

HANG THE HOARDERS!

Food: The Nation's Battlefront Today

DEC 29
1964

NEW AGE

CENTRAL ORGAN OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

Vol. XII No. 29 New Delhi, July 19, 1964 25 Paise

Was it so long ago that we have forgotten? Was it so long ago that the tallest in our land, anguish-stricken at the sufferings of our hungry millions, threatened to hang the hoarders and profiteers?

TODAY the threats of action against the very same hoarders and profiteers by one Food Minister after another have become the object of universal ridicule.

Nobody believes these threats will ever be carried out—for, the food thieves are too often hand in glove with the local administration and the local Congress bosses.

What then is the answer? There is only one: the people must act, as they have never acted before, to catch the hoarders and profiteers and to put an end to the pro-hoarder policies of the government.

Last week saw the Uttar Pradesh government make big concessions to the hoard-

ing and profiteering traders. It suspended the so-called "rice levy" and permitted the traders to raise the prices they had themselves fixed voluntarily earlier.

If this is the way the government is going to "solve" the food problem, then heaven help the Indian people! Instead of acting against the black-marketeers, the UP government has given them a present of lakhs of rupees while drowning the people of UP in the worst food crisis ever.

Chief Minister Sucheta Kripalani, having committed the "crime", is desperately seeking a basin to wash her "guilty" hands.

On the very day she had given orders for suspending

the rice levy (July 11), Sucheta told the Bharat Sevak Samaj in Lucknow that "she was not able to speak in a cheerful mood because of the grave food situation confronting the state... she and her colleagues were passing the days with a heavy heart, as though a huge piece of stone had been placed on it."

CROCODILE TEARS

The stone on the heart of the UP government is of its own making. If it continues to act as the handmaid of the profiteers and hoarders, the people will increasingly be forced to take the law into their hands.

They are sick of the crocodile tears of those whose policies are responsible for giving the hoarders and price racketeers a free run to fleece the toiling masses.

UP must not become an example to be followed by other states. It must become a lesson in what not to do.

The need of the hour is mass popular action on the widest possible scale. The right reactionary forces seek to utilise the people's acute distress for their partisan purposes. Only popular vigilance against them can frustrate their evil designs.

In the coming days, let every Indian democrat, Communist, socialist, progressive Congressman, independent, prepare himself for action!

The forms of action may differ, but the aim will be the single one of compelling the hoarders to disgorge the hidden stocks and forcing the government to reverse its pro-hoarder policies, open cheap grain shops on a wide scale, introduce state trading in foodgrains and nationalise the banks.

A morcha of the Indian masses for food, against the rocketing prices, is on the agenda.



NEW AGE sends its warm greetings to Anastas Mikoyan who has been elected as the new President of the Soviet Union.

Commonwealth Conference

BACKBENCH FOR INDIA

As we go to press (July 15) news from London indicates that the Commonwealth Prime Ministers are still hammering out a joint communique. Already the scheduled time is over, but evidently it is not easy to agree.

THE Afro-Asian participants want clearcut statements on South Africa, Southern Rhodesia, British Guiana, etc. The British Prime Minister backed by some of the "white" Prime Ministers, is opposed to making any concrete commitment in the communique.

Reports indicate that President Ayub Khan is insisting on a reference to Kashmir in the final communique. India has opposed any such reference and has pointed out that Kashmir is a domestic issue.

VITAL FACTOR

By the time NEW AGE is in the hands of its readers, the final outcome of the Commonwealth conference will be known. Meanwhile there is one vital and important factor which must be stated.

Last week when NEW AGE severely criticised Finance Minister T. T. Krishnamachari's first speech after his arrival in Lon-

don, we expressed the hope that our representatives would give a better account of themselves and India during the conference itself.

DISMAL SHOW

Nothing of the sort has happened. The Finance Minister gave a series of dismal performances, with the result that India was very definitely a backbencher at the Commonwealth conference.

The key issues were colonialism and racialism and it was precisely here that India's representatives failed to do more than pay lip sympathy to the African leaders who fought every inch of the way to the bitter end.

The most disappointing part of India's participation in the London conference was the almost complete silence of Indira Gandhi. It is true, she is in mourning. But since she agreed to represent the Prime Minister,

it was her duty to assert herself more forcefully.

It has been said in New Delhi that the Minister for Information and Broadcasting was specially chosen for this assignment because of her knowledge of African leaders.

If this is so, then she failed miserably to use her knowledge and her contacts to see that India played her due part in the key African issues which dominated the conference this year.

FAILURE COST DEARLY

Next week, a fuller appraisal of the Commonwealth conference will be possible. For the moment, the one conclusion which one cannot help to come to, is this:

As a result of the attitude taken by our representatives, India was pushed into the background as had never happened before.

Our representatives failed to keep bright and shining the image of the anti-imperialist India of old. This failure will cost us dearly in the coming days.



A demonstration in Bombay to demand cheap food.

CONCLAVE AT TENALI

Splitters Respond To Peking's Call

From MOHIT SEN

HYDERABAD: The disgraceful doings at Tenali attracted quite some attention in the state. The splitters did receive some publicity, specially thanks to the generosity of THE INDIAN EXPRESS, but not quite the kind they had bargained for.

DESPITE the so-called "stronghold" of the "left" that Tenali is supposed to be, there was an amazingly small response to the semi-clandestine gathering in a disused rice mill in the town. Even volunteers were hard to come by.

However much the splitters might protest, their proceedings were a clear testimony to their affinity with the Chinese tune. Mao Tse-tung's portrait was not only in the foreground with the conspicuous absence of any portrait of any other living Communist leader, but his spirit pervaded the proceedings.

This reverence for a leader who is in the forefront of splitting the world Communist movement and whose "thought" guided the aggression against India, was drawn attention to by Congress MLAs in the Legislative Assembly. It also drew comment from many others who hitherto were disinclined to believe that the splitters had accepted the ideological hegemony of Peking.

This point was rubbed home by the resolution that the Tenali gathering passed on the dispute between our country and China. They called upon the Government of India to engage in direct negotiations. They praised the Colombo powers for the proposal to negotiate after the Chinese had vacated their posts in Ladakh.

There was not a single phrase even mildly critical of the Chinese aggression, of their refusal to accept the Colombo proposals and of their studied silence (apart from the obnoxious HSINHUA commentary) on Pandit Nehru's agreement to negotiate provided the Chinese withdrew their posts in Ladakh.

It is reported that P. Sundarayya turned his full wrath against those who timidly suggested that something should be said about the Chinese attitude. He argued that the splitters were concerned with India and could not interfere and dictate to the Chinese Party!

Same Coterie

It has to be noted that neither Jyoti Basu nor E.M.S. Nambudiripad made any attempt to demarcate themselves from this blatantly pro-Chinese resolution, despite their previous pronouncements.

The Sundarayya-Basavapunnaiyah clique had been tom-tomming that they would give the Indian people a clear line of struggle following the Tenali confabulations. No agreed draft programme could be released as the hard core of the splitters refused the request of Nambudiripad that on certain issues pertinent for India—national democracy, non-capitalist path, peaceful transition and peaceful co-existence—agreed conclusions should be set forth in line with the formulations of the 1960 Moscow Statement.

It is reported that Basavapunnaiyah urged some of the more rabid "lefts" who felt

that they could vote down Nambudiripad that they could afford to wait. The ex-General Secretary of the CPI had committed himself but this should be stabilised and then he would have to abide by the majority decision! So the splitters dispersed without any agreed programme or common understanding of the Indian or world situation.

It was even a bit pathetic to see how Nambudiripad was hustled into abandoning his previous positions and into withdrawing his proposals for "clinch-ing issues." He was obviously frightened that any firmness on his ideological-political stand might lead to his being dubbed as "pro-Congress" and as inclining towards "Dange's class collaboration line." He was bluntly confronted with the fact that he did not have a majority even among the Kerala splitters.

Role Of E.M.S.

So to prove his bona fides as a genuine splitter it was he who moved the resolution rejecting the proposals of the National Council of the CPI and calling for the splitters' congress in Calcutta towards the end of October. At the public meeting also he took the initiative not only to damn the CPI as pro-congress and as calling for a coalition government with the Congress, but went on to utter the falsehood that at Vijayawada the National Council was "ited in favour of the rightists because of the spirit of accommodation shown by the leftists and centrists".

He did not stop there. He made the charge that the National Council majority had helped to put "the leftists in jail" and made inner-party discussions impossible. Jyoti Basu joined him in repeating these slanders at the public meeting. Ahalya Rangnekar made her own contribution by stating that Dange had "tried in vain" to make the Bombay trade unions a tail of the Maharashtra government!

It was clear that the Sundarayya-Basavapunnaiyah strategy had succeeded; Nambudiripad and Jyoti Basu were projected as the chief spokesmen of the splitters, while the grip on the machine, and the political line was being consolidated and hammered out by the clique.

It was Nambudiripad who passionately polemicised against the proposal mooted by Khagen Roychowdhury and some others that further talks should be held with the National Council and the splitters should take no decision on a congress till the CPI had held its congress at the end of November. This proposal was overwhelmingly defeated after Nambudiripad's attack.

To balance the melodrama some comic opera relief was afforded by the press briefings of P. Ramamurthi. He was kind enough to concede that the CPI had a majority of Party members

behind it in Delhi and Maharashtra. But the splitters had 80 per cent in Kerala, 75 per cent in Andhra, 75 per cent in Karnataka, 80 per cent in West Bengal, 70 per cent in Tamilnad, 70 per cent in Punjab and decisive majorities elsewhere!

When a reporter enquired whether this meant that the "Dange clique" had hardly any support, Ramamurthi lashed out

FOOD CRISIS IN GREATER CALCUTTA

From JNAN BIKASH MOITRA

CALCUTTA: With the skyrocketing prices of all essential commodities and nonavailability of some of these articles in the open market, life has become a veritable ordeal for vast masses of people in West Bengal.

THE Greater Calcutta region, inhabited by about 65 lakh people out of the state's total population of 3.8 crores, has been most severely affected by the price rise and scarcity of certain essential commodities.

From morning till late afternoon the people toil to eke out a precarious living; and now they have to knock about from place to place in search of foodstuffs or to stand in long queues to obtain small quantities of "scarce" commodities at controlled prices.

While the common man is deeply worried over the problem of procuring the daily necessities for the morrow, the housewife desperately tries to adjust the family budget in the face of soaring prices and shrinking income.

Rice, the staple food of 99 per cent of the population, has completely vanished from the open market for more than a month now. Small quantities which are sometimes available in the black-market cost Rs. 36 to Rs. 38 a maund. At this time last year, plenty of this variety of rice could be bought in the open market at Rs 26 to Rs. 29 a maund.

The introduction of partial rationing in the Greater Calcutta region from June 22 has, no doubt, eased the situation to a certain extent. But the quantity of rice supplied—one kilogram per adult per week—is too small to meet the full requirements. Moreover the price charged (76 Paise a kilogram of the cheapest variety of rice) is pretty high for the poorest sections of the population.

The prices of pulses also have risen alarmingly. For instance, the price of moong dal has increased by 32 Paise since June 1963. Masur dal now sells at Rs. 1.10 a kilogram against 90 Paise in June 1963.

The increase in the price of potatoes during the past few months has been so sharp that Chief Minister P. C. Sen

that the "National Council was a rump." How a two-thirds majority becomes a rump he did not bother to explain. But the gross exaggerations, to put it mildly, of the spokesman vastly amused the pressmen, who frankly wondered why with this overwhelming majority the splitters had not managed to capture the CPI itself instead of forming a rival party.

The splitters passed a resolution demanding the release of detenus and calling for state trade in foodgrains, nationalisation of banks, etc., wholesale plagiarism from the National Council resolutions was indulged in.

When one of the delegates asked a leading splitter how state trading or bank nationalisation would help the people since it would strengthen state monopoly capitalism, he was silenced by the retort that he had illusions

about the Congress government. Did he expect these proposals to be accepted? This was meant to expose the Congress and disillusion the masses! It was not clear whether this was also the approach adopted towards the question of the release of detenus.

It was evident to everybody that in their aggressive postures, in their slanders against the CPI, in their approach to the problems facing India, the splitters had decided to accept the ideological hegemony of Peking. The only small surprise was the readiness with which Nambudiripad and Jyoti Basu climbed down and failed to put up the slightest fight for what they had claimed was their special position.

A neo-trotskyite party took shape at Tenali. The calls to organisationally split the CPI made by Peking have finally been responded to.

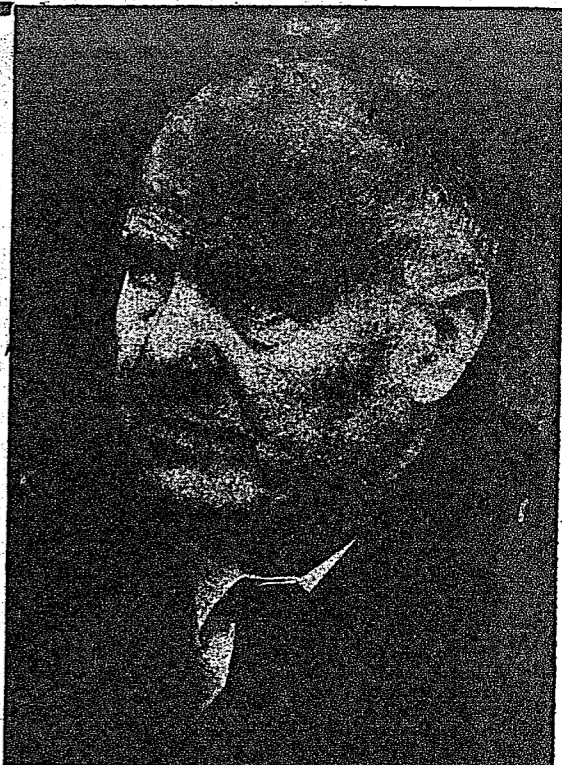
MAURICE THOREZ CPI Central Sect's Condolences

ALL Indian Communists deeply mourn the death of Maurice Thorez, outstanding son of French working people and one of the top-

most leaders of the international Communist movement. Thorez devoted his entire life to the struggle for peace, national independence,

democracy and socialism. He became symbol of courageous devotion and zeal, for greatest cause of humanity. Communist Party of India is proud of the close relations it always had with Thorez and common struggle waged by French and Indian Parties for unity of international Communist movement. We dip our red banner in memory of a comrade whom all communists everywhere loved and respected. Our hearts go out in sympathy to Thorez's family and to all French comrades.

Central Secretariat, Communist Party of India.



Europe's Grief

From KUNHANANDAN NAIR

BERLIN, July 13: Millions of the working people in all European countries mourned the death of Comrade Maurice Thorez, builder of the great French Communist Party.

IN all important centres condolence meetings were held and messages sent to the French Party and trade unions sharing the grief of the French working class.

The GDR Radio yesterday announced the sad news, interrupting its usual programme. Communist Party organs as well as bourgeois newspapers in all European countries paid tributes to Thorez. GDR's leading daily, NEUES DEUTSCHLAND today devoted almost its full front page to the obituary.

Central Committees of Communist and Workers' Parties paid their last respects to Comrade Thorez in messages addressed to the Central Committee of the French Party. Walter Ulbricht, First Secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany in a glowing tribute to Thorez said, "The international communist movement has lost a great leader."

Ulbricht recalled Comrade Thorez's close connections with the German Communist Party and his personal contacts with the great German martyr, Ernst Thaelmann and other leaders. In January 1933, Thorez had addressed a great mass meeting in Berlin at the graves of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, the last anti-fascist open rally just before the fascist takeover.

Comrade Thorez had been the Secretary-General of the French Party continuously for 34 years. In May this year the 17th Congress of the French Party elected him the Chairman.

In the 1960 Moscow Conference he had sharply criticised the Chinese leaders for their dogmatic line and powerfully condemned their bellicose attitude towards India. This speech was later published.

The French Party under Thorez's leadership has upheld proletarian internationalism and rendered full support to the Communist Party of India in its struggle against the splitters.

The end came suddenly on Saturday evening soon after a heart attack on board a Soviet ship in the Black Sea. The 64-year old leader had boarded last Monday the ship Litva from Marseilles and was sailing to Yalta in the Crimea for a rest. The Soviet ship immediately called at Varna, the Bulgarian port. The body was taken ashore and lay in state there till Sunday afternoon.

Bulgarian Communist Party leaders headed by Premier Zhivkov paid their last respects. Secretary-General of the French Party, Comrade Waldeck Rochet rushed to

Varna. A special TU, 104 airliner flew the body to Paris. It was accompanied by Thorez's widow, Jeanette Vermeersch, member of the Party's Polit-Bureau and by Secretary General Rochet. At the Le Bourget airport thousands of grief-stricken Frenchmen were present.

TENALI

Editorial THE TRUTH CAN NO LONGER BE WISHLFULLY IGNORED.

E. M. S. Nambudiripad has put it in a nutshell in an interview on the Tenali convention to the Express News Service in Madras on July 14: "The split in the CPI was final".

Good and honest Communists, friends and sympathisers of our Party, patriots and democrats irrespective of their political views—have hoped desperately that somehow the split would be averted—even at the last minute. But their hopes have now been shattered by the splitters' convention at Tenali.

It was because the National Council and the Central Secretariat of the Communist Party of India felt the tremendous urgency of Party unity for the nation, for the international Communist movement that they made repeated efforts to avoid taking action which would close the door for any comrade to return to the Party fold.

Not one of the 32 replied to the Central Secretariat's letter sending them the National Council resolution on unity. Nevertheless, the Secretariat gladly agreed to meet and discuss with those of the 32 who were willing to do so. But these talks were evidently undertaken by the suspended members only to divert attention from the real issues and to create the impression of a quarrel over the membership, places in committees and Party bodies.

It is now clear that the splitters had made up their minds to "complete the split" at Tenali; they, therefore, had no intention whatsoever of coming to any understanding with the Party Secretariat, short of agreement to hand the Party leadership over to them by turning their minority into a majority.

The splitters had obviously decided to use the talks only to confuse the Party members and the Indian people as a whole—while they went ahead with the naming ceremony of the rival caucus, which they had been functioning for so long as a rival party.

Those present at the convention have placed themselves outside the Communist Party of India, by establishing their own "national committee" and giving a call for what they dare to title the "Seventh Congress" of the Party. The Party Constitution specifically empowers only the National Council to convene the Party Congress. No set of comrades can arrogate to themselves the right to convene a Congress according to their own sweet will.

The Tenali splitters can give any name they like to the assembly they seek to hold in October in Calcutta. But nobody is taken in by their attempts to strut about under the sacred banner and title of the Communist Party of India.

There is only one Communist Party of India. The party of splitters can never be anything more than a party of splitters—whatever name it may.

NEW AGE (Monthly)
NO. 3 OUT OF PRESS AND ON SALE NOW. ONLY A FEW COPIES ARE AVAILABLE.

The contents include: JAWAHARLAL NEHRU by Hiren Mukerjee, PEOPLE AND THE SPLITTERS OF THE CPI by Mohit Sen, RSS INDOCTRINATION FOR COMMUNAL WAGE TRENDS IN A DECADE OF PLANNING by J. M. Kaul, CONCERNING ONE HARMFUL PEKING THEORY by Charles Aroche, NEW LENIN DOCUMENTS, etc.,

The next issue will be a big bumper issue, July-August together, 160-200 pages. Will be out of the press on August 1.

Single Copy: Re. 1. One Year: Rs. 10 Six Months: Rs. 5

Book your orders with:
MANAGER
NEW AGE (MONTHLY)
7/4 ASAF ALI ROAD
NEW DELHI.

Into Action For People's Food

The one single issue which is rallying together all sections of the democratic masses today is the issue of food. The soaring prices reaching an all-time high, have cut into the stomachs of the working people as never before. The total failure of government to curb the hoarders and profiteers has roused the people's wrath. Into Action for People's Food!—this is the slogan of the hour.

STATE councils of our Party are calling special campaign days and weeks of action. From everywhere, news is pouring in of popular protest against the pro-hoarder policies.

So acute is the hardship, so obvious the profiteering, so deliberate and lethargic the authorities that in several places, the people have been forced to take matters into their own hands, and distribute hoarded foodgrains equitably themselves. Reports of the possibilities of food riots and looting are also appearing in the press.

Government leaders continue to "threaten" the hoarders with dire consequences. "Nobody" takes these "threats" seriously. THE TIMES OF INDIA has listed a whole series of such threats made over a long period—threats never carried out with the resultant steady increase in the people's hardships.

Let the people recall these threats, these promises of action, made by one Food Minister after another:

★ On July 7, the then Union Food Minister Mr. S. K. Fatial, warned the foodgrain traders that price control and rationing would be introduced if the traders did not behave.

★ On July 21 the Union Food Minister asked the state governments to use DIR against blackmarketeers.

★ On January 5, the Chief Minister of West Bengal warned farmers, millers, wholesalers and retailers in similar terms.

★ On May 23 another warning was considered by the Union Government to those dealing in food and cloth.

★ On June 21 Mr. Subramaniam, Food and Agriculture Minister, threatened traders with "serious measures" after which the Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh also warned traders against "malpractices".

★ On July 5 Mr. Subramaniam issued a "friendly warning" to private dealers in foodgrains and this was supplemented by another warning on July 7, when the Minister "warned the trade that if the government would not hesitate to invoke the Defence of India Rules."

All this only goes to show how justified is the people's lack of confidence in the government's seriousness in tackling the profiteers. The urgent need is introduction of state-trading in foodgrains.

Food conferences must be convened on as wide a scale as possible to voice popular demands and people's food committees formed at all levels.

FICCI Versus Mahalanobis

TRUE to their class, the monopolist bosses of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce

and Industry have come out with what purports to be a rejoinder to the findings of the Mahalanobis Committee on Concentration of Wealth and Means of Production.

The "rejoinder" is really a manifesto of the monopolists and a fullscale attack on those aspects of government policy which seek to curb the plunder and exploitation of the masses. All sorts of "arguments"—they are the "arguments" used in all countries by the topmost capitalists to "justify" the necessity for capitalism to continue and flourish—are advanced to suggest that there are no monopolies at all! All the old stale-argument nonsense about how little difference it would mean to the per capita income if all the wealth of the rich were equitably divided...

As for the existence of monopoly, the Indian people feel it in their bones, in their daily lives. Statistics? Out of the total private sector capital assets of Rs. 3,000 crores, one-fifth is controlled by just two big business houses. But the FICCI says there is no monopoly. And the FICCI is a "responsible" body!

The monopolists in this note insist that the government is paying too much attention to "ideological considerations"; possible enterprise in many directions is being checked, if not prevented; there is too little scope for initiative, too much interference by government; the

Comment

economy is being put in straightjacket. "It is as much the policy as our efforts that have to be improved."

The monopolists are not satisfied with the full scale assistance they receive from government agencies to swell their profits. They want more, and they want a change in the policies, which today if implemented strictly, could tend to make the monopolists loot a slower and a little less.

Today the official agencies flout these declared policies to fatten the monopolists. The change the FICCI wants is a change from secret and underhand support, to an open avowed policy of allowing a complete free hand to the monopolist looters.

SSP, Lohia And The Right

DR. Ram Manohar Lohia has once again outlined his policy of alliance with right reactionary parties. Addressing newsmen in Lucknow on July 13, Lohia said:

"It was utter nonsense, for instance, to talk of elections in the Tamilnad without 'no-contest' agreement with the DMK, or of elections in UP and Madhya Pradesh without an agreement with the Jana Sangh or in Rajasthan and Gujarat without an agreement with the Swatantra Party." (HINDUSTAN TIMES, July 14).

The Samyukta Socialist Party, into which Lohia's

party has merged, must make up its mind if the policy of alliance with the parties of right reaction, which Lohia advocates, is the one it proposes to follow.

All the genuine socialists in the SSP and outside will assuredly hope that the SSP leadership repudiates this dangerous policy of surrendering to the worst reactionary forces in the country.

How can there be an alliance of any sort between a socialist party and the Swatantra Party, whose avowed aim is precisely opposition to any and every measure which hits at the vested interests? How can there be an alliance of any sort between a socialist party which must from its very aims be a secular party, and the Jan Sangh, whose entire basis is communalism?

Lohia's recent conversations with Jayaprakash Narain are also of interest. JP's close associations with the parties of the right, the affinity of his slogans with theirs on such urgent issues as Kashmir and state-trading in foodgrains have already marked him out as a dangerous opponent of the progressive movement in this country. That Lohia should invite JP to join the SSP is another indication of the kind of SSP Lohia seeks to organise.

One can only hope that the good sense and devotion to socialism of the mass members and supporters of the SSP will prevent the transformation of the SSP into an instrument for reactionary ends.

—ROMESH CHANDRA July 15

The Bonus Commission submitted its report in January this year. Ever since then, the employers have been pressurising the government, secretly and openly, that the report should not be implemented and if it is to be implemented, it should be changed.

In fact, a stormy meeting of employers, jointly convened by the EFT and AIOEE was held at Bombay on May 19. (See NEW AGE, July 12) About 60 employers representing various branches of industry gathered there to discuss the position.

That the employers' views should not be given any publicity in the press as in that case the trade unions would not only criticise the employers but would also try to build up an agitation for the acceptance of the majority recommendations of the Commission.

In pursuance of the discussions at that meeting, the Engineering Association of India prepared a memorandum which was sent to the Secretary, Ministry of Labour and Employment.

This memorandum makes interesting reading. It attacks the report on 10 points.

All the points are based on two "fundamental" arguments. If the Bonus

This same meeting decided

EMPLOYERS AND DANDEKAR LINE

Bonus Commission Report

By SATISH LOOMBA
Secretary, AITUC

Commission recommendations are put into effect, there will be no surplus left with the employers for "improvement of the technique of production, for rehabilitation, replacement, etc." and "this will seriously hinder capital formation." Secondly, "not only the overall production of the industry will suffer but our foreign exchange earnings may also be adversely affected."

Therefore, both from the point of view of progress of

industry and of earning foreign exchange, the Bonus Commission Report should be scrapped.

Let us now examine these "fundamental" arguments to see what the real picture is.

The argument that the implementation of the Bonus Commission report will impinge upon accumulation of capital for purposes of expansion and modernisation is repudiated by facts.

The same argument has been used by capitalists to agitate for relief in income tax. Writing in COMMERCE

of January 10, 1959, Dr. M.N. Gopal, Professor of Economics, Madras University said:

"If capital formation is the major objective of tax policy, if such saving and investment are largely to be done in the private sector, and if the saving and enterprise potential is on the upper income groups and institutions, it follows that, from the angle of development, the tax policy should live down the effects on decisions to make risky investments, ease tax

is not enough margin for accumulation already provided, thanks to T. T. Krishnamachari?

In fact, the reality is that the profit-hungry capitalists, specially the monopolists, do not want to contribute to the national exchequer (there are huge evasions every year) and that the entire burden falls on to the people for running the administration and for economic and social advance.

Hence, the big hue and cry about income tax and such other tax measures.

The bogey of foreign capital being frightened off is brought in for the purpose of making India more attractive for imperialist capital.

The same reasoning lies behind the present campaign against the Bonus Commission's recommendations. A study of the report published in the Reserve Bank of India Bulletin of September 1961 on the activities of 1001 companies shows the enormous rise in dividends and profits:

	1955	1953	1957	1958	1959
Net profits	6762	7236	5644	6497	10239
Dividends	3882	4254	4253	4285	6408
Retained profits	2880	2982	1391	1812	3831

(In Rs. lakhs)

burdens on equity financing, reduce tax factors inhibiting foreign private investment. That is, tax reliefs must be in the direction of the higher income groups and companies."

Actually, as estimated by the EASTERN ECONOMIST, the total of direct taxes levied by the Central government amounted in 1959 to only 1.3 per cent of the national income. The share of direct taxation in the total taxation revenue had been declining and whereas it was 60 per cent in 1947-48, it was only 27.4 per cent in 1960-61.

The last budget has removed the Super Profits Tax and has replaced it by the Sur Tax. THE EASTERN ECONOMIST (March 6, 1964) has calculated the impact of these changes on what it calls "51 Industrial Giants" and also separately for 25 big companies. It sums up its conclusions as follows: "It is true that Sur Tax in the case of these 25 companies would have been nearly half of

Apart from retained profits as shown above, there are huge depreciation reserves, general reserves, etc., which also are accumulated capital.

Then again, there is an extremely high level of non-productive consumption among the bourgeoisie. Analysing this feature, on the basis of the above-quoted Reserve Bank of India Bulletin, V. I. Pavlov says:

"Even in the new, expanding industries, the dividends for 1959 were far in excess of investment. Their ratio in chemicals was 60:40, in power equipment 70:30 and in power 68:32. In the older industries with a continuing predominance of British capital, these parasitic features are still more manifest. For instance, in the same year, the aforesaid ratio in coalmining was 84:12." (INDIA: ECONOMIC FREEDOM Vs. IMPERIALISM.

The Reserve Bank of India Bulletin for March 1964 gives this information about 160 foreign controlled rupee companies:

	1960	1961
Depreciation		
Provision	15.16	17.08
Profit after tax	36.08	39.01
(a) Dividends	23.34	27.17
(b) Retained Profits	12.74	11.93

(In Rs. crores)

what was paid by way of Super Profits Tax and would have been nearly 31.5 per cent of the Super Profits Tax in the case of 51 companies."

This proves the extreme parasitic nature of foreign investments in India and shows that when profits went

* ON PAGE 15

RELEASE DETENUS

BHUPESH GUPTA WRITES TO PRESIDENT

NEW DELHI: Bhupesh Gupta, leader of the Communist group in Rajya Sabha, has in a letter to the President again demanded the release of all Communist detenues.

There are 21 detenues in Tripura, 13 in Maharashtra, two in West Bengal and one each in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. The detenues include two members of the Lok Sabha from Tripura, four members of the Tripura Legislative Assembly as well as such Communist leaders as B. T. Ranadive, S. V. Parulekar and Godavari Parulekar.

All of them were arrested in 1962 and have been in detention for more than 20 months now.

Bhupesh Gupta has brought to the notice of the President that the Defence of India Rules under which they are detained have been held illegal and ultra vires of the Constitution by eminent jurists in the country.

As a result of this publicly expressed legal opinion the government even wanted to amend the Constitution in order to escape its liabilities after the emergency is over for these illegal detentions, the letter further said.

Bhupesh Gupta appealed to the President to intervene as the head of the state and see to it that the powers and authority under the constitution are not so blatantly abused by the government and that all the DIR detenues are immediately released.

Assam

From M. Bhattacharyya

Hesitancy To Curb Unscrupulous Traders

SHILLONG: The Assam government is fighting shy to take the cooperation of people's committees in checking the activities of unscrupulous traders—this is the only conclusion that can be had from the composition of the reorganised vigilance committee.

THE reorganised vigilance committee has on it representatives of traders, government and some handpicked elements. But the citizens committee of Shillong, an organisation of citizens of all shades of political opinion, has been excluded.

The citizens committee has been doing commendable work in combating unscrupulous traders who indulged in black-marketing and hoarding. The Chief Minister had even welcomed its offer of cooperation to the government.

But when it came to the reorganisation of the vigilance committee, it has been kept at arms length. Instead, representatives of a "housewives price rise resistance committee" were included.

These so-called housewives' representatives are the wives of some top bureaucrats. And till the formation of the vigilance committee, nobody in

Shillong had heard of any "resistance committee" as named by the government.

It seems that the government's purpose was to keep the citizens' committee out of the vigilance committee. It is also suspected that it was done at the instance of some traders with dubious links with some of the officials.

This has led to grave suspicions about the intentions of the government in the matter of resisting a rise in prices and unearthing hoarders, speculators and blackmarketeers.

Meanwhile, the supply of rice has been erratic in the local market. The variety of rice for which the government has fixed the lowest price is not available in the market; even if available, it is so much adulterated that it is unfit for consumption.

From different districts reports have been coming of rice totally

disappearing from the market for days together. Then blackmarket becomes the only source of supply for the people. Traders manage to raise even the black-market price and pocket an extra profit at the cost of the consuming public.

That the steps so far taken by the government has not touched even the fringe of the problem is clear from the admission made by the ruling party itself.

The Assam Pradesh Congress Committee passed a resolution at its recent meeting which said that notwithstanding the fixation of prices of rice in certain areas, the commodity was not available at the fixed price and consequently the prices have been rising.

It urged the government to take stringent measures, including setting up special courts to try blackmarketeers, to make at least foodstuff available to the people at reasonable prices.

This resolution, passed by the ruling party itself, has debunked all the tall claims of the government about the success of the food policy.

A PATRIOT'S NOTEBOOK

GOD AND MORARJIBHAI

MORARJI DESAI is a man of religion.

He never tires of telling us of his closeness to all that is holy. Last week he openly gave thanks to the Almighty again.

The man of God was addressing the Gujarat Pradesh Congress Committee—his own little empire—on July 10. And the anger within him at this recent failure to grab the Prime Ministership vomited out of him like a torrent.

"...The recent leadership issue in New Delhi had proved that the objections generally made against him in the past that I am a man of the capitalists and that I am supported by Americans were totally baseless."

"He said he was thankful to God for this..."

"Mr. Desai... added 'It is now clear to all who support whom?' (PTI report) Morarjibhai was, of course, referring to the facts that are now well-known in the capital: "when the question of Pandit Nehru's successor was being debated in the Congress High Command and the Congress Parliamentary Party the bulk of Birla lobby among the Congress MPs appeared to be wholly backing Lal Bahadur Shastri; and a perusal of the American press also gave an indication that the American imperialists were supporting the candidature of Shastriji."

Morarjibhai, sour and bitter at his debacle and the popular outcry against him, clutches at these facts to "prove" his innocence of any attachment to the monopolists or the imperialists.

Unfortunately for him, even if the Birlas and the Yanks DID throw their weight behind Shastriji and not behind Morarji, that is no proof that the ex-Finance Minister has suddenly become a man of the people, and put Satan behind him!

The fact is the devils are shrewd; if they did not back Morarji as wholeheartedly as he expected, it was because they saw he had no chance whatever of being accepted by the people. What's the use of betting on a horse which just cannot win—even if it is your own dearest filly?

Poor Morarjibhai thanked God a little too soon... The Indian people's opinion of him cannot be changed as easily as he would wish. His record is a long one—it is dyed too black to turn white overnight...

Rusk Certifies Shastri

OF course, the Morarji lobby has plenty of facts to "prove" its contention that the imperialists and monopolists are backing the Shastri government. The latest is the rather humiliating given by US Secretary of State Dean Rusk to the Shastri government in his testimony to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on June 18.

Something NEW with Nehru's death... And to give the Senate Foreign Relations Committee more "hope" of success for imperialist dreams in India, Dean Rusk added this rather sinister sentence:

"Prime Minister Shastri has been a moderate on this subject (Indo-Pak relations—R.C.) inside the Indian government."

It is obvious what Rusk means by the term "moderate". In the context in which it appears, it means only nearer to Washington's aims.

We can do nothing to prevent the U.S. bosses from dreaming their wishful dreams. The only trouble is that sometimes the way in which spokesmen of the new government act (don't forget Morarji's New York speech and TTK's first day in London) make one feel that there is a danger—small at present, but likely to grow if not nipped in the bud—of Yankee imperialist dreams coming true...

I have only the Reuter report of Rusk's testimony as published in the Indian press. But there is enough in it to make one sit up, for

it reveals a rather crude wishfulness that Pandit Nehru's death will help the American imperialists to achieve some of their ignoble aims vis-a-vis our country. Rusk gloated over what he described as the manner in which India and Pakistan "had responded to the situation created by Nehru's death" and were attempting "to bring about a climate of goodwill."

Rusk's insinuation is clear: Nehru stood in the way of Indo-Pak goodwill; now he is dead, there are new initiatives for a "settlement," to the liking of the Dollar Kings.

Rusk was full of optimism. "It is just possible, and in this situation you have to keep your fingers crossed; it is just possible that something quite new has entered into the India-Pakistan relationship, Nehru's death led, shall we say, to a moratorium in Pakistan of better Indian feelings and expressions."

And to give the Senate Foreign Relations Committee more "hope" of success for imperialist dreams in India, Dean Rusk added this rather sinister sentence:

"Prime Minister Shastri has been a moderate on this subject (Indo-Pak relations—R.C.) inside the Indian government."

It is obvious what Rusk means by the term "moderate". In the context in which it appears, it means only nearer to Washington's aims.

We can do nothing to prevent the U.S. bosses from dreaming their wishful dreams. The only trouble is that sometimes the way in which spokesmen of the new government act (don't forget Morarji's New York speech and TTK's first day in London) make one feel that there is a danger—small at present, but likely to grow if not nipped in the bud—of Yankee imperialist dreams coming true...

I have only the Reuter report of Rusk's testimony as published in the Indian press. But there is enough in it to make one sit up, for

—ROMESH CHANDRA (July 15)

Analysis Of Results Shows No Shift

BY C. ACHUTHA MENON

The results of the civic polls for Trivandrum Corporation have become a subject matter of all-India political controversy. It has assumed significance and import far beyond its inherent interest. Leaders of political parties, correspondents of all-India papers and journalists and columnists of repute have taken it up for special treatment. As for the Communist Party it is an event of serious import and hence this attempt at serious appraisal.

It is an incontrovertible fact that the Communist Party met with a virtual debacle in this contest while the left splitters gave a good account of themselves having bagged as many as ten seats of their own. They have reasons to rejoice over this victory and they have not lagged behind. From Trivandrum and Tenali, Delhi and Madras, their leaders have claimed it more as a rout of the official Party and it should not surprise anyone if they continue to trumpet it about with considerable fanfare and jubilation.

Com. E.M.S. Namboodripad did not lose time to comment on the results of the Corporation election—the day after the results were known—in the following terms: “The results of the Corporation poll is an event that will have considerable influence in shaping the political situation in Kerala.” Yes, Com. E.M.S. is right, but how is it going to influence the politics is the pertinent question. It will be difficult to agree with his view on this subject.

Curious Logic

Com. Namboodripad in his usual equivocal style has not made the point clear as to how the results will shape the politics of the state. But from his first statement and his subsequent articles on the same subject one is able to conclude as to how his analysis and conclusions take shape. His analysis goes like this: We (the splitters) have a majority here. Therefore we are the Communist Party; therefore you who opposed us with the name and symbol of the Party are guilty. You should not have opposed us. You should have rallied behind us, as we asked of you and, supported us. If you repeat this mistake, Congress cannot be defeated in the ensuing general elections. The responsibility of this will be yours.

What can be said of this curious logic? One point that comes up for consideration is that Com. Namboodripad has a clear warning to give to the people of Kerala as to the likely results of the general election of 1965. He knows very well that the reaction of the people to the likely results of the 1965 election will not be in his favour and in favour of the left splitters with whom he has associated himself.

His conscience has been pricking him from the moment he decided to join the walk-out from the National Council and split the Party in April 1964. He could see then that this split would only adversely affect the chances of the Communist Party and therefore it was that he lost no time to talk of an understanding and united front between the two wings of the Communist Party.

The shadow of the ghost of the 1965 poll results has been haunting Com. E.M.S. Namboodripad from that moment. It would seem as though he is attempting to run away from this phantom pointing his finger at someone—thief, thief, catch the thief!

Let us go deeper into the Corporation election and results. Com. E.M.S. states that we of the official Communist Party basing ourselves on our wrong appraisal of the differences existing in the Communist Party had imagined that we could wipe out the “left splitters” in the elections. This is far from the truth. We had not hoped to succeed in the attempt of fighting them. We of the Party had hoped to secure two or three seats at the most, out of the dozen wherein we had put up candidates.

We knew that the citizenship sponsored by the lefts would score better. But we had hoped that as between the PSP and CPI which had gone into the fight in alliance, we together would get 20-22 seats. It is here that we went wrong. We have to go deeper into the causes why the Communist Party could not secure even one seat and why most of the Communist-sponsored candidates lost even their deposits. The Communist Party will not run away from a searching enquiry into the causes of this debacle.

There is no gainsaying that the majority of Party members and the voters in Trivandrum city who usually vote for the Party are today behind the left splitters. But we cannot agree with an easy jumping from this fact to another conclusion.

Results, No Verdict

We cannot agree with the simple analysis that the results of the poll are a verdict of the electorate on the differences inside the Communist Party and the overwhelming majority of those behind the Party flag are on the side of the splitters. For, that and similar questions were not before the voters in the civic poll. I do not also consider that correctness or otherwise of such questions of political ideological differences could be assessed through a referendum among the people.

The practical question that naturally and decisively weighed in the Corporation election was who was in charge of the Party organisation and machinery in Trivandrum city. The majority of known Party workers, of the District Council and Taluk Committee of the Party were leftists and official functionaries of the Party organisation. Utilising these strategic positions some of these comrades had been engaged in building up a rival secret parallel

Party group for quite sometime. When Com. A. K. Gopalan was publicly censured by the National Council in 1963 for defiance of Party directive, it was the Trivandrum Party unit inspired by these comrades who challenged the National Council's censure by organising a reception for A. K. Gopalan.

From that time onwards, even earlier, these comrades were deliberately and consciously attempting to capture the majority of Party members to their side. One need not go into the methods they used to achieve this object—distortion of Party policy, slander of Party leaders at various levels and systematic lying propaganda etc. The result was that long before the split occurred and the Party comrades explain its stand, Party comrades and activists who have been known to represent the Communist Party, in wards, streets and homes, had turned in favour of the left splitters who claimed themselves to be the genuine Party. And when they approached the voters with the appeal to vote for the candidates sponsored by them, naturally they got a better hearing.

It should be remembered that just till the eve of the elections, Party was one and the local Party committee was conducting negotiations and discussions with R.S.P. and others with

a view to forging an alliance with them for the civic poll. The Party split after that. Since the leading positions and majority of the Taluk organisation were with the lefts, they went ahead with the alliance with the R.S.P. The R.S.P. also naturally could not back out of the earlier commitment on grounds of split.

Though the left splitters conveniently forget that they had the goodwill of the Party as a whole, this goodwill was a decisive factor in their favour. This combined with systematic propaganda that the official Party had become a tail of the Congress went a long way to influence the anti-Congress voters. This is true here as elsewhere. This accounted for the isolation of the Party and the success of the left-sponsored citizens front among the anti-Congress sections of the electorate.

Congress Position

Has Congress improved its position in an overall way? It is true that where they had eight seats previously, they have secured ten, but out of 45 seats. It is not of any significant import that they have secured 25 per cent of the total votes polled when we remember that they fielded candidates in all the seats where contests took place. The PSP and the citizens front contested in only 29 seats and it is clear that the PSP failed to realise its targets.

The fall of the PSP is not peculiar to this civic poll; the downward trend has been evident since their unprincipled gang up with the Congress in the 1960 midterm poll and their subsequent downfall. For long, PSP was the first party in Trivandrum, city and district as a whole. With the 1962 Parliamentary poll, situation began to

change. In the 1963 byelection they lost their traditional assembly seat to the Communist Party. In this civic poll they have 18 seats out of 45 when they had 18 in 40 of the previous Corporation.

It is evident that the last minute alliance between the PSP and the Communist party did not benefit either. The anti-Communist poison that had been injected into the PSP activists during the last decade when PSP and Communists have been fighting for supremacy here could not so easily give way to sincere joint work.

The biggest reality that springs from the poll results is the fact that a united Communist Party could have achieved a success beyond all expectations and that whoever was responsible for splitting away from the Party is responsible for the present results. The 1963 byelection poll had shown that the Communist Party was emerging as the first party in the city. Had the CPI allied with RSP and democratic-minded independents and faced the civic poll, this alliance could have secured a decisive majority in the Corporation. Had this alliance enveloped the PSP also, the success of the combination could have been overwhelming. Today, contrary to all this, no single party has a clear majority.

The main reason for the present plight of uncertainty is the split in the Communist Party, which alone as a force of unity could spearhead and unite all democratic forces. This is a simple and straight fact. However much one may argue, analyse and examine, the final conclusion is this. Whatever be the acrobatics of logic and argument that leaders of “splitism” may indulge in, they cannot escape the naked truth that the split and makers of the split are responsible for the present impasse here.

Bankruptcy Of Delhi Municipal Corporation

By PREMSAGAR GUPTA

The Delhi Municipal Corporation has been in a state of virtual insolvency for the last few years. Today it is facing the gravest crisis it has ever faced. As stated by the municipal commissioner at the last meeting of the corporation, there will be a deficit between Rs. 125 lakhs and Rs. 150 lakhs in the 1964-65 budget.

The bankruptcy of the corporation in matters of policy and its failure as a true instrument of service to the people has already gained notoriety; now it has become bankrupt even financially.

The ways and means position is so bad that salaries are not paid in time. Refunds of small security deposit and payments are withheld for months together; payment to contractors for works carried out are not made; hospitals and dispensaries lack adequate supplies of medicine; conservancy staff does not get supplies of phenyle and other disinfectants.

This month the crisis has become so deep that salaries have not been paid to a large number of employees. There is no expected revenue at all for payment of salaries in August.

The corporation and its standing committee have discussed the situation a number of times and the chairman of the standing com-

getts of the two profit-making commercial undertakings of the corporation, namely the Delhi Transport Undertaking (DTSU) and the Delhi Transport Undertaking (DTU), are not integrated with the general budget.

The corporation is made to pay interest charges on all loans taken by its predecessor local bodies, which come to about Rs. one crore every year, to the Government of India. These loans include even amounts spent on works during the first and second world wars and also on improving the unsatisfactory water supply system inherited from the Government of India.

The government does not pay to the corporation any property taxes on government buildings. These are estimated to come to about Rs. 50 lakhs a year.

Till 1961-62 the government had been paying the corporation an ad hoc grant of Rs 50 lakhs a year, which was suddenly stopped.

The rates of water supplied by the DMC to the NDMC is fixed in such a manner that it causes considerable financial loss to the former.

Various government departments do not pay the

* ON PAGE 15

JULY 19, 1964

1. THE ACHIEVEMENT OF NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE BY INDIA ON AUGUST 15, 1947, OPENED A NEW EPOCH IN THE LONG HISTORY OF OUR PEOPLE. THE NATIONAL-LIBERATION STRUGGLE, AGAINST THE BRITISH INVADERS, FROM THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE OF 1857 TO THE QUIT INDIA MOVEMENT (1942) AND THE REBELLION OF THE NAVAL RATINGS IN 1946, HAD ACHIEVED SUCCESS.

2. The achievement of an independent national economy with a promise of land reforms for the peasantry, and rights and well being for the working people and a parliamentary democracy.

The British imperialists knew that a consistent working out of such a platform would foil their game of reducing India's independence to a formality. If independence became consolidated and India, the second biggest country in the world, took the path of establishing a real anti-imperialist democracy, it would have its repercussions in Asia and Africa.

3. The mass upheaval of our national revolution on the eve of our attaining independence was a part of the upsurge of democratic struggles in Europe and national-liberation battles in South-East Asia, which broke out when the Second World War ended with the historic victory of the anti-fascist front headed by the Soviet Union over the forces of fascism. The general crisis of capitalism, which began with the end of the First World War and the victorious socialist revolution in Russia, was entering a new and advanced stage. Eight countries of Eastern Europe were taking the road to socialism. Korea was liberated. China stood on the eve of its great revolution. In Vietnam, Malaya, Indonesia, Burma, national-liberation struggles were raging. The colonial system had begun to collapse and crumble. Viewing the Indian national upheaval against this background, the British imperialists read the writing on the wall and decided to compromise and stage a strategic retreat with the intention of returning to the attack again.

4. Taking advantage of the Hindu-Muslim division which they always fomented into a communal frenzy to disrupt the nation's independence movement, the British imperialists divided the country into two states of India and Pakistan, conferring independence on both, but in reality wishing to keep both at loggerheads with each other, to weaken the independence of both and compel them to depend on their former masters for “peace and aid”. Imperialism calculated to make the independence of India a “formal” affair and keep her as a satellite state in the imperialist-capitalist orbit and hamper her independent economic development.

5. The Indian National Congress, which was leading the national movement, formed the first government of independent India. The platform of the National Congress was to achieve an independent Indian state. As regards its future, it was a platform of India developing

A Constitution based on parliamentary form of democracy was adopted and India was declared a sovereign Republic on January 26, 1950. Elections were held on the basis of adult franchise to give an elected government to the country.

an independent national economy with a promise of land reforms for the peasantry, and rights and well being for the working people and a parliamentary democracy.

The British imperialists knew that a consistent working out of such a platform would foil their game of reducing India's independence to a formality. If independence became consolidated and India, the second biggest country in the world, took the path of establishing a real anti-imperialist democracy, it would have its repercussions in Asia and Africa.

The partition of the country and the movement of millions of refugee populations from one state to another led to communal massacres. The invasion of Kashmir by the Pakistani forces was calculated to perpetuate the retention of British forces in India. Some feudal princes were instigated to refuse to accede to India and to carve out kingdoms of their own in the old feudal way. The assassination of Mahatma Gandhi was expected to sow confusion and weaken and disarray the forces of national liberation.

7. The new Indian government and the people fought back and defeated these onslaughts and manoeuvres of imperialists and reactionaries. Invasion of Kashmir was foiled by the prompt intervention of the Indian Army and the patriotic resistance of the people of Kashmir. But the Kashmir issue, being taken to the UNO, remained a weapon in the hands of the imperialists to create tension between the two states from time to time and prevent a peaceful settlement. The princely states were abolished and integrated with the Indian Union, though their privy purses and individual estates remained a drag on the national economy and served as vantage points for right reaction to hide and grow in the country's politics and economy. The armed services were brought under Indian command and the British Civil Services were pensioned off.

The national bourgeoisie had strengthened its positions in relation to the British monopoly capital; a number of undertakings belonging to the latter were bought over by the national bourgeoisie from the profits made from war supplies to Britain. The Indian railway system, which had belonged to private British investors and which the British Government had already taken over, came into the hands of the Government of India after independence in return for a part of large sterling reserves that had accumulated to the credit of India. Nationalised railways became the first item which marked the beginning of the state sector in independent India.

12. The formation of the national government of independent India by the National Congress meant the for-

8. The formation of the world socialist system headed by the Soviet Union began with the establishment of people's democracies in Eastern Europe and advanced further with the success of the historic Chinese revolution in the biggest country of the world, which tilted the balance of forces in favour of socialism. This brought forth a new stage in the general crisis of world capitalism. It heightened the struggles of the working class in capitalist countries and raised the national-liberation struggles to a new level with the result that world colonial system began to crumble fast. All this has ushered in a new epoch in world history, the epoch of socialism and national liberation. Now it is a world socialist system and the forces fighting against imperialism.

II Towards Independent Development

10. During the British rule, Indian economy had remained backward; it was dependent and colonial in character. But, in comparison with other colonial and semi-colonial countries, it had a greater measure of capitalist development. India had given birth to an industrial bourgeoisie and by the end of the Second World War there was a considerable concentration of capital, increase in production in industry and growth of banking, giving rise to influential monopoly groups in the ranks of the Indian bourgeoisie.

11. During the Second World War, the national bourgeoisie had strengthened its positions in relation to the British monopoly capital; a number of undertakings belonging to the latter were bought over by the national bourgeoisie from the profits made from war supplies to Britain. The Indian railway system, which had belonged to private British investors and which the British Government had already taken over, came into the hands of the Government of India after independence in return for a part of large sterling reserves that had accumulated to the credit of India. Nationalised railways became the first item which marked the beginning of the state sector in independent India.

13. The imperialists who had lost political power over India, still cherished the idea of keeping Indian economy tied up to imperialist finance and market. The monopolists of Britain and America tempted the Indian bourgeoisie by their talk of “aid” in building its economy with such schemes as the Colombo Plan.

The national bourgeoisie and the leadership of the National Congress had different ideas. Remembering how British colonial power had oppressed them and thwarted India's growth, and attracted by

that determine the main content, main trend and features of the historical development of society.

9. It was in this background that India took the path of independent development. One stage of India's attainment of national independence from imperialism. It had now to carry forward that revolution to a new stage, to complete the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal tasks left over, to regenerate and build a prosperous national economy and better living standards for the people and enlarge the field of democracy so that the road to socialism was opened for our people.

DRAFT PROGRAMME OF COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

the example of socialist Soviet planning which had regenerated backward Czarist Russia into a highly industrialised socialist economy, the National Congress, since long before liberation, had progressive schemes of “planning” future economy of India, which are recorded in the Report of the National Planning Committee headed by Jawaharlal Nehru (1938).

In January 1947, on the eve of transfer of power, the Congress government and leadership called an Asian Relations Conference to which it invited the Central Asian Soviet Republics and began to develop ideas of Asian solidarity and friendly relations with socialist countries for future growth.

15. Later, the Government of India established contacts with the socialist world. It began to mobilise the internal resources of capital, the remnants of the sterling reserves, profits of the Korean war-boom, even the internal blackmarket money from evaded taxes, for the purpose of economic planning and industrial growth.

16. India's independent economic growth and establishment of heavy industry even on the basis of capitalism, went against the interests of imperialism and were therefore anti-imperialist in content. The growth of independent capitalist economy also was not in the interests of the landlords and princely houses and was anti-feudal in its direction. Land reforms and liquidation of feudal remnants were necessary for developing the internal market and for sources of capital.

17. Measures, like the Industrial Policy Resolution of 1948 which reserved all the strategic industries for the state sector, the nationalisation of the Reserve Bank of India in 1949, the nationalisation of the airlines and of the Imperial Bank in 1953, nationalisation of Life Insurance companies and gold-fields in 1956, did not accord with the policy of the imperialists as these measures sought to mobilise the initial resources for planning growth and gave the government a grip over finance and initiated the establishment of a state sector in industry.

DRAFT PROGRAMME OF THE

These measures were also not to the liking of the top monopoly groups of Indian capitalists, who wanted the state sector of independent India to be restricted to defence industries, transport and public utilities, leaving the whole field of industry free for the private sector (Tata-Birla Plan, 1944).

18. While the First Five-Year Plan had no perspective of building heavy industry, the Second and the Third Five-Year Plans took measures to establish heavy and machine-building industry along with other line of production. Iron and steel, machine-building, power, mining, oil and gas, chemicals and fertilisers, which were the monopoly of the private sector so long—all have come into the Plan and also in the state sector. The state sector developed not only in industry and finance, but also to a certain extent in state-trading.

The imperialists, particularly the American imperialists, refused to give "aid" for building heavy industry, especially in the state sector. They were not so much averse to lending aid for irrigation, power and such other items which helped to produce industrial raw materials for export.

19. The sabotage of India's plans for building heavy and basic industries at the hands of the imperialist monopolies did not meet with success. When India approached the Soviet Union and other socialist countries for aid in building heavy industry, it was gladly given. Socialist aid was without any strings, was efficient and cheaper and the know-how and technical training were given to our workers without reservation. India succeeded in laying the foundation of a heavy machine-building industry, and in considerably expanding iron and steel, machine-tools, coal-mining and oil industries.

20. In these years, apart from the growth of the state sector and the emergence of basic industries, significant progress was registered generally in the field of industrial development. Between the years 1951 and 1961, industrial production rose by 120 per cent and national income rose by 42 per cent. Considerable expansion took place in the field of medium and small industries. Food production, which was the weakest sector of development, rose by 43 per cent. In the private sector, capital investments which stood at Rs 900 crores in 1950-51 jumped to Rs 2,500 crores in 1962. Capital investments in the public sector rose from Rs 604 crores in 1948-51 to Rs 5,902 crores by 1960-61.

21. Thus, a survey of the five-year plans and the achievements under them would show that the policy of the imperialists to keep Indian economy in a stagnant, semi-colonial state has received a rebuff. Internal mobilisation of capital, labour and talent, combined with massive aid from the socialist countries in the most vital sectors of industry and trade have helped in this crucial chance, breaking the bonds which the imperialists wanted to impose on our independent industrial growth. If India had remain-

ed dependent on and linked, as before, only to the world capitalist market, she would never have been able to take a step forward and pursue an independent foreign and home policy.

Without giving up her link with the world capitalist economy, if even a partial simultaneous link with the world socialist economy could help her forward so much, one can imagine how fast would have been our progress if the policies were not compromising

and not guided by the class interests of the bourgeoisie. Compared to the needs of the country the economic growth is insufficient, but the percentages are indicative of the direction and the efforts. It shows not stagnation or growing dependence, but consolidation of political independence and a step forward to economic regeneration. This welcome development, however, is attended with serious shortcomings and new dangers:

III

Contradictions of the Path of Capitalist Development

22. The outstanding and dangerous characteristic of the situation that must not escape attention is that all this is taking place on the basis of capitalist relations in industry and remnants of semi-feudal relations in agriculture. Despite the loud talk of socialism, what is developing under the leadership of the Congress Party and its government is capitalism—private capitalism in the private sector and state capitalism in the state sector.

It means that this development suffers from all inherent and inevitable contradictions and crises of the capitalist system and its basic laws.

23. The bourgeoisie draws the resources for industrial and economic development of India by laying increasing burdens on the common people, mainly in the form of growing indirect taxation, inflation and fleeing the peasantry through the capitalist market. Therefore, there is increasing contradiction between the growing industry and the impoverishment of the people. This impedes the development of industry itself and prevents the full utilisation of the productive capacity of industry and the manpower of the country. The rate of economic development lags seriously behind even the plan targets and recently has failed to keep pace with the growth of population.

24. The national bourgeoisie in India, in spite of its need for capital and a reliable base for growth, refuses to nationalise the concerns of the foreign monopolists which control our foreign trade and some vital lines of production as in tea, jute, oil, etc. On the contrary, it tries to expand by inviting foreign private monopoly capital in partnership with itself.

25. Foreign private investments have in recent years increased phenomenally, both due to the investment of retained profits and inflation of book values to demand higher compensation in case of nationalisation and repatriation of capital. The non-banking foreign private investments have now reached the figure of nearly Rs. 800 crores as compared to Rs. 250 crores in mid-1948. This foreign private capital is mostly entrenched in old and established undertakings like tea, jute, coal, etc. But many new ones are in vital industries such as oil, aluminium, etc.

India's external trade is

ted up with the world capitalist market and a very substantial share of her exports and imports goes to the foreign monopolies. As a result, every year many crores of rupees are pumped out of the country as profits, dividends, royalties, allowances, freight charges, interest payments, repatriation of inflated capital and under various other visible and invisible heads. This plunder considerably diminishes capital accumulation for our economy.

26. The conditions on which so-called economic aid from the imperialist powers is secured hit our national interests and serve the interests of imperialism. The economic aid from the West goes largely to meet balance of payment deficits resulting largely from India's unequal trade with the West. Well over 50 per cent of the US aid has been used for importing foodgrains at high prices, compared to their internal cost of production and the "aid", instead of helping us, hits our peasantry and development of our agriculture.

27. So long as foreign private monopolists are allowed to maintain their entrenched positions in our economy in this manner and are given even more concessions, India cannot develop fully her national economy. Nor can the country's political life be made safe from the pressures, interference and blackmail by the imperialists who function closely linked with the reactionary circles within the country.

28. The Indian national bourgeoisie is not a homogeneous class. It has contradictions within itself. As a result of capitalist development and competition inherent to it, there has been a considerable concentration of capital and economic power in the hands of a few big monopolists who seek to enrich themselves at the expense of the people and the other broader

sections of the national bourgeoisie.

It has been noted that in the capital assets of the private sector, amounting to Rs. 3,000 crores, two monopoly houses (Tata and Birla) alone control Rs. 600 crores, i.e., one-fifth of the entire private sector in India.

The concentration of banking capital has proceeded to such lengths that on a paid-up capital of Rs. 39.97 crores, they gather and utilise public deposits of Rs. 2,225.18 crores. And they use these to finance the industries of their own directors and related houses. They advance credits for hoarding and speculation and hold society to ransom by enabling hoarders to create a crisis of supplies and prices.

Five big banks dominate the credit structure of the country. The top bosses of these banks and those of the giant industrial and business monopolies are the same set of millionaires. A study of 4,174 directorships showed that 44 persons held 2,000 of them and 520 persons held the remaining 2,174. They not only hold these positions in their own private

IV

Condition of the People

29. The condition of the people, in spite of growth in production, has not improved materially as most of the increasing wealth is being concentrated in the hands of the exploiting classes. The working class, the peasantry, the middle-classes and even the small and medium entrepreneurs and businessmen are hit by the policies of the government and the growing domination of the monopolies. The discontent of the toiling people finds expression in various forms of struggle.

30. Not only total production, but also the productivity of the worker has increased. Yet his share in the increasing wealth has fallen, while that of his employers has risen with the establishment of new factories, unemployment is growing faster, thus depressing the living standards of families of the working people. The perpetual slumps and the slogans about their clearance are a standing commentary of the workers while there is no dearth in the number of the palaces of the bourgeoisie. Trade union rights which are the essence of democracy have no sanctity and are violated on the slightest pretext by the employers. In government establishments and factories, even established laws and practices are not observed. The result is that industrial peace is disturbed and workers have to resort to strikes and other forms of action to protect their interests.

31. Millions of our peasants live in appalling poverty and backwardness. Despite the Acts abolishing landlordism three-fourths of the peasantry have practically no land of their own to work on. Leased land on rents, pro-cession of credits and loans development of irrigation and other facilities have brought some relief to a certain stratum

But, for securing the implementation of all these gains, the worker has had to pay a high price in sacrifices and struggles. The right of recognition to trade unions and collective bargaining can still be denied by the employers

sector but infiltrate into the state sector companies and banks and use "public money" for their own personal aggrandisement and profits. The strategic state sector itself being under bureaucratic management and devoid of democratic control, is vulnerable to the pressure of these monopoly groups who seek to sabotage its proper growth and strive to gain control over it.

The growth of monopoly and its increasing grip over the country's economy, have led to corruption and black-marketing on a wide scale, rising prices and the resulting impoverishment of the people. The appalling poverty of the mass of the people stands in sharp contrast with the astounding concentration of wealth in the hands of a few.

But the growth of Indian monopoly and foreign collaboration deals in recent years have not succeeded in halting the process of India's independent economic development. That development has continued, though the threat to such growth has increased and it would be a grave mistake to underestimate or ignore it.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

of the peasantry. But the high taxes of the state and the expropriatory activities of the capitalist market often nullify these gains.

The agricultural labourers and poor peasants have no certainty of work or a living and in many backward areas they are treated no better than serfs.

The middle-classes in the towns are faring hardly any better. High cost of living and declining living standards are their lot too. In recent years, the number of middle-class unemployed has grown considerably. The middle-class wage-earners in government services, private offices, banks, commercial concerns, newspapers, schools, colleges and the like are faced with the same problems of life as the industrial worker.

32. The large mass of the urban and rural intelligentsia, especially the youth, is suffering from growing high cost and the inadequacy of higher

educational and cultural facilities, in science, technology and arts. And not all those who are lucky in getting such necessary education get jobs due to low rate of industrial and economic growth. The problem of educated unemployed is serious and is leading to frustration and other moods in this very important class.

33. Even many industrialists, manufacturers, businessmen and traders are hit by the policies of the present government and by the operation of the foreign and Indian monopolies and big financiers. Allocation of raw material, transport facilities, import-export and capital issue licenses are made by the government and bureaucrats in such a way that the cream of capitalist development falls to the share of big business. Many small and medium industries are adversely hit and those engaged in smallscale village industries live in a permanent crisis.

the gains of agrarian legislation under Congress rule have been partial and limited, being confined mainly to the upper strata of the rural population, while a large section of the toiling peasantry still lives in conditions of gross poverty and subject to multifarious forms of semi-feudal exploitation.

38. The policy of compromise with semi-feudal interests has naturally given birth to certain glaring contradictions in the agrarian set up under Congress rule. Take, for example, the abolition of statutory landlordism in the so-called zamindari areas. There is no doubt that the various legislative measures, seeking to abolish zamindari, jagirdaris, inams, and such other systems of semi-feudal landlordism have affected the lives of millions of peasants and agricultural labourers all over the country. Because of these measures, ownership rights of the semi-feudal intermediaries in 115 million acres of cultivated land under peasant occupation and 145 million acres of forest, pasture and waste lands have been extinguished and transferred either to the peasantry or to the state. The position of the peasants and agricultural labourers who have thus acquired proprietary or permanent occupancy rights has undoubtedly been strengthened in as much as they have been relieved of feudal harassments, illegal feudal levies and arbitrary evictions by landlords under legal and economic pressures. But since agrarian legislation in this respect was based essentially on compromise with semi-feudal vested interests, millions of peasants were allowed to be evicted either forcibly on the basis of wrong land records or under various legal devices provided for in the Zamindari Abolition Acts themselves. This happened, particularly in the name of resumption by landlords for self-cultivation of sir, *khudkashi* or *bakashi* lands, which came to about 64 million acres. Thus a big section of the peasantry got uprooted from the soil during the very process of zamindari abolition and the great bulk of them either joined the ranks of agricultural workers or again became tenants-at-will of their former feudal or semi-feudal exploiters. Apart from this, the entire burden of compensation amounting to Rs. 641 crores fell on the shoulders of the peasantry of these areas. This amount is still being realised from the peasantry by the state either directly or in the form of enhanced rents or indirectly in the form of taxes.

39. Despite the legal abolition of statutory landlordism, some of the worst forms of semi-feudal exploitation, such as subletting or leasing on exorbitant rents and share-cropping are still widely prevalent in the erstwhile statutory zamindari areas. Though self-cultivation by all categories of landholders has expanded, yet subletting and share-cropping still continue to occupy a significant place in the rural economy of these areas. The 'batai' system which forces the tiller to part with as much as 50 per cent of his produce to the landlord prevails in open and disguised forms. Bengal has been and is still, even after the abolition of statutory landlordism, a classic example of this type of semi-feudal exploitation. There a big section of the peasantry is still the victim of a most ignominious and oppressive system of share-cropping.

40. In the ryotwari areas, as is well known, a class of landlords has already developed under the British regime. These landlords, though they came under the legal terminology of ryatws, nonetheless

enjoyed complete ownership rights and exploited a vast number of tenants-at-will through rack-renting. Agrarian reforms carried out in these areas provide for certain security of tenure and reduction of rent to the tenants: simultaneously, they provide for the right of resumption to the landlords. This right, however, became a weapon in the hands of landlords for evicting their tenants on a mass scale. A very small percentage of the tenants actually benefited by these laws. On the other hand, the landlords carried out the eviction of the maximum number of tenants, sold parts of their holdings, began self-cultivation on certain other parts or after eviction leased out their holdings again to the same tenants under various disguises.

41. The ceiling laws have similarly defeated their own purpose. There were so many loopholes in these laws for the landlords to escape that the entire ceiling legislation has turned out to be almost a farce. Big landholders sold out parts of their holdings before the imposition of ceilings; the remaining land they successfully divided up among their own family members and relations, while some land was saved by falsely declaring it as orchard land. The net result was that in no state did the landless peasantry get any land on account of ceiling legislation. The utter ineffectiveness of this legislation is seen from the fact that, despite it, a high degree of land concentration in the hands of the upper strata of rural society still persists. It is noteworthy that in the country as a whole 2.43 per cent of total rural households, each owning more than 30 acres, hold between them 28.5 per cent of the total land, whereas at the other end 82.5 per cent own between them only 27.43 per cent of the total land.

42. Despite the oft-repeated declarations of the Congress governments to curb usury and establish modern credit institutions, the vast mass of peasantry still continues to be in the grip of usurious semi-feudal vested interests. The fact is that from 1951-52 to 1961-62, the proportion of credit supplied by co-operative credit societies has increased from 3.1 per cent to 8 per cent only. The rest of the 92 per cent of the credit is still supplied by professional moneylenders at usurious rates of interest. During this very period, the indebtedness of cultivators has increased from Rs. 954 crores to Rs. 1,332 crores. It is obvious that nothing short of compulsory and substantial scaling down of all rural debts, cancellation of the indebtedness of agricultural labourers, nationalisation of banks and other credit institutions and supply of adequate long-term credit on cheap rates to the peasants could break the stranglehold of usurious vested interests over agriculture and enable the productive forces to expand.

43. The failure of the Congress agrarian legislation to protect the actual tiller of the soil from exploitation of the upper classes of landholders is seen most strikingly in the conditions of life and labour of the agricultural workers who constitute not less than one-fourth of the rural population with regional variation going up to 40 per cent. This disinherited section of the population has been the worst victim of semi-feudal exploitation and market manipulations deprive the peasants of whatever little benefits they secure on account of land reforms and technological development. The peasant, as a producer and as a consumer. Utter instability of agricultural prices makes agricultural

workers who are employed for less than six months a year. The general level of their wage rates is very low and they receive a part of the wages in kind. The incidence of indebtedness amongst them is very high and a large number of them work under conditions of bond slavery. Most of them, coming as they do from the lowest strata of Hindu society, are still subject to multifarious forms of medieval social oppression. Any system of agrarian reforms which does not take fully into account the interests of this vital massive section of the population cannot possibly regenerate rural life. The utter failure of the Congress agrarian reforms in this respect stands out in bold relief.

44. The Congress governments have poured out vast amounts of money, approximately to Rs. 2,000 crores, in the rural areas for irrigation projects, community development projects and national extension schemes for bringing about an increase in agricultural production. With the same aim, they have developed and expanded credit co-operatives and promoted such technological measures as the use of fertilisers, improved implements, better seeds, etc. Though all these measures have helped to develop production to some extent, the main benefits flowing from them have been reaped by the upper strata of the rural population, particularly the rich peasants and the bigger landholders who dominate the village panchayats, credit societies and the block development organisations.

45. To sum up, the net effect of Congress agrarian legislation has been as follows:
1. Statutory feudal landlordism has been abolished in the erstwhile zamindari areas, but in such a manner that strong semi-feudal survivals still persist. They are also there in the erstwhile ryotwari areas. The stranglehold of usurious loans has not been broken.
2. In spite of the abolition of statutory landlordism and various tenancy laws, a considerable concentration of land in the hands of landlords still exists.
3. Capitalist relations in agriculture have grown and a certain development of cultivation by modern methods has taken place, though this is restricted to a small strata of rich peasants and big landholders.
4. The economy of the bulk of the self-cultivating peasantry has not improved and continues to be a deficit economy on account of the continuation of semi-feudal burdens and the exploitation of the producers through the market.
5. The number of agricultural labourers has grown as a result of mass evictions in the course of the agrarian reforms introduced by the Congress and the general impoverishment of the peasantry.

Though the above-mentioned effects of Congress agrarian legislation are common to the country as a whole, the degree of their intensity varies not only from state to state, but also from region to region within a state.

46. The stranglehold of commercial and financial interests over the rural market during the last several years has been tightened enormously. The price mechanism and market manipulations deprive the peasants of whatever little benefits they secure on account of land reforms and technological development. The peasant, as a producer and as a consumer. Utter instability of agricultural prices makes agricultural

V

Agrarian Question

34. Agriculture constitutes the major sector of our national economy, accounting for 46.8 per cent of the national income. As much as 69.5 per cent of the total population derives its livelihood from agriculture, which covers 324 million acres of cultivated land while 60 million acres of cultivable land are lying fallow.

35. Independent India inherited from the British rule a backward and decaying agrarian system which, despite the growth of commodity production and money economy that took place during the British regime, remained under the domination of feudal landlordism and a variety of other semi-feudal vested interests. The main features of this agrarian system were:

i. a rack-rented, pauperised and resourceless peasantry which was the victim of triple exploitation of heavy rents and taxes, usurious rates of interest and a price mechanism which fleeced it both as a producer and consumer;

ii. primitive methods of cultivation with an extremely low level of yield per acre;

iii. very poorly developed means of irrigation, and the almost complete dependence of crops on the monsoon and other seasonal vagaries;

iv. total absence of modern credit facilities and the subjection of the mass of peasantry to the usurious exactions of money-lenders; and

v. total absence of any direct state aid to the peasantry for developing agricultural production. It is patent that such a system, which imposed heavy shackles on the forces of agricultural production, brought about a continuous fall in the purchasing power of the peasantry and thereby seriously curtailed and restricted the home market, could not serve as a base for the economic development of the country after independence.

36. The national bourgeoisie, having secured state power, set itself the task of putting the country on the path of independent capitalist development. This development could not take place without the initial reorganisation of agriculture, which had to be lifted out of its age-long backwardness and freed from the shackles of

INDIAN SITUATION AND COMMUNIST PROGRAMME

operations a gamble in which the producer invariably loses to big business. Violent fluctuations in the prices of commercial crops often bring ruin to millions of cultivators. Hence the question of remunerative and stable prices of agricultural produce has assumed great importance for all sections of the peasantry. It is in this context that the question of state-trading in foodgrains has assumed urgency. The failure of the Congress governments to introduce state-trading in agricultural commodities has not only strengthened big speculators and hoarders but has thrown the mass of the peasantry to the tender mercies of commercial and financial sharks.

47. The agrarian policies of the national bourgeoisie are now in a state of crisis. All its vacillations, weaknesses and compromises in favour of the rural and urban propertied classes are now coming home to roost. After registering an initial release of some productive forces and expansion of agricultural output, the agrarian economy has started stagnating and agricultural production is not growing. In fact, the rate of growth in agriculture has lagged far behind the rate of growth in other sectors of economy and national planning is facing a critical situation on this account. Chronic food deficits and a precarious reliance on foreign food imports has become the order of the day. In the countryside, the impoverishment of the mass of the toiling peasantry is growing. Landlessness is on the increase. To the traditional exploitation of the peasants by the remnants of semi-feudal vested interests has been added a more intensified fleecing of the peasant

try, through the market by big trading interests, speculators and hoarders.

48. The solution of the agrarian problem, which directly affects the interests of the vast majority of our population, is of the utmost importance for national regeneration of India. Without radical agrarian reforms, it is impossible to solve the food problem and accelerate the economic growth of the country. Hence a clean break has to be made with the past by reorganising our vast agricultural sector, eliminating all feudal and semi-feudal survivals, breaking up the concentration of land through the imposition of real ceilings and distributing surplus land to the landless and land-hungry peasants, enabling the peasants through abundant state aid and cooperative effort to use modern technique and develop production, nationalising banks and other credit institutions, supplying cheap long-term credit to the tillers, breaking up the monopolistic trading interests in agricultural produce, ensuring stable and remunerative prices for the peasants both as producers and consumers and guaranteeing an adequate living wage to agricultural workers. The Communist Party, the party of the working class, will bend all its energies for bringing about these radical transformations in the agrarian life of the country. Basing itself on the agricultural labourers and poor peasantry and uniting all sections of the peasantry in their struggles, the Communist Party will lead the toiling millions of our countryside on the high road to a new life of prosperity and freedom.

VI

Bourgeoisie And The State

49. The state in India is the organ of the class rule of the national bourgeoisie as a whole, which upholds and develops capitalism and capitalist relations of production, distribution and exchange in the national economy of India.

In the formation and exercise of governmental power, the big bourgeoisie often wields considerable influence.

The national bourgeoisie compromises with the landlords, admitting them in governmental composition, especially at the state levels and giving them concessions at the cost of the peasantry.

In spite of the bourgeois class character of the state, the ushering in of the bourgeois democratic state was a historic advance over the imperialist-bureaucratic rule over our country.

50. The Constitution of the Republic of India provides for a parliamentary democracy based on adult franchise and certain fundamental rights for the people and directive principles for the state.

It must, however, be noted that although the Constitution provides for certain fundamental rights, the people can exercise them only to a limited extent. Many of these rights are misinterpreted, distorted and even violated by the authorities of the state in favour of the exploiting classes. Freedom of assembly is denied to whole areas and regions embracing lakhs of people by putting them under Section 144, even for months and years, under the plea

of preserving law and order, which means preventing the workers and peasants from assembling to defend their interests. The violence of the state organs becomes particularly brutal against the workers, peasants and other toiling and common people when they act in defence of their rights and demands in a resolute manner.

Even with these limitations, the existence of these rights in the Constitution can be made the platform and instrument of struggles of the people for enlarging democracy and defending their interests.

51. Although a form of class rule, India's present parliamentary democracy has enabled the people to a certain extent to fight the distortion of that class rule in the direction of autocracy in the services of reactionary monopoly and landlord interests. India's Parliament has provided a forum for the people to intervene in the affairs of the state in a measure and to voice the cause of peace, national freedom and democracy, to counter imperialist conspiracies and for demanding social transformations in favour of the people such as land reforms, working class rights, curb on monopolies, etc.

52. Within the national bourgeoisie itself, as the top monopolist groups get more and more differentiated from the rest of the bourgeoisie, a struggle grows among the various sections to get hold of the parliamentary machine in order to wield power over the budget and other economic measures, laws and policies and to shape them in their own particular-group interests.

The influence of foreign monopoly interests is also felt in these developments, in which they generally support those monopoly groups and princely feudal circles who demand measures that facilitate the entry of foreign capital in the country, who demand curtailment of the state sector and the abandonment of nonalignment.

53. The monopolist groups and feudal circles represent the main anti-democratic forces of reaction in the country. Their constant effort is to exercise pressure to shift Parliament and government policies to the right. Hence they oppose extension of democracy, support restrictions on parliamentary democracy and promote bureaucratic authoritarianism.

Hence the democratic and socialist forces back the strengthening of the state sector and its democratic control and parliamentary democracy.

54. Since there is no right to recall, the masses have no means to intervene immediately when their elected representatives are found going against their interests, except through the five-yearly elections. The elections under the capitalist regime, however free they may be, are intrinsically loaded against the toiling masses as the press is controlled by monopoly interests, the ruling party is influenced by the millionaires' donations to the election funds.

Under such conditions, only extra-parliamentary mass struggles become the effective vehicle of influencing and changing the course of parliamentary policies in favour of the masses and against the monopolists, which in effect means the defence of democracy and Parliament itself.

55. One of the most important problems which Indian democracy had to face on the attainment of national independence was the re-fashioning of the state structure in a manner which would ensure democracy and opportunities of economic and political development in equal measure to all the constituent units of the Indian nation—units distinguished by their well-defined territory, developed language, history and cultural features. It was faced with the problem of eliminating casteism and religious communalism, of eradicating the curse of untouchability and caste discrimination, of ensuring rapid development of and equality to the tribal and backward people.

The imperialist rulers had divided India into feudal states and into arbitrarily carved provinces in order to prevent India growing into a united democratic nation, to prevent its various language groups from flourishing and prospering in a united India and to divide and weaken the national liberation struggle.

Imperialism used casteism and communalism, especially Hindu-Muslim antagonism, to disrupt the freedom struggle, to split the country into two states of India and Pakistan, to weaken the independence of both.

56. After independence, the leadership of the Congress was expected to remodel the state structure of Republican India on the basis of the linguistic principle, granting full autonomy to the states so formed. The national

bourgeoisie abolished the princely states and merged them in the Indian Union. But, under the influence of the shortsighted and reactionary monopolist groups, it refused to reconstitute all the states on a linguistic basis and redraw their boundaries on the basis of contiguity and taking village as the unit. The solution of the problem came ultimately, though haltingly, under the stress of the struggle of the democratic masses of Andhra, Karnataka, Maharashtra and Gujarat and has even now left some unsolved problems.

57. The Communist Party has always stood for the formation of linguistic states, for regional autonomy for the tribal people, in their majority areas, ensuring equal opportunity for development and democracy to all the constituent units of the Indian Union. The Communist Party stands for the complete eradication of untouchability and caste discrimination against the so-called scheduled castes by eliminating remnants of feudal and semi-feudal exploitation and oppression, by securing land to these people and by taking effective measures for the rapid liquidation of their cultural backwardness.

58. Although our structure is a federal one, practically all power and authority is concentrated in the Central Government. The constituent states of the Indian Union enjoy limited autonomy and power. This restricts their rapid economic and cultural growth.

59. In such a situation, contradictions develop between the Central Government and the states. The uneven development of capitalism in the British period has led to some states being industrially advanced and some being backward. This unevenness has not been overcome by the Five-Year Plans, despite the spread of investments, due to the influence of the big bourgeoisie, which tries to draw all new capital in the centres of its old investments. Instead of seeking a democratic solution to these contradictions, the reactionary circles among the bourgeoisie take recourse to chauvinism and provincialism and other disruptive influences which impede the progress of each state and the country as a whole.

60. There are certain areas of the country which are centrally administered. They are governed by officers appointed by the Central Government. While the people there, in general, are denied any hand in the management of the affairs of their area, some areas are given the right to elect representatives to Parliament. They are considered fit enough to send a member to the Parliament of the whole country, but are unfit to have even a local assembly of their own for their area!

In some states, there are compact areas inhabited by tribal people who have their own distinct language, culture and tradition of independent tribal states. These Adivasi people are undergoing rapid transformation and ruin in the new conditions of capitalist development. They have been roused to new consciousness which finds no expression for growth in their present conditions of being scattered in small groups in the big states of the Indian Union with whom they cannot get easily assimilated. They demand regional autonomy under their own guidance and control to advance their interests. In some cases they demand statehood for their region where their numbers and geographical layout permit such a possibility.

But the national bourgeoisie, for whom these tribals become

good sources of supply of labour in forests, mines, etc., and who because of their tribal conditions which are fast breaking down, are easy prey for exploitation, denies their legitimate demands and suppresses them with force or by some conditions to their top layers. In conditions of capitalist competition, the guaranteed rights of the minorities provided in the Constitution are also not fully implemented.

61. The administrative system being based on a highly centralised bureaucracy, power is concentrated at the top and exercised through privileged bureaucrats who are divorced from the masses and who obediently serve the interest of the exploiting classes. As these classes in their competition utilise their power of money to influence the administrative organs for their private gain, there is a tendency for corruption to taint the highest circles of authority and the lower circles follow suit.

Local organs of self-government, which are supposed to draw the masses into direct administration of local problems and development and thereby provide a democratic correction to bureaucratic centralisation, are themselves made subject to the dictates of high officials with their control over revenues, advances and loans for the work of the panchayats and their constructive activities. The so-called panchayati raj of the people thus becomes an instrument of the bourgeoisie seeking to consolidate its power in the country.

VII

Foreign Policy

64. The foreign policy pursued by the Government of India is, in the main, a policy of peace, non-alignment and anti-colonialism. It conforms to the interests of the national bourgeoisie, meets the needs of India's economic development and reflects the sentiments of the mass of people of India. It is sometimes vitiated by lapses and compromises, but as a whole the main character of the policy has been generally preserved.

In the earlier years, India's foreign policy suffered from the imprint of British pressures, an inheritance from previous dependence. But soon it underwent significant change.

65. Disillusionment with Anglo-American imperialist policy with regard to India and other South-East Asian countries, the growing contradictions between the consolidation of independence and independent development of national economies of young countries and the neo-colonialist ambitions of imperialists, the self-confidence and strength born out of the consolidation of the Indian state structure, the rising tempo of the national-liberation movement in Asia and Africa, the weakening and retreat of imperialism and the mounting strength of the socialist world, brought about a new turn in India's foreign policy. The policy of non-alignment was positively formulated. There was the famous Panchsheel Pact with the People's Republic of China in 1954 and the Bandung Conference in 1955. Friendship with the socialist countries began to be developed and economic cooperation with them on the basis of equality and mutual benefit followed. The policy of anti-colonialism was demonstrated in the forthright

side. Real functional democracy of the people cannot grow in such a bourgeois democracy run by the exploiters and their bureaucrats.

62. The judiciary, which is an important organ of state power, is weighted against workers, peasants and other sections of the working people. The laws, procedures and the system of justice, though holding the rich and poor equal and alike in principle, essentially serve the interests of the exploiting classes and uphold their class rule. Even the bourgeois-democratic principle of separation of the judiciary from the executive is not adhered to and the judiciary becomes subject to the influence and control of the latter.

63. The limitations of parliamentary democracy that exist arise from the class role of the bourgeoisie. With the growth of monopoly and right reaction, a new threat arises aimed at undermining even the existing democratic liberties and parliamentary democracy as a whole.

It is the right reactionary forces which undermine the parliamentary system, both from within and without, by making it an instrument to advance their narrow class interests and repress the toiling masses. The Communist Party defends the parliamentary and democratic institutions and strives to preserve and develop them further, to make democracy full and real for all.

66. The policy of non-alignment and anti-colonialism was strengthened further when India took military action in December 1961 to liberate and recover her territory of Goa, Daman and Diu, from the four-hundred-year-old occupation of the Portuguese imperialists, who refused to yield to negotiations. The Anglo-American imperialists disapproved of these actions of India, while the socialist camp and newly-liberated countries supported the government and people of India in their just action. The policy that was pursued strengthened the forces of peace and anti-colonialism and earned for India a high place in the peace-loving countries of the world.

67. The imperialist disapproval of India's policy is also seen in their encouragement to Pakistan in its aggressive attitude towards Kashmir and its claim to

that state of the Indian Union. The imperialists support the policy of creating a hotbed of tension in Kashmir by befriending Pakistan in the Security Council. As a result, Pakistan refuses to agree to India's repeated proposal for a pact of friendship, non-aggression and peace.

68. The Chinese invasion of October 1962 gave a rude shock to the Indian people. The anger of the people was sought to be used by extreme right reaction to attack India's policy of non-alignment and Panchsheel, the leadership of Nehru himself was assailed and his resignation demanded since he was the main architect of this policy. Immense pressure was put on Prime Minister Nehru to give up the policy of nonalignment and sign a defence pact with the Anglo-American imperialists.

69. Thanks to the firm stand taken in defence of the policy of nonalignment by Nehru backed by the Indian people, the correct positions taken by the Communist Party of India in regard to national defence, the settlement of Cuban crisis which averted world war, the friendly attitude of the USSR and other socialist countries towards India and the ceasefire by the Chinese after a cease-lived advance, India's foreign policy survived the severest crisis it ever faced.

70. But Chinese aggression had so strengthened the political onslaught of right reaction that for some time they were able to weaken the policy of nonalignment and anti-colonialism. The VOA deal episode, government's hesitation to protest effectively and emphatically against the extension of the operation of the US Seventh Fleet to the Indian Ocean, or rather the evasion of the issue, the Joint Air-Exercises, etc., are instances.

71. That the policy of non-alignment has been preserved in the main is borne out not only by formal declarations but also by the fact that in the midst of the severe crisis created by Chinese invasion and the offensive of right reaction, the Government of India supported the Soviet Union during the Cuban crisis, continued to back the admission of the Chinese People's Republic to the UNO, endorsed the nuclear test ban treaty, yielded to the popular demand to cancel the Voice of America deal, and rejected the imperialist offer of an air-umbrella against China.

72. The main opponents of India's foreign policy are certain monopoly capitalist circles 'having strong links with Anglo-American capital and the remnants of the feudal princely order who go with them. The parties which oppose India's policy of nonalignment generally draw their main support from these classes.

These circles often get support from the rightwing inside the Congress. Thus they are in a position to attack it, both from within and outside the Congress, and exert pressure on government for a shift towards a close alliance with the Anglo-American bloc.

As a result of these pressures, there are often serious vacillations on the part of the Congress government, which are not in conformity with India's general foreign policy. Especially, there are marked failures in taking a consistent and firm stand against neo-colonialist conspiracies and aggressive actions of imperialists (e.g., on Congo, South Vietnam, Malaysia). This tarnishes India's anti-imperialist anti-colonialist

image in the eyes of the African and Asian nations. Therefore, the democratic forces must exercise vigilance and mobilise the masses in broad peace and solidarity movements to counteract these pressures and to prevent these weaknesses and vacillations in India's foreign policy.

The policy of nonalignment, peace and anti-colonialism has strengthened India's political independence and also enabled her to obtain resources from friendly countries for peaceful economic construction. The policy of nonalignment is a positive

and progressive policy for all non-socialist newly-liberated countries and its main strength is derived from the existence and support of the socialist camp in the new epoch, when socialism is becoming the decisive trend in world history and when imperialism is finding it increasingly difficult to subvert independence attained by its former colonies.

Progressive forces in the country continue to defend this policy and combat the reactionary pressures against it.

VIII

National Democratic Revolution And The Path Forward

73. Which path should India take in order to complete the national democratic revolution, to wipe out all legacies of the former imperialist rule, develop industry and agriculture rapidly, abolish unemployment, raise the incomes and standards of living of the masses, help their cultural advancement and take the country forward to a bright happy future?

Life itself teaches our people that they cannot free themselves from exploitation, poverty and hunger, along the path of capitalist development which India is following at present.

74. The people's urges for rapid progress and for a better life are seen in the tremendous popularity of the ideas of socialism. Socialism goes on influencing and radicalising the minds of our people chiefly by its economic and other achievements. No wonder, even bourgeois politicians today are constrained to use socialist slogans. The ruling Congress party has even proclaimed the establishment of a "socialist state" as its goal.

75. The example of the socialist countries in successfully solving problems similar to the ones we are facing, the possibility of drawing on the varied and increasing assistance from socialist countries for India's rapid industrialisation and development, the general discrediting of capitalism and our people's own painful experience of it, the growing force of attraction of socialist ideas among the masses, the advance of the democratic movement and the increasing role of the working class in the political life of the nation—all this shows that both external and internal factors favouring the development of our country on non-capitalist and democratic lines are growing. Already vast sections of our people have rallied to resolute struggles for eliminating the power of foreign monopolists, for curbing their Indian counterparts and for radical agrarian reforms for radical changes in our social and political life.

That is exactly the reason why an ever-growing number of our patriotic people is asking the question: 'Must India travel the capitalist path? Is there no other path? The programme we have put forward is such an alternative path of development.

76. The Communist Party believes that real socialist reconstruction of society, which is free from capitalist crisis, can be built only by applying the scientific and universal truths of Marxism-Leninism to Indian conditions. The basic requisites of socialism are the social ownership, control and management of the

as such which will be the immediate target of attack and elimination.

FIRST and foremost, the grip of foreign monopoly capital on our economy will be completely eliminated.

SECONDLY, a state sector, independent of foreign monopolies and functioning on a democratic basis, will be expanded and strengthened as a powerful lever for building a self-reliant national industry and economy.

THIRDLY, the growth of Indian monopoly groups will be effectively curbed and their economic power broken.

FOURTHLY, the power of landlord and feudal remnants will be completely eliminated; radical agrarian reforms in the interests of the peasantry will be carried out and the grip of usurious, trading and bank capital on our agriculture will be removed.

This will open up for our people a path of development which, through far-reaching reforms, unshackles the productive forces in industry and agriculture, ensures rapid economic growth, rising living standards of the masses and their active participation in the production. This will create the pre-requisites for putting our country on the road to socialism in the next stage. This intervening stage can be described as the stage of non-capitalist path of development.

80. What are the classes interested in carrying through this programme?

FIRST and foremost, the working class, which stands for the complete and consistent carrying out of this programme and which has already begun to rise in countrywide mass actions, demanding the implementation of some of the items of the same.

SECONDLY, the broad masses of the cultivating peasants, including the rich peasants and the agricultural labourers. The completion of the radical agrarian reform in the interests of the peasantry, as well as other democratic reforms given in the programme will unshackle the productive force of the cultivating peasantry and enable fuller employment of labour power of the landless peasants and agricultural workers, ensuring steady rise of agricultural production and of the living standard of the rural masses.

THIRDLY, the rising class of urban and rural intelligentsia which is suffering from unemployment, impoverishment and inadequate facilities for educational and cultural development under the present dispensation.

FINALLY, the national bourgeoisie, excluding its topmost monopoly sections, which is objectively interested in the accomplishment of the principal tasks of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution, without which, it knows truly independent national economy cannot be built, nor backwardness and impoverishment eradicated. But this class is also the exploiting class in the present society and as such has a dual nature. While it strives to eliminate the imperialist grip and the feudal remnants from our economy in its own interest, it vacillates and is inclined to compromise with these elements and pursues anti-people policies.

In this connection, it is important to note, as pointed out earlier, that capitalist development has resulted in a certain differentiation in the national bourgeoisie, powerful monopolist

DRAFT PROGRAMME

groups have arisen, which in alliance with reactionary parties outside the ruling Congress party, as well as with rightwing elements within it are seeking to subvert national policies and bring about changes which will harm the interests of the bulk of the national bourgeoisie.

81. Thus, in order to create the instrument for implementing the programme we will have to build a National Democratic Front, bringing together all the patriotic forces of the country, viz., the working class, the entire peasantry, including the rich peasants and agricultural labourers, the intelligentsia and the bulk of the non-monopolist bourgeoisie. Such a front is not in existence today, when not only the national bourgeoisie but a considerable section of the democratic masses are behind the present policies of the ruling party, while another section of the democratic masses is fighting for bringing about a leftward turn in these policies in the direction of the programme. Such a National Democratic Front will arise and take shape in the course of overcoming this main rift among the democratic masses. It will be forged in the course of countrywide national mass movements and struggles, which are aimed at isolating and defeating the forces of right reaction seeking to subvert national policies, which strive to bring about changes in government policies and radical reforms necessary for the implementation of the above programme.

82. The working class, forging the unity of its class organisations, will have to take the initiative in launching this national mass movement. Its struggle for the defence and betterment of its living standards, for democratic measures like the nationalisation of banks, oil monopolies and foreign trade, and for the expansion and democratisation of the state sector will form a vital part of this national movement.

This national movement will attain its countrywide sweep and striking force when it embraces the broad mass of peasantry and the agricultural labourers in the vast rural areas. The struggles of the broad masses of the cultivating peasantry, for consistent and thorough completion of agrarian reforms eliminating feudal survivals, for putting peasant economy on a sound footing, for ensuring protection from the exploitation by trading and usury capital, for the expansion of credit facilities and the increasing use of the modern technique; as well as the struggles of the landless peasants and agricultural labour for fallow and surplus land, for minimum living wage, for setting up state farms and other rehabilitation schemes for scheduled caste and Adivasi landless—all these struggles of the broad rural masses have a national significance. Their struggles for these demands are not only for raising their living conditions but also for the raising of the country's agricultural production, for eliminating the recurring food crises and for creating a reliable base for our expanding industrialisation.

On the working class in the cities and urban areas rests the responsibility to assist the peasants and the agricultural workers to build their mass organisations and to develop their struggles as a part of the national campaign. This will bring into being the worker-peasant alliance, which, together with the mobilisation of the middle classes and the intelligentsia will be the main driving force behind the National Democratic Front.

The national movement will, of course, embrace the broad-based campaign for strengthening India's independent foreign policy of nonalignment, peace, anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism, for establishing relationship of friendship and cooperation with all countries, and especially socialist countries, on the basis of equality and mutual benefit, for defending India's sovereignty and territorial integrity, for solving outstanding disputes with neighbours like Pakistan through peaceful negotiations and without interference of imperialism.

83. Developing out of the joint actions of the mass organisations of workers, peasants, employees and agricultural workers, as well as of the Communist Party and other left and socialist parties, the National Democratic Front will draw into its ranks not only the masses following the Congress but also its progressive sections.

As the National Democratic Front becomes ever more broad-based, militant and powerful in the course of the rising tempo of the mass movement, it is able to isolate and defeat the forces of reaction, paralyse the rightwing inside the ruling Congress Party and to enforce decisive leftward shifts in government policies. There arises a shift in the balance of forces in favour of the democratic front. The victorious National Democratic Front is in a position to form its own government and create its own state, the state of national democracy, representing the fighting alliance of all the patriotic and democratic elements in the country pledged to carry out its programme.

84. This state of national democracy will be qualitatively different from the present state which is a state of bourgeois democracy, representing the interest of the entire bourgeoisie, including its rightwing and pursuing a vacillating and compromising policy vis-a-vis the forces of reaction. The state of national democracy, on the other hand, will be an organ of struggle against these forces, and will break the power of monopoly groups and utterly rout the feudal elements.

National democracy also differs from the state of people's democracy, which we had put forward as our central slogan in our Programme of 1951. The class composition, as well as the programme, which were put forward for people's democracy in our 1951 document, are about the same as put forward for national democracy here. The difference consists in that, in a people's democracy the alliance of the patriotic classes is under the exclusive leadership of the working class. In the case of national democracy, the leadership of the alliance of the patriotic classes is shared between the national bourgeoisie and the working class.

As a result of our experience of the last ten years of democratic and mass struggles in the country and taking into account the new possibilities which open up for the newly-independent countries in the new epoch as defined by the world Communist movement in its Statement of 1960, our Party came to a re-evaluation of the class character of the present government and of its role in building independent national economy, in maintaining an independent foreign policy, and in maintaining a certain measure of democracy.

Taking note of the dual nature of the national bourgeoisie, we see how its economic and political policies are bringing in its wake conflicts and contradictions. There is a slowing down of economic growth, deadlocks,

even crises in the economic life of the country. In the political field, there is the dangerous rise of reactionary forces; the rising power of monopoly groups, which, in alliance with feudal elements and foreign monopoly are seeking to subvert national policies and set back the clock of progress.

This poses a challenge to the rising power of the democratic forces and to the growing working-class and peasant movement, in fact, to all the patriotic masses of the country. Will they allow the forces of reaction, the feudal and pro-imperialist elements and monopoly groups to achieve their anti-national aims; or will they rally all the patriotic democratic forces that can be rallied to build a powerful National Democratic Front, to defeat reaction, to bring a leftward swing in the policies of the government and to take the country away from the present bankrupt path of capitalist development to the alternative path of completing the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution and to break the power of the monopoly groups?

Objective conditions are most favourable for building up a national mass movement as described above and to forge a National Democratic Front in the course of it—a front which will include the patriotic sections of the national bourgeoisie. It is possible to achieve this by utilising to the fullest the democratic

rights and liberties that exist today and by pursuing steadfastly the policy of struggle against and uniting with the patriotic national bourgeoisie.

The slogan of setting up the National Democratic Front and later the government of the NDF—the state of national democracy—has today the greatest mobilising force. That is why we make it the central slogan of this period.

85. The state of national democracy, which will arise on the crest of the national mass movement, will be an instrument of the National Democratic Front. Such a government, including the national bourgeois elements, and acting under the constant pressure of the national mass movement from below, will be forced to act unitedly and implement the programme of national development in a non-capitalist way, i.e., eliminating foreign monopoly, curbing Indian monopoly groups, carrying through radical agrarian reforms, extending democracy to ensure the active participation of working class in the economic and political life of the country. In this process the balance continuously shifts in favour of the working class and the worker-peasant alliance, paving the way for the strengthening of the leadership of the working class in the state and thus creating the conditions for transition to the stage of construction of socialism.

and file members of the party today and by pursuing steadfastly the policy of struggle against and uniting with the patriotic national bourgeoisie.

The slogan of setting up the National Democratic Front and later the government of the NDF—the state of national democracy—has today the greatest mobilising force. That is why we make it the central slogan of this period.

85. The state of national democracy, which will arise on the crest of the national mass movement, will be an instrument of the National Democratic Front. Such a government, including the national bourgeois elements, and acting under the constant pressure of the national mass movement from below, will be forced to act unitedly and implement the programme of national development in a non-capitalist way, i.e., eliminating foreign monopoly, curbing Indian monopoly groups, carrying through radical agrarian reforms, extending democracy to ensure the active participation of working class in the economic and political life of the country. In this process the balance continuously shifts in favour of the working class and the worker-peasant alliance, paving the way for the strengthening of the leadership of the working class in the state and thus creating the conditions for transition to the stage of construction of socialism.

The Jana Sangh and the RSS are not only communal organisations but they are fascist type parties organised along paramilitary lines and committed to violence against all progressive elements. They foment communal fanaticism against the minority community and organise communal rioting. The Muslim League is reviving its existence as a communal party.

91. The reactionary organisations exercise a pull over a section of the masses by utilising their elementary discontent against the anti-people policies of the government, and playing upon backward, feudal and semi-feudal sentiments and prejudices. Very often the chauvinism and communalism of the rightist elements within the ruling party and the government brings grist to their mill. The National Democratic Front cannot grow without firmly combating the reactionary, communal, chauvinist leadership of these organisations and weaning the masses away from their influence.

92. The National Democratic Front will grow in strength and volume in the measure that it unleashes the struggle for the programme of national regeneration and the well-being of the masses and mobilises and consolidates the forces of democracy, unity and national advance, as against the dark forces of communalism, separatism and reaction.

93. Among the parties of the left, other than the Communist Party, the Samyukta Socialist Party which has emerged after the merger of the PSP and the SP, has an all-India character. Before the merger, the rightwing leaders of the PSP often sided with the parties of right reaction and were notorious for anti-communism, but the rank

Congress and the progressive sections of the Congress at various levels take their place in it. It is the task of the Communist Party to make ceaseless efforts to forge unity with the progressive forces within the Congress directly and through common mass movements for the realisation of the demands of the National Democratic Front.

94. Among the parties of the left, other than the Communist Party, the Samyukta Socialist Party which has emerged after the merger of the PSP and the SP, has an all-India character. Before the merger, the rightwing leaders of the PSP often sided with the parties of right reaction and were notorious for anti-communism, but the rank

firmly counteract all efforts to weaken or paralyse it.

It will strengthen the camp of peace by participating in common initiatives of peace-loving countries and all other peace

It will ensure that any religious or communal institutions as such are not assisted from state and public funds. It will ensure that the interference by religious institutions in the affairs of the state and the fostering of reli-

gular basis of the state. It will ensure that any religious or communal institutions as such are not assisted from state and public funds. It will ensure that the interference by religious institutions in the affairs of the state and the fostering of reli-

gular basis of the state. It will ensure that any religious or communal institutions as such are not assisted from state and public funds. It will ensure that the interference by religious institutions in the affairs of the state and the fostering of reli-

gular basis of the state. It will ensure that any religious or communal institutions as such are not assisted from state and public funds. It will ensure that the interference by religious institutions in the affairs of the state and the fostering of reli-

gular basis of the state. It will ensure that any religious or communal institutions as such are not assisted from state and public funds. It will ensure that the interference by religious institutions in the affairs of the state and the fostering of reli-

gular basis of the state. It will ensure that any religious or communal institutions as such are not assisted from state and public funds. It will ensure that the interference by religious institutions in the affairs of the state and the fostering of reli-

gular basis of the state. It will ensure that any religious or communal institutions as such are not assisted from state and public funds. It will ensure that the interference by religious institutions in the affairs of the state and the fostering of reli-

gular basis of the state. It will ensure that any religious or communal institutions as such are not assisted from state and public funds. It will ensure that the interference by religious institutions in the affairs of the state and the fostering of reli-

gular basis of the state. It will ensure that any religious or communal institutions as such are not assisted from state and public funds. It will ensure that the interference by religious institutions in the affairs of the state and the fostering of reli-

gular basis of the state. It will ensure that any religious or communal institutions as such are not assisted from state and public funds. It will ensure that the interference by religious institutions in the affairs of the state and the fostering of reli-

forces for the reduction of international tension. It would fight for universal and complete disarmament, for banning of nuclear weapons and the liquidation of all foreign military bases.

It will build solidarity with Afro-Asian and Latin American countries fighting colonialism and neo-colonialism. It will give moral and material support to all countries which are struggling for national freedom. It will build close political, economic and cultural relations with newly independent underdeveloped countries.

It will work for peaceful settlement of all differences and disputes with neighbouring countries such as Pakistan, China, Nepal, Burma and Ceylon and will establish friendly relations with them on the basis of Panchsheel.

It will develop relations of close cooperation with the socialist countries.

State Structure

95. The National Democratic government will pursue policies and adopt measures which will strengthen national independence, territorial integrity of the country and the sovereignty of the people. It will safeguard and strengthen the secular character of the state and take all steps to cement India's national unity and the internal cohesion of our national-political life.

It will establish elected legislatures and responsible governments in centrally administered areas such as Delhi, Manipur, Tripura, Himachal Pradesh, on par with the other states.

It will extend and strengthen elected local organs, enhance their powers and give them more resources to fulfil their responsibilities.

It will ensure simple, cheaper and speedier justice, which will be within the reach of the common man. The poorer sections of the population will be provided free legal aid by the state.

Cement India's National Unity

The national democratic government will complete the process of the formation of linguistic states and work out solution of the problem of interstate boundaries by the application of the twin principles of contiguity and accepting village as the unit in the demarcation.

At the state level, it will ensure wider powers and greater financial resources to the various states comprising the Indian Union in the interest of their rapid economic and cultural development.

It will ensure that English as the medium of administration and instruction is replaced by Indian languages. Every state shall use its own language for its internal administrative purposes in all government departments and public institutions. It will also be the medium of instruction at all levels.

English will be gradually replaced by Hindi as the medium of communication between different state governments and between the centre and the state governments.

In Parliament, a member will have the right to use his state language. Simultaneous translation of parliamentary proceedings will be provided for in all state languages.

Urdu language and script will be protected in states and areas where it has been in traditional use. Provision will be made for large linguistic minorities in different states to receive education in their mother tongue.

Government Servant And The Army

The national democratic government will ensure that the employees of the government at all levels adequate salaries and D.A., social insurance benefits,

provident fund or pension, housing and other facilities that are required for living as human beings. It will eliminate corruption, nepotism and such other evils that have engulfed government administrative apparatus. It will implement the just demands of government employees regarding appointments, promotions and conditions of service.

It will ensure decent living standards for members of the armed forces, including the police, in the matter of salaries, housing, education of children, etc. It will take care of the families of members of the armed forces who are killed or disabled and will provide them with means for decent living.

It will ensure them all democratic rights which the citizens of our country enjoy, consistent with the needs for maintaining the armed forces as a disciplined and efficient body in the discharge of their duty in defence of our country and maintenance of the internal order.

It will educate and infuse the armed forces with the spirit of patriotism, democracy and love of the people of our country.

Agriculture

97. The national democratic government will take the following effective measures for the radical reorganisation of agrarian economy and the solution of peasant problems:

The monopoly in land will be broken by abolishing all forms of landlordism and land will be distributed to agricultural labourers and poor peasants free of cost. Suitable amendments will be made in the existing legislation of various states with this end in view.

All types of fallow lands in the hands of the state will be distributed to agricultural labourers and poor peasants.

The still remaining unpaid portion of compensation to big zamindars and jagirdars will be stopped.

All debts which the peasants and agricultural labourers owe to the landlords and users will be cancelled.

All facilities will be provided to the cultivators of land so as to encourage them to produce enough food for people and raw materials for industries. Cheap credit, better seeds, manure, will be provided through cooperatives. Cheap irrigation facilities will be provided through the construction of irrigation dams and through providing electricity on a wide scale.

Agro-industries and cold storage for the processing and preservation of such food products as milk, eggs, fish, etc., will be started so that the income of the cultivators is increased through these subsidiary occupations.

The cultivators will be assured of remunerative prices for their products.

Adequate wages and living conditions will be ensured to the agricultural labourers.

They will be provided with free house sites and financial help to build houses.

The problem of under-employment of the agricultural labourers will be solved by starting rural industries and providing them with alternative jobs in the off seasons.

State farms run on mechanised and modern lines like the Suratgarh farm in Rajasthan will be started where vast tracts of land are available as models to the cultivators on how modern collective agriculture will increase incomes, while reducing the load of hard labour from the backs of the cultivators.

The cultivators will be encouraged to form cooperative farming societies on a voluntary basis and carry on cultivation through the

aid of machinery and other modern methods.

Win Workers' Cooperation

The national democratic government will ensure the implementation of rights of workers and other middle-class employees.

It will fix a national minimum wage based on the needs of the employees as decided by the tripartite conventions. It will also fix a sliding scale of DA, bonus, gratuity and holidays with pay.

It will ensure the progressive reduction of hours of work.

It will enlarge and liberalise social security measures, such as provision against unemployment, ill-health, and old-age. It will also provide housing facilities on cheap rent.

It will guarantee the employees full trade union and democratic rights such as compulsory recognition of trade unions on the basis of the secret ballot of workers, collective bargaining and the right to strike.

Liberal financial and technical assistance will be given to the people of these areas to help them to discard the system of shifting cultivation and take to settled cultivation. Sufficient land will be provided to them for this purpose.

Industries and communications will be developed in these areas to provide tribal people with other avenues of living.

Full protection from the exploiters of the plains will be given to the tribal people. The occupation of the lands of the tribal people by outside vested interests will be prohibited.

The tribal people will be allowed to utilise forest produce freely.

Trading cooperatives of the tribal people will be organised to save them from the loot of the rapacious traders. These cooperatives will provide the tribal people with necessities of life like cloth, kerosene, sugar, etc., at cheap prices and ensure them reasonable prices for the produce they want to sell.

The tribal people will be assisted to develop their culture and language. They will be provided with free education and medical facilities, with a view to improve their cultural and health conditions.

Education And Health Services

The national democratic government will introduce free and compulsory education upto 8th class to all children of both sexes.

It will ensure the eradication of illiteracy by making arrangements for adult education.

It will reorganise our entire system of education; since rapid industrialisation of our country is the objective, the pattern of education will be made to conform to this aim. There will be rapid expansion of facilities for training courses for workers for the various industries and trades; and an extension of facilities for higher technical and scientific education; a coordination between the output of training, educational and technical scientific institutes and the needs of public sector and private sector industries, trade and transport and services by a system of forward looking man-power planning.

It will ensure academic and democratic rights for students and teachers.

It will provide adequate salaries for teaching staff at all levels as well as for research workers and scientists.

forces for the reduction of international tension. It would fight for universal and complete disarmament, for banning of nuclear weapons and the liquidation of all foreign military bases.

It will build solidarity with Afro-Asian and Latin American countries fighting colonialism and neo-colonialism. It will give moral and material support to all countries which are struggling for national freedom. It will build close political, economic and cultural relations with newly independent underdeveloped countries.

It will work for peaceful settlement of all differences and disputes with neighbouring countries such as Pakistan, China, Nepal, Burma and Ceylon and will establish friendly relations with them on the basis of Panchsheel.

It will develop relations of close cooperation with the socialist countries.

State Structure

95. The National Democratic government will pursue policies and adopt measures which will strengthen national independence, territorial integrity of the country and the sovereignty of the people. It will safeguard and strengthen the secular character of the state and take all steps to cement India's national unity and the internal cohesion of our national-political life.

It will establish elected legislatures and responsible governments in centrally administered areas such as Delhi, Manipur, Tripura, Himachal Pradesh, on par with the other states.

It will extend and strengthen elected local organs, enhance their powers and give them more resources to fulfil their responsibilities.

It will ensure simple, cheaper and speedier justice, which will be within the reach of the common man. The poorer sections of the population will be provided free legal aid by the state.

Cement India's National Unity

The national democratic government will complete the process of the formation of linguistic states and work out solution of the problem of interstate boundaries by the application of the twin principles of contiguity and accepting village as the unit in the demarcation.

At the state level, it will ensure wider powers and greater financial resources to the various states comprising the Indian Union in the interest of their rapid economic and cultural development.

It will ensure that English as the medium of administration and instruction is replaced by Indian languages. Every state shall use its own language for its internal administrative purposes in all government departments and public institutions. It will also be the medium of instruction at all levels.

English will be gradually replaced by Hindi as the medium of communication between different state governments and between the centre and the state governments.

In Parliament, a member will have the right to use his state language. Simultaneous translation of parliamentary proceedings will be provided for in all state languages.

Urdu language and script will be protected in states and areas where it has been in traditional use. Provision will be made for large linguistic minorities in different states to receive education in their mother tongue.

Government Servant And The Army

The national democratic government will ensure that the employees of the government at all levels adequate salaries and D.A., social insurance benefits,

provident fund or pension, housing and other facilities that are required for living as human beings. It will eliminate corruption, nepotism and such other evils that have engulfed government administrative apparatus. It will implement the just demands of government employees regarding appointments, promotions and conditions of service.

It will ensure decent living standards for members of the armed forces, including the police, in the matter of salaries, housing, education of children, etc. It will take care of the families of members of the armed forces who are killed or disabled and will provide them with means for decent living.

It will ensure them all democratic rights which the citizens of our country enjoy, consistent with the needs for maintaining the armed forces as a disciplined and efficient body in the discharge of their duty in defence of our country and maintenance of the internal order.

It will educate and infuse the armed forces with the spirit of patriotism, democracy and love of the people of our country.

Agriculture

97. The national democratic government will take the following effective measures for the radical reorganisation of agrarian economy and the solution of peasant problems:

The monopoly in land will be broken by abolishing all forms of landlordism and land will be distributed to agricultural labourers and poor peasants free of cost. Suitable amendments will be made in the existing legislation of various states with this end in view.

All types of fallow lands in the hands of the state will be distributed to agricultural labourers and poor peasants.

The still remaining unpaid portion of compensation to big zamindars and jagirdars will be stopped.

All debts which the peasants and agricultural labourers owe to the landlords and users will be cancelled.

All facilities will be provided to the cultivators of land so as to encourage them to produce enough food for people and raw materials for industries. Cheap credit, better seeds, manure, will be provided through cooperatives. Cheap irrigation facilities will be provided through the construction of irrigation dams and through providing electricity on a wide scale.

Agro-industries and cold storage for the processing and preservation of such food products as milk, eggs, fish, etc., will be started so that the income of the cultivators is increased through these subsidiary occupations.

The cultivators will be assured of remunerative prices for their products.

Adequate wages and living conditions will be ensured to the agricultural labourers.

They will be provided with free house sites and financial help to build houses.

The problem of under-employment of the agricultural labourers will be solved by starting rural industries and providing them with alternative jobs in the off seasons.

State farms run on mechanised and modern lines like the Suratgarh farm in Rajasthan will be started where vast tracts of land are available as models to the cultivators on how modern collective agriculture will increase incomes, while reducing the load of hard labour from the backs of the cultivators.

The cultivators will be encouraged to form cooperative farming societies on a voluntary basis and carry on cultivation through the

aid of machinery and other modern methods.

Win Workers' Cooperation

The national democratic government will ensure the implementation of rights of workers and other middle-class employees.

It will fix a national minimum wage based on the needs of the employees as decided by the tripartite conventions. It will also fix a sliding scale of DA, bonus, gratuity and holidays with pay.

It will ensure the progressive reduction of hours of work.

It will enlarge and liberalise social security measures, such as provision against unemployment, ill-health, and old-age. It will also provide housing facilities on cheap rent.

It will guarantee the employees full trade union and democratic rights which the citizens of our country enjoy, consistent with the needs for maintaining the armed forces as a disciplined and efficient body in the discharge of their duty in defence of our country and maintenance of the internal order.

It will educate and infuse the armed forces with the spirit of patriotism, democracy and love of the people of our country.

Agriculture

97. The national democratic government will take the following effective measures for the radical reorganisation of agrarian economy and the solution of peasant problems:

The monopoly in land will be broken by abolishing all forms of landlordism and land will be distributed to agricultural labourers and poor peasants free of cost. Suitable amendments will be made in the existing legislation of various states with this end in view.

All types of fallow lands in the hands of the state will be distributed to agricultural labourers and poor peasants.

The still remaining unpaid portion of compensation to big zamindars and jagirdars will be stopped.

All debts which the peasants and agricultural labourers owe to the landlords and users will be cancelled.

All facilities will be provided to the cultivators of land so as to encourage them to produce enough food for people and raw materials for industries. Cheap credit, better seeds, manure, will be provided through cooperatives. Cheap irrigation facilities will be provided through the construction of irrigation dams and through providing electricity on a wide scale.

Agro-industries and cold storage for the processing and preservation of such food products as milk, eggs, fish, etc., will be started so that the income of the cultivators is increased through these subsidiary occupations.

The cultivators will be assured of remunerative prices for their products.

Adequate wages and living conditions will be ensured to the agricultural labourers.

They will be provided with free house sites and financial help to build houses.

The problem of under-employment of the agricultural labourers will be solved by starting rural industries and providing them with alternative jobs in the off seasons.

State farms run on mechanised and modern lines like the Suratgarh farm in Rajasthan will be started where vast tracts of land are available as models to the cultivators on how modern collective agriculture will increase incomes, while reducing the load of hard labour from the backs of the cultivators.

The cultivators will be encouraged to form cooperative farming societies on a voluntary basis and carry on cultivation through the

aid of machinery and other modern methods.

Win Workers' Cooperation

The national democratic government will ensure the implementation of rights of workers and other middle-class employees.

It will fix a national minimum wage based on the needs of the employees as decided by the tripartite conventions. It will also fix a sliding scale of DA, bonus, gratuity and holidays with pay.

It will ensure the progressive reduction of hours of work.

It will enlarge and liberalise social security measures, such as provision against unemployment, ill-health, and old-age. It will also provide housing facilities on cheap rent.

It will guarantee the employees full trade union and democratic rights which the citizens of our country enjoy, consistent with the needs for maintaining the armed forces as a disciplined and efficient body in the discharge of their duty in defence of our country and maintenance of the internal order.

DRAFT PROGRAMME

It will put the minimum medical facilities within easy reach of the common people through the establishment of a wide network of health, medical and maternity services. It will take special care in the eradication of epidemics like cholera, small-pox, malaria.

Literature, Art And Culture

100. The national democratic government will assist every national, including tribal groups, to develop in their own way their literature, art and culture. At the same time, efforts must be made to develop their democratic content and bring them in unison with the common aspirations of the

country and the democratic mass of toiling humanity.

Literature, art and culture, while eschewing the trends of violence and hatred between man and man, of subordination and oppression, must reflect the creative labour of man, the heroic struggles for independence and freedom, for better life and living for all. It must help people to overcome hostile feelings of caste and communal divisions, without interfering in anyone's religious beliefs. It must foster love of peace and hatred of war between nation and nation and abhor the exploitation of man by man.

All creators and workers of art must get special care and assistance from the state as they are among the most important builders of new society and its values.

XI

Struggle for Peaceful Path and Its Possibilities

101. The Communist Party of India strives to achieve the establishment of national democracy and create conditions for the advance to the goal of bringing about a powerful mass revolutionary movement, by winning a stable majority in Parliament, backed by such a movement, the working class and its allies will strive their utmost to overcome the resistance of the forces of reaction and transform Parliament from an instrument of serving the bourgeoisie into a genuine instrument of the people's will for effecting a fundamental transformation in the economic, social and state structure.

102. The rallying and cohesion of the revolutionary forces of the working class and all working people and the expansion of mass revolutionary action is of decisive importance for winning a stable parliamentary majority, for the victory of the revolution.

103. The form of transition depends on the international situation and on specific internal conditions, mainly on the latter. The Communist Party and the working class work for creating and strengthening necessary conditions for the peaceful path to socialism by developing broad-based popular struggles for the strengthening and extension of democracy, by curbing the power of the monopolistic big bourgeoisie and reactionaries and by isolating them, by giving a resolute rebuff to the opportunist elements, by ceaselessly developing class struggles of the workers, peasants and other democratic sections of the people against the forces of reaction.

104. It needs to be always borne in mind that the ruling classes will not relinquish their power voluntarily. Experience shows that they defy the will of the people and seek to suppress it by lawless and violent methods. It is, therefore, necessary for the revolutionary forces to so orientate themselves and their work that they can face up to all contingencies, to any twists and turns in the political life of the country.

105. Marxism-Leninism is a great revolutionary doctrine, the lodestar of the working class and working people of the whole world at all stages of the great battle for peace, freedom and a better life, for the establishment of the most just society—communism. Its great creative, revolutionising power lies in its unbreakable link with life in its continuous enrichment through a comprehensive analysis of reality. On the basis of Marxism-Leninism,

the proletariat, and winning the broadest sections of the working masses for communist ideas.

Anti-communism arose at the dawn of the working-class movement as the principal ideological weapon of the capitalist class in its struggle against the proletariat and Marxist ideology. As class struggle grew in intensity, particularly with the formation of the world socialist system, anti-communism became more vicious and refined. Anti-communism, which is indicative of a deep ideological crisis in and extreme decline of bourgeois ideology, resorts to monstrous distortions of Marxist doctrine and crude slander against the socialist social system, presents communist policies and objectives in a distorted light and carries on a witch-hunt against the democratic forces and organisations.

107. To effectively defend the interests of the working people, maintain peace and realise the socialist ideals of the working class, it is indispensable to wage a resolute struggle against anti-communism—that poisoned weapon which the bourgeoisie uses to fence off the masses from socialism. A greater effort is required in explaining the ideas of socialism to the masses, to educate the working people in a revolutionary spirit, to develop their revolutionary class consciousness and to show all working people the superiority of socialist society by referring to the experiences and achievements of the countries of the world socialist system, demonstrating in concrete form the benefits which socialism will actually give to workers, peasants and other sections of the population in each country.

108. Communism assures people freedom from the fear of war, from imperialist oppression and exploitation, from unemployment and poverty, from economic crises, from tyranny of moneybags over the individual, by guaranteeing lasting peace, general well-being and a high standard of living, a rapid growth of productive forces for the benefit of society as a whole, all-round spiritual development of man, the fullest development of talent, unlimited scientific and cultural progress of society. All sections of the population, with the exception of a handful of exploiters, stand to gain from the victory of the new social system, and this must be brought home to millions of people in our country.

XII

For Creative Marxism-Leninism

109. The Communist Party of India places this Programme before the people and sets forth the principal urgent tasks of the day in order that our people have a clear picture of the objective they are fighting for as well as of the course of a democratic national advance.

110. Our Party calls upon the toiling millions, the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, the middle classes as well as the national bourgeoisie interested in a truly democratic development of the country and in creating a prosperous life for the people to unite in a single national democratic front for the fulfilment of these immediate tasks and for the attainment of these objectives.

111. The Communist Party of India devotes all its energies and resources to the task of uniting all patriotic and progressive forces in the struggle for a democratic course of development—the great task of building a mighty national democratic front for the realisa-

tion of the Programme. In all its activities and struggles the Communist Party is guided by the philosophy and principles of Marxism-Leninism, which alone show the toiling masses the correct way to the ending of exploitation of man by man and to their complete emancipation.

112. In the struggle for the realisation of the noble aims of mankind in the present epoch, our Party firmly relies on the Statement of the Meeting of representatives of 81 Marxist-Leninist Parties in Moscow in November, 1960 and also on the earlier Declaration of 1957. These two great documents of creative Marxism-Leninism are a reliable

guide for the Communists, the working class and the progressive forces of the world over.


113. Carrying forward the revolutionary, fighting traditions of our people, the Communist Party of India combines patriotism with proletarian internationalism and takes its place in the worldwide struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. The Party unites in its ranks the most selfless sons and daughters of the working people, imbued with the spirit of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian interna-

tionalism and revolutionary patriotism. The Communist Party of India has no interest apart from the interest of the working class and the working people of our country.

The Communist Party of India is confident that the people of our country will find our Programme a correct guide and a reliable compass for charting the revolutionary course to the victory of the national democratic front and the establishment of national democracy.

(July 9, 1964)

for the new academic year



SOVIET TEXT BOOKS

SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY

LATEST ARRIVALS

MANY OF THEM PRESCRIBED IN INDIAN HIGHER INSTITUTIONS.

ONLY METRIC SYSTEM USED POPULAR PRICES.

MATHEMATICS, PHYSICS AND CHEMISTRY:		
Collections of Problems in Theoretical Mechanics: I. V. Meshchersky	pp 302,	Rs 2.45
Higher Mathematics: I. Suvorov	pp 310,	Rs 6.00
Descriptive Geometry: A. T. Chahly	pp 306,	Rs 5.00
Theory of Mechanisms and Machines: V. A. Zinoviev	pp 239,	Rs 4.50
The Structure of Atoms and Molecules: V. Kondratyev	pp 544,	Rs 7.00
Handbook of Elementary Physics: N. I. Koshkin & M. G. Shirkevich	pp 214,	Rs 3.56
Introduction to Physics: A. Kitagorodsky	pp 719,	Rs 8.00
Theory of Elasticity: M. Filonenko-Bordich	pp 376,	Rs 6.00
Quantitative Analysis: A. Alexeyev	pp 491,	Rs 7.00
Organic Chemistry: B. Pavlov	pp 592,	Rs 7.00
ENGINEERING AND TECHNOLOGY:		
Switchgear Installation: M. Kireyev	pp 397,	Rs 4.00
Prefabrication of Reinforced Concrete: F. Dyachenko	pp 239,	Rs 5.00
Basic Electrical Engineering: A. Kasatkin		
The Electric Welder: V. Tsegelsky	pp 258,	Rs 3.00
Electric Slag Welding: B. Paton	pp 365,	Rs 6.00
Mechanical Drawing: A. Serebyakov	pp 184,	Rs 4.56
Metallurgists Handbook: V. Andrianova	pp 224,	Rs 5.37
Production of Ferro-Alloys: A. Riss	pp 278,	Rs 5.00
Open Hearth Practice: I. Bornatsky	pp 340,	Rs 6.00
Radio Receivers: V. Barkan	pp 519,	Rs 6.00
Industrial Radiology and Flaw Detection: S. Rumyantsev		
Machine Elements: Dobrovolsky	pp 275,	Rs 5.37
Protective Relaying in Electric Power system: M. Titarenko	pp 409,	Rs 6.00
Strength of Materials: P. Stepin	pp 320,	Rs 3.56
Fundamentals of Process Engineering: V. Kovan	pp 485,	Rs 6.00
Thinking Machines: L. Gutenmacher	pp 186,	Rs 2.50
GEOLOGY:		
General Geology: O. Lange & others	pp 300,	Rs 4.50
Fundamentals of Geology: V. Obruchev	pp 398,	Rs 6.00
ASK FOR ANNOTATED CATALOGUE CONTAINING DETAILS OF OTHER TEXTBOOKS AND APPROVALS AND RECOMMENDATIONS IN INDIAN UNIVERSITIES, COLLEGES AND HIGHER INSTITUTES		
Postage Extra		
Order from your Bookseller or from:		
PEOPLE'S PUBLISHING HOUSE PRIVATE LIMITED, Rani Jhansi Road, New Delhi-1 Show-room: 2 Marina Arcade, Connaught Place, New Delhi-1 Branch: Grand Hotel Building, Ropald, Delhi-6 Branch: Prakashan Private Limited, 8 Faiz Bazar, Delhi-6 Branch: Opp. Science Gate, Patna.		
ATMA RAK AND SONS, Kashmiri Gate, Patna.		
P. P. H. BOOKSTALL, 100-B, Khetwadi Main Road, Bombay-4.		
PEOPLE'S BOOK DEPOT, 34, Rampart Row, Bombay-1.		
PEOPLE'S BOOK HOUSE, Parbhani Samaj, Ahmedabad.		
NAVAKARNATAKA PUBLICATIONS, Mahesh Chattrjee Street, Bangalore-9.		
VISALAANDHRA PUBLISHING HOUSE, P.O. Michavaram, Vijayawada-4.		
VISALAANDHRA BOOK HOUSE, Sultan Bazar, Hyderabad.		
NEW CENTURY BOOK HOUSE PRIVATE LIMITED, 639, Mount Road, Madras-2 Branches: Madurai, Coimbatore, Tiruchirappalli.		
PRABHATH BOOK HOUSE, Main Road, Trivandrum Branches: Ernakulam, Quilon, Calicut.		
PEOPLE'S BOOK HOUSE, Opp. B. N. College, Patna.		
PEOPLE'S BOOK HOUSE, B. H. U. Gate, Varanasi.		
MANISHA GRANTHALAYA, 43 B, Bankim Chatterjee Street, Calcutta-12. NATIONAL BOOK AGENCY, 12, Bankim Chatterjee Calcutta-12.		
NEW ASSAM BOOK AGENCY, Pan Bazar, Gauhati.		
NABAJUGA GRANTHALAYA, Haripura Road, Cuttack.		

*FROM PAGE FIVE

up, dividends were increased and the share of retained profits available for ploughing back was reduced both relatively and absolutely. It also shows that in 1960, Rs. 27.80 crores were available for modernisation, expansion, etc., and in 1961, in spite of dividends being increased by Rs. 4 crores, the sum available was Rs. 29.11 crores. Only a few days ago Tatas have increased their dividends.

Actually, therefore, what the monopolists are worried about is not that payment of bonus according to the Bonus Commission report will eat into capital accumulation but that it will reduce their non-productive consumption. A cut in this luxury, the simplifying monopolists are not willing to accept.

No detailed study is available after 1959, but the enormous rise in prices of finished goods since then, the continuation of low wages (even where they have risen, the rise invariably is much less than the price rise), the low price paid to the agricultural producer for industrial crops—all have combined to push up net profits to even higher levels.

Thus, the recommendations of the Bonus Commission will not affect capital formation but they will certainly lead to slight redistribution of the surplus available for consumption as between the capitalists and the workers.

GOVERNMENT MUST ACCEPT BONUS COMMISSION REPORT

As such, it should be welcomed not only by workers but by all those who want to see that the dire poverty in which the producers of wealth are condemned to live and toil, is ameliorated to some extent, however small.

formula proposed by us provides for the normal (including multiple-shift) depreciation allowed under the Income-Tax Act and indirectly for half of the development rebate, by not taking into account the saving in tax on account of depreciation. Further, we are proposing a substantial portion out of the available surplus, after meeting the prior charges to be left to the company or concern. This amount together with the tax relief on the amount payable as bonus should be available, among other things, for rehabilitation."

There is no reason either, why payment of bonus should increase costs. Bonus is paid out of profits and when there is none and minimum bonus is required to be paid, the Bonus Commission has provided for set-off. As no business runs continually on losses, bonus will always be paid out of profits, present, past or future due to set-off or set-on.

Foreign Exchange

Let us now examine the second argument that implementation of the Bonus Commission report will lead to a fall in the foreign exchange earnings by making our industry less competitive by raising cost of production and ill-equipped by reducing capacity to modernise, etc., which is essential in view of the rapid technological changes.

The argument about insufficient capital resources being available for modernisation has been answered above. As the Bonus Commission itself observes:

"To summarise, we have come to the conclusion that no special provision for rehabilitation need be made as a prior charge on the bonus formula. The

intention to raise prices in order to pay bonus is nothing but an attempt to make the burden even more on the whole concept, practice and

Employers' Strategy

Hence, the campaign to advance beyond the "Dandekar line" so as to retain at least the positions of the Dandekar line is nothing but a campaign for the acceptance of claims which the Bonus Commission has rejected. The secret motive behind all this is nothing but an attempt to earn dividends along the present ever-rising curve and to hide this ugly fact by parading other motives as paramount. At the same time, a case is being made out through this campaign for price rise and for reliefs in direct taxes.

We have, therefore, to be vigilant. The Bonus Commission's recommendations cannot be allowed to be utilised for feeeling the people more through price rises, or shifting the burden even more on to the lower-income groups thro-

ugh still further reduction on direct taxes and increase in indirect taxes, nor yet for defrauding the workers of their bonus.

These Bonus Commission recommendations can be easily implemented. In fact, in certain respects, they do not go far enough and are much below the expectations of workers. There is sufficient margin of profit, now being consumed for non-productive purposes, which can allow even a higher quantum of bonus, better wages, more amenities to the workers, while assuring lower prices and higher capital formation.

The workers' representatives signed the report despite its shortcomings. Workers' representative, S. A. Dange explained in a note appended to the report that the workers' side was accepting herein may do away with the complications which the workers had to face on the bonus question in the last few years and may give all of them a better deal for the time being at least."

The Bonus Commission report was signed in January. The government has not yet accepted it. The memorandum, which is the subject of this discussion, was written on the assumption that the matter will come up for discussion at the forthcoming session of the Indian Labour Conference.

All-Round Demand

The AITUC had already demanded that this report should be included in the agenda. The IITUC has just a few days ago passed a resolution demanding immediate implementation of the report. Other national trade union centres have also raised the question. But the government has gone even beyond the expectations of the capitalists. There is not only no indication of its implementation, the subject is not even included in the agenda for discussion in the ILC session due on July 29 and 30.

The trade unions must therefore gear up a united campaign. This campaign must, however, be coupled to the demand for price control and for more direct taxes on the richer sections. Otherwise, the capitalists will seek to disrupt the unity of the workers and the people by raising prices consequent upon implementation of the Bonus Commission report. Or, they will seek to do the same thing by campaigning for reduction in direct taxes thus transferring more burdens onto the starving people.

The government's disinclination to act is clear. Mounting pressure of employers can make it come down. The workers must therefore unite and raise a powerful voice in defence of their own and the people's interests.

WILL DELHI CORPORATION WAKE UP EVEN NOW?

*FROM PAGE SIX

corporation arrears of taxes and grants, which are outstanding for the last eight to ten years. Even on the properties, there is an arrear of Rs. 67 lakhs pending for so many years.

The burden of providing services to almost the whole of the Union territory falls on the corporation, but it is given no share in the proceeds from sales tax and local excise duties. Even the distribution of the proceeds from the motor vehicles tax between the corporation and the NDMC is against any realistic approach and against the interests of the corporation.

additions are made to the budget estimates on the income side and unrealistic although good items provided on the expenditure side. Even in the budget for 1964-65 lump sum provision of expenditure for Rs. 96 lakhs was shown and to formally balance the budget, hypothetical increases were shown under various revenue heads.

Mismanagement has reached a limit where arrears of revenue at the end of each year are always more not only as compared to the arrears during the previous year but also more than the annual expected income from each tax.

For example, on April 1, 1963, the arrears amounted to nearly Rs. 2.78 crores from various taxes including Rs. 83 lakhs from the sale of electricity against the expected annual income of Rs. 40 lakhs and Rs. 1.80 crores on the general tax against the expected annual income of Rs. two crores.

Thus the whole attitude of the Government of India has been one of financially choking the corporation for reasons best known to it.

The corporation itself and those responsible for its guidance and administration are also equally to blame for the present crisis.

Fictitious and hypothetical

to which the corporation is entitled are not received in time. Terminal tax and tax on consumption of electricity is not received in time.

Bills for property tax are issued towards the end of the financial year and even quarterly billing has not been introduced. Duty on transfer of property is received from the Delhi Administration only every six months. Payments have not been realised from the NDMC for years.

Expenditure of course remains more wasteful and irrational than ever before, and the ruling party despite its overwhelming majority gives no thought whatsoever to putting the administration on a more sound footing.

Posts at all levels are sanctioned blindly every time and in quite large numbers without reference to the capacity of the corporation to pay and the necessity of the posts. No attempt has been made to check the imbalanced top-heavy administration. On the contrary, the ruling party just goes on making it more and more topheavy.

There is positive squandering of money on unjustified items and in any case expenditure is wasteful where it is not required and essential items of expenditure are not attended to.

Slack Machinery

The machinery for the collection of taxes and rates has not been geared. No system has been introduced for monthly or quarterly realisation of its dues from either the government or from the tax payers. Grants

WORKERS TO OPPOSE

PLEA FOR INTRODUCING 54-HOUR WEEK IN TEXTILES

Stormy Prospects For Next ILC

By Sadhan Mukherjee

The twenty-second session of the Indian Labour Conference scheduled to be held at Bangalore on July 29 and 30, will be extremely interesting in more than one sense.

THIS is the first Indian Labour Conference to be presided over by D. Sanjivayya. Under his dispensation, the Labour Ministry has neither shown any particular initiative nor an awareness of the problems and the need for their solution.

The agenda of the twenty-second ILC is an eloquent testimony to the apathetic attitude of the Labour Ministry towards the working class.

Issues that are today agitating the workers most, such as the question of implementation of the Bonus Commission recommendations, effective control on runaway prices and falling real wages, increase in dearness allowance commensurate with the rise in the cost of living, correction of the faulty consumer price indices and so on, do not find any place on the agenda of the ILC.

T. U. DEMANDS NOT ACCEDED

And this is so despite repeated demands made by the central trade union organisations for their inclusion on the agenda.

ANDHRA GOVERNMENT IN A GLUEPOT

From Mohit Sen

HYDERABAD: The Andhra government has been put on the mat this week. After the High Court struck down its panchayat delimitation bill as illegal with possibility of invalidation of samiti elections, the state government is trying to rush through an amendment, but has encountered stiff opposition.

AT the Congress party meeting, the demand was raised for the resignation of Chenna Reddy, as the Minister responsible for the faulty legislation. Also moves are afoot in opposition circles to move a no-confidence motion on this issue as well as the failure of the government to handle the problem of rising food prices.

Earlier, the government was put on the defensive regarding the Municipalities Bill. It tried to get out of an awkward situation by steamrolling and the entire opposition staged a walk-out.

All these blows at the prestige of the state government has hurt the plans of Sanjeeva Reddy who had come here only to place his men at the head of the state government leaving side his pre-occupations as a Central Cabinet Minister.

Still more serious was the firing on people at Nirmal in Adilabad district only July 6

And, above all, the agenda of the ILC reflects the pro-employer bias of the government. In the main, only such items as are detrimental to the workers, the most damaging one being the proposal of the Union Commerce Ministry to introduce a 54-hour week in the cotton textile industry, are put on the agenda.

REALISING TARGETS

The argument advanced by the Commerce Ministry is that the weekly offdays should be staggered to introduce 54-hour week in order to realise the Third Plan target of production.

At the present production rate there is expected to be a shortfall of about 1000 million yards, which will have to be made up during the remaining two years of the Plan period.

The other argument is that only increased production would help in holding the price line. With a 54-hour working week, cotton textile production will increase by about 17 per cent, it is calculated.

Already sharp reactions have come forth from trade

union circles to the outrageous suggestion of the Commerce Ministry. It is expected that the workers' representatives would take a common stand 'demanding an outright rejection of this proposal in the ILC session.

It is felt that the Union Commerce Ministry, or any other concerned ministry for that matter, did not consider it necessary to intervene when the employers had closed down mill after mill during the emergency in 1962; in fact then the government rendered assistance to various mills through Reserve Bank loans.

The textile millowners even tried to gobble up the profits arising out of the one day's extra work which the workers voluntarily came forward to contribute to the National Defence Fund.

The shortfall in production of cotton textile, it is pointed out, is not due to any failure on the part of the workers. There has been largescale reduction of working strength in the mills and rationalisation introduced. Thousands of workers have been laid off and retrenched.

This is naturally reflected in the production rate of the mills. In 1962, the average monthly production of cotton textiles was 380 million metres and in 1963, this dropped to 368.6 million metres.

Quite a number of mills were also closed down during this period, some of which continue to remain closed.

But production of cotton textile has since then picked up and the average production in March 1964 has been 392.3 million metres.

Besides, the proposal of the Commerce Ministry is opposed on other grounds too. The proposal violates the ILO convention on 48-hour week which has been ratified by India.

With the development of new machines and new techniques of production, fatigue of workers has increased and consequently in many countries campaign is on for reduction of working hours.

In socialist countries, the working hours have already been reduced. France, Australia and several other countries have reduced work-weeks.

The proposed increase in work-week in our country will be morally, conventionally and otherwise untenable and it is not dictated by the needs of national emergency.

Moreover, the proposal does not have any built-in mechanism for exerting control over the profits of the millowners which will inevitably follow

Delhi Textile Workers Plan Direct Action

NEW DELHI: The working committee of the Kapra Mazdoor Ekta Union has called on the workers of the five major textile and silk mills in Delhi to launch a direct action from July 21 to secure their demands.

A fifteen-member action council has been set up to direct and guide this struggle for redressal of longstanding grievances, some of them remaining unsettled for the last three years.

Specifically, the workers demand acceptance of a 14-point demands charter which the Union has served on the employers and the Labour Commissioner of the Delhi administration.

The demands include upward revision of dearness allowance, scientific assessment of existing

excessive workloads, liberalisation of leave provisions and festival and national holidays and stopping misuse of badli and temporary system of employment.

The workers also demand implementation of the provisions of the code of discipline and a thorough enquiry into a large number of instances of victimisation of employees and unfair labour practices.

Another demand of the workers is the settlement of outstanding bonus disputes on the basis of the recommendations of the Bonus Commission.

from higher production. The profits have been going up all the time during the last few years.

In Gujarat, the textile workers are already preparing for a general strike on the issue of dearness allowance and the proposal to increase work-week to 54 hours will only add fuel to fire and spark off a countrywide action which will bring production to a stand still and

thus defeat the very purpose of the government for which it is proposed to be introduced.

There are other items on the agenda which are weighed against the workers. These include the question of classification of misconducts. Some tribunals have held that go-slow, malingering etc., are minor misconducts and attempts are being made to scuttle these decisions.

JOINT T.U. ACTION IN KERALA

The working class and the people of Kerala would observe on July 31, a token general strike and hartal to protest against the steep rise in living costs.

Agreement to issue a joint call for the observance of the strike and hartal by the AITUC, UTUC and HMS in Kerala was reached in Trivandrum on July 11.

The appeal for action was signed by T. V. Thomas and P. Balachandra Menon (AITUC), N. Sreekantan Nair and T. K. Divakaran (UTUC) and C. K. Parameswaran and P. K. Sankarankutty (HMS).

E. PAK COMMUNISTS REBUFF CHINA

CALCUTTA: The Communist Party of East Pakistan has rejected the Chinese stand in the ideological tussle in the world Communist movement, it is learnt here.

The Central Committee of the East Pakistan Communist Party, which functions illegally, recently adopted a resolution in which it upheld the view that in the current world situation the struggle for peace was the primary and basic target of Communists.

The resolution noted that in the 1960 Moscow statement of world Communist leaders the problem of war and peace was described as the most vital problem of our time.

Communists believed that their historic mission

was not only to deliver the world from poverty, violence and war, but also to deliver mankind from the fear of wars.

It was true, the resolution of the East Pak Communist Party said, that as long as imperialism existed the danger of war existed too, for imperialism "has not changed its aggressive nature". But war was not inevitable as it used to be since imperialism was no longer the dominant force in the world balance of power.

Communists must not indulge in artificial doubts as to the possibility of preventing war. On the contrary, the resolution said, they must strengthen the prospects of peace by rallying the people.