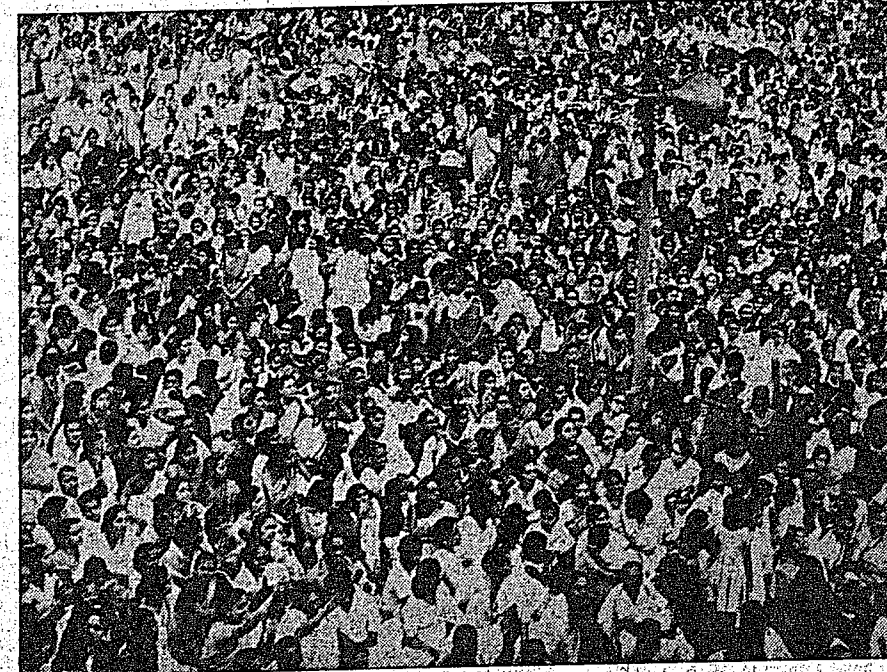
The Mayor of Calcutta set the tone for the celebrations when inaugurating the week he called for "filling to the brim the cup of friendship" between the peoples of the Soviet Union and India.

The Prime Minister and the Vice President in their messages stressed the need and importance of close Indo-Soviet ties.

Dr. SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJEE and Dr. TRIGUNA SEN presided over the functions on different dates and spoke of India's eternal quest for peace, friendship and good neighbourliness—'vasudhaiva kutumbakam'.

State Minister SAILO KUMAR MUKHERJEE, who deputised for the Chief Minister who could not attend because of indisposition,

★ ON PAGE 18



DECEMBER 1, 1963

NEW AGE

PAGE NINE

## RESOLUTIONS

of National Council  
of Communist Party of India

New Delhi, Oct. 14-19, 1963

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# WORKERS BATTLE FOR CORRECT INDEX AND HIGHER D. A.

Much has been said about the faulty method of calculating the consumer price index for the working class. But little has been said so far about what would be the real consumer price index which would actually reflect the cost of living.

THE Mumbai Girni Kamgar Union has taken up this issue since, linked with the consumer price index as is the dearness allowance of the Bombay textile workers, it is a burning problem facing the union's members and also other workers.

In a memorandum presented to the experts committee which is going into the issue of revising the consumer price index structure in Bombay, the union has presented the findings of a survey it made into the price structure in the city and compared it with the figures given in the consumer price index of labour department of the government.

The survey showed that lower prices have been quoted in the government index to the extent that it has brought about a difference of 104 points between the real index and the index released by the government. While the government's consumer price index number for June 1963 was only 446 (base: 1944-100), the index calculated on the basis of prices collected by the union, showed it to be 550.

Groupwise, the food index of the labour department stood at 533 while the actual index should have been 592; for clothing it was only 397 while it should have been 730; for house rent it was 108 while it should have been 300 and for miscellaneous items in which were included washing soap, barber charges, medicine, biddies and travelling, it was 510 where it should have been 609.

Only in the case of fuel and lighting, the two indices calculated by the labour department and the union showed the same figure, that is, 417.

The differences in prices noted were the following: The labour department index

showed the price of wheat per kilogram at 41 nP while actually it was 70 nP; fish price was shown as Rs. 1.38 while actually it was Rs. 2.25; instead of pure ghee costing Rs. 9.60 per kilogram, the labour department showed price of vanaspathi at Rs. 3.68. There were minor differences in prices of many other food articles like potatoes, brinjals, onions, oil, salt etc. In no case was the labour department price seen to be one naya Paise higher than the actual prices while in most cases it was lower.

The price of every one item under the head clothing has been quoted lower in the labour department index. For a pair of dhoties it is Rs. 12.73 instead of the actual Rs. 22.67; for coating Rs. 1.69 per metre instead of Rs. 2.25; for shirting 62 nP per metre instead of Rs. 1.62 per metre instead of Rs. 2.00; for a saree Rs. 10.72 instead of Rs. 19.00 and khans Rs. 1.21 per piece instead of Rs. 2.00.

## No Rise In Rent?

The index for house rent calculated by the labour department showed the rate of rent to be Rs. 6.77 a month for 102 square feet room area, while actually it was Rs. 18 to Rs. 24. It is interesting to note that the labour department statistics do not show any appreciable rise in rents from the Rs. 6.37 it was as far back as 1934.

Under the heading miscellaneous, the labour department calculated the travelling expenses at 50 nP for 20 miles, but the union calculated it to be Rs. 1.50 taking all modes of travel namely road, rail and water, into account.

Now, the question will arise:

## CONFERENCE IN BOMBAY

THE working committee and general council of the All India Trade Union Congress have been convened in Bombay on December 12 and 13 (Thursday and Friday), says an AITUC communique issued in New Delhi on November 23.

The council will mainly discuss the rising trend of prices of essential articles and fall in real wages. S. S. Mirajkar, president of the AITUC, will preside.

A conference to discuss the demands for reduction in prices of essential goods, introduction of dearness

allowance linked with the consumer price indices, revision of the price indices to reflect the rise and fall of articles of daily need and grant of minimum bonus in all industries immediately pending the report of the Bonus Commission will be held in Bombay on December 13, 14 and 15.

The conference will also demand nationalisation of banks, export-import trade, wholesale trading in food-grains and taking over of sugar and textile industries.

The condition of workers, peasants and the middle classes with fixed income

has been deteriorating since the government has failed to check rise in prices and arrange properly the sale of food articles and sugar.

As things have been developing, in the months to come this trend will further erode the living conditions of the common people unless a nationwide movement is launched to force the powers that be to pay special attention and take necessary steps against the monopolists, employers and hoarders to reverse this trend.

The conference is open to all trade unions, irrespective of affiliation.

why is it that the labour department's quotations of prices and the index calculated on the basis of it have failed to reflect the actual state of affairs? One reason is the failure of the price collection machinery to get the real prices. Another is the inherent drawbacks of the method of calculation.

A glance into the method adopted by the labour department for collecting the prices and the manner in which these are tabulated and the index calculated explain the flaws in them.

The Labour Bureau publications "A Monograph on Cost of Living Index Numbers in India" (1953) and "A Guide to Consumer Price Index Numbers" (1960) have tried to explain in some detail the principles observed in the computation of the index numbers.

But it is common knowledge that adequate machinery is lacking in our country for keeping a proper check-up on the collection of statistics of



prices of various commodities sold in the market. There is lacuna in this field which distorts the final computation.

For example, a change in the grade or quality of specifications of a particular commodity might affect the index adversely. It is reported that medium grades of tur dal, gram, salt, chillies, tamarind, turmeric, potatoes, charcoal and supari have been "degraded" in some places, from the point of view of index compilation.

Sometimes commodities have also been "substituted" keeping in view the "changing expenditure pattern" of the workers. Dalda has been substituted for pure ghee with the result that price relatives are now of a lower order than they were at the base period.

If while substituting one commodity for another, corresponding changes in the consumption pattern are not taken into consideration, it will result in depreciating the index further.

## Costlier Tea

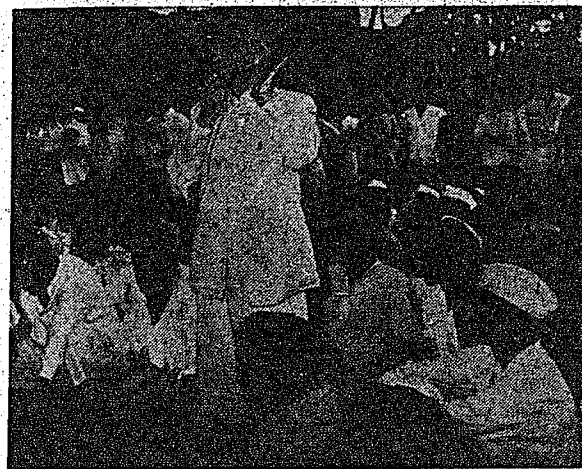
Expenditure on "ready-made tea" constitutes five per cent of the total expenditure on food and the changes which have taken place in the price of tea are not necessarily calculated in a scientific manner.

For the commodities like sugar, milk, fuel and tea leaves have gone up more than four times since 1934. However the index for ready-made tea has been raised by one and a half times only. This might be explained on the ground that the quality and quantity of tea supplied in working class localities has depreciated over a period of time.

But such a contention is not in conformity with the principle laid down by the I.L.O. and adopted by the Labour Bureau here that no change should be made in original specifications of commodities taken into consideration at the time of computing the data for the base period.

Another shortcoming in the method of collecting the data is the method of plugging the prices of certain items of expenditure such as clothing, house-rent etc. In addition, the fact cannot be ignored that the workers have to purchase a number of articles in the black market.

The monograph of the Labour Bureau itself has noted this and observed: "The guiding principle in such situations is to determine the average price as being paid by the population group and for this it is necessary to know the ratio of purchase of the articles concerned from



## MORCHA FOR BONUS

BOMBAY: The Bombay Action Committee of the All-India Trade Union Congress organised a mammoth bonus morcha on November 18 from the Azad Maidan to the Old Secretariat building where the Meher Commission on bonus had their meeting.

Workers from all industries and unions participated in the morcha. A deputation met the chairman of the commission and presented a memorandum demanding immediate revision of bonus and dearness allowance.

The demands of the morcha were equal bonus for all workers in one industry, merger of dearness allowance in basic pay and publication of the bonus report immediately.

The morcha terminated in a meeting which was addressed by S. A. DANGE, general secretary of the AITUC, and S. G. PATKAR.

Dange warned the government that a call would have to be given for an all-India general strike of all workers in all industries if immediate steps are not taken to revise the bonus and D. A. from January 1964.

He called for a leftist unity on the above specific demands and appealed to all trade unions to join hands to organise a general strike in support of these demands.

## Dange Meets Press

Addressing a press conference on November 21 in Bombay, Dange outlined the programme of action envisaged to secure the dearness allowance linked with the consumer price indices, revision of the indices to reflect correctly the cost of living and minimum guaranteed bonus. He said:

The grievances and demands of the workers, peasants and middle-classes were put before the government in the Great Petition and March to Delhi, which we carried out on September 13. As a result a small relief was announced by the government in the compulsory deposit scheme and the gold rules, and a committee to correct the cost of living index was appointed in Bombay.

Following this and the

● Take over and nationalise export-import trade in bulk commodities.

● Introduce wholesale state-trading in food-grains from this season.

● Take over sugar and textile and such other essential industries, whose monopolists are fleecing the people and defrauding the nation.

● Meet the demands of the peasantry for cheaper credit and supplies of essential goods and the demand of the agricultural labourers for minimum wage and land-distribution. Cancel the extra levies.

● Reduce tax-burdens on the poor people and democratise the administration.

All these demands are not difficult to satisfy, if the government decides not to be guided by the interests of the big monopolists and their economic policies and advisers.

Since the government refuses to change its direction in a radical way, the workers and peasants have to act.

Hence, the trade unions will meet and plan their action in the "Conference of Trade Unions for All-India Action" to be held in Bombay on December 13, 14 and 15.

The action contemplated is to begin with demonstrations and meetings and will end, if necessary and agreed to by all unions, in an all-India protest strike on an agreed date. So long, in trade union history such an all-India strike has never taken place.

The misery is so acute and wide and the workers now have such an all-India consciousness and organisation, that such a united action is possible in two months' time. The AITUC hopes all workers and the leadership of all shades of thought will unite on this issue and achieve further successes.

## PRICE INDEX FRAUD

It is a common belief that figures do not lie. But it has now been proved that even figures can be made to lie. The consumer price indices for the working class are the biggest fraud ever perpetrated in this country to cheat the workers of their just dues. The index figures are lying on the orders of the government!

THE government of India's own figures are there to prove that the consumer price indices do not reflect the actual cost of living. The wholesale price index, released by another department, office of the Economic Adviser in the Ministry of Commerce and Industry has shown a steady upward trend during the last one year and more.

## Consumer Cheating

The consumer price indices should have normally gone up in a more steep curve than the wholesale prices. But the consumer price indices released by the Labour Department of the government of India claim that the consumer prices have not gone up even as much as the wholesale prices. What is more, in some places, it is claimed that these have even gone down.

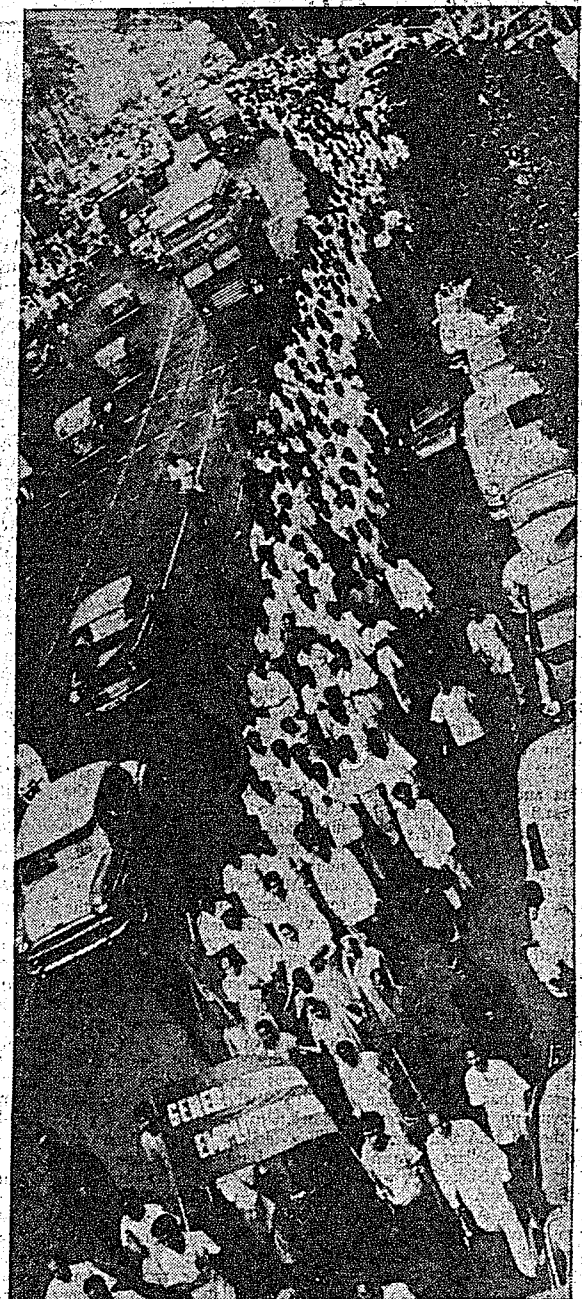
The wholesale price index

The food index remained static during the one-year period at 119 at Jabalpur, and rose nominally from 146 to 147 at Bombay and from 143 to 145 at Sholapur.

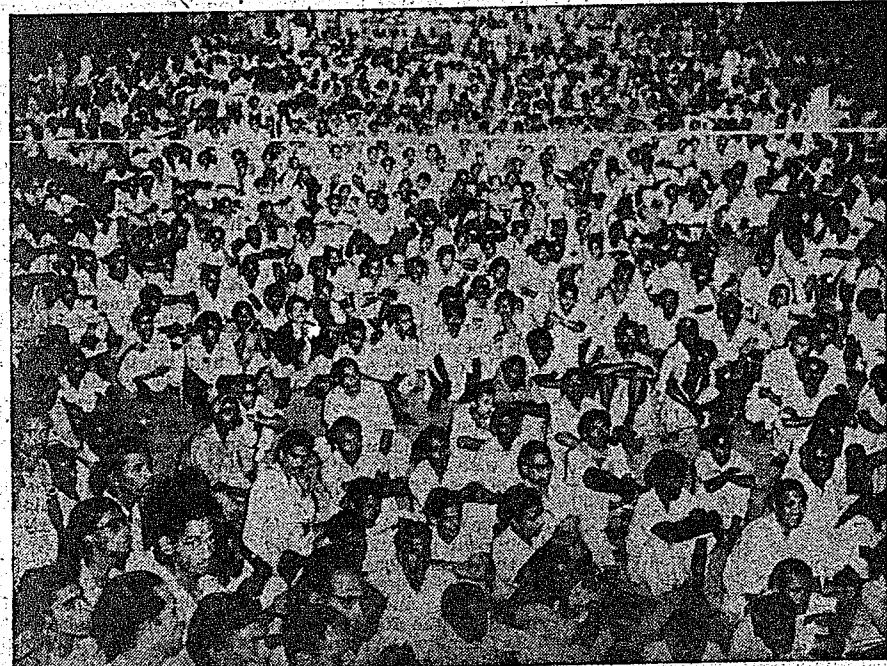
The latest figures of wholesale price index released by the government show that the index for food articles stood at-139.1 in the week ending September 21, 1963 (base: 1952-53=100). It was only 129.2 for the week ending September 22, 1962.

The index for tobacco and liquors rose from 99.9 to 118.7 and for fuel, power and light from 124.2 to 137.2 during the same period. The rise in the general index for wholesale prices was of the order of 6.4 points and stood at 136.5 in the week ending September 21, 1963.

The comparative rise in wholesale price index and consumer price index was: while the wholesale price index went up by 3.7 per cent in one year, that is September 1962 to September 1963, the consumer price index rose only by 2 per cent during the same period! What shameless cheating!



A view of the Bombay Morcha on Nov. 18 for Bonus and higher D.A. In picture above on left Comrade Dange is seen addressing the rally into which the Morcha culminated.



Rally held in Calcutta Maidan on November 23. On right above Comrade M. N. Govindan Nair is seen addressing it.

# Inside The Alliance LITTLE PROGRESS

★ By LAJPAT RAI

ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS which was announced with much fanfare by US President on March 13, 1961 to an impressive gathering of Latin American diplomats as a panacea for all the ills of South America, has already reached its dead end.

**A**ST week the members of the Alliance met in Sao Paulo (Brazil) to review its progress and discovered that there was "little progress and not much alliance." President GOULART of Brazil in his opening speech characterised the Alliance as "a system of palliatives or false superficial concessions by the industrialised capital-exporting country of the North."

It was pointed out in the meeting that Latin America was standing still. The average per capita economic product increased by 1.5 per cent in 1961, 0.7 per cent in the first six months of 1962 and none whatever in the remaining part of the year. "This is truly 'progress' in reverse", said one delegate.

Argentina and Brazil who together got \$41.8 million dollars out of the two billion dollar aid so far given, showed no signs of moving forward. In fact Argentina's gross product actually fell by 5.1 per cent last year, and Brazil showed an increase of 1.5 per cent only.

In the meeting the delegates asked for more money and less conditions and called for a "Latinized" alliance in which a new inter-American organisation would pass out 20 billion dollars in 10 years.

The US delegate HARRIMAN himself agreed that the Alliance had not come up to his expectations and though USA had already spent two billion dollars, no concrete results were visible. This was in his opinion due to the fact that "inside Latin America there have been delays in establishing effective planning machinery and no well-conceived and technically sound project."

## REAL AIMS

What in fact is this so called Alliance for Progress? What are its real aims and how it constitutes another weapon in the armoury of imperialism in Latin America?

The Alliance is actually a continuation and expansion of certain measures taken by the EISENHOWER administration after the anti-Nixon demonstrations in Latin American capitals in 1958, and the victory of the Cuban Revolution in 1959, such as the setting up of the Inter-American Development Bank and the 500 million BOGOTA Plan.

It was inspired by the explosive situation (or US imperialism) which has developed in America by the consolidation of the Cuban revolution on Marxist-Leninist lines, the emergence of Latin American nationalism demanding the expulsion of foreign capital and American military missions from the Latin American countries.

mittee C. MARTIN, Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs had the following to say:

"As our Latin American neighbours move forward towards Alliance For Progress goals, we cannot overlook the serious threat posed to the security of Latin American nations by indirect Communist aggression. Cuba's example must not be repeated. The internal security of Latin American nations must be strengthened."

Thus the political aims of the Alliance for Progress are to isolate Cuba, strengthen the undemocratic governments, and the alliance with them to crush any genuine people's movement that might raise its head to eliminate imperialism from its country. It is designed to be an instrument of intervention in the internal affairs of Latin American countries and a means to further open up vast areas for economic penetration and exploitation.

Economically, the aid promised under the Alliance falls much short of the needs of Latin American countries. Economists have estimated that to increase its national product per head of population by an average of 2.5 per cent (a task set by Punta del Este Charter) about 10,000 million or 10 times as much as has been promised would have to be invested every year. Thus there is a wide gap between Washington's promises and Latin America's needs, let alone actual disbursement.

Secondly, US aid is more than compensated by the enormous profit US monopolies are making in Latin America. According to the data cited by ROBERTO OLIVERIA—the Brazilian Ambassador to Washington, average prices for commodities in 1961, exported by Latin countries to USA dropped by 20 per cent as compared with 1953, while wholesale prices of commodities exported from USA to Latin America rose by 10 per cent in the same period. Because of this Latin American countries got 1,400 million dollars less than what they would have received otherwise. "This sum" said Oliveria "is superior to the combined flow of all aid funds from all sources into Latin America last year." (New York Times, August 9, 1962)

Also the sums promised are no disinterested aid. Not to speak of high rates of interest charged, the lion's share of the aid is to go on the purchase of goods from USA. Brazil, for example, has been promised 357.2 million dollars but will have to spend 16.9 million dollars on the purchase of US goods. Mexico, must spend in USA 90 million dollars out of the promised 106 million dollars and Venezuela 22 million dollars out of 99 million aid.

In his message to the American Congress, President. KENNEDY said: "We are continuing in view of our balance of payment situation to encourage procurement within the USA for most goods required for the programmes under the Alliance For Progress."

Thus USA is killing two birds with one stone.



● To create semblance of increased aid under the Alliance for Progress

● To provide market for its surplus farm products and manufactures.

Ex-Governor LIONEL BRIZOLA of the Brazilian State of Rio Grande and a popular leader of his country gave the following answer to US News and World Report:

"I consider that it is much more important for us to eliminate the exploitative process. Our country serves as a kind of sieve. Money comes in one hand and goes right out of the other. If we do not block the holes in the sieve, all the money coming to Latin America under the Alliance for Progress will flow back to USA with dividends." (US News and World Report, March 26, 1962)

The New York Times of June 19, 1962 editorially commented:

"All signs point to the honeymoon being over for Alliance for Progress...and many people in Latin America who never wanted the marriage would just as soon see it break up now."

To sum up, the Alliance for Progress is nothing but a device to consolidate US domination of Latin America, suppress national liberation movements (through loans for internal security and military missions), to get Latin American countries to join the crusade against revolutionary Cuba and to strengthen the American position in the cold war against the socialist camp. All indications are that the Alliance is doomed to failure. The Sao Paulo Conference, may perhaps be the beginning of the end.

## CORRECT INDEX, RAISE D. A.

\*FROM CENTRE PAGES

The two sources. Such ratios can be obtained by small-scale local enquiries by the sampling method."

It was indeed revealing, therefore, that in Bombay the Labour Department ceased taking into account prices of certain items of clothing on the plea the "particular varieties" had disappeared from the market.

The clothing items for which prices are not at present being taken are dhoties (since 1952 September) shirting (since 1953 April) and sarees (since 1952 December). But these three items cover among themselves 75 per cent of the total expenditure on clothing of the working class budget.

Housing conditions are peculiar in most of the urban centres. Due to rent control legislation, landlords usually do not give genuine receipts and investigators who collect data experience a number of difficulties to get at genuine figures.

The index of house rent has, accordingly remained substantially below the actual level and some method has to

On November 26, 1924 Mongolia adopted a Constitution, proclaiming the country a People's Republic. According to the Constitution all power in the Republic was transferred to the working peoples.

**A**FTER breaking the fetters of colonialism and feudalism, the Mongolian people have been, persistently carrying out the tasks set by the people's revolution.

In about two decades time the Mongolian people succeeded in the completion of the general democratic stage of the revolution, carried out vast reforms, eliminated political and economic privileges and influence of foreign capital and exploiter classes in the country, and created necessary conditions for the change to the second stage of the revolution, i.e., to the large-scale construction of socialism, by-passing the stage of capitalist development. A non-capitalist way of development is a peculiar feature of the socialist construction in the MPR.

With fraternal and disinterested assistance of socialist countries the Mongolian people achieved tremendous successes in a historically short period of time.

From a backward feudal country Mongolia has turned to a modern agrarian-industrial socialist state where socialist relations of production have won a complete victory and where exploitation of man by man was eradicated once and for all.

During the years of socialist construction metal-working, woodworking, mining, fuel and other industries equipped with modern technique have been established in the Mongolian People's Republic. Scores of new industrial projects have been completed and are under construction. At present industrial output in the MPR which in-

creased more than nine-fold as compared with 1940 accounts for about 50 per cent of the total produce in the country.

The rapid development of fuel and power industry and building material industry has radically helped speed up the development of other industries. The rate of industrial production is constantly rising. In 1962 industrial output increased by 40 per cent compared to 1960, electric energy production—by 64, coal output—by 39, felt and leather shoes—by 51, woolen fabrics—by 83, meat—by 20, bread—by 91 per cent, and flour by 45 thousand tons or 2.8 times.

During all these years the tempo of industrial development in Mongolia continues to grow and averaged 14 per cent a year in 1948-1952; 13 per cent in 1953-1957; and 17.9 per cent in 1958-1960.

A 12.6 per cent increase in the gross industrial output is expected for 1963 over that of 1962.

Capital construction has been largely expanded in our country during 1960-62. Along with the construction and expansion of industrial units, 13 agricultural machine-repair shops, 117 grain stores, more than 60 shops and communal dining houses, 70 schools, 70 kindergartens and creches, 49 hospitals and many other cultural and communal institutions have been newly built in the capital, Ulan Bator, as well as in other towns.

Vast construction work has been launched in the Darkhan district.

# MONGOLIA'S PATH

where industrial and other important enterprises are coming up with the help of the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries.

Considerable headway has also been made in socialist agriculture. Animal husbandry which is the basis of the well-being of our people is constantly growing from year to year. The 1962 plan for increasing the head of cattle has been fulfilled 103 per cent. Compared to 1961 the number of livestock in the country has increased by 595 thousand.

The people's government takes great care in providing agriculture with modern machines and equipment. During the last 10 years the fleet of tractors increased more than twenty-six-fold. At present 86 per cent of all the cooperatives are enjoying the services of machine and livestock stations.

In 1959 co-operating of Arat households had been almost completed when 99.3 per cent of all the Arat households joined agricultural cooperatives. Mongolian agriculture is now fully socialist in its character. At present there are 354 enlarge dagricultural co-operatives, 29 state farms and 37 machine-and-livestock stations in the Republic. Every agricultural co-operative has about 50,000 heads of livestock and about 200 hectares of acreages under crops. Besides, about 15,000 heads of livestock in each co-operative are in personal use of co-operative members.

Cash income of the co-operatives is constantly increasing—78

per cent during the last three years, and at present 85 per cent of them are millionaire farms. Big construction work is going on in the cooperatives—more than 500 structures including 53 clubs and red-corners, 30 schools and boarding school buildings and 145 residential houses were commissioned during 1962 alone.

The Soviet Union's assistance has greatly contributed to carrying out in the Mongolian People's Republic a genuine cultural revolution. In 1921, 99.3 per cent of the Mongolian population was illiterate. Now Mongolia has become a country of complete literacy. At present every sixth citizen of this country is a student of this or that educational establishment.

In 1962 as against 1961 the number of higher educational establishment graduates increased 12.9 per cent, of secondary and specialised educational establishments—15.3 per cent, and of general secondary school graduates—17 per cent. Mongolia has now 87 houses of culture and clubs, more than 40 cinemas, 329 portable film projectors, 30 libraries, 21 museums and about 550 Red corners.

In Ulan-Bator there are a drama theatre, an opera and ballet theatre, children's and puppet theatres, a circus, and a people's song-and-dance ensemble.

At present the country has scores of newspapers and magazines. Books of Mongolian and foreign authors are published in large editions. Every populated point in Mongolia has radio installations. People in most remote corners of the country are used to listening to the radio.

Tremendous achievements have been made by the Mongolian people in the field of national health services as well. At present there is one doctor for every 930 inhabitants of our country.

For many years the Mongolian People's Republic maintained diplomatic relations only with the Soviet Union which was the first to recognize the independence of Mongolia. Today the MPR is an equal member of UNO of the In-terparliamentary Union, of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid (COMECON), etc.

This country maintains diplomatic relations with all socialist countries as well as with India, Indonesia, Burma, Britain, Ceylon, Laos, and others. In addition Mongolia has trade and economic relations with many of the Asian and European countries.

## COMECON MEMBERSHIP

Mongolia's entry into the COMECON will play an exceptionally important role in her further development. Close cooperation among fraternal countries opens up the possibility of even quicker and fruitful development of all branches of our national economy and rational use of resources on the basis of further consolidation of international socialist division of labour, specialisation and cooperative structure of production, to achieve further speedy rise in the well-being of the people of our country.

A Twenty-Year Plan of economic and cultural development extending upto 1980 is being worked out on this very basis. Cooperation of Mongolia with the Comecon countries considerably helps in working out the perspective plan for the country's development. By the next year this plan will be finalised and its successful implementation will

help create conditions for transition of Communist construction.

In the current phase of the country's development, the basic functions of our state are—creation of the material-technical basis of socialism. In other words, the Mongolian people are set on the task of turning Mongolia into an industrial-agrarian country. The general plan of MPR perspective development for 1960-1980 provides for completion of socialist construction preparing necessary conditions for gradual change to building of Communist society.

Is this task real? Yes. Already now the Mongolian People's Republic has a national industrial base solid enough to successfully continue her development. Mongolia has colossal reserves such as vast potential hydro-power resources, minerals, etc. Their development carried out with the assistance of fraternal countries will make it possible to create new mining and manufacturing industries, to increase and strengthen on a large-scale fuel and power industries, and to widely develop building construction.

New vistas are also opened up for the development of light and food industries. The development of all these industries will allow to greatly improve the material well-being of the Mongolian working people and to raise their cultural level.

## GENERAL LINE

The Mongolian People's Republic has declared the general line of its foreign policy. It will continue to fight consistently for the development and consolidation of friendly relations among states, for consolidating universal peace and security of peoples, for general and complete disarmament, for the final liquidation of colonial system, for a stable peace on earth.

Along with the people of other socialist countries the Mongolian people genuinely wish that the young emerging states which have recently attained their freedom and national independence do achieve successes in their efforts for the liquidation of the traces of former colonial domination, for attaining economic prosperity. Peoples of the countries, liberated from the colonial yoke, are realising more and more that the only correct path for ensuring their national regeneration is the non-capitalist path of development.

In this connection the historic experience of the Mongolian people, successfully building socialism, by-passing the capitalist stage, is of great significance for these countries.

# TWO DECADES OF SOCIALIST YUGOSLAVIA

Two decades of development of socialist Yugoslavia, from the day when she was constituted a people's state in a part of her liberated territory, in the full swing of the Second World War, up to these days when she passed her new Constitution, are marked by an exceptionally speedy economic growth.

**T**ODAY'S comparisons with the economic potential of twenty years ago, when the wind of war had just swept the country, are almost impossible. In Yugoslavia nobody draws such parallels, because the country started its economic development almost from nothing.

The war took not only 1,700,000 human lives, but also left behind it nearly completely devastated cities, industry, which otherwise was only a quarter of the country's economy, while it retained agriculture on the level of a feudal way of cultivating land, almost without any mechanization.

That is why new Yugoslavia had to dedicate the initial post-war years to the reconstruction and development of an economic base for her future growth, parallelly with the introduction and strengthening of the new social system. Already in 1946 nationalisation formerly period a quarter of national income only, it gives now 42 per cent of the income and has become a dominating branch of economy. Relation of the employed population changed in favour of those working in industry. Before the Second World War 77 per cent of the population in Yugoslavia earned its living in agriculture, that percentage has fallen today to less than 50 per cent.

Yugoslavia is among the countries which have attained the speediest economic development during post-war years. During one year Yugoslavia now manufactures

more machine-tools than it produced during 20 years of the existence of the pre-war state. The present electric power generation is ten times over that of the pre-war days. Yugoslavia has even become an exporter of the energy to neighbouring countries.

Oil production rose 25 times, production of metal industry by about 10 times, chemical industry 8 times, iron and steel metallurgy 7 times, food and building industries 4 to 5 times, coal, textile and other products more than three times.

Before the war, four-fifths of Yugoslav exports consisted of farm produce and raw materials. Now, finished manufactures constitute 82 per cent of Yugoslav exports. Judging by the international standard classification, Yugoslavia now manufactures about 55 times more electrical equipment and appliances, including also complete hydro-power plants, which are successfully being sold in Asian and African countries.

During the past two decades the Yugoslav community made obvious progress also in agriculture. Now almost every eighth hectare of arable land belongs to social management. Socially owned farms now succeed, in producing cooperation with individual farmers, in meeting about 85 per cent of necessary market surpluses of wheat and pigs, about 65 per cent maize and almost the entire production of milk, sugarbeet, sunflower.

In maize production Yugoslavia claims to be now second in Europe and fourth in the world. According to the average yield of maize per hectare she is fifth in Europe and seventh in the world.

During this period, large-scale socio-economic changes have been carried out in economy. Workers' councils have covered a good lot of way during the last 13 years, from an experiment to a stable system, which find full justification in the successes achieved by Yugoslav economy.

## CHARACTER OF ECONOMY



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# Spotlight on Indian Railways

\* By A Special Correspondent

Indian Railways with a route kilometrage of over 56,000 are the world's second largest system under a unitary management, and have a service record of 110 years. Over 46 lakhs of our people travel by rail every day. The up and down traffic of goods per day would be over 4.4 lakh tonnes.

Thirteen lakhs of our railwaymen keep the lifelines of our economy going. In the first two Plans the railways spent a sum of Rs. 1,464 crores and the outlay for the Third Plan alone is Rs. 1,470 crores. Goods traffic is expected to rise from 154 million tons to about 260 million tons during the course of the Third Plan.

**T**HE people and Parliament have to be constantly alert when such colossal sums are involved. And it is but natural that public opinion has to keep a watchful eye on the misdeeds that go in the name of the railway administration. Apart from the huge collections from out of increased railway fares and freight rates, a tidy sum out of the amounts realised from the crushing burdens of taxation imposed on our people has been invested in railway development.

Are these amounts being wisely spent? After a century and a decade of its existence, the railway administration in this country should have been able to create expert management cadre and ours should have been one of the best-run railways from the point of view of performance as well as financial results.

The actual experience, however, is that more than the railway system efficiently, we have developed an impregnable steel-frame of railway bureaucracy; the railway officials, is still not quite out of the imperial traditions of "special allocation" cars and the other embellishments of the privileged class. The all-powerful Railway Board cannot be shaken by the ghastliest of accidents.

Even from published reports of parliament committees, which cover only a fringe of the colossal bungling of railway bureaucracy, the sorry state of affairs on the railways is evident. Let us take only the latest report of the Public Accounts Committee (PAC).

Despite maintaining a huge bureaucratic apparatus, even the budgeting of the railways has been found to be improper. Sums totalling crores of rupees voted by Parliament were just not spent. In 1960-61, the so-called "savings" out of grants and appropriations made for the railways reached the stupendous figure of Rs. 76.34 crores. In 1961-62, the figure was Rs. 62.04 crores.

It might sound fantastic but is true nevertheless that as much as Rs. 19.11 crores set apart for constructing new railway lines (31.2 per cent of the total grant for the purpose) could not just be spent. In other words, nearly one-third of the money collected from the tax-payer for constructing railway lines in much-needed areas was unspent! Can there be a more "efficient" administration?

The PAC noted that the under-charges detected later in audit had risen from 0.19 per cent in 1956-57 to 0.40 per cent in 1961-62. The percentage might look insignificant but the amount involved was Rs. 2 crores.

Similarly, the category called "surplus stores", that

is materials purchased which later on proved to be unnecessary or those not utilised and lying as junk, had been worth Rs. 6.67 crores in 1961-62. The percentage of these surpluses to stores balances rose from 4 per cent to 8 per cent.

The gentlemen of the private sector would be happy to decry the wasteful expenditure in our biggest state-owned undertaking. But, they are the biggest beneficiaries of the mismanagement and anyone who has watched the fortunes of the tribe called "railway contractors" can testify that they are quite a prosperous lot.

The PAC revealed a case about a contractor who supplied timber to railways. In 27 cases, the contractor firm obtained "excess payments amounting to Rs. 27.04 lakhs by presenting fictitious railway receipts for stores either not despatched or less despatched and by despatch of un-inspected stores in lieu of inspected ones." The contractor cheated the railways to the tune of Rs. 46.61 lakhs. Most of the "disputes" about recovering the amount are stated to be under arbitration.

## No Criminal Case

The committee was "surprised that no criminal case could be instituted against the firm in spite of the fraudulent practices alleged against it"; and that "delays in detection due to lack of administrative vigilance both in the indenting and supply organisations have only facilitated the disappearance of cogent evidence."

It is clear that besides the contractor, some high-ups in the administration must have made some little fortunes. How else could there be "lack of administrative vigilance" facilitating "disappearance of cogent evidence"?

In a case of purchase of wheel tyres against what is called a "limited tender", foreign exchange worth 45,851 sterling pounds was just squandered. Losses in respect of purchasing electrical signalling equipment were also incurred.

On the Western Railway, contracts which were admittedly at rates much higher than later obtained were allowed to be extended and executed creating considerable loss to the railways. The PAC considered it "unfortunate that the railway administration should have issued orders which in their own words were 'ill-conceived and absolutely impracticable'".

Even in transporting coal for its own use, the railways could not escape swindling (or was it deliberately encouraged by interested parties) and appropriate

supplying less and charging for more. But apparently, the collieries do not take the entire credit for this remarkable feat since the railway officials at the forwarding stations are supposed to do spot checking. The price of coal was to be paid on the basis of notes recorded by the railway officials at the forwarding stations.

It does not require extra intelligence to surmise that corrupt practices had helped in the organised swindling of the Railways by the collieries. The PAC observed that "proper checks" should have been made at the forwarding stations and expressed regret that "prompt

supplying less and charging for more. But apparently, the collieries do not take the entire credit for this remarkable feat since the railway officials at the forwarding stations are supposed to do spot checking. The price of coal was to be paid on the basis of notes recorded by the railway officials at the forwarding stations.

action was not taken in this regard, and meanwhile the collieries continued to make short supplies."

Another amusing story is about haulage of sleepers which, incidentally, reveals the amazing "coordination of work" the railway administration is capable of. To quote from the PAC report:

ON PAGE 16

From Page 7

## Ajoy Ghosh's Warning

### Three Years After Moscow Conference

imperialism. It has thus a profoundly anti-imperialist content.

"It helps the progressive forces in the economic and political life of the countries concerned, thus creating new opportunities for the advance of democracy. Such economic aid cements the bond of friendship between the newly independent countries and the socialist world and stimulates cooperation in the struggle for world peace. This has been our experience in India.

"We have already said that China, together with India, put forward the historic Panch Sheel. The Bandung conference was such a resounding success primarily because the two great countries of Asia acted unitedly there. We must also mention the fact that for no country in the world have there been in India such warm sentiments of friendship as for the People's Republic of China.

"We have always held and still hold the Communist Party of China and its leaders in great respect for their titanic achievements, for their contribution in the sphere of theory and practice, which have meant so much to the people of the whole world, especially the peoples of Asia and Africa, for the valuable advice and assistance they have given to our Party on many occasions.

"IT IS ALL THE MORE PAINFUL FOR US THEREFORE TO POINT OUT TO THE CHINESE COMRADES THAT SOME OF THE POSITIONS TAKEN BY THEM TODAY ARE NOT IN CONFORMITY WITH WHAT THEY THEMSELVES PRACTISED IN THE PAST...."

"The policy of peaceful coexistence demands a sustained and continuous struggle to isolate the most bellicose elements among the imperialists and to win over all possible allies. In particular it demands that the socialist states must make constant efforts to draw the newly-independent and nonaligned countries closer to the socialist camp, forge bonds of friendship with them, in the common task of opposition to colonialism and defence of peace. Imperialists are striving to disrupt the peace zone. The socialist states must do everything in their power to prevent this.

"In our opinion, in recent periods, the Communist Party of China has underestimated the importance of this task, and in relation to India, they have not acted in a way so as to strengthen the peace zone. On the contrary, their attitude has weakened the peace zone. Moreover, in relation to our Party, the attitude of the Communist Party of China for some time has not been one in keeping with the principles that should guide fraternal relations between parties."

some prior consultation would be held with us and our views ascertained. All the more we had a right to expect this in view of the series of letters that we had written."

In conclusion Comrade Ajoy Ghosh had said:

"Comrades! We have dealt with this dispute at great length because we feel that the facts must be known to you all and also because we want to impress on the Chinese comrades the imperative necessity of their making great efforts, including major concessions, to resolve the dispute. That will heighten their prestige, repair the damage and help the cause of Indian democracy."

This, however, was not to be. On the contrary the Chinese leadership even after signing the Moscow Statement went on sinking deeper and deeper in the mire of narrow nationalism, covering it up with all sorts of petty-bourgeois revolutionary posturings.

In their reply to Pravda editorial of September 19, 1963 on the Sino-Indian border dispute and China's responsibility for the persistence of it, the Chinese leaders again state through a People's Daily editorial (November 2, 1963):

"One of the important differences of principle between the Soviet leaders and ourselves turns on the Sino-Indian boundary question." (Emphasis mine).

"The Chinese leadership continue thus to glorify the border issue into one of "principle." In so doing they compare their border with India with the Oder-Neisse line and the Soviet territory facing Alaska of the US! Again they reveal that they insist on equating India with militarist and imperialist strongholds like West Germany and United States! Indeed, prejudice can make people so utterly blind.

Three years after it was signed the Moscow Statement remains the Magna Carta of progressive humanity. No distortion, no subversion and no flat contradiction can take away from the greatness of the contribution the Statement has made to Marxist-Leninist thought providing a guide to action to all Communist Parties. The Communist Party of India is striving to the best of its ability to safeguard and advance this great treasure.

# WHY DOES THE CHINESE LEADERSHIP INSIST ON

It has been pointed out before that the roots of Chinese dogmatism lie not so much in any sudden ideological deviation but in material and economic factors which have made the Chinese leaders reputations "in effect constitutes negation of the dictatorship of the proletariat."

The CPSU, the People's Daily and the Red Flag inform us, "is replacing Marxism-Leninism with humanism." Nothing perhaps reveals the distorted views of Peking more than this one sentence! The New Times article comments:

"What a monstrous conception of the dictatorship of the proletariat one must have to confuse the suppression of enemy classes, which is one

Stalin cult period are well known but even dares to suggest that criticism of Stalin's mistakes and policy distortions "in effect constitutes negation of the dictatorship of the proletariat."

But the New Times article further suggests that:

"It looks as if the Chinese leaders also have internal reasons for taking up the cudgels for the personality cult, which the Soviet people, the Soviet Communist Party, and the entire Communist movement have condemned. The fact is that Peking ideology and practice now bear

personality cult what it meant to have their fathers, mothers and brothers accepted as honest people, and to know that they themselves are not outcasts of our society, but worthy and full-fledged sons and daughters of the Soviet fatherland."

But the New Times article further suggests that:

"It looks as if the Chinese leaders also have internal reasons for taking up the cudgels for the personality cult, which the Soviet people, the Soviet Communist Party, and the entire Communist movement have condemned. The fact is that Peking ideology and practice now bear

dilection for a big government machine, especially where enforcement agencies are concerned.

"Then again, there are the Chinese efforts to build up for one man in Peking an aureole of "infallible wisdom" and "omnipotence"—an aureole that would better suit some emperor of the old China than a builder of the new.

"Add to this the no less well known abuses of power in relation to China's ordinary people (as for instance the mass public "repentance" or "physical re-education" campaigns), and one begins to understand why the Peking dogmatists have a soft spot for the Stalin personality cult. In protecting it from criticism and white washing and glorifying it, they are protecting and glorifying their own practices of today."

After this one has no difficulty in following why, though

## Reviving the Personality Cult?

The Chinese leaders have assumed the role of the defenders of the personality cult, acting as salesmen of Stalin's pernicious ideas.

Just recently the People's Daily and the Red Flag magazine jointly produced two long articles singing Stalin's praises and attacking the steps taken in the Soviet Union to eliminate the consequences of the personality cult.

The writers of these articles do not bother to quote the documents in which the Soviet Party's position on the personality cult is clearly set out. Nor do they care to remember that the Chinese leaders put their signatures to documents of the world Communist movement which endorsed the decisions of the 20th Congress.

## Rumour-Mongering

They prefer to disparage the Soviet Party with quotations from anti-Soviet rumours and "interpretations." The Soviet Party's aims in taking the steps towards eliminating the consequences of the personality cult were very well stated in the Central Committee's open letter:

"Everyone knows that our Party did this in order to remove the heavy burden that fettered the powerful forces of the people and thereby accelerate the development of Soviet society. Our Party did this in order to keep pure the ideals of socialism bequeathed to us by the great Lenin and purge them of the stigma of arbitrariness. It did this in order to prevent a recurrence of the tragic events that were a concomitant of the personality cult, to help all fighters for socialism draw lessons from our experience."

Replying to the two Chinese articles the Soviet weekly, New Times recently published an article signed "Observer."

After mentioning the tremendous successes scored in economic, cultural and scientific progress, in improving the people's living standards, in strengthening defence and in the field of foreign affairs,

the article says that there has been another change too, one perhaps not perceptible with the eye or expressible in figures but immensely important to the Party and people nonetheless:

"Gone for all time is the atmosphere of fear, suspicion, insecurity that poisoned people's lives during the personality cult. People have straightened their moral backs, as it were, there has been a growth of self-respect and of mutual trust. Not to understand how much this means for the advance to socialism and communism is to be a stranger to the very spirit of Marxism-Leninism."

The Chinese propagandists of course are not interested in any of this and in their effort to whitewash the personality cult they say that to criticise Stalin, to show up his abuses and mistakes is to discom-mand all Soviet people, to impugn their successes and achievements. If Stalin was so bad, they demand, how did the Soviet people manage to build socialism, defeat fascism in the war etc., etc.?

But to equate Stalin with the Party, the State, the people, to attribute all their victories and achievements to him, is precisely to express the personality cult ideology, something that is not only completely alien to Marxism-Leninism but has its roots in the philosophy of feudal society with its tendency towards absolutism or its reflection in bourgeois individualism with its theories of the "hero" and the "mob."

The way the Chinese articles present Soviet history, there was nobody in it but Stalin; he alone planned, built and did everything and there was no such thing as the initiative of the millions of Party members, the courage and creativity of the builders of Communist society, the selfless heroism of the Soviet fighting men and the Soviet Army's gifted generals.

## Abuse of Power

The Chinese leaders have no word of condemnation for Stalin's far-reaching abuses of power and outright crimes, his wholesale persecution of innocent people, violations of socialist law, and repressions against honest Communists, often close associates in the revolutionary struggle.

For Peking all this is apparently a trifle, just a few cases of "overzeal in combative counter-revolution." Not that Peking says this today when the facts of the

of the functions of that dictatorship, with a policy of lawlessness and abuses of which class brothers and fellow fighters become the victims. And then, the idea of counterposing humanism to Marxism-Leninism!

"Does not real, genuine humanism constitute the very essence of the great Marxist-Leninist teaching, which was born of the people's age-old longing for a better life, for social justice, for an existence worthy of human beings? Only minds deeply poisoned by the personality cult with its dogmatism and its indifference to the fate of the individual could have formed the conception of the dictatorship of the proletariat as a machine of compulsion and suppression alone."

But the immense benefits that the fight against the consequences of the personality cult has brought about are too obvious for anyone to be misled by the Peking splitters' demagogy. In the words of the Soviet Central Committee's Open Letter:

## Beneficial Outcome

But the immense benefits that the fight against the consequences of the personality cult has brought about are too obvious for anyone to be misled by the Peking splitters' demagogy. In the words of the Soviet Central Committee's Open Letter:

"Ask the worker (and there are millions of them!) who has moved into a new apartment, ask the pensioner who is well provided for in his old age, the collective farmer who is now well-to-do, ask the thousands upon thousands of people who suffered unjust repressions in the period of the personality cult and to whom freedom and their good name have been restored, and you will know what practical meaning the victory of the Leninist course of the 20th CPSU Congress has had for the Soviet people."

"Ask those whose fathers and mothers were victims of repression in the period of the

by BAREN ROY

criticize public life, and treats as suspects the very words "socialist democracy," conspire by their absence in all recent Chinese documents. Nor have they failed to ob-

using spearhead against spearhead" and has now rolled Stalin himself with all his mistakes and crimes as an ally against the Leninist policies of the Soviet Union.

## Rumanian Party's Call

In an article appearing in the November 1963 issue of Problems of Peace and Socialism the Rumanian Premier and Party Polit Bureau member Ion Gheorghe Maurer declares:

"The general line of the world Communist movement was elaborated by the meetings of 1957 and 1960 and is set forth in documents bearing the signatures of all the Communist Parties. It is only on the inviolable foundation of the Declaration of 1957 and the Statement of 1960 that the unity of the Communist movement can be ensured."

He states further that, "To remain true to the 1960 Statement means firmly adhering to all its theses and conclusions and, what is most important, to ap-

ply them in practice, to incorporate them in Party and State policy."

Voicing grave concern over the continuing polemics, he says:

"We particularly appreciate the view expressed in the statement of Soviet Government of last September 21 that 'the question of stopping public polemics between the government of the CPR and the USSR, between the CPC and the CPSU, is still on the order of the day'."

He suggests that "public debate be discontinued and talks resumed between the CPSU and the CPC, and that all Communist parties consider the necessity to start preparations for a world conference next year."



# CRUCIAL CONGRESS OF GDR'S TRADE UNION

★ From P. K. KUNHANANDAN

BERLIN: The Sixth Congress of Free German Trade Union Federation of the German Democratic Republic which opened in Berlin on November 19 concluded on November 23 after adopting the new tasks of trade unions in the all round construction of socialism in GDR, the statutes of FDGB and several declarations and resolutions which express international solidarity and class brotherhood of German working class towards workers of all lands fighting for freedom and socialism. The Congress elected the leading bodies of the Federation.

IN the spacious Dinamo Sports Hall, brilliantly lit and neatly decorated, 1,585 delegates elected by 6.4 million trade union members from industry, agriculture, scientific and cultural institutions and state and administrative bodies of GDR met. In GDR where the working class is in power, these delegates are representatives of men and women who own the means of production and run industry, agriculture and the state machine of socialist Germany.

There is a great difference between trade unions and the subjects they discuss in Congresses in a socialist country and a capitalist country. Thunderous applause greeted delegates of fraternal and brother trade union organisations of 56 countries, who are guests at this Congress. Present at the Congress are 20 trade union delegations from Europe, 18 from Africa and 11 from Asia and six from Latin America. Prominent among leaders of fraternal delegations who sat on the presidium were the secretary general of WFTU, LOUIS SAILLANT and leader of Soviet delegation VICTOR GRISHIN who is chairman of Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions.

WALTER ULBRICHT, a former carpenter, now chairman of GDR State Council, one of the founders of working class party in Germany was seated on the rostrum when Congress opened.

Discussion in Congress was based on a report submitted by chairman of FDGB, HERBERT WARNEKE. The key point in this report which was circulated and discussed by all working people, is the inseparable unity of the increase of productivity in building of socialism by accelerating technical scientific progress and the steady improvement of working and living conditions of the working people.

The report appealed to West German working class and foreign trade unions to struggle jointly with GDR working class against revanchism, policy of atomic armament of West Germany and to prevent another war.

## Frank Discussion

A message of greetings from the Central Committee of Socialist Unity Party of Germany told GDR trade unions: "You are facing the supreme task of unfolding the creative abilities of working people for the true economic miracle in GDR and for the benefit of society and every individual."

Free, fearless and frank discussions in the Congress participated in by men and women from factories, fields and offices direct, demonstrated widely the new democratic spirit growing in socialist Germany. There were prolonged cheers when bureaucrats were criticised in very sharp language by ordinary workers. Walter Ulbricht listening attentively took copies of criticism, suggestions and experiences of team and brigade leaders coming right from the field of socialist construction, fearlessly made from the rostrum of the Congress.

Later, Ulbricht in a very interesting speech acknowledged several criticisms and suggestions made

ration that Japanese working class and Sohyo support Moscow test ban treaty and hoped it would lead to complete disarmament. Except the Chinese delegate all foreign trade union delegations in this Congress spoke in support of Moscow test ban treaty.

Congress addressed a letter to delegates of extraordinary Congress of West German Trade Union Federation (DGB) currently in session at Dusseldorf, pleading normal and friendly relations between trade unions in both German states. The letter requested delegates of DGB to take initiative on questions of disarmament, to stand up for renunciation of atomic weapons and limitation of Bonn military spending.

## IN WEST GERMANY

The DGB extraordinary Congress is held with a single agenda of adopting a new basic programme for trade unions. DGB chairman, LUDWIG ROSENBERG said: "Our basic programme represented a compromise." He attacked GDR and particularly FDGB's proposals for an understanding with West German trade unions and said: "We have nothing in common with these people."

However, the extreme right wing in DGB represented by the

chairman of building workers trade union GEORGE LEBER suffered a defeat. Against his group's resistance the Dusseldorf congress adopted an amendment which reads "capitalist order of economy denies to workers social equality."

Chairman of metal workers trade union OTTO BRENNER said that in spite of all successes gained by trade union struggles, there existed antagonism between capitalism and labour in West Germany today just as before. Amendments criticising West German emergency laws denying civil liberties, demanding ban on nuclear weapons were also passed with a majority.

Nevertheless basic policy of West German trade unions adopted in this Congress is clear class compromise. The basic difference between trade unions in West Germany and in GDR is: in GDR the working class is in power, has abolished capitalism for ever and owns all means of production, in West Germany workers are wage labourers cruelly exploited by giant monopolists and capitalist order protected by the state power of bourgeoisie.

In Berlin FDGB Congress the working class representatives are discussing a programme how

faster and better the all round construction of socialism can be completed for benefit of all German people. In Dusseldorf in DGB Congress the discussion is how to bargain for higher wage without hurting capitalist order, without bringing about basic changes in the ownership of means of production.

Reactionary rightwing trade union leaders in Dusseldorf debate on TU programme advocated the theory that class division as working class and capitalist in present West Germany is non-existent, class struggle between oppressed and oppressor is only an old dogma and trade union struggles are only collective bargaining for greater share in social wealth.

This departure from a class position, advocated by right wing leaders, is detrimental to working class interests in West Germany where the monopoly power is unchanged today. It is this attitude of social democracy and christian democracy that prevents social progress in West Germany.

Representatives of press organs of GDR posted in West Germany, have been denied permission to cover this conference in Dusseldorf. In Berlin Congress all West German pressmen were admitted including several West Berlin and West German correspondents.

# SPOTLIGHT ON RAILWAYS

From Page 14

cast iron sleepers to the railroads were placed by the Railway Board on a firm in Bhadravati (Mysore state) and some firms in Calcutta. The instructions issued by the railway administration for the despatch of 15,400 tons of sleepers during the year 1961 indicated that sleepers from Bhadravati instead of being sent to nearby stations in Mysore division were actually despatched to more distant destinations, which could have been better served from Calcutta sources.

Similarly, sleepers from Calcutta were sent to stations in Mysore division instead of to destinations near to Calcutta. The unnecessary longer haulage entailed an avoidable extra expenditure of Rs. 2.35 lakhs towards freight charges.

On the Northern railway, the PAC has cited a case of encroachment on railway land by a New Delhi firm which has gone on for more than 20 years now. In a forthright indictment, the committee observed:

"The firm made a series of encroachments on the railway land and violated agreements, but the railway administration prevented quite ineffective in preventing these encroachments and violating agreements from time to time. There were reluctance and inordinate delays in applying whatever remedies legal or administrative were available to them."

"Whether it was mere incompetence or worse requires to be fully enquired into and responsibility fixed."

Mere incompetence or "worse"? Land prices in Delhi, as is common knowledge, have risen by leaps and bounds but in fixing rent (which in any case the firm never bothered to pay for years together) the railways calculated on a nominal "lease-hold value". The PAC itself noted that the current market value of land in the

locality would be very much higher than Rs. 186 per square yard, estimated by the railway authorities. There is obviously something fishy behind this "incompetence".

In the North Eastern Railway, the PAC noted an instance where "16 bills amounting to Rs. 1.69 lakhs were paid to a firm in respect of supplies which were neither ordered nor received by the railway." The payments were spread over a period of ten years from November 1951 but the fraud was detected only in December 1961. According to the audit department "the perpetration of the fraud had been facilitated by the fact that purchase accounts were not being reconciled properly with the general books and consequently the proving of balances against individual items in the purchase accounts was in arrears."

And now to come back to the contractors' loot of the railways, we can notice that the bogus claims made by the contractors are eventually referred to arbitration. The arbitrators are invariably retired railway officials.

The PAC's remark on this is revealing. In 1961-62, the PAC had stated that "considering the widespread nature or irregularities and the extent of losses suffered by the railway undertaking, it is in the interest of the government as a whole to arrange for the services of competent non-railway engineers to serve on the Railways Vigilance Organisation."

In its last report, the committee noted with concern that "as much as 43 per cent of the amounts claimed by the contractors were allowed by the arbitrators, in spite of the fact that the arbitrators appointed were either retired railway officers or senior officers serving Railway Administrations."

The PAC felt that this may be either because the contrac-

tors were not examined properly at the initial stages or the railways' case was not put forward properly before the arbitrator.

The PAC also criticised the intractable expenditure on an additional loop at Gandhigram. This station was to be abandoned since the state government had suggested a different alignment and diversion of the railway line in March 1959. But the railway authorities went ahead finalising the contract for earthwork in August 1959. Final orders for cancelling the estimate for the work were

however issued only in December 1960 by the railway administration and the contractor had to be paid Rs. 27,211 for the earthwork which was not required at all.

These are just part of the story. Many volumes will have to be written if a thorough probe is organised into the working of the railway administration. But this serves as an indication to all our people to be vigilant about the functioning of the railways, to expose the racketeering and by public pressure, establish an efficient railway system in our country.

# SUPPORT CHATTERJI

The central secretariat of the Communist Party of India has issued the following statement:

THE Communist Party of India has decided to support the eminent jurist Shri N. C. Chatterji, President, All India Civil Liberties Union, in the Burdwan Parliamentary byelection.

We welcome Shri Chatterjee's election manifesto where he has pledged to defend the rights and interests of the common people against the onslaughts of the reactionary vested interests and support the national policy of non-alignment, peace and anti-imperialism. He has reaffirmed his pledge to fight for the defence of civil liberties and democratic rights of the people which today are particularly attacked in West Bengal.

We are confident that a public figure of his ex-

perience and eminence devoting his great talents to advancing the cause of Indian people will be an undoubted asset inside the Lok Sabha as an independent.

The patriotic people of Bengal are justly proud of their Left radical tradition in Indian national life. We appeal to the voters of Burdwan to wipe out the disgrace of the Rightist victories in Amroha and Rajkot and ensure Shri N. C. Chatterji's victory and demonstrate anew that the good people of India, discontented with the Congress regime, really want the country to go Left, an end to the appeasement of vested interests and bold adoption of progressive policies that will guarantee a better and happier life for our long-suffering people.

# PEOPLE MUST SAVE PLAN

\* FROM PAGE THREE

ploughing back the profits made in India itself. A glance at the operation of a few typical British companies in India is very telling.

Hindustan Lever began with a subscribed capital of Rs. 55,720,000 and accumulated reserves of Rs. 38,716,743 i.e. more than half the subscribed capital and earned a net profit after provision for tax in 1959 24 per cent, in 1960 26 per cent, in 1961 26 per cent.

Dunlop Rubber began with a capital of Rs. 52,000,000 accumulated a reserve of Rs. 19,69,516 and its profits after taxes were in 1959 21.5 per cent, 1960 21.5 per cent, 1961 20 per cent.

The Metal Box, with a subscribed capital of Rs. 1,90,000, accumulated a reserve of Rs. 19,69,516 and earned net profits after taxes in 1959 17.5 per cent, 25 per cent in 1960, 25 per cent in 1961 and again 25 per cent in 1962. Profits above 12 per cent are regarded even by bourgeois economists as the product of colonial loot and this is permitted inside independent India.

As yet, it is only the advanced section of the Congress who realise that economic penetration of foreign private monopoly inside a country becomes the basis of neo-colonialism. Indian patriotic opinion has yet to realise that this is one of the main dangers facing Indian future.

If any strata of Indian Society has gained the most out of the Plans it is the Indian monopolists. They have economically become strong enough to secure a stranglehold over Indian economy as a whole and have begun to hold it to ransom. They have also politically become influential enough to get the central ministers changed and influence official policies—not in the economic spheres alone. It is their insatiable greed and reactionary political pressure that is primarily responsible for the present crisis of the Third Plan.

They know that the fast growing popular discontent against their lustful greed and evil deeds is getting reflected even inside the ruling party. They have, therefore, become visibly very active.

The House of Birla is economically the biggest monopoly house in India, and politically the most influential. "Philanthropic" and "patriotic" G. D. Birla assumed the role of adviser to the Prime Minister and in a letter pressed policies that will openly lead to the intensified penetration of foreign monopoly capital and ever-expanding partnerships with their Indian doubles.

What the discreetly polite G. D. Birla wrote to the Prime Minister was bluntly spelled out by K. K. Birla, addressing the Indian Chamber of Commerce as its President (Economic Times Nov. 23, 1963):

★ He pleaded, "removal of rigidity in economic planning is of fundamental importance to the country at the present moment."

★ He pointed out that, "if on ideological grounds Indian enterprises are not allowed to grow, the country's economic future would receive a setback."

★ He also pointed out that "fiscal policy which led to disinvestment among the people is not conducive to higher economic activity and the erosion of capital reduced capital formation and discouraged both foreign and indigenous investments."

★ He loudly proclaimed that "the frequent allegations made regarding concentration of economic power are out of date." His argument was that "Indian companies are mere toys in comparison with big enterprises abroad."

★ He was "glad that the government has shown some awareness" to their criticism and

demands, from the pro-monopoly postures of Morarji's successor TTK and the solid concessions he has promised and begun implementing.

So far the monopolists confused public opinion through their control over the press and influenced the government through their well-greased and organised lobby and the ruling party played a passive role. A good sign after Jaipur AICC is that the Left inside the Congress is not only vocal but actively campaigning among masses against the evils let loose by monopoly formations in Indian life.

The Communist Party, ever since the achievement of independence, has been pin-pointing the rise of monopoly as the source of all evil in our national life and that together with the feudal remnants they were not only holding up all advance, pushing in a direction that even our independence and sovereignty, step by step, disappear.

Faced with the current economic crisis our Party has been campaigning that the policy of selective but

step by step advancing nationalisation is the only way to rescue the economy from the grip of monopoly and for laying the foundation for a prosperous socialist future.

For the last few months our Party has been campaigning on the slogans of nationalisation of banks, foreign trade and oil and of a few consumer industries like sugar, tea etc.

We naturally welcome the progressive developments and the new line of thought inside the Congress and we extend our hand of cooperation and appeal to progressive Congressmen to get together to evolve a common platform that would ensure our immediate common national aims by working out concrete measures:

- ★ Against further foreign private capital penetration and for nationalisation of existing foreign concerns;
- ★ Against the sabotage of agrarian reforms and to ensure land to the tiller; and
- ★ Against the growing power of Indian monopoly, through a series of nationalisation measures.

Conscientious patriotic elements from their own experience are coming to the conclusion that side by side a national democratic fight together is the need of the hour among all those who realise that existing mixed economy is making the domination of monopoly inevitable and who are fixed with the desire make a decisive break towards the historic aim of socialism.

The good people of India are already moving against the evil doers. The very spontaneity and the non-partisan character of the present upsurge soon wins the active cooperation of all progressive patriotic elements. It is not only heart-warming but should teach a lot to the partisan leaders who stand divided when they should unite.

Spontaneous citizens' movement in Calcutta against the rice hoarders compelling them to sell rice at the normal rate is one such indicator. Again, the press reports that the angry citizens of Bombay with buckets in hand marched to the Corporation against water scarcity in what is supposed to be our most modern and well-run industrial metropolis.

Trade Unions throughout the

country are campaigning for increase in dearness allowance to neutralise the rise in the cost of living and telling the powers that be beforehand that if this just demand is not heeded to, just like "Bombay Bunde" every industrial city will go BUNDH one morning.

The ways out of the crisis of the Plan and for the march towards socialism in India are integrally inter-related and not in words alone. The crisis of the Plan can only be overcome by boldly adopting all concrete measures that are necessary to break the power of monopoly and shut India's doors to the foreign monopolists and instead of concessions to the vested interests even though belatedly, rapidly implement the policy of such all-embracing concessions to the working people as would stir their labour enthusiasm for the economic upliftment of the nation.

The job cannot be done by administrative measures at all. It calls for a massive political-popular operation based on a get-together among all who have fought for Indian freedom and are fighting for a socialist future, all who love our country and our people and seek a progressive future, despite ideological and Party differences.

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# FESTIVAL OF INDO-SOVIET AMITY

\* From Page Nine

cited the example of the Soviet aid in setting up basic industries in India to show that Soviet Union's friendship and aid were the greatest assets of India today.

VIVEKANANDA MUKHERJEE explained the significance of world peace and peaceful coexistence. He said Premier KHRUSHCHOV's sincere efforts for peace had overwhelmed the people of the whole world, who would always remember with gratitude his contribution to the cause of world peace. He said Prime Minister NEHRU stood by the side of KHRUSHCHOV in the struggle for maintaining world peace and the friendship of India and Soviet Union had ushered in a new age in the world.

Soviet Ambassador I. A. BENEDICTOV gave an account of the tremendous change brought about by the October Revolution and the present economic and cultural upsurge in the Soviet Union. He also gave a vivid description of the growing economic and cultural ties between India and the Soviet Union and said there was not a single citizen in the Soviet Union who did not follow with joy the advance of India.

Benedictov also described with great feeling the spontaneous and warm reception given by millions of

Indian people while he was touring different parts of the country along with the Soviet cosmonauts. He emphasised that Indo-Soviet friendship today was expressed not in words but in deeds.

Soviet consuls N. I. VOINOV and I. T. BOYCHAROV also spoke on the occasion. The concluding day of the

week became a heartwarming and lively experience with the participation of the Soviet cosmonauts. A song by V. BULSARA and party on Tereshkova and another by Valentina herself—the song of the world congress of women—made firm the emotional bonds between the two great peoples of the Soviet Union and India.

## PARTY LEADERS ADDRESS RALLY

THE 46th anniversary of the great October Revolution was observed on a grand scale in West Bengal.

It had a fitting culmination at the 50 thousand strong rally at the Calcutta Maidan organised by the West Bengal Provincial Organising Committee of the Communist Party.

The meeting was addressed by Z. A. AHMAD and M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR, members of the central secretariat of the Party. Veteran Communist leader ABDUR RAZZAK KHAN presided over the meeting, which was also addressed by BHOWANI SEN, secretary of the POC and BISWANATH MUKHERJEE, a member of the POC.

From November 7 a large number of meetings and rallies were held in Calcutta and mofussil districts where the significance of the October Revolution in the context of the present day world situation was explained by party leaders.

Thousands of workers and peasants from districts came to Calcutta to attend the central and concluding rally. Big processions came from Bata-nagar and Barrackpore belts; while smaller ones came from Howrah and different parts of Calcutta. The Calcutta district unit of the Party arranged for the food and lodging of all those who came from outside.

The meeting began by expressing its deep sorrow and grief over the accidental death of five leading generals and officers of the Indian defence forces.

Resolutions were passed on food, release of detenus and on the high prices of daily necessities. The meeting demanded fixation of prices of all commodities of daily use including food by the government which should be within the reach of the common people, and its observance enforced. State trading in wholesale food was also demanded.

The speakers said that the October Revolution opened the gates for people's emancipation from exploitation, hunger and disease. Socialism, the product of the October Revolution, has become the decisive force in the world

today, and everybody today swear by socialism, they pointed out.

The "democratic socialism" of the Congress was not socialism, but it has in its elements of progressive democracy, which was not unwelcome but must not be confused with scientific socialism which is put into practice in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the speakers pointed out. Scientific socialism is based on the abolition of exploitation of man by man, by social ownership of the means of production and leadership of the working class in the affairs of the state.

The speakers called upon the people to fight the anti-people policies of the government and the Right reaction inside the country. They emphasised that the Communist Party is the most consistent patriotic party which played a significant role in mobilis-

ing world public opinion against Chinese aggression.

Stressing Soviet Union's friendship for India and contrasting it with the attitude of imperialist countries towards India's economic development, the speakers said the Communist Party fought for the people's welfare, against exploitation by the monopolists and jotedars and zamindars, as also for the preservation and strengthening of the nonalignment policy of India.

The speakers called upon the people to join the Communist Party in large numbers to strengthen this fight. They called upon all other progressive parties to come together with the Party in this struggle so that by changing the policies of the government in a progressive direction, the basis could be laid for a successful fight for socialism.

## ONE-DAY STRIKE AT KESORAM MILLS

CALCUTTA: More than ten thousand workers of the biggest cotton mills in West Bengal, the Birla-owned KESORAM COTTON MILLS at Matiabuzur in Calcutta, observed a one-day token strike on Friday, November 15 to protest against the unfair labour practices of the management.

THE INTUC union here, which has practically no following in the mills, has been helping the management in its anti-labour activities. The INTUC union is the recognised union. Even though the government membership verification itself has shown the Garden Reach Textile Workers Union, affiliated to the AITUC, commanded absolute majority among the workers in the mill, recognition has been denied to it.

The police also did not lag behind. The SDO, acting on a report of the local police, imposed a ban on the Garden Reach Textile Workers Union under section 144 of the Cr. P. C., restraining it from holding any meetings. But that also did not deter the workers.

The discontentment of the workers has been brewing for some time past as a result of the various "agreements" imposed on them by the company in connivance with the INTUC union. The INTUC union even brought about an "agreement" on bonus this year in the same manner.

Matters came to a head when the management tried to introduce "closed shop" practice in the mills with the help of its favoured union. The management demanded that the seal of the INTUC union was required on even ordinary leave applications of the workers.

The INTUC union took the opportunity for what it offered. It started extorting money from the workers even for affixing the union's seal on workers' leave applications.

Despite all these attempts to crush the AITUC union by means of spurious recognition, closed shop practice and intimidation and threat, the overwhelming majority of the workers have remained loyal to the Garden Reach Textile Workers' Union. This was established beyond doubt when they made liberal contributions to the union's fund recently.

The workers, as a mark of protest against the intolerable situation created by the absolutely unfair labour practices of the management, de-

cidied to go on a one-day token strike.

Attempts were made to intimidate and threaten the workers in their quarters. The paid goondas and Birla stooges in the INTUC union were let loose. But the workers gallantly defied all these and the work in the mills came to a standstill on November 15.

The police also did not lag behind. The SDO, acting on a report of the local police, imposed a ban on the Garden Reach Textile Workers Union under section 144 of the Cr. P. C., restraining it from holding any meetings. But that also did not deter the workers.

A noteworthy feature of this mass action of the workers in support of their rights was the support extended to it by another Congress-led union in the mills. This union, led by Congress MLA KRISHNA KUMAR SHUKLA, came out in support of the strike action of the workers. The Congress union, because it was not restrained by the SDO's ban, could hold public meetings and it did so, to support the strike.

This support from the Congress union has created new enthusiasm among the workers who are Congress-followers to resist the tyranny of the Birlas and their prop—the INTUC union. And the AITUC union is determined to fight for the workers' rights too.

### Correction

In the dispatch on Nowgong by-election in our last issue on page eight last column end of the third para from below should read "electorate in the constituency is not a politically unconscious one."

# EXTENDING LIFE OF P. D. ACT

IN PARLIAMENT

\* From Our Parliamentary Correspondent

A Bill introduced by the government in the Lok Sabha last week says:

Be it enacted by Parliament in the Fourteenth Year of the Republic of India as follows:— This Act may be called the Preventive Detention (Continuance) Act, 1963.

THE mention about the Fourteenth Year of the Republic—a normal thing for every legislation—deserved particular attention in this case because here was a measure, an undemocratic and oppressive measure, which had been in existence for thirteen years, almost as long as the Republic, and for which the government was now seeking extension by Parliament's approval. The government was asking Parliament to extend the life of the Preventive Detention Act, 1950—due to expire on December 31, 1963—till December 31, 1966.

### Nanda Has Little to Say

It was natural that the Opposition would oppose it, and vigorously too. The entire Opposition joined hands in opposing the very introduction of the Bill which is not a normal practice, because it is the convention that Bills are not opposed at the introduction stage. But as some members pointed out, this was not an ordinary legislation and they therefore seemed to think that ordinary practice would not do in this case.

Union Home Minister Nanda had very little to say in explanation of the need for extending the Preventive Detention Act when he sought leave of the House to introduce his Bill. In fact he was too brief in his opening statement and

to the House, Tridib Kumar Choudhury raised another point of order. He argued that the Bill has not been recommended by the President under article 117 (1) of the Constitution though the President had recommended the consideration of the Bill by the House, under article 117 (3). His point was that since the Bill involved expenditure from the Consolidated Fund of India, the President's recommendation under article 117 (1) was necessary.

When the Speaker asked the Minister whether he had anything to say in the matter, Nanda replied that there was no new expenditure involved. While Homi Daji objected to the Minister's "cavalier way of replying", Mahavir Tyagi from the Congress benches rose to ask how the Minister distinguished old expenditure from new expenditure. In the budget, he pointed out, certain items are not new and therefore does it mean that the Parliament's sanction was not needed for those items?

It was the Speaker who cleared the doubt and thus saved the government from its predicament. He pointed out that the distinction between 117 (1) and 117 (3) was that a legislation which made a specific provision for withdrawing money from the Consolidated Fund of India would come under article 117 (1), whereas a legislation whose effect was the expenditure of some money from the Consolidated Fund would come under article 117 (3) only. As the Speaker dismissed the point of order, H. V. Kamath remarked: "The Minister did not know it and you have had to rescue him".

The Opposition thereafter forced a division when motion for leave of the House

to introduce the Bill was put to vote. There was much hilarity and some taunting remarks from the Opposition benches when the recording machine showed an extra hundred votes against the motion. After the error was rectified and allowance made for votes not recorded by the device, the Speaker announced the re-

sult of the division as 309 for and 69 against. Amidst cries of 'shame', 'shame' from the Opposition benches, the motion for introduction of the Bill was declared carried.

In the lobbies, Opposition members indicated that an equally stiff resistance would be put against the Bill when it comes up for discussion.

## END PRIVY PURSES

Discussion on a private member's resolution for the abolition of the rule of primogeniture (the right of the eldest son to succeed to the real estate of father) was the occasion for a strong plea from Congress and Communist members in the Rajya Sabha on Friday last for the abolition of the system of privy purses to the ex-rulers of former princely states.

THOUGH the resolution was withdrawn after the Deputy Law Minister BIBHUDENDRA MISRA had asked for its withdrawal saying that there were technical difficulties for government to introduce a law to abolish the rule of primogeniture, the discussion focussed attention on the large volume of opinion in the House in favour of ending privy purses.

The subject would be coming up again in the House as BHUPESH GUPTA'S bill for the abolition of privy purses is to be discussed. Bhupesh lent strong support to ABID ALI'S resolution for ending the rule of primogeniture and also urged that the privy purses be abolished.

The mover of the resolution himself said that privy purses should be abolished. "But knowing as we all do, the government is not in a mood at present to do away with the system," he said. His proposition, therefore, was that the government should at least end the rule of primogeniture so that the privileged class which has been created as result of these privy purses is reduced and their resources distributed to the heirs of the various ex-rulers according to the personal law.

On the question of privy purses itself, the member said: "A sum of Rs. 5,55,00,000 is distributed to these rulers. There are only four people—one gets a maximum of Rs. 50 lakhs, the next gets Rs. 26 lakhs, the third one also gets Rs. 26 lakhs and the fourth one is getting Rs. 25 lakhs, whereas for the rest there are groupings. Nine of them get between Rs. 10 and 20 lakhs, eight get between five and ten lakhs, one gets between four and five lakhs, eleven get between three and four lakhs, and the rest are there."

My request to the government is—although not mentioned in the resolution—to have courage to realise the need of the present time, to appreciate the demand of public opinion and abolish the privy purses."

Lending full support to the resolution Bhupesh Gupta disputed government's contention that the privy purses have to continue because of assurances given to the princes. He recalled the Prime Minister's speech at Jaipur that he was opposed to the privy purse, but there was the commitment made to the princes.

"He is in a dilemma in this matter. On the one hand he would like the privy purses to go altogether and on the other hand he does not know what to do with the word that has been given to the princes, shall we say, in 1947, 1948 or may be a year later. May I ask the Prime Minister—I wish he was here—how many assurances given to the people he had violated?"

"Is it his case that no assurance given to the people solemnly, publicly, from the rostrum of the Congress Party and from the

floor of the Constituent Assembly and this House and the other House, has been violated or given up ultimately?"

If he could show that the government is sticking to the assurances, right or wrong, I would have understood the position the Prime Minister had taken, but the record is rather one of violation of many solemn assurances."

"Then why not violate this particular assurance when they are so convinced that privy purse is something which is very bad?"

Bhupesh Gupta pointed out that maintaining the system of privy purses was inconsistent with all the talk about progress and more production and scientific and technological achievements. He said that the privy purse was an "unwholesome, unjust, unethical and repugnant payment which should be stopped in any progressive society" and that it is a little consolation that after the rule of primogeniture is abolished, "this grand loot will be shared by a few more persons than now."

Bhupesh Gupta pointed out that the very system of primogeniture existed because the princes existed. "Otherwise, it would not have existed today, except perhaps in certain tribal areas and so on where some kind of custom might allow such a thing. But generally it would not have existed at all." To allow such a system to remain in our country is to admit that we have not broken with the days of the European society of two centuries ago. But the real question was, he contended, the abolition of privy purses.

"As far as the princes are concerned, I am surprised and I sometimes wonder why the brothers of these princes are not forming a trade union to claim that primogeniture should go. They should do such a thing. They should wait upon us and ask for its abolition. It seems they have got plenty of money even with the rule of primogeniture operating."

Bhupesh in concluding his speech expressed the hope that next Friday, when the House returns to the subject, "hon. Members of the Congress Party, refreshed as they have been at the Jaipur session by the Prime Minister's speeches and so on, would bring themselves round to supporting my Constitution Amendment Bill so that the privy purse is abolished."

Only two Congress members B. K. P. SINHA and AKBAR ALI KHAN and the Swatantra member M. RUTHNASWAMY spoke against the resolution. "Nine other members, including the mover, supported the resolution. Congress member J. H. JOSHI said that he was happy that after a labour of about two years, the resolution had found a place in the list of business of the House and that about thirty members of the House had signed their consent and support to such a resolution."

### Readers' Letters

## DMK GAME EXPOSED

THE Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam whose ancestry goes back to the Justice Party, a bunch of British henchmen, has been an association of powerseekers and its leaders have now shown that they would go down to any length to retain their power and influence.

The leaders of the DMK who took a vow to achieve separate Dravida Nadu or to bury themselves, have now dropped the demand. C. N. ANNADORAI, general secretary of the party, has recently told pressmen that, no party can exist opposing the law and explained that it was suicidal to violate law. He also said that the DMK will hereafter function as a party within the Constitution.

This is not the first time that the DMK has shown its real colours. It betrayed the people who believed that the DMK stood as it professed for progressive policies, land reforms, nationalisation and above all for socialism, when it formed an alliance with the Swatantra Party. It has now betrayed its own followers who had been led to believe that a separate Dravida Nadu would bring them honey and milk.

One cannot appreciate the DMK leaders' action since it is not the result of a change of heart. Annadurai did accept that they dropped their basic policy demand only because of the anti-secessionist law. No party we heard in history gave up its basic policy when a law was passed or an enactment made prohibiting the propagation of its policies.

Now that the people of Tamilnad had an opportunity to see the demagogy of the leaders of the DMK, this party should not be allowed to have a place in the political life of the state. It should not be permitted to deceive the

people and enrich themselves. Encouraged by the reactionary forces and communal fanatics, the DMK has also started its Constitution burning campaign. No people with a sense of duty, integrity and patriotism can approve of such tactics of the DMK.

Madras R. PALANIAPPAN

### Pampering Mill Magnates

NO action of the government in recent years has shown up its pro-sugar millowner bias as that of raising the price of sugar.

It was after continued and sustained agitation that a few weeks back the government raised the price of sugar cane. It was only right and just that the cane growers should have been given reasonable prices for their produce. But within days the government raised the price of sugar also so that the profits of the sugar mill magnates could be kept in tact.

It is utter nonsense to say that without that raise in the price of sugar, production in the mills would not be remunerative. The gur and khandsari units were buying sugarcane at a higher price than those paid by the mills. The cane growers are rushing to sell their produce to these units and it is through governmental order that the growers are restrained from selling more than a specified portion of their produce to the gur and khandsari units. How is it that these units can pay a higher price for the cane and the mills cannot? Nobody seems to have bothered about the poor consumers of sugar who have been ultimately hit by the increase in the price of sugar.

Lucknow S. N. TIWARI

### BEST WISHES

LEAVING India on November 23 the Soviet cosmonauts in a message expressed their "deep gratitude to numerous organisations and individuals that have sent us letters of congratulations and invitations to visit them." They expressed regrets for not being able to accept these for lack of time.

"We look upon these invitations and letters as a token of affection and manifestation of sincere friendship of the Indian people towards the Soviet people," they said in their message, adding:

"We are sending our best wishes and thanks to all these organisations and individuals."

# SOVIET GRIEF AND DISMAY

★ From Masood Ali Khan

**MOSCOW, NOVEMBER 26: THE REACTION HERE TO PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S DASTARDLY ASSASSINATION HAS BEEN OF SHOCK, PROFOUND GRIEF AND THEN OF DISMAY AT THE CRIMINAL ATTEMPTS BY THE ULTRA-REACTIONARIES OF THE USA TO HIDE THE REAL CULPRITS, AND USE THE TRAGEDY FOR PURPOSES OF CREATING ANTI-COMMUNIST, ANTI-SOVIET, ANTI-CUBA HYSTERIA.**

PAPERS here point out the example of the Reichstag fire of February 27, 1933 organised by the Nazi thugs to get rid of all the progressives in their way. The Nazis too had tried to put the blame of the crime committed by them on the Communists.

Soviet Premier NIKITA KHRUSHCHOV in his message of condolence expressed the feelings of the entire Soviet people when he said "the death of John Fitzgerald Kennedy is a hard blow to all people who cherish the cause of peace and Soviet-American cooperation." Khrushchov noted that the heinous assassination of Kennedy at a time when there appeared signs of relaxation of international tension and a prospect opened for improving relations between the USSR and the United States, "evokes the indignation of the Soviet people against the culprits of this base crime."

Khrushchov referred to the late John Kennedy as "a person of broad outlook who realistically assessed the situation and tried to find ways for negotiated settlement of the international problems which now divided the world."

He said that the Soviet government and people were deeply grieved over this great loss and express the hope that the search for settling issues to which Kennedy made a tangible contribution would be continued in the interests of peace and for the benefit of mankind.

The Soviet Premier specially returned to Moscow from Ukraine and next morning called on the US ambassador to express his condolence in person. Many Soviet representatives and prominent figures visited the American embassy to express their profound grief and deep sympathies to the American people.

The television and radio organised special programmes about John Kennedy and for the first time direct TV broadcasts from America were seen here via the US satellite Telstar. Millions saw the arrival of the President's remains in Washington, the lying in state at the White House, the funeral procession, religious service and the crowds of people lining the route.

As the announcer said, millions here paid their last respects to John Fitzgerald Kennedy together with the American people. We saw surprisingly good pictures as the events took place. ANASTAS MIKOYAN who is attending the funeral on behalf of the Soviet people was also among the dignitaries of the world in the funeral procession.

VICTOR MAYEVSKY, Pravda observer speaking over the television declared "the bullet fired at John Kennedy was fired not only at the Ame-

rican President but also at the cause of peace all over the world. But the cause of peace cannot be killed."

Papers here point out that the murderers are doing everything possible to cover up their traces and the preposterous killing of OSWALD under police supervision shows how absurd were the attempts to involve the Communists and progressives in this foul crime and that the Dallas police were afraid of a proper investigation of the whole affair and therefore stage-managed the murder of Oswald who was accused by them of assassinating President Kennedy.

## Case Closed!

And immediately after accomplishing the murder of Oswald the Dallas police declared that "the case was closed." So eager were they to put an end to a full enquiry into the President's assassination and the people behind it. "The Dallas city authorities who organised Oswald's transfer from one prison to another acted as protectors and accomplices of gangsters who have many a time before hidden the traces of sinister deeds," says the Pravda correspondent from New York today.

"However it is to be hoped that they have miscalculated this time. The case of Kennedy's murder has not ended at that. The significance and scope of the case are too great. It has only begun and will be a trial of sinister reaction, the abomination of racialism and the disgrace of America," the Pravda correspondent declares.

He points out that the police had announced a day in advance the exact time when Oswald would be transferred to another jail and the television had shown beforehand the plan of the corridors through which Oswald would be led to an armoured car. **THE CHIEF OF POLICE HAD SAID THAT AN ATTEMPT ON OSWALD'S LIFE COULD BE EXPECTED AND THEY HAD EVEN KEPT AN AMBULANCE READY "JUST IN CASE."**

Early in the morning three television companies installed their cameras in the corridors and millions were shown how Oswald was led out handcuffed through the corridors. Then a man stepped forward shot at him point-blank and the police did not do anything to stop him. The detec-

tives did not even cast a glance at him as he moved forward and came very close to the prisoner and fired.

This was done with so much premeditated coolness that the photographers managed to take a few snaps which were published in the papers next morning. (Today the Soviet papers too published these revealing photographs.)

"In this way a cold-blooded cynical murder was committed in a jail under the eyes of millions of stunned viewers. In this way the assassins drew the curtain over the plot to which President Kennedy fell victim," Pravda declares.

It has been pointed out that all the journalists and cameramen were checked twice and were admitted by special passes; they were also searched for arms. But the murderer of Oswald, 52-year old JACK RUBY (born Rubinstein), a third-class night club owner who has been arrested many times before and has a police record, was let in the corridor with a pistol on him and he moved about freely and even talked to pressmen and invited them to his night club.

Afterwards six lawyers appeared to defend this Jack Ruby and were prepared to offer any amount of money to have him bailed out. "Only the sky is the limit," they said.

## Fascist Thugs

Papers here declare with one voice that the crime was a premeditated one; it was organised and carried out by the ultra-reactionaries and racists and fascist thugs of the South who were against the policy of equality for Negroes, democratic liberties for all and who wanted to turn the tide against the progressive and sane forces of America.

Oswald died without confessing any guilt and the trial which could prove his guilt or otherwise in the murder would never take place now, said the New York Times.

And for no reason it is being assumed by Western propagandists that Oswald was the assassin and that he was alone.

The accusation that he was a Communist or member of the Fairplay for Cuba organisation is false. The Communist Party of USA strongly condemned Kennedy's assassination, declared that Oswald was never a member of the Party and the local Fairplay for Cuba organisation declared that they had heard

Oswald's name for the first time.

"It should be noted that not one statesman, serious newspaper or well-known political analyst in the United States accepted the police version of Oswald's 'Communist' connections. Even Dallas district attorney WADE had to admit that there was no proof of his being a member of the Communist Party", Tass correspondent declared from New York.

## "Marxist" Oswald

Moreover, the AP released full text of a radio panel discussion in New Orleans in which Oswald took part on August 21. In that programme Oswald slandered the Soviet Union and declared that he was a "Marxist", not a "Communist" and sought to prove that there was a great difference between these two things.

Equally significant is the fact which appeared fleetingly in the press that Oswald tried to join an organisation of counter-revolutionary Cuban emigres, Tass correspondent said.

Izvestia correspondent said that the list of alleged Communist literature found at Oswald's residence contains many Trotskyite publications.

The police also declared that Oswald's wife gave important evidence regarding her husband but they have hidden her and Oswald's mother completely and did not show them to the press at all.

It is also interesting that when Oswald was arrested and brought before the press he vehemently denied that he had anything to do with the murder. When a journalist asked whether finger prints were found on the gun supposed to have been fired by Oswald the police had no reply but later, the day Oswald was killed, they declared that his palm impression had been found on the gun. Even the New York Times said editorially that the Dallas authorities "trampled on every principle of justice in their handling of Lee Oswald".

The more one goes into the affair the dirtier it becomes. And the entire anti-

Communist hysteria has been built on the statements of Dallas police who are well-known for their sympathies for the reactionaries, fascists and racist thugs. Americans have become long used to the methods of the Southern police who always try to put the blame of crimes committed by racists and themselves on "Communists and foreign agitators".

The Soviet press noted with satisfaction that President LYNDON JOHNSON had ordered full investigation of the circumstances of the assassination of Lee Oswald and of the whole criminal affair. The press here warned against the consequences of fanning up anti-communist, anti-democratic hysteria.

Izvestia editorially declared that though President Kennedy's policy was not always consistent it stemmed from an understanding of the necessity of steps which lead to relaxation of tension. He more than once emphasised that a course towards a military solution of differences, towards unleashing thermonuclear war, would be insane.

## Situation Aggravated

Kennedy's death has undoubtedly aggravated the situation in the United States, the paper says. The struggle between the sober-minded Americans and the forces of rabid reaction who will not miss the chance of using the situation for their own ends will be very tense. It will determine the course of the election campaign too.

People would like to believe, the paper says that Kennedy's heirs will follow his finest traditions for the sake of peace for the sake of all mankind. "The new President of the United States solemnly pledged himself to continue the cause of his predecessor. The Soviet people and their government will always respond positively to anything that would help to ease international tension.

"Common efforts for the benefit of this cause would be the finest monument to President John Fitzgerald Kennedy who died so tragically," Izvestia, the Soviet governmental organ declared.

## SEMINAR ON PEACE

An event of unique, historical importance takes place in Delhi from December 6 to 8 — the Seminar on International Affairs and World Peace.

**S** PONSORED by the Committee of Indian Parliamentarians for Peace, the Seminar has the support of several organisations and a large number of important personalities.

The Prime Minister will inaugurate the Seminar on December 6 at Vigyan Bhawan. Chairman of the Preparatory Committee is DIWAN CHAMAN LALL MP, while ARUNA ASAF ALI heads the Reception Committee.

V. K. KRISHNA MENON, M. C. SETALVAD, K. D. MALA-VIYA and several other leading personalities have agreed to participate.

A large number of foreign participants are expected to attend.