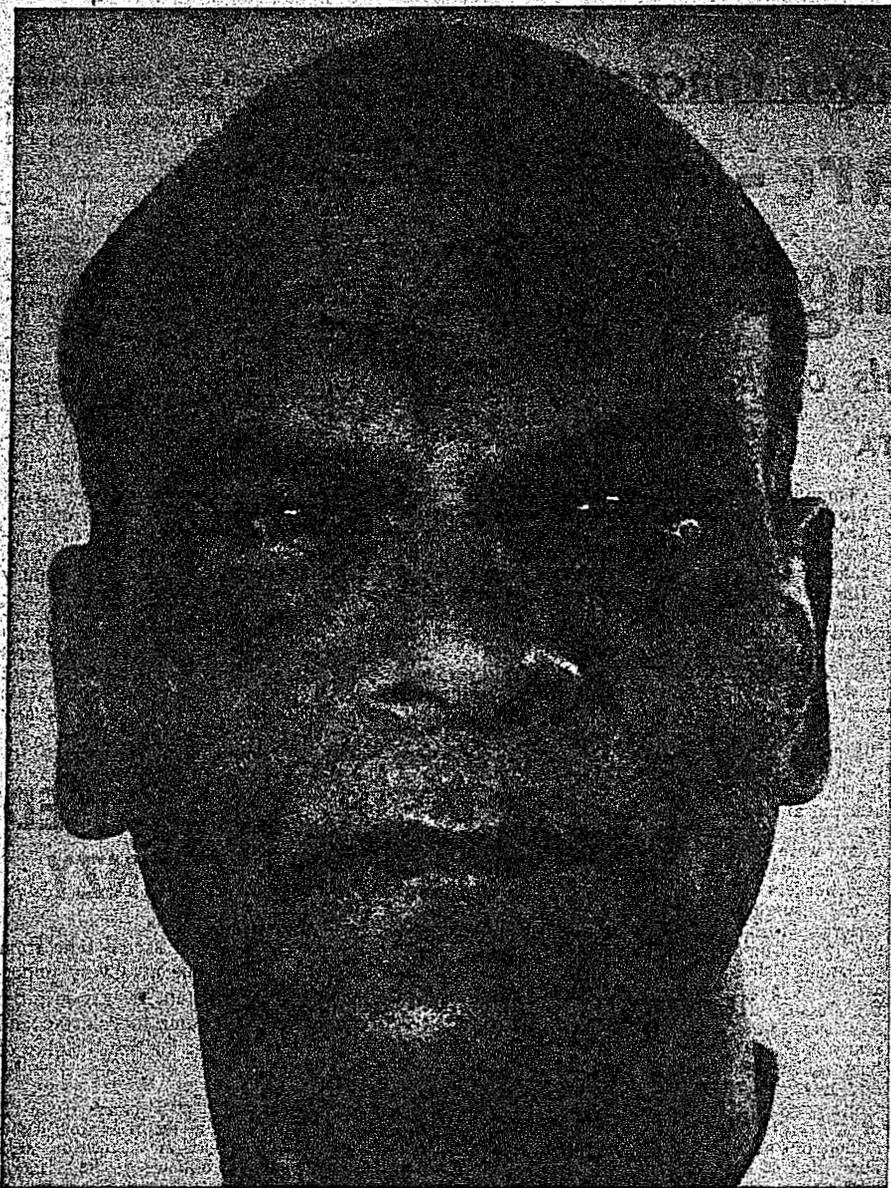


NEW AGE

* COMMUNIST PARTY WEEKLY *

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AJOY GHOSH AND UNITY OF OUR PARTY

Editorial

IT IS TWO YEARS now since Comrade Ajoy Ghosh died. Again and again during all these days we have felt his

loss, each time more deeply than before. At important new turns in the national and international situation, members of our Party turn back to Ajoy's writings and recall what he said.

Ajoy's contributions were many. But the most significant contribution which Ajoy made was towards the preservation of the unity of our Party. Looking back at the tributes paid to his memory by the topmost leaders of our own Party and of the international Communist movement, one can see how one and all underline Ajoy's good work for Party unity.

Ajoy's second death anniversary falls at a time when the Party is beginning its preparations for its Seventh Congress—the first Congress after so many years in which we shall not have Ajoy's leadership to guide it.

There is no doubt that this Congress will be a powerful contribution not only to the nation's march towards its cherished goals, but also to the unity of the Party to strengthen which Ajoy Ghosh devoted so much of his life.

The best tribute which can be paid to the memory of Ajoy Ghosh is to carry forward his work for the unity of the Communist Party.

NATIONAL CAMPAIGN OF INDIAN TOILERS

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India adopted the following resolution on the national campaign of toilers on January 14:

At the beginning of last year, in the background of the declaration of emergency following the border-war after the Chinese forces crossed the McMahon Line, government introduced a budget imposing heavy taxes on the common people in the name of meeting the needs of defence and development of the country's resources.

THE main burden of the taxes fell heavily on the people—workers and middle classes, and schemes like the gold control order and imposts like the CDS evoked great anger from the common man.

The monopoly vested interests, the bankers and speculators, the wholesale food hoarders, sugar magnates and textile millionaires were allowed by the government to cause scarcity, raise prices, depress wages and beat down workers' resistance to the capitalist robbery in the name of the national emergency.

The Communist Party with other democratic forces, especially the trade unions, called for a halt to this attack on the toiling people. The workers' resistance grew. They refused to hand over to the bureaucrats or the capitalist-employers free labour

and over-time or cash contributions from their wages for the Defence Fund which they had voluntarily done earlier. They demanded curb on the speculators and price-racketeers. To protect their wages from falling, they had to resort to strikes for DA and bonus.

Struggles of the various sections of the people, against rising prices and on other issues began to gather momentum in different parts of the country.

The Communist Party, in order to unify the peoples' forces for defence of their livelihood and to demand an effective curb on the monopolists, nationalisation of banks, oil, export-import trade and relief from taxes and prices, to the common man, gave the call for the Great Petition and March to the capital from all over India on September 13, 1963.

The Great Petition and March roused the country's masses and created an impact on the ruling classes by its unity, discipline, determination and massive character.

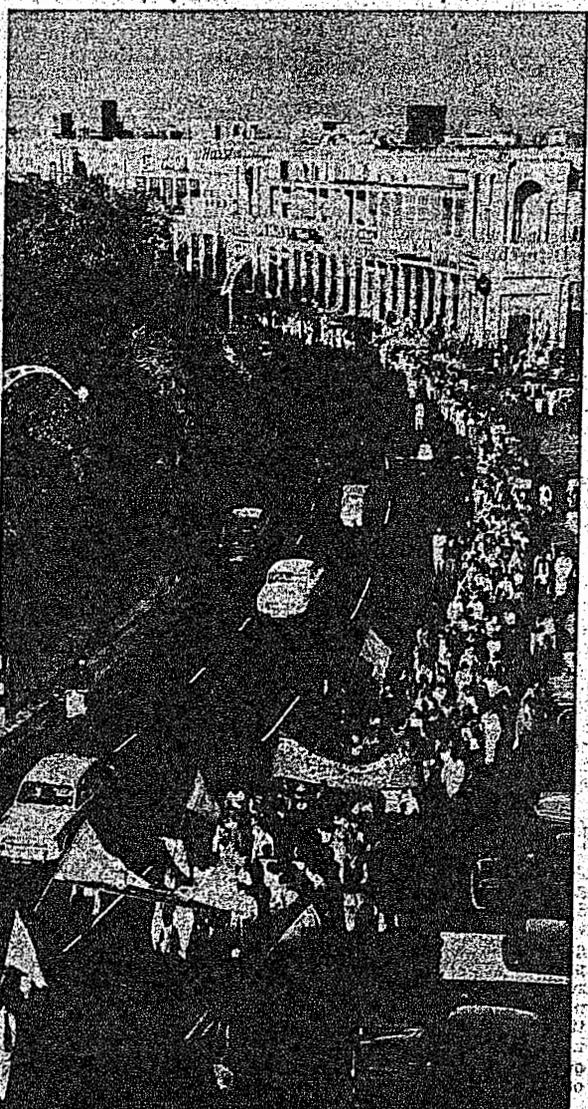
Soon after, the government announced substantial modification of the CDS and changes in the gold control order. Administrative system and political organisation of the ruling Congress Party suffered some convulsions.

The monopoly vested interests, however, continued their offensive on the people. The prices refused to come down. Workers were still denied relief in the matter of DA and bonus. The scarcity and hoarding of rice and essential foodstuffs as in sugar was not broken. And nationalisation of banks was being derailed. Certain policies of the government helped these attacks of the monopoly interests and speculators on the people.

The National Council of the Communist Party in its meeting in October last,

* ON PAGE 18

A view of the Delhi textile workers' demonstration on January 13. Report on Page 1



NEGLIGENCE TO CURB ANTI-SOCIAL FORCES LEADS TO

Communal Flare-Up in West Bengal

Reactionaries Incite Reprisals of Khulna

★ From AJOY DAS GUPTA

CALCUTTA, January 12: Following the communal disturbances in Khulna and elsewhere in East Pakistan, there has been a serious communal flare-up in Calcutta and in some districts of West Bengal also.

LACK of firm measures by government, in spite of the request made by the Communist, and other Left parties, in dealing with the situation just when the disturbances began, helped it to worsen and at one time, it went almost out of control.

When the first news of disturbances in Khulna began to come, there were both sorrow and anger among the people and they expected governments of India and West Bengal to take up the matter immediately and strongly with the Government of Pakistan. They also wanted political parties to raise their voices of protest.

But unfortunately the secular parties could not take proper initiative in the matter and the so-called nationalist papers fanned up communal hatred. The Jan Sangh and Hindu Mahasabha were already in field whipping up frenzy. All these contributed to the rapid deterioration in the situation and by the beginning of the week, disturbances had already taken bad shape in the border areas of Bangla.

The Communist Party meeting held on January 9 at the Calcutta Maidan, called for maintaining peace in West Bengal while condemning the disturbances in East Pakistan. But by that time disturbances had spread to many areas in the 24 Parganas and Nadia districts, where the bulk of refugees from East Bengal are settled. Incidents were also reported in some parts of Calcutta and Howrah on January 9 itself.

Deputation to Chief Minister

On January 10, a deputation of the Communist Party, RSP, RCPI, Bolshevik Party, Workers' Party, BFTUC and UTUC met the Chief Minister to impress upon him the gravity of the situation and necessity for stern action against the anti-social and rowdy elements who were trading in the genuine anger in the minds of the common people.

The deputation also proposed joint action for maintaining peace by all political parties including the Congress. Chief Minister P. C. Sen assured that the situation was under the control of the government and that appropriate governmental measures would be taken and peace efforts by political parties and organisations would not be obstructed. But the question of Congress joining other parties was ruled out

came more intensive and curfew enforced strictly. Twenty-four hours curfew in the worst-affected areas was enforced and a number of rowdy elements rounded up.

Nandaji convened a meeting of political parties and social organisations on January 13 and two committees for vigilance and relief were formed on an all-party basis. Government is placing some material at their disposals. Zonal and Mohalla committees will be formed under these committees.

Nandaji and Asoke Sen accompanied by P. C. Sen visited the affected areas and met many people assuring them protection and relief. Peace squads formed by Central Peace Committee visited Budge Budge on January 14. It will visit the affected areas of the city on January 16. Artists and men of letters including Satyajit Ray, All Akbar Khan, Kanan Devi,

Jamini Roy, Annada Sankar Roy, Premendra Mitra, Tara Sankar Banerjee, Quazi Abdul Oudud, and others issued a statement calling for sanity and humanism.

The non-official relief arrangements by the CPI and some social organisations and local people began functioning before any action was taken by government.

There is a general improvement in the situation and the disrupted public transport resumed plying on January 15 morning from 7 A.M. and will continue up to 5 P.M. Curfew was also relaxed for that time in the city though it was extended to new areas and the 24 Parganas district.

With the curbing of anti-social elements and looting, and slow return to normalcy of civic life, the major problem is now of relief and rehabilitation of the 73,000 affected men, women and children — displaced and stranded in parks and streets at many places bereft of any wherewithal.

PAKISTAN ORGANISED COMMUNAL FRENZY

RAWALPINDI: The theft of the sacred relic from the Hazratbal shrine in Kashmir came at a very opportune moment for the rulers of Pakistan. It was just the thing they needed to set passions aflame in Pakistan and to carry their campaign against India to new heights of acrimony.

AFTER all, the hate-campaign must be fed with new incidents if the flames of bitterness have to be kept burning or the tempo is bound to fall. It was with this end in view that the government had staged the Poonch and Chaknot incidents.

But the constant harping on the theme had begun to pall and when the United Nations Observers in Kashmir gave the verdict that it was the Pakistani side that had been guilty of massing troops on the cease fire line in violation of the truce agreement the carefully inflated balloon of Pakistani propaganda was pricked.

While it is difficult, therefore, to say who exactly engineered the theft of the mooli-moharak from Hazratbal there can be no doubt that those who did it were acting objectively in the interests of the present rulers of Pakistan. Naturally the Pakistan government were not slow in utilising the situation created by the event for their nefarious designs.

At first it was only the lesser leaders such as the president of the Azad Kashmir government who came out with provocative statements on this issue. Later they were joined by ministers of the central government and in the end even President AYUB came out in the open with the most vitriolic attacks against India, accusing it of complicity in the theft.

Hartals, black-days, processions and meetings were organised in every city in Pakistan and some of the West Pakistani newspapers wrote inflammatory editorials.

Even up to this point however the East Pakistan situation pre-

sented a marked contrast to the position in the West wing. Other issues such as the doctor's strike the formation of the National Democratic Front, the revival of the democratic opposition parties dominated.

The incidents in Khulna and Jessore therefore came as a bolt from the blue as far as the people were concerned and sober elements in Pakistan are convinced that there is a sinister conspiracy behind the Khulna and Jessore incidents.

Khulna was the scene of similar incidents in 1961 and at that time they had been sparked off in exactly the same manner, i.e. through hooligans, taking advantage of the situation when processions from the outskirts entered the city. On this occasion no attempt was made by the government to profit from the experience of the past and no steps were taken to prevent the entry of the huge procession from Kaulapur entering the town.

Newspapers in East Pakistan and many political leaders have come out in sharp condemnation of the incidents. There are many reports of members of the majority community having given shelter to the minority even at the risk of their lives. In fact it is known that by and large Bengali Muslims stood aloof from the scene. Students in Dacca actively demonstrated in favour of communal amity and protested against the attempts to disrupt the harmonious relations prevailing between the two communities.

It is clear that the riots were artificially engineered to provoke similar occurrences in India. (IPA)

C. E. C. MEETING

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India is still in session, as NEW AGE goes to press. Only a few of its resolutions are therefore available for publication. Rest of the resolutions and decisions will be published in our next issue.

—EDITOR

The All-India Demands Day, for which the call was given at the Bombay conference of trade unions, was observed on a large scale all over the country on January 12 and 13. Reports are still coming in of the enthusiasm with which workers participated in their thousands in demonstrations and meetings.

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NEW DELHI: In the Indian capital half a lakh organised workers observed the Demands Day on January 13 by taking out demonstrations and holding meetings.

A 15 thousand strong procession of the textile mill workers of Delhi marched to the residence of the Union Labour Minister carrying a petition signed by 15,000 workers listing their demands. It was led by AITUC leaders Satish Loomba and K. G. Srivastava, state TUC leaders B. D. Joshi and A. C. Nanda and worker leaders of the Kapra Mazdoor Ekta Union Charan Singh, Narayan Prasad and Ram Dev.

Five thousand workers employed in engineering, chemical and allied industries paraded the streets in the Najafgarh area, led by Vijay Kumar, K. S. Garg and O. P. Bhatia.

On January 13 night employees of shops and commercial establishments took out a 7000 strong torchlight procession which paraded the streets of Delhi city under the leadership of D. N. Baji and K. C. Sharma.

There was a demonstration by more than 5000 employees of the Delhi Municipal Corporation before the Town Hall, Prem Sagar Gupta, municipal corporator, addressed the workers.

Workers employed in the various factories in Shahdara organised a 2000 strong procession which paraded the main streets in Shahdara, Rohtas Nagar and the Shahdara industrial area.

While the hospital employees took out a procession to the residence of the Union Labour Minister, the Ashoka Hotel employees marched to the house of the Works, Housing and Rehabilitation Minister to present their memorandum. Employees of the commercial firms in Connaught Place also demonstrated in the evening of January 13.

The campaign for the realisation of the eleven-point demands charter adopted at Bombay had begun on New Year Day in Delhi. Regional and industrywise meetings of workers were held in the first week of January, where state TUC leaders reported on the decisions of the Bombay conference.

A meeting of the engineering, chemical and allied industries was held on January 5. Another regional meeting at Shahdara was held on the same day. The hospital employees, pottery workers and employees of the Hindustan Housing Factory met in South Delhi on January 6. Shop employees held a meeting on January 8 and corporation employees on January 10.

After these discussion meetings, two large public meetings of Delhi workers were also held. The first one on January 11 at Kishanganj mill area was addressed by B. D. Joshi, while the second at Karampura on January 12

was addressed by Satish Loomba.

The demonstrations on January 13 are only a notice given to the employers and the government of the impending struggle of the working class unless the demands for increase in DA and bonus, reduction in prices and taxes and nationalisation of banks, export-import trade and oil industry were not carried out by the deadline given by the Bombay conference.

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LUCKNOW: The state capital resounded with the slogans of a dozen processions from the various establishments as they marched on January 13 to the central meeting held in a park opposite the bungalow of the district magistrate who is also the commissioner of Lucknow Division.

The meeting was presided over by S. S. Misra, president of the U. F. Bank Employees Union, and addressed by Harish Tewary, Babu Khan and others. Later an eight-

COUNTRY-WIDE CAMPAIGN ON ELEVEN-POINT CHARTER

Singh, K. C. Nagar, K. N. Bhatt, Ramcharan Singh, K. C. Tiwari and Kunwar Fal Singh.

Reports of similar demonstrations and meetings have come from other centres also like Moradabad, Muzaffarnagar, Aligarh, Meerut, Azamgarh, Gorakhpur, Agra, Bareilly, and Nainital.

Preparations for the oncoming struggle is going apace in Uttar Pradesh. Regional conferences of workers have been held at Agra, Moradabad and Gorakhpur. They have been addressed by Kall Shankar Shukla, Ram Asrey, Harish Tewary and Chandrajit Yadav and other TUC leaders.

The UPTUC has called a state conference of trade unions at Lucknow in the second week of February to channelise the vast movement that has developed in the state and to give it organisational shape and direction.

★

PANJIM: The Demands Day was observed in Goa with a mass rally at Vasco da Gama on January 13. Dock, railway and oil workers participated in the rally.

ALL INDIA DEMANDS DAY OBSERVED

member TU delegation submitted a memorandum listing the workers' demands to the commissioner.

Meetings were held in other parts of Lucknow district such as Malhabad, Chandan and Mohana. A significant aspect of these meetings was that thousands of kisans also attended them. The meetings were addressed by Babu Khan, Gur Prasad, Durga Misra, Jagdish Trivedi, F. A. Kazmi and others.

In Kanpur a big rally was held at the famous parade grounds on January 12, organised by 39 unions in the city. Two huge processions from Gwaliti and Darshanpur areas converged in the rally, which was addressed by S. S. Yusuf, Barbara Singh, Harbans Singh, Ravi Sinha and G. S. Sinha.

Before the central rally, several mill gate meetings were held all over the city in which workers of textile, engineering, and leather industries participated.

Meetings were held in many of the villages in Kanpur district on January 12. Among those who spoke at these meetings were Sultan Niaz, Harbans Singh, Nirmal Tripathi and Chandrajit Yadav.

The Demands Day was observed on January 12 at Bulandshahr. A big demonstration was held in which workers of sugar mills, public works, oil, banking and engineering concerns took prominent part. The meeting was addressed by Brijan

mands such as reduction in motor tax and state control on motor spare parts trade. Y. N. Dhond and Gerald Pereira are the president and secretary respectively of this committee.

★

HYDERABAD: The workers of Hyderabad observed the Demands Day on January 12. On that day a militant, disciplined procession paraded the streets from the city bus depot to Pratapgirji Kothi, demanding that the government accept the charter of demands put forward by the Bombay conference of trade unions.

Forming the bulk of the procession were the workers of the Road Transport Corporation, led by their trusted leaders Ram Mohan, Anjaiah, Abraham and Ramloo. Many of them were in their blue overalls or in their uniforms and caps, lending an unmistakable working class stamp and dignity to the march.

Workers from the government press, from the Zinda Tilasmata, from the factories in Sanatnagar and cycle shops in the city joined the main procession or converged

Nandini limestone miners observed the day on January 12 by taking out a big demonstration and holding a meeting later in the evening. The meeting was addressed by C. R. Bakshi, Prakash Roy, N. S. Nair and Sambal Chakravarty.

Rajnandgaon factory owners kept their factories open on January 13 which was a Sunday, in an attempt to dissuade the workers from observing the Demands Day on a big scale. But their plans did not succeed. The heed workers went on strike on January 12 to observe the day, and along with textile and other workers demonstrated in the town.

In Raipur all the trade unions affiliated to the AITUC joined together to hold a big demonstration on January 12. The meeting which followed was addressed by N. K. Pathak and Mridul Sengupta.

★

POONA: In Poona, a week was observed to explain the decisions of the Bombay conference and to campaign for the demands charter. On January 5 a conference of trade union activists was

held, attended by about 500 workers. Vasant Tulpule, A. D. Bhone and S. N. Srivastava, Indian textile leader who was in Poona on the occasion, addressed the meeting.

Meetings were held throughout the week in the district, including those at the factory gates in Fimpri and Hadaspar. The week culminated with the public meeting at Shanwarwada ground addressed by Tulpule and Bhone.

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RAJNANDGAON: The All India Demands Day was extensively observed in the public sector mines, the Bhilai steel plant and industrial towns of Chhattisgarh.

The Rajhara iron ore mines and Bhilai steel project mines workers observed the day on January 13 by taking out a 5000 strong militant demonstration on the call given by the Samyukta Khadan Mazdoor Sangh. The meeting was presided over by Bachan Singh Thakur and addressed by Prakash Roy, Nasim Alam, Jivan Mukherjee and Srivastava.

The Bhilai workers brought out a big demonstration on January 13 under the leadership of the Bhilai Steel Mazdoor Sabha. The demonstration culminated in a mass meeting addressed by Sudhir Mukherjee, Hamid Khan, Sambal Chakravarty, Ganga Singh and Abdul Haque.

A mass meeting of coal miners was held at the New Jemehary Khas Colliery in the Asansol coal belt on January 12 to observe the day. Kalyan Roy, Rampada Banerji, Samil Sen and Seelochan addressed the meeting.

TOILING PEOPLE ARE ON THE MOVE

ON SLANDEROUS ATTACKS AND OPEN CALL FOR DISRUPTION & SPLIT BY THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDONESIA

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India has read with pain and regret the official version of a speech delivered at Jakarta on September 29, 1963 by Comrade D. N. AIDIT, Chairman of the Communist Party of Indonesia.

THIS speech was delivered at a welcome home meeting for the delegation of the Indonesian Communist Party which had just returned after visiting the Soviet Union, Cuba, the German Democratic Republic, China and the Korean People's Democratic Republic. The text before us is an authorised version of the main points of Comrade AIDIT's speech, issued by the secretariat of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Party on October 5 and published in the Indonesian Party press.

Comrade AIDIT in his speech asserts that there are four types of Communist Parties:

"FIRSTLY, the Communist Parties that are Marxist-Leninist from the top-most leadership to the cadres and members, being the only Communist Party in the country in question.

"SECONDLY, the Communist Parties whose leaderships are controlled by the revisionists or which are inclining towards revisionism, being the only Communist Party in the country in question but within the Party there is a strong opposition, or a rather strong opposition of genuine Marxist-Leninists.

"THIRDLY, the Communist Parties that are fully controlled by the revisionists,

being the only Party in the country in question; the genuine Marxist-Leninists have been expelled and these expelled people, together with others, or on their own, have reached the stage of publishing a magazine, while there are also that have not yet reached this stage, but which actively propagate their own ideas orally in a variety of ways.

"FOURTHLY, the Communist Parties that have already for a long time now had alongside them a new Communist Party, so that in the country in question there are two Communist Parties—the new one has been set up as a correction to the old one which is considered as having deviated from Marxism-Leninism, of having taken the path of revisionism."

Having made this assertion, Comrade AIDIT proceeds straight away to declare:

"The Communist Party of Indonesia is a Party of the first type, the Marxist-Leninist type, that is, Marxist-Leninist from the top-most leadership to the cadres and members."

In the authorised version of the speech, only one other Party has the distinction of being characterised in detail by Comrade AIDIT. This Party

is the Communist Party of India. Comrade AIDIT has these remarks to make about our Party.

"Take, for example, India. Comrade AIDIT has already said that the Dange clique that already act as spies for Nehru so that Marxist-Leninists can no longer talk freely in the Communist Party of India, which, hand in hand with the reactionary Nehru government, is hunting down, arresting and imprisoning Indian Communists, still be called the general staff of the Indian proletariat? Indonesian Communists cannot but have sympathy with and support for the genuine Communists who are now in Nehru's prisons or who

ternal affairs or sought to question its policies.

It has, therefore, been a matter of the deepest regret for the Central Executive Committee to note the abusive and totally unprincipled attack made by Comrade AIDIT on the Indian Communist Party. AIDIT stoops to the worst forms of slander and vituperations and repeats the lies put forward by the Chinese leadership that a so-called "Dange clique" is acting as "spies of Nehru". He talks of "Nehru-Dange prisons," of genuine Communists being "hunted down by Nehru-Dange".

It is not necessary for us to point out how such attacks

alism, the 1957 Communist Declaration and the 1960 Communist Statement.

"Indonesian Communists cannot possibly adopt a passive attitude in face of all the facts mentioned above. If the differentiation and process of selection in the Communist Parties were to go on endlessly without beginning and without end, the proletariat in the country in question would be deprived of its leadership, deprived of its vanguard, deprived of its general staff."

Here is an open call for disruption and the formation of rival Parties, together with an assurance of "a good re-

C.E.C. RESOLUTION

are compelled to work underground because they are being hunted down by Nehru-Dange. It depends entirely on the firm unanimity and the unity of genuine Marxist-Leninists in India as when the vacuum of leadership, the vacuum in the general staff of the Indian proletariat will come to an end. But Indonesian Communists are fully convinced that a time will come when the Indian proletariat will definitely obtain a correct vanguard or general staff; the ranks of the genuine Marxist-Leninists are sufficiently strong in India."

Further on, in the same speech, there is another reference to our Party:

"How terrible it would be for the international Communist movement today if there were no resistance to the revisionists, how dreadful it would be if all Communists were shouting the slogan 'Long Live Dange and Nehru'. From one point of view, it is not a good thing that many Communists have been imprisoned by Nehru, but from another point of view, it is a very good thing indeed because this proves that the ranks of the Marxist-Leninists are large in India and that there are many courageous, genuine Communists. Of course, Marxist-Leninists throughout the world must do everything possible to get them released from the Nehru-Dange prisons."

The Communist Party of India has always had the greatest respect and fraternal affection for the Indonesian Communist Party, whose contribution to the national liberation struggles of the Indonesian people has made it a powerful force and one of the biggest Communist Parties in the world. The Communist Party of India has always maintained proper fraternal relations with the Communist Party of Indonesia and has never interfered in any way in its in-

are a total violation of the spirit of the 81-Parties Conference which Indonesian Communist Party claims that it supports.

The Central Executive Committee, however, is more concerned at the open call which the Indonesian Communist Party leader gives for the splitting of Communist Parties, and particularly the Communist Party of India, and for the formation of rival Parties.

AIDIT insists that: "The Communist Party of Indonesia does not want and may not intervene in the internal affairs of other Parties."

But immediately afterwards, he negates this entirely by saying:

"Marxist-Leninists, who have been expelled are naturally duly entitled to propagate their ideas outside the Party, or organise circles and issue magazines, and they are also entitled to establish a new Party."

"It requires investigation to ascertain whether these circles, magazines, and new Parties are genuinely Marxist-Leninist, whether they are really a correction to the old Party that is considered to be revisionist. If these circles, magazines and new Parties are really a correction of the old, revisionist Party, if they really and truly hold high the banner of Marxism-Leninism that has been thrown aside by the old Party, then they must be given a good reception by Marxist-Leninists in all countries. How dreadful it would be if the Marxist-Leninists did not put up resistance to the leadership of a Party that has gone revisionist."

"Indonesian Communists must and will be as objective as possible regarding the differentiation and selection that is now taking place in the Communist Parties in many countries. The yardstick is quite clear, namely, Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism."

ception". If this is not interference in the internal affairs of other Parties, what else is?

The call for splitting the Communist Party of India is clear and unmistakable. AIDIT appeals for "firm unanimity and unity of genuine Marxist-Leninists in India" to end "the vacuum of leadership, the vacuum in the vanguard, the vacuum in the general staff of the Indian proletariat." In fact, the assurance of "a good reception by Marxist-Leninists in all countries" for a new party is immediately followed by the slanderous attack on the Communist Party of India.

Seldom in the history of the international Communist movement has such an unashamed call to set up another Communist Party in opposition to an existing one been made by the Party of another country.

The Press Communiqué of the Second Plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indonesia (issued on December 25 at Jakarta) indicates that the Central Committee has endorsed in full the position taken by Comrade AIDIT in his speech. This Communiqué summarising the report presented to the Central Committee, says:

"The Section 'International Communist Movement' says that at present the leadership of the Communist Parties in certain countries is in the hands of revisionists who expel from the Party ranks true Marxist-Leninists and the latter are compelled to organise Marxist circles or new Communist Parties, and the Communist Party of Indonesia will establish contacts with them."

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India appeals to the leadership of the Communist Party of Indonesia to put an immediate stop to its unprincipled splitting activities which are in complete

* ON PAGE 17

MAINTAIN COMMUNAL HARMONY AT ALL COSTS

CPI Central Executive's Call to the People of the Country

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India which commenced its meeting on January 12 adopted the following resolution on communal situation in West Bengal.

THE Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India deplors the serious outburst of communal violence in West Bengal and the damage caused to the life and property of the minority community there.

It is obvious that spontaneous excitement caused by reports of communal violence against the minority community in East Pakistan has been utilised by certain communal and anti-social elements in West Bengal to create this crisis.

The responsibility for organised attacks on the minority community in East Pakistan rests on the shoulders of the reactionary rulers of Pakistan. For many years, they have been trying to foment a conflict between India and Pakistan in various ways, but even then the situation could not go far enough to serve their nefarious purposes.

As a last resort, they have taken recourse to the most despicable tactics of unleashing violent attacks against the minorities in East Pakistan on a very big scale, hoping thereby that this would produce its chain reaction in our country, bringing India into disrepute and give a pretext for Indo-Pakistan clashes.

The Committee, however, notes with appreciation that some sections belonging to the majority community in East Pakistan have come forward in defence of the minority community there.

The outburst of communal hooliganism against the minority community in West Bengal is, therefore, a development which serves the reactionary rulers of Pakistan and their imperialist supporters.

This anti-Indian conspiracy can be defeated only if communal peace is maintained in India despite serious provocation in Pakistan. Taking revenge against innocent minorities here is certainly not the way to defeat the game of reactionaries of Pakistan.

The outburst of communal violence in West Bengal not only causes injury to the life and property of the people belonging to the minority community, but others too suffer. It also jeopardises our secularism and national unity and deals a severe blow to the democratic movement by disrupting it along communal lines.

The Central Executive Committee, therefore, calls upon all parties, groups and individuals who believe in democracy, secularism and national unity to come together and restore communal

peace in West Bengal and thereby defeat the game of communal reactionaries both of India and Pakistan. Communal violence in West Bengal must immediately be stopped by joint peace missions composed of representatives of all parties and communities who must visit the affected areas.

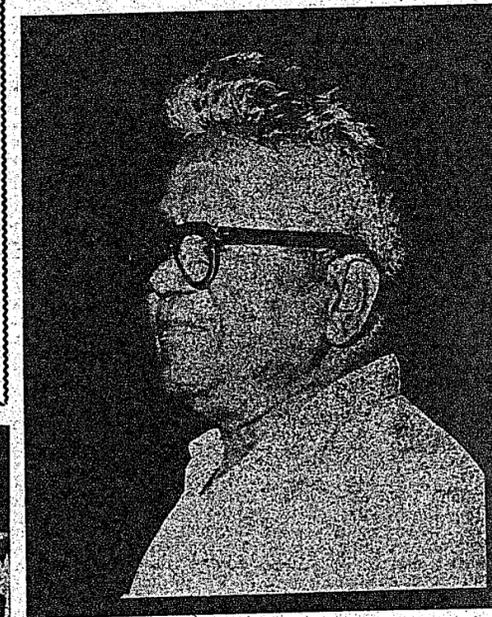
It also demands that the victims of communal violence in West Bengal should be adequately compensated by the Government of India and West Bengal. The government and the common people must play their due part to guarantee the security of life and property of the minority community.

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India appeals to the people of India in general and of West Bengal in particular to rise to the occasion and safeguard the national traditions of communal unity, peace and secularism.

It calls upon all Party members and units to throw their full weight in

the struggle for the restoration of communal peace and the protection of life

and property of the minority community in West Bengal.



R. K. BHOGALE

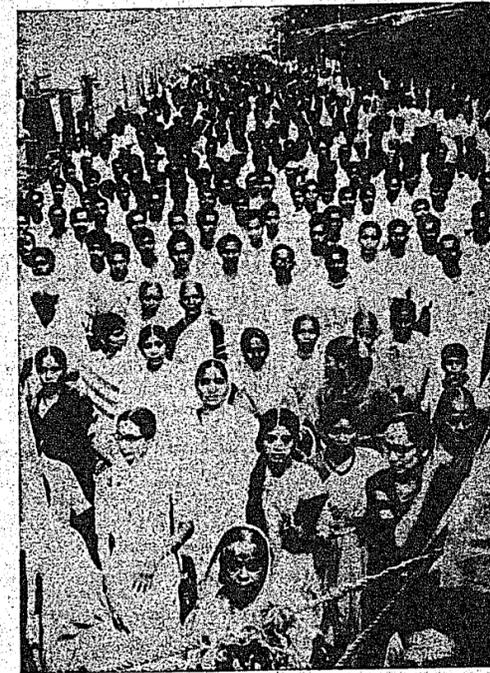
C. E. C. Expresses Its Heartfelt Condolences

THIS meeting of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India expresses its deep sorrow at the death of Comrade R. K. BHOGALE, a tried and trusted member of the Party and a most devoted fighter in the cause of working class.

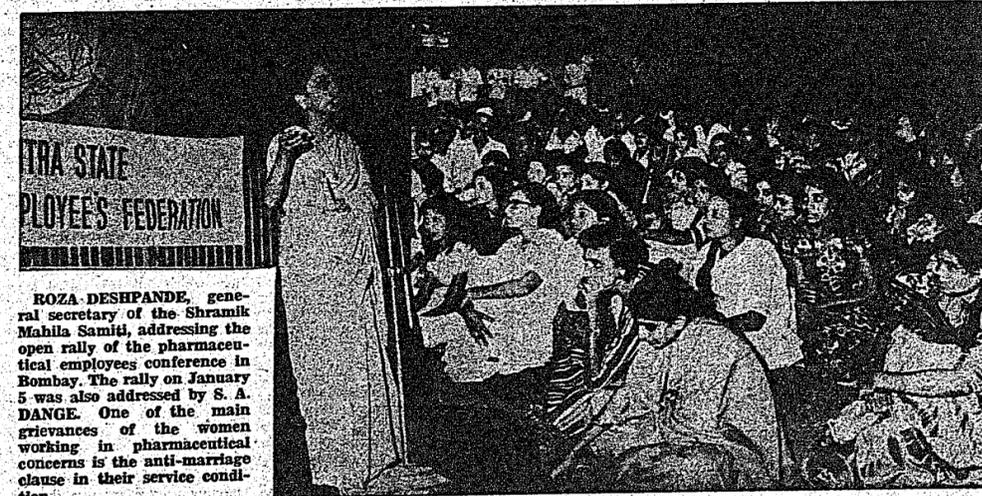
Born of a poor peasant family, Comrade Bhogale became a very skilled textile worker at a very early age and joined the Communist Party as a member

of the Young Workers' League in Bombay in 1930. Ever since then he held leading positions, in the Girni Kamgar Union of Bombay, and was one of the vice-presidents of the Maharashtra Committee of the AITUC at the time of his death. He was loved by all his colleagues and thousands of workers because of his sincerity, humane outlook and devotion to the Party. He met his death in a tragic accident.

The Central Executive Committee sends its heartfelt condolences to his bereaved family.



Funeral procession of Comrade Bhogale.



ROZA DESHPANDE, general secretary of the Shramik Mahila Samiti, addressing the open rally of the pharmaceutical employees conference in Bombay. The rally on January 5 was also addressed by S. A. DANGE. One of the main grievances of the women working in pharmaceutical concerns is the anti-marriage clause in their service condition.

C.E.C. APPROVES OF TAMILNAD ELECTION LINE

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India in its meeting in New Delhi on January 14, adopted the following resolution on Tamilnad municipal election tactics:

THE Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India, after having heard the reports of the secretary of the Tamilnad State Council and Comrade P. Ramamurthy on the two viewpoints inside the State Council regarding the forthcoming municipal elections, comes to the following conclusions:

The elections should be fought within the framework of the tactical line regarding general elections laid down by the Bangalore session of the National Council. The three main principles governing this line were:—
1. Increase the strength of the Party.
2. Break the monopoly power of the Congress.

III. Rout Right Reaction.

The Central Executive Committee is of the view that the decision of the Tamilnad Council to fight out the reactionary triple alliance and to strengthen the Party and democratic forces during these elections is correct.

The resolution of the Tamilnad State Council also correctly states that there should be no general United Front with the Congress.

The Tamilnad Committee should keep in view the need for weakening the monopoly of power of the Congress over the civic bodies.

Hence, while fighting the reactionary triple alliance, only those Congress candidates will be supported in whose case the state secretariat specifically decides to do so within the framework of the above general line. There is no question of general support to Congress candidates as against the triple alliance.

protest against entry of 7th fleet into indian ocean

GOI Urged To Lead United Opposition

C. E. C. Resolution

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India in its meeting in New Delhi adopted the following resolution on January 13 on extension of 7th Fleet operations to Indian Ocean:

THE Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India voices its indignant protest against the decision of the US government to extend the operations of its notorious Seventh Fleet to the Indian Ocean. This decision, which has now been officially and formally announced by the State Department, is sought to be implemented through the establishment of bases wherever the US government is able to secure the necessary facilities. The entry of the US Seventh Fleet into the Indian Ocean would threaten the security of all countries of the region. This move is clearly designed to intimidate these countries and interfere from a position of strength in their internal affairs.

Challenge To India

This move is a cynical challenge to India, which has always stood for maintaining tranquility in this region and keeping it away from all aggressive moves and cold war.

The US imperialists desperately seek to reverse our policy of nonalignment and drag India directly or indirectly into their system of military pacts. The manner in which the Seventh Fleet decision has been presented by US government spokesmen and the US monopoly press clearly indicates that it is meant to be part of the hated "Air Umbrella" scheme, firmly rejected by the Indian people.

The Central Executive Committee strongly condemns the manner in which the Government of India has attempted to whitewash the US decision to bring the Seventh Fleet into the Indian Ocean and present it as of little significance. Particularly objectionable was the Prime Minister's

statement in Parliament that the US decision only amounted to "a cruise by a few naval ships" with the object of "becoming acquainted with the seas in this region". The Central Executive Committee cannot but recall in this connection that in the past the Prime Minister has expressed India's opposition to such plans.

The strength of public opposition to the US decision resulted in the announcement by the Prime Minister in the Rajya Sabha that "there is no question of foreign troops or foreign aircraft partaking in the actual defence of the country". The Government of India also announced that it has no intention of granting any bases to the Seventh Fleet or permit it to call at our ports.

While these assurances are welcome, in consonance with the wishes of our people, the Committee urges the Government of India to raise its voice against this treacherous move and in cooperation with other Afro-Asian countries do everything within its competence to defeat the US plan. This is called for in the

interest of our country, all Afro-Asian nations and for all peace-loving people.

The Central Executive Committee notes with regret the refusal of the Congress High Command to allow any direct or indirect reference to the Seventh Fleet in the international affairs resolution of the Bhubaneswar session. This has further confirmed the impression that the Government of India's position is one of virtual acquiescence in the nefarious US project to "fill the vacuum" in this region. Such a position taken by the government can hardly be reconciled with India's own policy of anti-colonialism and peace.

The Central Executive Committee extends its fraternal greetings to all the many organisations and individuals, representing the widest strata of public opinion in India, who have raised their voice of protest against the Seventh Fleet's intrusion into this area. A powerful and broad popular movement against the Seventh Fleet has made itself felt throughout the country during these days.

The Central Executive Committee congratulates all units of the Communist Party who have actually responded to the call of the Central Secretariat and organised meetings and demonstrations on this vital issue.

Continue Mass Campaign

The mass campaign already started must be continued and intensified in the coming weeks.

The Committee urges all Indian patriots, who cherish India's independence and her role in the service of world peace and anti-colonialism, to join hands to demonstrate their opposition to the Seventh Fleet, and ensure that the Government of India ends forthwith its policy in this regard which amounts to silent consent in the US imperialists' decision to bring their fleet of aggression into Afro-Asian waters.

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India calls upon the Government of India to record its emphatic and unequivocal protest against the entry of the Seventh Fleet into the Indian Ocean and take the lead in organising the united opposition of all nonaligned governments of the countries bordering the Indian Ocean. This is what is expected of a great country by all those who stand for freedom and peace.

Price Control Demand Day Observed In Kerala

★ From S. SHARMA

TRIVANDRUM: January 10 was observed as Price Control Demand Day all over Kerala on a call given by the executive of the Kerala state council of the Communist Party of India.

REPORTS reaching Trivandrum show that in all important centres demonstrations were organised under the joint auspices of the Communist Party, trade unions and Kshatriya Sangham units.

Meetings were held and resolutions passed demanding effective steps to control prices of essential commodities, increase in the quantum of rice supplied through fair price shops, government takeover of wholesale trade in foodgrains and withdrawal of sales tax on foodgrains.

Demonstrations were taken out in taluk and district headquarters and memoranda submitted to the district collector listing the above demands.

In Trivandrum a five hundred strong procession led by Communist leaders of the district marched through important streets in the morning of January 10 and staged a demonstration in front of the district collector's office.

The leaders went in a deputation to the district collector and submitted a memorandum listing the demands put forward by the Party.

Meanwhile preparations are being made for the national campaign of toilers and the all-India general strike, if necessary, the call for which was given by the Bombay conference of trade unions.

The executive of the Kerala State Trade Union Council met at Ernakulam on January 3 and chalked out a detailed programme for implementing the decisions of the Bombay conference.

The Committee appealed to all

of living had shot up and the lives of over one lakh families who depended on the beedi industry for their livelihood was at stake.

The executive of the Kerala Nongazetted Officers Union, meeting at Trichur last week, demanded that a pay commission headed by a high court judge and having a financial expert and a representative of the service personnel be appointed to revise the pay scales of government employees in the state.

It further demanded that an interim relief should be effected immediately to all government employees to mitigate the rising cost of living.

The executive was of the view that the pay scales and service conditions of central government employees should be made applicable to all state government employees also.

The committee decided to convene a special conference of the NGO Union to discuss measures to realise their most urgent demands at the time when the Kerala Assembly meets for its budget session.

The Kerala State Toddy Tappers Federation has appealed to all toddy tappers to rally as one man to meet the challenge thrown by the toddy shop owners at the meeting of the Industrial Relations Committee.

At the IRC meeting on January 4 the toddy shop owners had refused to accept the minimum demands of bonus, additional allowance to meet the increased cost of equipment and implementation of the arbitration award.

The Federation executive directed all its units to collect signatures on a memorandum listing these demands, to be submitted to the Labour Minister who is also in charge of excise department.

BOMBAY: The long-awaited report of the Experts Committee on Consumer Price Index in Bombay was submitted on January 7. The government's decision on the 42-page report of the committee is expected within a fortnight. The report is unanimous.

THE committee with Prof. D. T. LAKDAWALA as chairman and Dr. K. MUKHERJI and Dr. C. V. RAO as members was appointed on August 22, 1963 following complaints by trade unions of serious errors in the computation of the index and the great "Bombay Bandh" action on August 20.

The findings of the committee will directly affect, the



DA of about four lakh workers in Bombay city who get variable dearness allowance, linked with the consumer price index.

An official spokesman said that the government proposed to hold consultations with organisations of employers and trade unions on January 15 or 16 before taking a decision on the report of the Committee.

The committee was asked to submit at least an interim report within two months. An extension of two or more months was granted later.

N. M. TIDKE, the Maharashtra Labour Minister, has indicated that the state government would apply more or less the same principles underlying the expert body's report in readjusting the index numbers in other centres of the state. If it was felt necessary, the assistance of the committee would be sought for the purpose.

The committee, in its report, suggested that the existing cost of living index needed adjustment only in respect of four items, namely,

Punjab Government Employees To Campaign For Higher Emoluments

★ From OUR CORRESPONDENT

CHANDIGARH: A convention of Punjab government employees will be held at Chandigarh on February 15 and 16 to discuss ways and means to arrest the deteriorating living standards of government employees as a result of the rising prices.

The decision to hold the convention was taken at the joint meeting of the Punjab Subordinate Services Federation and the United Council of Punjab Government Employees Associations at Chandigarh on January 11. The meeting was presided over by RAGHIB SINGH.

Among those invited to attend the convention are Union Home Minister GULZARILAL NANDA, Punjab Chief Minister PRATAP SINGH KAIRON, Chief Parliamentary Secretary S. GULAB SINGH, SUBHADRA JOSHI MP, S. M. BANERJEE MP and AMAR NATH VIDYALANKAR MP.

Regional conferences of government employees will be held at Hisar, Simla, Amritsar, Patiala, Ferozepur and Ambala prior to the convention.

Punjab has achieved an increase of 24.99 per cent in per capita income from 1952-53 to 1961-62, that is from Rs. 321 to Rs. 401 against an increase of only 18.1 per cent in the national per capita income. But while the central

government employees have received an increase of nearly 40 per cent in their dearness allowance, the Punjab government employees have not received any increase in their dearness allowance at all since 1947.

The salary scales of the Punjab government employees have also remained static since 1947 except for marginal adjustments.

The prices of essential articles have gone up by 300 per cent during this period thereby compelling the employees to live on under-nourished diet and in sub-human conditions. Naturally, this has caused considerable discontent among the employees.

A resolution passed by the joint meeting said that the rise in prices and static nature of the pay packet has "brought the life of poor low-paid employees below the subsistence level."

FRAUD IN INDEX CONFIRMED

Bombay Experts Body's Findings

There are differences about the substitutions. Now-a-days, mercerised cloth is very common which was not the case in earlier days. Employees argue that to take mercerised cloth into consideration is to improve the quality of a commodity taken into account in the index.

As regards the problem of linking the current series with the new series, after considering the various submissions made to them, the committee came to the conclusion that the new series should be linked to the current revised series at 1960 only by a simple ratio linking and that the linking factor should be 4.49. In doing so the committee

JANUARY 31 : BANK & INSURANCE EMPLOYEES' DEMANDS DAY

Joint Decision Of Two Associations

★ From OUR CORRESPONDENT

CALCUTTA: Bank and insurance employees will observe Friday January 31 as Demands Day to focus public and government attention on the demands of nationalisation of banking and general insurance, compilation of all-India consumer price index on scientific and realistic basis, withdrawal of the additional surcharge and holding of the price line.

This has been disclosed in a statement issued here by PRABHAT KAR MP, general secretary of the All India Bank Employees Association, and SAROJ

CHAUDHURI, general secretary of the All India Insurance Employees Association.

The statement said the enormous burden of taxes and surcharge on income, manipulation of prices by profiteers and ever increasing prices of all essential commodities have made the life of working people miserable.

Whatever meagre protection they sought in the form of increased dearness allowance linked with the consumer price index is also taken away by manipulation of the index itself.

The lot of the employees has become desperate necessitating the Nagpur conference of the AIBEA and the Patna meeting of the central committee of the AIBEA recently.

In pursuance of the decisions of these meetings, representatives of both the associations met in Calcutta on January 10. This meeting of representatives has decided to observe January 31 as the Demands Day.

The joint meeting also protested against the action of certain policemen in 'mufti' in tearing off posters brought out by the United Council of Punjab Government Employees Associations listing their demands and threatening some employees who objected to this action.

The Chandigarh joint meeting also saw the merger of the United Council in the Punjab Subordinate Services Federation.

It was further felt that the supreme task of reconstructing the national economy and furthering the interests of these industries and their employees could only be achieved by nationalising them immediately.

It was also appealed to all trade unions of middle class employees to participate in the campaign to help realise the common demands.

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is that the committee has not taken into account the full rise in the cost of living. Still, the workers demand immediate implementation of the committee's recommendations.

In the last meeting of the Standing Labour Committee in New Delhi the employers had opposed automatic adjustment in DA on the basis of the experts committee report. This has caused apprehensions among labour circles.

S. A. DANGE, general secretary of the AITUC, had given an ultimatum at the SLC meeting that the recommendations of the committee must be implemented by January 31.

Half-hearted and haphazard measures would not only not bring any result but would add to the prevailing maladies.

The representatives took particular note of the paradox that while the soaring of prices of daily necessities continued unabated, the all-India consumer price index bore no reflection of the actual market condition. This has resulted in chronic depression of living standards.

While on the one hand the compensation by way of dearness allowance was meagre, whatever little benefit accrued to the employees owing to linking of DA with the price index was not flowing to them because of faulty, outdated, nay fraudulent compilation of indices.

It was, therefore, decided to demand immediate recasting of the indices on scientific and realistic basis.

Exemption From Surcharge

The representatives, on a review of the hardship that the employees are undergoing owing to higher prices and heavier taxes, demanded that employees with annual income upto Rs. 9,000 should be exempted from the additional surcharge.

The representatives viewed with grave concern the situation arising out of the constant rise in prices through the manipulation of hoarders and profiteers and enormous amount of indirect taxes and utter inaction of the government.

It was decided to launch a countrywide joint campaign to achieve these demands.

The statement called upon all the bank and insurance employees throughout the country to participate in the campaign and to make the observance of the Demands Day on January 31 a grand success.

It was also appealed to all trade unions of middle class employees to participate in the campaign to help realise the common demands.

DURG KISANS PLAN DISTRICT-WISE AGITATION

★ From OUR CORRESPONDENT

BHOPAL: The fourth session of the Durg District Kisan Sammelan held in the first week of January at Ramadhin Nagar near Churiya village was the biggest ever kisan meet in the district.

About 300 delegates from all over Durg district including Adivasi areas attended the session. The expenses of the conference were met through collection of grains from the kisans of the area.

The conference decided to launch an agitation to realise the kisan demands. Among the demands, listed through resolutions, are restoration of 'nistar' rights, opening of fair price shops under block offices and state takeover of

wholesale trade in foodgrains.

An 81 member district kisan council and an executive of 31 were elected by the conference. GANGA CHOUBE is the president of the council and BISHE-SHWAR PRASAD YADAV its general secretary.

Inaugurating the session SHAKIR ALI KEHAN MLA said if the kisans were to realise their demands they have to build a powerful and united Kisan Sabha just as the united trade union movement in cities which is now waging a momentous struggle to realise their demands.

He said that instead of wasting money on grow more food campaigns the government could get better results by spending that money on cash loans and better seeds to the farmers.

THE SUGAR PROBLEM

The shortage of sugar and its high price have created an acute situation in the country. Gur has been selling at Rs. 1.25 to Rs. 1.50 a kilo and only recently the price came down to Rs. 0.75 and Re. 1 a kilo. Khandasari has been selling at Rs. 2.50 to Rs. 3.00 a kilo. Crystal sugar is now sold at Rs. 1.30 a kilo in the controlled market and at Rs. 3.00 in the black market. Sugar is being supplied in the urban areas at one kilo a person a month, while in the rural areas the ration is only one-fourth of a kilo a person a month, and that too is not regular.

THREE articles have appeared in THE TRIBUNE on December 31, 1963 on the problem of sugar. One was by Union Food and Agriculture Minister SWARAN SINGH, the second by sugar millowner D. D. PURI MP and the third by sugar magnate GOKAL CHAND NARANG.

Swaran Singh says sugarcane production has gone up from five million tons in terms of gur in 1949-50 to above 10 million tons last year. He confesses that crop yield in India is very low compared to other countries. It is only 1.63 tons per acre in comparison to 2.6 tons in Puerto Rico, 3.03 tons in Egypt, 5.08 tons in Peru, 6.44 tons in Java and 6.49 tons in Hawaii. India therefore has to take steps to increase the yield per acre to a considerable extent.

The total number of sugar factories working in the country has gone up to 189 in 1963-64 from 187 in the previous year, according to Swaran Singh. The area under sugarcane cultivation in the current year is 77,000 acres more than last year. He expects a one lakh ton increase in the production of white sugar.

The Minister estimated the demand for white sugar at 40 lakh tons a year in the Fourth Plan. Besides, the needs of exports and replacement of stocks would require another 10 lakh tons. Against this, the installed capacity of the sugar mills will increase by only five lakh tons in the first year of the Fourth Plan, that is leaving a wide gap between demand and supply.

According to D. D. Puri, there has been a decline in sugar production from 30.28 lakh tons in 1960-61 to 27.30 lakh tons in 1961-62 and further 21.05 tons in 1962-63. He claims that two-thirds of the sugarcane produced in the country go for the manufacture of gur and khandasari, and only one-third is utilised for the manufacture of crystal sugar.

The sugar mills have to pay Rs. 10.70 per maund of sugar as excise duty to the Union government besides tax on the purchase of sugarcane while there is no such tax on the manufacture of gur and khandasari. Thus, according to Puri, tends to divert cane for khandasari.

Puri has suggested four steps to remedy the situation: fix Rs. two as sugarcane price and maintain it at that level for two or three years; reduce the excise duty to give relief to the consumer; maintain an equilibrium in prices of sugar and gur and khandasari (if sugar price is to be controlled, gur and khandasari prices should also be controlled); and establish a buffer stock of one million tons

which will cost the government about Rs. 120 crores. The measures suggested by Puri seem to be eminently reasonable, while Gokal Chand Narang has made an analysis which is almost opposed to the one made by the former and his demands are also not acceptable.

While Narang has complained about the high excise duty, his main grouse is that the wage bill of the workers have risen four to five times besides other benefits to the labour. He also complains that cane price has gone up from five annas to Rs. two. And his demands are less wages to workers, less price to the cane growers.

Now, let us see what the mid-term appraisal of the Third Five Year Plan, made by the Planning Commission, has to say about the pace of sugarcane production and the problem of sugar.

The production of sugarcane in terms of gur was 9,079,000 tons in 1955-56. It rose to 10,447,000 tons in 1960-61. But in the last two years it declined. In 1961-62 it was 9,984,000 tons and in 1962-63 9,228,000 tons, that is still less. Thus there has been a setback in sugarcane production, contrary to what Swaran Singh has claimed in the article.

Less Production, Higher Exports

There has been a fall in sugar production also in the first two years of the Third Plan. In 1960-61, 30 lakh tons were produced, which fell to 27 lakh tons in 1961-62 and further dropped to nearly 22 lakh tons in 1962-63.

There has been a big increase in the export of sugar in the first two years of the Third Plan though the mid-term appraisal does not give its figures. It however gives the value of sugar exports: it was Rs. 2.5 crores in 1960-61 and rose to Rs. 14.6 crores in 1961-62 and Rs. 17.00 crores the next year. It is indicated that quantitatively also, exports of sugar rose in proportion to the value of exports.

Thus, the production of sugarcane and manufacture of white sugar fell in the first two years of the Third Plan but the exports of sugar went up by about seven times. That is why the quantity of sugar for internal consumption has fallen so considerably resulting in the present crisis.

The main reason for the fall in the production of sugarcane is stated to be unfavourable weather. But that does not fully explain the fall in production. The government has for many years failed to fix a fair price for sugarcane and this has acted as a disincentive to sugarcane cultivation. This might have

led to cultivators going in for more paying cash crops.

With excess stocks in hand in 1960-61, the millowners seem to have not utilised deliberately their crushing capacity to the full, so as to reduce production and boost prices. Cane growers have been put to great difficulties in selling their cane. Long waits outside mill gates, irregular payment—all these they had to suffer in the Punjab.

Sugarcane pests too have in recent years done much damage to the crop thereby compelling the farmers to reduce sugarcane cultivation.

Remedial Measures

Both long-term and short term measures are needed to solve the problem. Some of the possible measures are suggested below:

★ The price of Rs. two per maund of sugarcane should be the minimum for the average quality. Premium should be paid for cane with sugar content above the average.

★ Excise duty on sugar should be reduced and the purchase tax abolished.

At the same time the price of white sugar should be reduced in the interests of the consumers. The cess on sugarcane crop (which is Rs. five an acre for canal-irrigated and Rs. three for well-irrigated land in the Punjab) should be abolished as it discourages cane cultivation.

★ The state should purchase sugar from the mills at reasonable price, allowing a fair profit to the millowners. At the same time interests of workers who run sugar mills should be fully safeguarded.

and techniques. Crop pests should be controlled. To increase production of white sugar, installed capacity should be increased fast. More foreign exchange should be released for import of machinery while efforts to manufacture all the machinery needed in the country itself should be accelerated.

To ensure regular and large supplies to the mills, besides the price incentive and premium for higher sugar content, transport facilities should be developed in areas around the mills.

Master Hari Singh MLC

Sugar should be distributed through cooperatives.

★ A buffer stock of about one million tons of sugar should be established. Sugar should be released for sale from the buffer stock in emergencies and to check rise in prices.

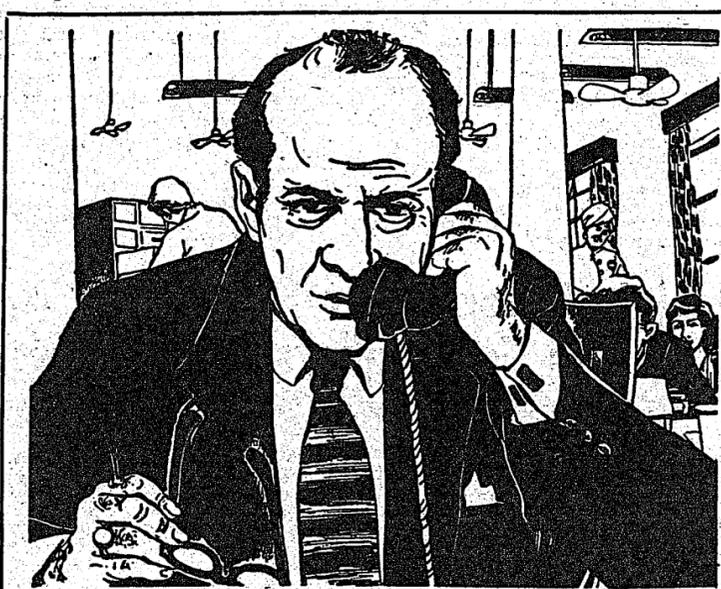
★ To solve the problem on a permanent basis, production of both sugarcane and crystal sugar should be increased considerably.

To increase sugarcane production, minor irrigation facilities should be extended and use of fertilisers emphasised. The per acre yield has to be increased considerably. Cane cultivation should be put on a scientific basis by application of advanced knowledge

Equilibrium between prices of gur, khandasari and crystal sugar should be established.

Purchase of sugarcane produced for crushing by the mills should be guaranteed. Purchase should be prompt and payment on the spot. Ordinances compelling growers to sell to the mills should be abolished. Instead of coercion persuasive methods and material incentives should be applied.

Growers should be given the freedom to manufacture gur for self-consumption from a certain minimum area, say of one acre, while the manufacturing processes of gur and khandasari should be put on modern and scientific basis.



Paramount necessity for the formation of health

You feel tired to work... do not get energy to work or suffer from colds... or perhaps you have not a desire for food or what you take does not digest even.

Then it would rapidly improve your health if you take two spoonful of Mritasanjibani mixed with four spoonful of Mahadraksharista (6 years old).

SADHANA AUSADHALAYA—DACCA
36, Sadhana Ausadhalaya Road
Sadhana Nagar, Calcutta 48



Adhyaksha Dr. Jyoti Chandra Ghosh, M.A., Ayurved-Sastr, P.C.S., (London), M.C.S. (America) Formerly Professor of Chemistry, Bhagpur College.



MRITASANJIBANI
MAHADRAKSHARISTA
(6 years old)

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

The death of AZAD† in February 1930 dealt the HSRA* a blow from which it never recovered. It was not merely government repression that killed the Party. It was something more fundamental.

AZAD was the one man whose personality, whose capacity for inspiring confidence and whose immense prestige had held the HSRA together in face of repeated failures and growing internal dissensions. After his death demoralisation grew apace. Already demoralised by leading terrorists like KAILASHPATE had shocked the ranks. It came to be known that Azad's death was itself the result of betrayal by another well known leader.

There was no knowing now who would be the next traitor, who the next to be revealed as a police spy. None was exempt from suspicion. Mutual confidence was gone. Personal squabbles, charges and counter charges, vitiated the atmosphere. Police spies and degenerate elements that had managed to sneak their way in made the most of this situation. Misappropriation of funds, dacoities for personal ends, moral depravity became an increasing phenomenon.

Break-Up Of The HSRA

Disgust by these developments the majority gave up politics altogether. They lost faith in terrorism in their colleagues, in themselves and even in the cause of freedom. Nothing can happen in this country, we are a nation of cowards and traitors—such was the burden of their song. One by one those who had managed to evade arrest were rounded up and sentenced to long terms while the rest sank into apathy and despair.

Corroded from within, unable to withstand blows from outside the Party that Azad and BHAGAT SINGH had built up by

*Chandrasekhar Azad
†Hindustan Socialist Republican Army

years of selfless work and with their precious blood lay in ruins. Never was the truth more evident than now that a party of middle class revolutionists looking upon action by individuals as the highest form of struggle and operating in isolation from the people could not only not rouse the nation but was dependent even for its internal unity and morale on the personalities of its leaders. Life itself had smashed all the pet illusions we had held till then.

Whatever lingering faith I had in terrorism was now fast vanishing. But what was the alternative?

Aftermath Of Gandhi-Irwin Pact

The question did not admit of a simple answer. In 1930 it had seemed at one time that the Congress had finally broken with constitutionalism and under its leadership the country was heading towards revolution. The GANDHI-IRWIN Pact belied those hopes.

Not even the most optimistic could look upon that Pact as a victory for the country, and the event immediately following it—the execution of Bhagat Singh, SUKHDEO and RAJGURU in defiance of universal popular demand for commutation of the death sentences—justified all their doubts and fears. There was all round stagnation and demoralisation. The stirring events of a few months before—Sholapur, Peshawar, Chittagong—seemed like incidents of a long forgotten epoch.

Almost every Congressman I met spoke bitterly against the Pact and it seemed to me that it could not be easily ratified by the Congress. I went to Karachi expecting to see the Pact repudiated or at least determinedly opposed by a large body of delegates. SUBHAS BOSE when I met him

HOW I CAME TO COMMUNISM

By AJJOY GHOSH

there, declared openly that he would oppose the Pact tooth and nail. "Between us and the British government," he said, in the course of a speech at a meeting of leftist Congressmen, "lies an ocean of

contented with a statement in the Subjects Committee meeting, a statement in which, while criticising the Pact he also made it clear that he would not vote against the resolution endorsing it.

What I had already begun to realise was further strengthened. A handful of young men could not make revolution nor even rouse the country. Revolutionary uprising which alone could smash foreign rule needed patient and systematic work among the people, organising them on militant lines on the basis of their own demands and leading them step by step and through a series of partial struggles towards the final struggle for the capture of power.

The working class because of the key positions it occupied—in railways, docks, vital factories—had to play a leading role in this struggle. It would be a profound mistake to judge the working class from the character of those who seemed to occupy leading positions in the trade union movement for the time being.

What the workers were capable of they had revealed during the boycott of the Simon Commission and in numerous political and economic battles. And one of the most important tasks of the day was to free the workers from reformist influence, instil in them revolutionary consciousness, make them realise the role they had to play in freeing the country.

Joining The Party



blood and a mountain of corpses. Nothing on earth can induce us to accept this compromise which Gandhiji has signed."

To my amazement, when the time came Subhas Bose quietly

With few abstentions and with almost no opposition except that voiced by SARDESAI and a few others, the Pact was ratified by the Congress. My disillusionment was complete. If terrorism was not the way to freedom, neither could left nationalism suggest an alternative path.

It was at Karachi that I met Sardesai for the first time. That meeting and the talks I had with him made me break finally and decisively with terrorism.

Sardesai was the first Communist I came to know intimately. Till now I had come across many political workers but outside the terrorist movement I had not yet met men whom I could consider ardent revolutionists, men who conveyed the impression that their whole life was devoted to one single cause, one single purpose. What drew me towards Sardesai was not merely his ideas but also the man himself.

Like other members of the Hindustan Socialist Republican Association I had accepted socialism as the final goal several years ago and for a time worked in the trade union movement at Kanpur before my arrest in the Lahore Conspiracy Case.

The militancy of the workers during strikes had struck me but what I had seen of their leaders like Mr. HARIHARNATH SHASTRI and GOPINATH left me unimpressed. They certainly could not be considered revolutionists by any stretch of imagination, and a movement of which they were the leaders seemed to me not a revolutionary movement but merely the counterpart of the Congress movement in the working class.

In Sardesai I met a man after my own heart. The discussions we had were neither detailed nor thorough—it was not possible to have such discussions in the midst of the hectic days of a Congress Session—but they made a deep impression on me.

Returning from Karachi I started working in the Mazdoor Sabha of Kanpur and reading whatever books I could get. For a few months I was in touch with ROY—I knew nothing about the difference between Royism and Communism and looked upon Roy as a Communist—but afterwards broke with him as the real character of Royism became evident to me.

In 1931 I was arrested again on trumped-up charges and during the year and a half in prison I devoted myself to studies. By a strange coincidence Sardesai who had come to Kanpur was arrested and kept in the same barrack with me for some weeks. Discussions with him finally clarified my ideas and I came out of jail a confirmed Communist in 1933.

Twelve years have passed since then, twelve years which have seen mighty changes in our land and in the world as a whole. The Party that I joined in 1933 has grown from a tiny group to its present stature, an organisation with its units in every part of the country, entrenched in the working class and peasantry, a political force.

Repression has failed to smash it, slanders have failed to check its growth. In its ranks I have found men and women, many of them simple workers and peasants, fired with the same passionate love for the country and the same burning hatred for imperialism that characterised Bhagat Singh and the finest of my comrades in the terrorist movement, and the same selfless devotion to the cause—men and women whom one can be proud to claim as comrades, with whom it is a joy and an honour to work.

(Excerpts From BHAGAT SINGH AND HIS COMRADES, 1945)

AJOY GHOSH: Leader Of World Communist Movement

From PRAVDA, January 15, 1962.

I N 1951 A. K. GHOSH was elected General Secretary of the National Council of the Communist Party of India, and held that post continually to his last days.

Under his leadership the Communist Party of India waged a selfless struggle for the consolidation of India's national freedom, for the elimination of her age-old economic backwardness, for peace and friendship among nations.

A. K. Ghosh was a genuine friend of the Soviet Union and did a great deal for the development and strengthening of friendship and all-sided cooperation between the Soviet and Indian peoples. He always highly valued the great historic significance of the victory of socialism and the building of a Com-

munist society in the Soviet Union for the destinies of all mankind, including the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

As the leader of the Indian Communist Party's delegation to the Twenty-Second Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Comrade Ghosh made a passionate speech from its rostrum, in which he gave a high estimation of the Soviet Communist Party's Leninist policy.

He impressively pointed out that the great achievements of the USSR and the entire socialist camp, the stupendous achievements of the whole Communist movement and the amazing successes of the forces of national freedom, democracy and peace, would all be unthinkable without the decisions of the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

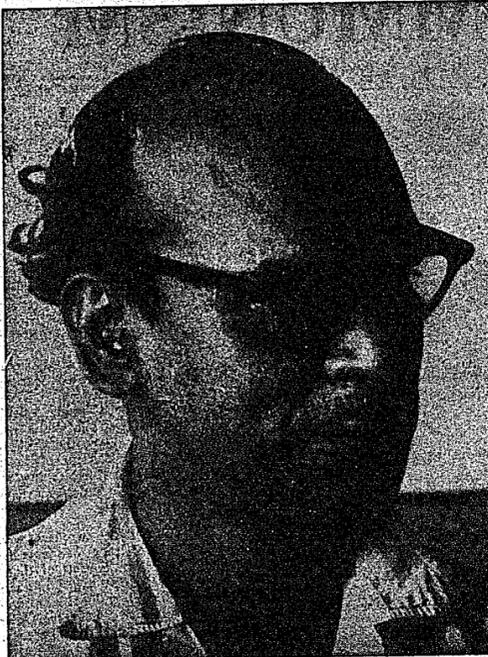
He likened the new Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to the historic Communist

Manifesto and called it a lodestar for all mankind.

A. K. Ghosh always manifested lofty qualities of a Communist in fighting uncompromisingly for the unity of the Communist Party of India and the international Communist movement on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

Under A. K. Ghosh's leadership the Communist Party of India has grown into a great political force marching in the vanguard of the struggle of all the progressive forces of India for the country's social and economic progress. In India and abroad A. K. Ghosh is well known as the author of a number of theoretical works: The Communist Party of India in Struggle for Freedom and Democracy, Theories and Practice of the Socialist Party of India and others. In his writings and his practical work, he always ardently upheld the purity of Marxism-Leninism and ruthlessly exposed the enemies of the working class: the revisionists, dogmatists and sectarians.

GLEANINGS FROM ARTICLES & SPEECHES OF AJOY GHOSH



THE MENACE OF COMMUNALISM

(From Speech at the National Integration Conference Sept. 29, '61)

In the final analysis, national integration, if we may say so, is a problem of democracy and of far-reaching socio-economic transformations.

HOWEVER, at this conference, I do not wish to go into this aspect of the problem. I would like to confine myself to certain urgent questions with which we must come to grips.

I think that it will be conceded by everyone that of all menaces that confront us, communalism is the most serious, above all communalism of the majority community, the Hindus.

This menace has grown steadily. In fact, Hindu

communalism seems to be gradually permeating our social and political life and what is even more dangerous is that political reaction often operates in this garb.

Apart from the organisations of Hindu communalism whose names are well-known, the Hindu communalists have found their way into many key positions in the administration. It is no accident that when aggressive Hindu communalists engineer tension

and riots, sections of the administration are found somewhat paralysed.

This was witnessed to an alarming extent at the time of recent Jabalpur riot. Such communal forces have even crept into some secular political organisations. There is no need to cite specific examples here. For, these are no longer any secret.

Defeat Communalism

In our view all democratic forces in general and the organised democratic movement in particular have an important role to play in defeating the forces of communal reaction. Any opportunist association or alliance with these forces on the part of any secular party would be a positive disservice to the cause of national integration. When I say communal parties, I have in mind all communal parties whether Hindu, Muslim or Sikh.

Let it not be forgotten that the association of secular parties with these communal organisations brings them some political respectability and enables them to overcome popular revulsion and step up their disruptive activities.

This has been particularly seen in the revival of the Muslim League activities in many parts of the country after the formation of the so-called united front in Kerala. Time has come when secular political parties need to take a very firm attitude towards communal organisations and avoid political alliance with them at all costs.

Opposition to communalism does not, however, mean ignoring of the genuine difficulties from which certain communities suffer.

Muslim Minority

Take the question of Muslim minority. The Muslims are the biggest single religious minority in India with their own historical and political background. Without going into details, it may be broadly said that even in our secular state, the Muslim minority does suffer from a number of

disabilities—most of which exist not so much in law, as in facts of life.

It cannot be denied that discrimination is practised against Muslims in many areas. Muslim parents find it difficult to get their children learn Urdu in Schools. All this demands serious attention from the authorities. This is absolutely essential for building a democratic and secular state.

What, however, has happened is that we have taken our secularism for granted and tended to gloss over the violations of secular principles often bordering on clearly discriminatory practices. Some people even resent the suggestion that such discrimination against the Muslims is practised.

Naturally, this situation has brought grist to the mill of the Muslim communalists, who are today trying to revive their communal activities. Muslim communalism must be fought but, at the same time, effective steps should be taken to look into the grievances of the Muslim minority and give them assurance that their rights and interests will be fully safeguarded.

The central and state governments should take firm steps to put an end to all forms of direct and indirect discrimination against Muslims in the field of recruitment to services, trade and industry, protection of the life and property and their specific cultural and linguistic interests.

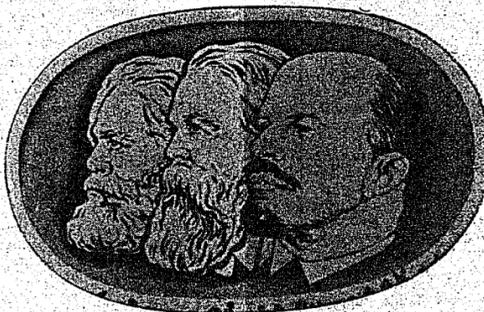
(Articles and Speeches—pp. 253-255)

The Congress has been and is an extremely important factor in the political life of our country. This is not surprising view of the role it played in leading the struggle for national freedom and in taking measures to consolidate independence under NEHRU's leadership.

THE influence of the Congress, though less than it was in the days of freedom struggle, is vast and extensive. It extends to all classes—including big sections of the working class. It extends to the peasantry, the artisans, the intellectuals and others. Nehru's influence is even wider. We cannot build the national democratic front by

And, in some states, with the decline in the influence of the PSP, the most important division has become the mass following the Congress and the CPI. I have in mind the states of Kerala, Andhra and West Bengal.

Does it follow that a general united front with the Congress is possible today—



ignoring this big reality of the Indian situation.

That is why the Fourth Congress of our Party stated that the division between the masses that follow the Congress and the masses that follow parties of the democratic opposition is the most important division in the democratic camp. Does that situation continue? It does.

that is with the Congress as it is? No. Our relations will inevitably be one of unity and struggle. The Congress is the organ of the national bourgeoisie as a whole—including its Rightwing.

Moreover, after independence, it has been joined by many reactionary forces that opposed the national struggle—landlords and others. Many

OUR APPROACH TO THE CONGRESS

(From Speech at Vijayawada Congress of CPI, April 1961)

of the old leaders have got corrupted by their links with big business. Many new people have come in who had nothing to do with the national movement. All this finds reflection in many of the practices of the Congress and its governments.

At the same time it would be a big mistake to equate the Congress with parties of Right reaction. Many of the declared policies of the Congress are, in today's context, progressive—foreign policy, public sector, secularism and so on.

The complexity of the situation arises from the following facts:

★ Policies and measures which are hitting the masses, giving rise to discontent and frustration are the policies of the Congress and its governments. It is this discontent that is utilised by Right reaction to mislead the masses and strengthen itself. At the same time, these policies cannot be fought effectively either by our own strength or even only by the unity of the Left forces; the broadening and deepening of the struggle against these

policies require the drawing into it of a big section of the people who are in the Congress and loyal to it.

★ A large part of the forces of the Right are inside the Congress. At the same time, the bulk of those who are our potential allies are also inside the Congress.

It is true that many Congress leaders do not genuinely support the foreign policy of peace and nonalignment. But it is equally true that most of those people who support it, who want it to be defended, are to be found not inside the PSP or any other "Left" party but inside the Congress or among those under Nehru's influence.

Again, take the public sector. Many inside the Congress assail it. But it is also true that the largest number of those who want it to be defended and extended are also in the Congress. As regards communalism—it is correct to point out how deeply communalism has penetrated the Congress. But, let us not also forget that not only Nehru but also many other Congressmen were far more distressed by the happenings in Jabalpur than many leaders of the Left parties.

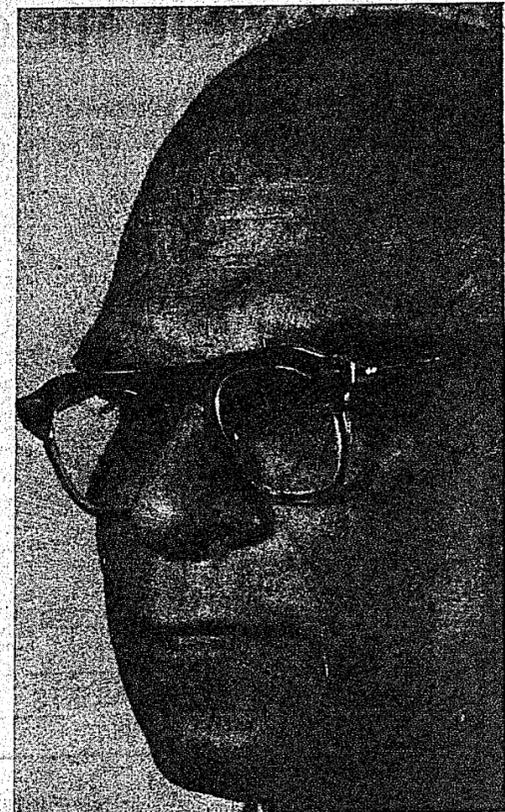
Can we defend India's policy, can we defend the public sector, can we defend the parliamentary system—without forging links with Congressmen and winning their support? Can we fight communalism effectively except in cooperation with them?

Evidently we cannot. It follows, therefore, that an approach has to be adopted which takes into account the loyalty of Congressmen towards their organisation and their sentiments. Time and again direct appeal will have to be made not only to Congress masses, Congressmen but also to Congress committees—taking into account the issue concerned and the concrete conditions in the locality....

Potential Allies

We must look upon democrats inside the Congress and the mass of Congressmen as our friends and potential allies in the struggle for consolidation of political independence, defence of parliamentary democracy, of foreign policy, public sector, agrarian reforms, etc. Ours must be a fraternal attitude. Also, when progressive declarations are made by the Congress, we have not just to "expose" them but use them for forging unity.

Would it not have been a good thing, comrades, if after the Nagpur session of the Congress, we had organised padayatra of kisans in all parts of the country with the



single slogan: "Implement your decision on ceilings"? Would it not have helped us to strengthen our links with peasants—the bulk of whom all comrades admit, remain the main pillars of support behind the Congress?

Also, would it not have been a good thing if after the Congress-Ganatantra Parishad alliance in Orissa, we had not just "exposed" the Congress but ran a mass campaign in the state, reminding Congressmen of the traditions of struggles against the Rajas and asking them to bring pressure on their leaders to break the alliance?

Would it not have been a good thing, when Right reactionaries and PSP-ers supported Thimmayya and launched an attack on Krishna Menon and when Nehru stood firm—if at that time we had organised mass demonstrations supporting Nehru? Would not that have helped us to forge unity with democratic-minded Congressmen and also help to fight reactionary moves of the government itself more effectively?

Take another example. Proposal came from high circles about sale of shares of industries in the public sector to private individuals. Sharp conflict developed inside the Congress leadership on this issue. Should we not have played a role in this? Theoretically, perhaps few comrades would object to any of these suggestions. But there is hesitation to act.

I maintain—and that is one of the main things that I want to stress—that in view of the need to broaden the base of our struggles and in view of the critical nature of the period ahead, it has become more necessary than ever, that strenuous efforts are made by us to forge links with democrats inside the Congress and with masses under Congress influence. We must stress because despite what we said at Palghat we

have paid too little attention to this task.

Basic Requirements

What this requires are:

1 Use progressive declarations of Congress to forge mass unity in action.

2 In agitation, keep in mind not only those who are already under our influence but also those who are not, speak not only for those who sit "in front" and cheer every denunciation of the Congress and its government but also those who "stand on the periphery."

3 Wage a resolute and uncompromising battle against Right reaction and against parties of communalism, against their policies and their slogans. This will also help to draw towards us honest Congressmen.

4 Even when opposing and fighting policies of the Congress and government, concentrate fire wherever possible on the Rightist elements.

5 Conduct patient explanatory campaign among Congressmen and Congress masses. They are worried about the situation that is developing—especially the growth of fissiparous tendencies. The basic causes of this—especially the absence of a really inspiring objective due to the class policies of the government—have to be laid bare.

While seeking to develop common activity with Congressmen and the masses following the Congress, our Party should, at the same time, carry on a campaign of patient explanation in order to point out to them how the basic policies of the Congress are themselves totally inadequate in the present-day conditions of India and the

★ OVERLEAF

Growth of Indian Monopolies

(From "Some Features of the Indian Situation", WORLD MARXIST REVIEW No. 2, 1962)

By far the most striking development in recent years has been the enormous and growing concentration of wealth in a few hands.

INDIA'S industrial development has been accompanied by growth of monopolistic trends and tendencies—a characteristic feature of capitalist economy. Profits have risen by over 68 per cent during the period of the Second Plan. The bulk of these profits has been appropriated by the top rich. It is estimated that only 10 top business houses control between them over 68 per cent of the total paid up capital of all companies.

Concentration is even more marked in banking. Two banks (out of a total of 362) have between them an aggregate deposit of nearly 22 per cent of the total deposits.

The Second Five Year Plan had anticipated an investment of 24,000 million rupees in the private sector. Actual investment in the private sector has been 31,000 million rupees—an increase of over 7,000 million rupees.

It can be seen, therefore, that the growth of the state sector has not meant any weakening of the private sector. On the contrary, both have grown simultaneously. At the same time, it goes without saying that the private sector would have grown even faster and the monopolies would have become even stronger had the state sector not grown as it has.

It cannot be said yet that the monopolists dominate the government. But there can be no doubt that they exercise a big pull over it, and their pull is steadily growing.

Under the pressure of big business, the government has not carried out the nationalisation of banks—a step without which planning can never be really effective. Also, under their pressure the burden of indirect taxes has been continuously increased. Monopoly capital has succeeded

in bringing about a Rightward shift in many policies of the government—including its foreign policy.

The Indian monopolists cannot be called pro-imperialist. They do not want to join the imperialist war bloc, nor do they want to subordinate Indian economy to foreign monopoly interests. They have their own ambitions—that of developing India as an independent capitalist country.

Nevertheless, for reasons explained earlier, they constitute a reactionary force in our social, political and economic life. It is on them that the imperialists are coming to rely increasingly to thwart the advance of the anti-imperialist democratic movement.

The Indian monopolists are clamouring for more facilities for collaboration with foreign big business. They want more aid from the Western countries and insist that a "suitable climate" should be prepared inside the country for such

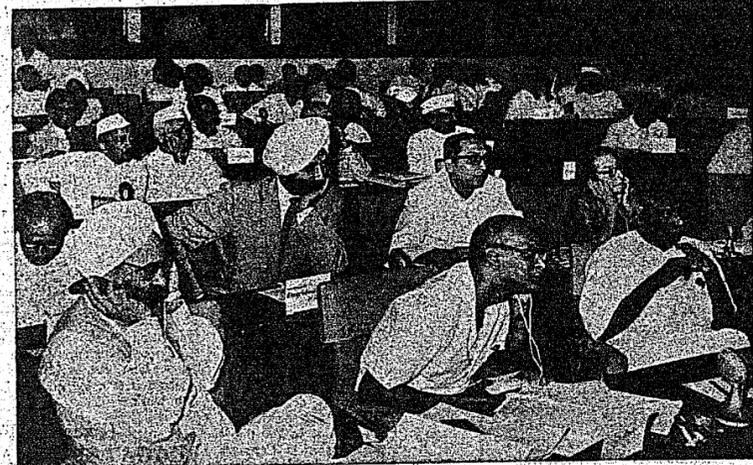
aid. Also, they advocate a pro-West orientation of India's foreign policy.

The big monopolists control the most important newspapers in our country—newspapers that mould public opinion. They have powerful representatives and spokesmen inside the Congress Party, in the Parliament and in the government. In fact, the link between them on the one hand and the ruling party has become stronger with every passing year.

Should this process continue, and if power passes into the hands of the spokesmen and direct representatives of the biggest monopoly interests, then there would arise the danger of the state sector developing the features of state-monopoly capitalism and becoming a weapon of the big bourgeoisie against the people.

The enormous concentration of power in the hands of one party, together with the growing concentration of wealth in the hands of a few monopolists and the increasing link between the two—these have bred corruption on a vast scale, a corruption which pervades all spheres of life.

(Articles and Speeches pp. 290-292)



National Integration Conference, New Delhi September 29, 1961. Front Row from Left to Right Pratap Singh Karon Ajoy Ghosh, K. Kamaraj.

BACKGROUND TO CRISIS IN PANAMA

★ By LAJPAT RAI

President ROBERTO CHIARI of Panama has broken off relations with the US government on January 10 following a wave of rioting in the canal zone in which 24 persons were reported killed and 159 injured.

THREE of the dead and 34 of the injured are reported to be the US soldiers. According to the dispatch, United States has 2,000 men in the zone under the command of General ANDREW MEARA—the CinC for the Caribbean area. One of the slogans of the Panamanians is "Canal for the Panamanians and Out Goes the Yankee." Speaking in the Security Council the Panamanian Ambassador AQUILINO BOYD made clear that it was not only an immediate settlement of the dispute that his country wanted, but also the end of the US occupation of the canal zone.

He devoted far more of his statement to this theme than to "acts of mass murder" which he alleged the Americans were still committing in his country. He spoke of US violation of the Canal Treaty, of hostility and racial prejudice shown by the American occupationists towards the Panamanians.

To understand the mood of the Panamanians, one has to delve into the history of US intrigue in Panama.

The history of Panama, the youngest nation in America, is woven inextricably with the history of US intervention in the Caribbean sea.

Until 1903, Panama was a state in Colombia with its capital at Bogota. The eyes of the United States had been fixed on this area since the time this country had started to venture on the road of imperialism. With the annexation of Puerto Rico, the establishment of protectorate over Cuba, and the occupation of the Philippine Islands, the old project of an inter-

Uncle Sam's Technique

What happened next has been truthfully described by the famous economic historian HAROLD UNDERWOOD FAULKNER in his well known work American Economic History.

"THEODORE ROOSEVELT, exasperated over the delay in his plans which he looked upon simply as an attempt to exact a

higher price for the concession, listened willingly to rumours of a rebellion against Colombia by the discontented Panamanians, and when the revolution, fostered aggressively by the agents of the New Panama Canal Company actually took place on November 3, 1903, he was careful to have warships at hand to prevent Colombians from landing troops to put down the rebellion. Before it could be crushed, he recognized the new republic and by November 18 the Hay-Varilla treaty had been signed in Washington."

By this treaty the United States guaranteed the independence of Panama and agreed to pay one crore dollars outright, and an annuity of 2.5 lakh dollars beginning nine years later, in return for a strip of land 10 miles wide upon which to build the canal. The construction was finally started in 1904 and the canal completed in 1914.

According to Faulkner, "The Panama Canal not only put in the hands of the United States the shortest water route from the Atlantic to the Pacific, but the conditions under which it was built and obtained made Panama virtually a protectorate of this country (USA)."

Theodore Roosevelt arrogantly boasted of his action. He declared "I took the canal zone and let Congress debate. While the debate goes on the canal goes also."

Panama is the old Indian name which means "many fish" and the clear waters of the great blue bay are rich with them. It is one of the poorest countries of Latin America with a large percentage of Indian population (15 per cent) and a high rate of illiteracy (60 per cent). The country produces and lives on three staples: bananas, cocoa and hemp. Fifty six per cent of the land is under

banana cultivation, 30 per cent under coffee and 5 per cent under hemp.

But it is not the Panamanians who produce and sell these crops. The famous United Fruit Company owns 1.5 million acres of banana plantations and controls the production of 30 per cent of cocoa and 45 per cent of hemp.

It is said that "Panama is the private estate of the United Fruit Company, whose managing director JAMES GOLDEN is the biggest factor in the Panamanian economic and political life."

Poverty Amidst Plenty

Panama is a country of glaring poverty with per capita income ranging between Rs. 340 to Rs. 380 per year. The conditions of the Indians who constitute 15 per cent of the population are appalling. The New Panama Company rules not only the ten-mile strip of land which it acquired through pressure and blackmail, but also the social, economic and political life of the entire country.

The well known Panamanian labour leader CHANGAMARIN had the following to say about this company and its impact on the peoples of Panama.

"The world talks of an important canal which crosses Panama. It thinks that this canal is the basis of Panama's prosperity. But the present Panama Canal Company has been the instrument of oppression and enslavement of the Panamanian people. It has been the cause of economic impoverishment, of political tyranny, of social corruption and cultural backwardness, of the sickness of our women and the malnutrition of our children, of peasants without land and the workers without work, of racial discrimination; of the sub-human conditions of our Indians in our mountains; and it is the reason for the erroneous belief, that we Panamanians have no country of our own and that we speak English." No wonder Panama is known as the white-haired girl of Latin America.

The Hay-Varilla Treaty has always been a cause of much heart burning among the Panamanian nationalists. According to the Treaty terms the United States government pays the government of Panama a fixed yearly sum of 2,50,000 dollars. In the recent years, however, this rent has been regularly escalated. In 1961, it was 1 million dollars. But this does not satisfy the people who know that United States makes a fabulous fortune out of the canal.

Early in June 1962, President Roberto Chiari of Panama went to Washington for high level discussions with President KENNEDY. Nothing came of these two days long talks except that Panamanian flag might be flown at the entrance of the Canal along with the flag of the United States. The Panamanians feel bitter over the clause of "perpetual lease" of the zone which they consider unequal among world treaties and hence unfair.

Over 14,000 workers work with the New Panama Canal Company out of which 8,000 are Panamanians. Up to 1949, most of these workers were organized in the United Federal Workers' Union, which fought many strikes actions and helped in improving conditions of workers in the zone. But the company soon after the 1949 strike let loose a reign of terror which included assassination of union leaders, and also set up a rival union known as Civic Workers' Organizing Committee.

The conditions on the zone for Panamanian workers are very bad. They get almost one-tenth of the wages given to the American worker for the same work. For American personnel the life in the zone is wonderful, says JOHN DENOVAN who has recently been to Panamanian units. He holds:

"There are golf courses, swimming pools, tennis courts and theatres. Public sanitation is no problem, food is plentiful and there is ample cheap Panamanian labour, so American wives have plenty of domestic help." (JOHN DENOVAN, THE RED MACHETE p. 201)

Since 1903, the people of Panama have hated the yankee

* ON FACING PAGE

YOUR QUESTIONS ANSWERED

Q. Is not the CPI losing its class identity by singing bhajans to the Nehru government? (R. K. GOPALAN, New Delhi).

A. This is what is called a loaded question. The first aspect of the answer, therefore, has to be a flat repudiation of the insinuation that the CPI has been singing bhajans to the Nehru government. Never in any of its policies or actions has the CPI forgotten the class character of the Nehru government and its policies.

As AJAY GHOSH succinctly put it "the aim pursued in India is to build up an independent capitalist economy. Moreover, this attempt is being made without resolute action against imperialist foreign capital, without radical agrarian reforms and by heavy reliance on the big bourgeoisie."

He added: "It cannot be said yet that the monopolists dominate the government. But there can be no doubt that they exercise a big pull over it, and their pull is steadily growing."

The attitude of the CPI to the Nehru government is based on these unanimously accepted basic formulations.

In pursuit of these aims the Nehru government has adopted a foreign policy of peace, nonalignment and anticommunism, though with serious vacillations especially

in connection with anti-imperialism.

Should the CPI support such a foreign policy, in the main, while criticising the shortcomings? Obviously, it should and has done so, because this foreign policy is in the interests of the nation, of our class and of the whole world movement for peace, freedom and socialism.

Do our "Left" critics want the CPI to advance some more radical slogans in this sphere, simply because we "have to oppose the government" or do they want us to concentrate on "exposure" of vacillations?

Our "Left" critics, at one time used to say that the CPI has no need to defend the government's foreign policy as it has no opponents. Can they say so now?

Experience

Living experience of the past year should convince all but the blindly prejudiced that there are powerful opponents of this foreign policy, not only outside the government (Jan Sangh, Swatantra, Lohiaites etc.) but right within the government, in the cabinet, in the top civilian and military

Pimpri Workers Urge Govt.

Ask Management To Withdraw Appeal

* From OUR CORRESPONDENT

BOMBAY: The Hindustan Antibiotics Mazdoor Sangh has appealed to the Government of India to persuade the management of the Hindustan Antibiotics to withdraw the appeal it has preferred against the award of M. R. MEHER, Industrial Tribunal of Maharashtra.

THE award is in respect of the industrial dispute of the workmen of this factory. In spite of the oppressive actions of the company throughout, the workmen of the factory were giving their best to the company even when they were completely frustrated.

In a statement P. R. CHANDRAN, general secretary of the Sangh, has said that the appeal of the management against the award was in defiance of all accepted policies of the government.

The Sangh, the only trade union in the public sector factory, had been agitating since 1956 for the revision of wage scales, DA and other service conditions. Wages and other service conditions in the factory have all along been on the lower side when compared to even many of the smaller companies in the Pooná industrial area.

However, the company resisted the Sangh's demands. To deny the just claims of the workmen, the company adopted such tactics which even the worst employer in private sector will be reluctant to do.

All the efforts of the union to draw the attention of the government to the situation proved futile. On the contrary, the government itself was used as a party to this delaying tactics. It took more than two years to determine the authority—whether the central or state government—to entertain

IS C.P.I. LOSING CLASS IDENTITY?

circles. Following the Chinese aggression they came out into the open. NEHRU's firm stand, the mass mobilisation by the CPI and the wise attitude of the Soviet Union rebuffed them but has certainly not routed them.

In pursuit of its aims the Nehru government has adopted the policy of some measure of planning, of developing a limited public sector, of building heavy industries and of expanding economic relations with the socialist countries. It has also built and in the main preserved a secular parliamentary democratic state.

Once again, the policy of the CPI cannot be and has not been one of blind and sterile opposition to these policies but one of approval and defence. Once again, our "Left" critics cannot deny that these policies are in the interests of the nation and that the powerful Right pressure has greatly grown to subvert them.

In pursuit of these aims the Nehru government has heaped terrible burdens on the masses; it has helped the growth of the concentration of economic power in industry, and agriculture, monopoly ownership of industry and land; it has aided the growth of terrible inequality, failed to eradicate poverty and made the rate of growth impossibly slow.

It has failed to break the grip of foreign monopoly capital and even facilitated its expansion.

lakhs before the stipulated period. Since the workmen of the factory were not even paid comparable wages (let alone fair wage or need-based wage) and since the demands were rejected by the company, the dispute was referred to the Industrial Tribunal Maharashtra. But, only after a strike notice by the union in August 1962.

The tribunal awarded only comparable wages (compared to tiny companies of dissimilar industry paying low wages) with a proposal to link the DA with Pooná cost of living index when published by the government.

The award is in no way novel or peculiar and is in line with the principles of industrial adjudication. However, linking of DA with Pooná index (a precedent to the advantage of labour in private sector) for the first time in Pooná area is not liked by many employers in private sector in the area.

For no valid or cogent reasons, the management of this public sector concern has filed an appeal to the Supreme Court against this delayed award secured by workmen.

The Sangh with only 1400 members of 25 MP monthly subscription, will not be able to protect the interests of the workmen effectively in the Supreme Court.

Also, this appeal is fraught with serious implications. When Labour Minister, NANDA, and others in government are advocating avoidance of litigation in industrial matters, maintenance of peace in the industry and increased production as per Industrial Truce Agreement, this appeal is filed to sabotage the government policies; to repudiate the pronouncements of the government leaders and to liquidate the Truce Agreement.

The company is all out to take such grave risks, for the authorities of this company is more inclined to serve the dictates of private sector employers than to protect the interest of the public sector and the socialist policies of the government, the statement said.

Corruption has become a blight upon the land. Authoritarian, anti-democratic legislation and actions have steadily increased. All this has helped the growth of Right reactionary forces.

Instead of making general charges and vague insinuations that would have been better if our "Left" critics had pointed to a single instance where the CPI has failed to expose and to fight these aspects of government policy. Where has the CPI failed to lead the masses into struggle? Where has it rejected any suggestion for action?

No such concrete charge can be made nor has it been. All the talk is about bhajans, of losing "class identity", and the like. And where such a great nationwide mass mobilisation as last year's Great Petition and March takes place with some tangible gains too, the "Left" reaction is to sneer and to compare it with the 1890 methods of the liberals in relation to the British government!

As Ajay Ghosh put it in his unanimously accepted speech at the Vijayawada Party Congress:

"The question, comrades, is not whether we have to wage struggle. The question is how to wage it, with what slogan and tactics so that it may be waged on the broadest possible basis and successes are won."

The CPI has not only opposed the reactionary aspects of government policy, not only led the masses into action but has proposed alternative, national democratic policies. These alternative policies or alternative path of development has come to occupy a big place in national consciousness and come to be adopted by democrats who are far removed from the CPI, through their own experience.

It is precisely such an opportunistic policy that will rob the CPI of its class character; for, it will put the vanguard of the working class in the company of the vanguard of the monopolists, feudalists and pro-imperialists.

It is no accident that Dr. LOHIA in the same breath calls for the "liberation of Tibet" and condemns the CPI for being "soft" on the Nehru government! Perhaps, the "Left" critics would like the CPI to outbid Dr. Lohia on this score also, on the plea that he would otherwise run away with the masses!

The class policy of the party of the proletariat is, above all, expressed in the allies it seeks at any stage of the revolution and at any given moment of the advance towards revolution. The "Left" phrase often enough is only a mask to screen the search for Right allies.

—MOHIT SEN

CRISIS IN PANAMA

* FROM FACING PAGE

domination of their strategic zone area, as well as their indirect interference in the affairs of the country.

On November 3, 1959, Panama's Independence Day, a huge demonstration of Panamanians demanded the abrogation of Hay-Varilla Treaty and shouted "Suez Canal to Egyptians, Panama Canal to Panamanians".

Since that year, the agitation for the return of the canal to Panama has been on the increase.

The Cuban Revolution of 1959, gave a further impetus to this demand and spurred the imagination of the nationalist elements in the country. The Partido Laborista and the young Communist Party of Panama have both agitated for revision of the

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some indian economic and political problems

FROM PAGE THIRTEEN

social demagogy and by exploiting the Sino-Indian frontier conflict. The reactionary forces launched a veritable onslaught on the people's democratic rights and national gains.

They were able to secure the dissolution of the Legislative Assembly and removal of the Communist-led government in Kerala. Many leading personalities in the National Congress were drawn into that campaign, failing to see the danger emanating from the extreme Right.

That was the atmosphere in which the 1962 general elections were held. The National Congress lost a substantial number of seats, chiefly to Swatantra and other Rightist parties.

After the elections the reactionaries mounted a fresh offensive against the democratic forces. Taking advantage of the emergency imposed in connection with the border conflict, the authorities in many states arrested many Communists and trade union leaders.

This was accompanied by a Rightist attack on India's traditional nonalignment policy. The SWARAJYA, which speaks for the Swatantra Party, declared that India could not emerge from the present crisis without a "de facto alliance" with the West.

Reactionary Alliance

Several Rightist leaders who were defeated in the general elections—KRIPALANI, MASANI, also the "socialist" LOHIA—were returned to Parliament in by-elections held in May 1963. The ideological bloc led by Swatantra includes not only jingotist parties like Jan Sangh, but also Right-wing socialists and, on a number of issues, even Congress supporters.

This reactionary inter-party alliance encouraged the Rightists directly to challenge the government, the long range purpose being to give home and foreign policy a reactionary, pro-imperialist direction.

When Parliament assembled in August 1963, the Rightists were able, for the first time, to propose a vote of no-confidence. Mr. Kripalani, who tabled the resolution, said: "The opposition parties failed to form a united front in the general elections. In Parliament our no-confidence motion was admitted just because we presented a united front."

Exposing Right-wing plans and manoeuvres, Professor HIREN MUKHERJEE, speaking on behalf of the Communist group in the House of the People, declared that the camp of which Kripalani is the principal spokesman is aimed against nonalignment, against planned development, against the public sector, and against friendly relations with the USSR and other socialist countries.

And though Parliament rejected Mr. Kripalani's resolution and gave the government a vote of confidence, the consolidation of the Rightist

forces has compelled Congress men anxious to bring their party programme to realization to reflect on the situation.

Kamaraj Plan

The logic of the political struggle forced the Congress to take urgent measures to re-establish its influence and reinforce its organization. The first step in that direction was adoption of a plan proposed by the Chief Minister of Madras, Mr. KAMARAJ.

Under it, top Congress leaders were to resign from the government and devote all their time to the party. All members of the central government and the chief ministers of the states tendered their resignations, and Mr. Nehru was authorized to decide who should remain.

Operation of the Kamaraj plan entailed important changes in the cabinet. Among the retiring ministers were MORARJI DESAI and S. K. PATIL.

THE TIMES OF INDIA, the country's leading conservative paper, commented: "whatever Mr. Nehru's motives might be, one consequence will be to make possible a revitalization of non-alignment, thus arresting the tendency that there is no alternative in the present situation to a closer understanding with the West."

The Kamaraj plan can produce positive results if, as Mr. Nehru has emphasized, "those who do not agree with the basic ideology and policies of Congress should leave the party." It was not the purpose of the Kamaraj plan, Mr. Nehru said, to generate bitterness in the higher echelons of the party leadership, but added that even this bitterness might do less harm than good if it "leads to the departure from Congress of those who cannot in all conscience subscribe to the party's socialist ideology."

In the Prime Minister's opinion, the departure of such elements would be a distinct gain for Swatantra which, he ironically remarked, has hitherto suffered from the fact that many who agree with its views have refrained from taking the logical step of joining it.

The view held in progressive Congress circles is that dissociation with those who do not want to work for the party's aims and programme is an important precondition for strengthening the party and enhancing its prestige. But that, apparently, is what the Congress Rightwing fears.

Referring to the Kamaraj plan, Mr. Desai told the Jaipur session:

"When Congressmen themselves talk of 'Right' and 'Left' it only harms the organization... Those who talk of groups and 'Right' and 'Left' should be dealt with a heavy hand."

But regardless of Mr. Desai's wishes, political differentiation within Congress conti-

nuces. That was saliently demonstrated in the Jaipur debate on the "Socialism and Democracy" resolution. The President of the Congress, Mr. SANJIVAYYA, explained the urgency of the resolution: "Unless the Congress aim of socialism is made more definite and concrete and rapid steps are taken to achieve it, it will be difficult even to maintain peace and stability in the country."

Coming from the President of the Congress, that is a significant admission, and one that shows that the party leadership has to reckon with the popular discontent caused by economic conditions. That, evidently, explains why the original draft "Socialism and Democracy" resolution, couched in general terms that were out of keeping even with Congress sentiments, was rejected by the Congress Committee meeting on the eve of the Jaipur session.

Incidentally, this first draft had some anti-Communist undertones.

New Draft at Jaipur Session

Several Working Committee members, led by Home Minister GULZARI LAL NANDA, were instructed to draw up a new draft, which was then submitted to the Jaipur session. It contained this statement: "The Congress is working for a revolution in the economic and social relationships in Indian society."

In the understanding of the resolution's authors, "social revolution" means that "the public sector has to play a strategic and predominant role in the field of trade and industry" (though this is followed by the reservation that the private sector will continue to hold an important place in India's economy).

The resolution further declares, in a very general form, that "the worker should be associated in the management of industry in a substantial way."

It also points, in a very general way, to the need for agrarian reform and maximum limits to the size of landholdings. But, as in previous policy documents, Congress does not concretely indicate the measures required to achieve this. The draft resolution evoked a good deal of criticism at Jaipur, with many delegates insisting on immediate social and economic reforms.

The amendments, notably those moved by K. D. MALAVIYA, a prominent Congress leader, and other members of the All-India Congress Committee, called for such concrete measures as state ownership of the "commanding sectors of industry and commerce," nationalization of banks, state trade in grain and certain other essentials, radical agrarian reforms to make the farmer owner of the land he tills, etc.

Implementation of these measures would, their sponsors believe, restrict the economic and political influence of the rich, particularly the

monopolists, who, it was pointed out at Jaipur, had acquired a dangerous measure of strength.

MANY IN INDIA, HOWEVER, BELIEVE THAT THESE PROPOSALS, EVEN IF FULLY REALIZED, WOULD NOT PRODUCE A SOCIALIST SOCIETY. THOUGH THEY WOULD CARRY THE COUNTRY A LONG WAY TOWARDS COMPLETE ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE, WOULD EFFECTIVELY HAMSTRING THE ANTI-NATIONAL ACTIVITIES OF THE MONOPOLIES, ELIMINATE SEMI-FEUDAL EXPLOITATION OF THE PEASANT FARMER, AND CONTRIBUTE TO A HIGHER LIVING STANDARD FOR THE PEOPLE.

Significantly the Jaipur session did not adopt a final decision on these issues. It approved the draft resolution in principle and decided to circulate it, together with proposed amendments, to Congress committees in the various states, after which it will be laid before the full Congress when it meets at Bhubaneswar, Orissa State, in January.

The Jaipur session disclosed that inner-party differences over cardinal policy issues are widening and that they are making themselves felt in the states as well as in the central leadership.

For instance, the Orissa Congress Committee has called for nationalization of banks and of foreign capital in certain industries. The Congress government of Andhra Pradesh on the other hand, has tabled a bill in the Legislative Assembly for the transfer of state industries to private ownership.

How the struggle over policy will end it is too early to say. But one thing is clear; the path India chooses will in large measure depend on the success of the patriotic, democratic forces not only in repelling the attacks of the reactionary, pro-imperialist forces, but also in carrying out vitally needed social and economic transformations in the interests of the people.

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TYPES

Having disposed of "democracy and socialism" last week, the press was busy this week "xraying" K. KAMARAJ's presidential address to the 68th session of the Indian National Congress at Bhubaneswar. It was all praise for the man who delivered the address, but not so for all that he had to say, particularly about economic issues.

In fact, there was a "socialistic and democratic" competition between the editorial writers to eulogize the new Congress President.

The prize seems to have been carried away by the FREE PRESS JOURNAL (January 10) when it went into rhapsodies over the style of the address. It was called "simple and straightforward", "prosaic, almost pedestrian", "free from rhetorical flourishes, artistic frills or furbelow and flights to soaring emotional heights" and said it "mirrors the essence of his personality".

While the PATRIOT (January 7) called him "a president whose simplicity, dignity and dedication are acknowledged by every Congressman in the country", THE STATESMAN

(January 10) claimed that "with characteristic brevity Mr. Kamaraj compressed much wise counsel into his presidential address".

THE INDIAN EXPRESS (January 10) was of the opinion that the address "reflects the close identity between man and his words. The address is simple, direct and practical. Mr. Kamaraj has wasted no words in airy rhetoric. His address proclaims the man."

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES (January 10) saw "many of the homespun virtues of Mr. Kamaraj himself in the address. It is direct, free from ideological flourishes and content to convey familiar ideas in familiar words."

The NATIONAL HERALD (January 10) said "it is an admirably brief and unpre-

tentious restatement of fundamentals, worthy of the newly emerging leadership that he represents, a leadership that is earthy and in rapport with the common people and free from the burden of erudition".

review in an eminently practical spirit."

Having handed "out the eulogies, the monopoly press went into real business. They could not open fire directly because they had called him a "man of commonsense". So the effort was to show how he had strayed from the "path of commonsense".

On all economic issues on which the Congress president made pronouncements, the monopoly press joined issues with him. But the ire was greatest against Kamaraj's reference to the need for curbing monopolies.

Thus, THE STATESMAN found that the "pragmatic president" "shares the common fallacy of considering the widening disparities in income and wealth as almost synonymous with concentration of economic power and monopoly". It was no monopoly at all, since the state can "always control and check (it) by its superior political power".

However, the paper found solace that the Congress president has suggested "a practical solution like the establishment of an institution on the model of the British Monopolies Commission".

THE TIMES OF INDIA did not find it practical at all. It found the reference to monopolies as "yielding to some extent to the clamour for more radical measures without asking how far they are feasible... has not even cared to find out at what point control becomes monopolistic... it is hard to see what purpose the setting up of a monopoly commission as suggested by Mr. Kamaraj will serve."

A step further went THE INDIAN EXPRESS which declared: "No prima facie case has however been made out for the monopolies commission which Mr. Nadar suggested... Our industrial progress has yet to reach the state where one unit or group can assume enough power to prevent the growth of a rival or where a group producing the same or similar goods can form a cartel and dictate prices and other terms to the consumer."

It also discovered that the "boot is on the other leg", that is, the government has been "encouraging more producers than necessary for the same products" and cited Minister Subramaniam to back up its case.

Another issue which agitated the monopoly press was Kamaraj's proposal to extend the scope of the states' industrial sector as part of the public sector to medium industries.

THE STATESMAN thought it "may add to misgivings" but could "also be regarded as the means of reducing concentration of power at the centre".

But THE TRIBUNE found it a "radical departure from the Industrial Policy Resolution which Congress governments have pursued so far" and wanted the open session of the Congress to give "close attention" to this proposal.

The paper also found Kamaraj "speaking in what looks like two voices about the private sector". "At one place he discounts the suggestion that 'private enterprise must be allowed to play an important part in the economic progress of this country' and at another he declared that 'the policies of the Congress are not directed against private enterprise' provided, of course, it behaves."

THE INDIAN EXPRESS was also opposed to the idea. "The sphere of the basic industries which the Industrial Policy Resolution of 1956 has earmarked for the public sector is large enough for them and the consumer industries in the private sector are already subjected to severe control. Let us not create new brakes for the economy", it pleaded.

The NATIONAL HERALD, which stands in a different category from the above papers, saw the proposal as "an advance on the earlier conception that the state should concern itself mainly with large-scale industries in which the private sector is unable or unwilling to invest itself", but had no comments on its merits.

THE TIMES OF INDIA was also apprehensive of Kamaraj's plea for having a second look at the taxation system. It said: "There is in fact no need to have a second look at the taxation system in order to advance towards the socialist goal; all that is needed is to collect the taxes properly."

But THE INDIAN EXPRESS did not agree. It "wholeheartedly" endorsed the suggestion but added that "this exercise should not be limited only for the purpose of reducing disparities of wealth but also to determine the extent to which the present policies have impeded the economic progress".

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THE STATESMAN thought it "may add to misgivings" but could "also be regarded as the means of reducing concentration of power at the centre".

But THE TRIBUNE found it a "radical departure from the Industrial Policy Resolution which Congress governments have pursued so far" and wanted the open session of the Congress to give "close attention" to this proposal.

The paper also found Kamaraj "speaking in what looks like two voices about the private sector". "At one place he discounts the suggestion that 'private enterprise must be allowed to play an important part in the economic progress of this country' and at another he declared that 'the policies of the Congress are not directed against private enterprise' provided, of course, it behaves."

THE INDIAN EXPRESS was also opposed to the idea. "The sphere of the basic industries which the Industrial Policy Resolution of 1956 has earmarked for the public sector is large enough for them and the consumer industries in the private sector are already subjected to severe control. Let us not create new brakes for the economy", it pleaded.

The NATIONAL HERALD, which stands in a different category from the above papers, saw the proposal as "an advance on the earlier conception that the state should

National Campaign Of Indian Toilers

*From Front Page

therefore, called for a further mobilisation of the working class and peasantry, to push forward against the attacks of the monopolists and government. Considering that every point of rise in prices and every point of fall in the real wages, accumulates crores in the hands of the big bourgeoisie, the Party called upon all the workers to organise and fight for reduction in prices and taxes, for increase in wages, dearness allowance and bonus and for nationalisation of banking, oil and foreign trade. It called on the peasants to demand fair prices for their produce and controlled prices for the goods sold to them in the villages. A mighty national campaign for concrete action was a necessity in order to achieve this.

The trade unions, which were already on the scene, which had already shown their determination in the Bombay Bundh strike and the Calcutta hartal, organised an all-India trade union conference at Bombay. The mighty all-India mobilisation on December 13-15 has framed its charter of eleven vital demands. It has called upon the government, the employers both in the public and the private sectors, the monopoly speculators, bankers and traders, to take notice that if the demands were not negotiated and fulfilled, the workers' national campaign will culminate in a national protest strike. The campaign was launched on New Year Day.

This meeting of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India fully supports the decisions of the all-India trade union conference, its charter of demands and the course of action decided upon.

The rise in prices, the failure of the government and employers to control them or to grant full DA, the open fraud that has been perpetrated and now exposed and officially admitted in the compilation of the cost of living index, which deprived the workers of their legitimate DA, have moved all sections of the working class. It is notable that the INTUC, too, has asked its unions to give notice of demands on DA and all are preparing for action.

The call of the National Council of our Party for launching a campaign for the introduction of state trading in grains based on fair prices for the peasant producer, as also for the supply of industrial goods at controlled prices has also secured a response. The all-India trade union conference at Bombay has incorporated the demand in its charter. A number of state councils have launched the campaign in their rural areas.

Support for the introduction of state trading in grains has been voiced by a number of state Congress committees. The prospects of unity for joint campaigning with other progressive parties on the issue are increasing. This campaign

should be broadened and pushed forth with greater vigour in the ensuing months. Recently, at the Bhubaneswar session of the Congress, strong criticism of the growth of monopoly interests, of the vast concentration of money power in the hands of private banks was voiced by the majority of the speakers. Effective action to curb monopoly, such as nationalisation of banks and state trading in foodgrains, was also called for by many, though nothing concrete to curb the monopolists or to hold the price line was accepted.

While all this criticism and declarations are welcome, the people know that they cannot rely on the mere declaration of good intentions. Prac-

tical action in defence of people's interests is necessary. Actions of the working masses for higher wages, DA, bonus and for nationalisation are a powerful blow directed against monopolies. Every step in nationalisation and democratic control is a step to weaken monopoly, both Indian and foreign, and to strengthen democracy, the people and the country's economy.

Very soon, that is, next month, there will arise the opportunity to translate the promises to prevent concentration of wealth and give relief to the masses, when the budgets will be presented in Parliament and Assemblies.

Will the government place the burden of taxation on the people or will the year's

budget become the first step after Bhubaneswar in curbing monopoly and giving relief to the common man?

★ Will the excise duties on essential goods, sales tax and such other levies on the common people go down?

★ Will the monopolies be made directly to pay for defence and development?

★ Will the resources of the other financial institutions be utilised for national reconstruction or will the common man, once again be crushed under the burdens of growing taxes and prices and threatened if he acts against them?

★ Will the foreign collaborators be asked to keep off their grapping hands from the throats of India's economy or will they be given more of our national resources to rob?

Once again, the budget time will be testing time for all the sincere and democratic anti-monopoly forces. Hence the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India calls upon all Party units to mobilise all

their forces for the national campaign of the toilers, for the charter of demands. All Party units should help to build unity of all the organisations of the working class and to forge a united front of all those who support the demand and call for united action in all industries and trades, in both the public and the private sectors.

The demands and the campaign not only affect the working class and the trade union movement. They are part of the campaign to bring about a change in the government policies in the anti-imperialist and anti-monopoly. These demands, if realised, would be a corrective to the growing concentration of wealth and to the crisis of the national economy.

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India is confident that given unity and united action of all democratic and trade union forces, the campaign will achieve success.

BHUBANESWAR : Balance Sheet

*FROM BACK PAGE

of the radical wing was further seen in the election of seven members to the Working Committee. The appearance of an officially-backed list of seven names left little choice before the delegates, controlled by Chief Ministers and PCC bosses in the states. Still, the fight was keen and lobbying by both Right and Left dominated the scene.

OFFICIAL WRIT

It was learnt that the High Command was originally in favour of leaving one seat vacant for a free contest but that West Bengal boss ATULYA GHOSH's threat to vote for C. B. GUPTA in that case closed the door for any free contest; even for one seat. RAM SUBHAG SINGH was added to complete the list of seven by the High Command.

Even so C. B. Gupta is understood to have secured a large number of votes from West Bengal and Gujarat; besides his own state, UP. His 160 as against K. D. Malaviya's 107 showed that even with an official writ, the Rightists could organise a more solid group to boost their candidate than the Leftists are able to.

The latter were hamstrung by the canvassing tactics of the High Command and the apathy of their own so-called supporters in the Working Committee added on to their own lack of coordination. Both in the debate in the Subjects Committee on "Democracy and Socialism" and in the elections, the Rightist spokesmen in the Working Committee showed less inhibitions than their rivals.

The attempts by the High Command to pose unity in the party; and to show off the 'harmonious' relations existing in the leadership achieved ridiculous heights and became a laughing matter. Thus Lal Bahadur Shastri said he was "surprised" to hear S. K. Patil speaking in favour of democratic socialism in the Working Committee and that "there is no difference in the objective of Mr. Patil and Mr. Menon".

As Morarji introduced the resolution on international affairs and KRISHNA MENON seconded it, Hanumanthaya came forward to congratulate the High Command and said that if Krishna Menon goes on supporting what Morarji proposes, there would be no Left and Right and everything would

be all right.

The discussion on the amendments to the Congress Constitution also showed the diverging trends in the party on questions of ideology and organisation. The ranks won a minor victory by forcing the leadership to temporarily withdraw its move to de-franchise the primary membership and to agree to refer it to the PCCs.

The discussion in the Subjects Committee on international situation was a short affair notable only for a speech by Krishna Menon who pointed out that almost for the first time, the Working Committee's draft resolution on international affairs started with a preface dealing with internal affairs. "The policy of this nation is socialism at home and peace abroad. The two go together," Menon said.

He welcomed the lowering of tensions in the world following the Moscow test ban treaty and he further welcomed Khrushchov's call for a no-war agreement among nations. In this connection he recalled India's no-war agreement offer to Pakistan and expressed satisfaction that the policy enunciated by this country was winning international support.

Among the speakers, Bhagwat Jha Azad referred to the absence of any reference in the resolution to the US decision to send the Seventh Fleet to the Indian Ocean and he spoke strongly criticising this American move.

The Presidential Address to the open session delivered in Tamil for the first time in Congress history was another attempt at balancing the forces within the party but was generally welcomed for its simple style and tone. Kamara's call for a Monopoly Commission to check the growth of monopolies and his admission that taxation has failed to reduce disparities were however both significant additions to the controversy raging in the party. Another novel thing in his address was his appeal to "all those who have faith in the ideology of Socialism and Democracy" to come together.

The sudden illness of PRIME MINISTER NEHRU cast a shadow over the session and caused the revival of speculation and court-craft on the succession issue. The masses who came to see him were disappointed. His absence from the scene of the debate on the future of the Congress and government policies had a poignant significance, for in an article for the Souvenir

of the Bhubaneswar Congress he had written thus:

"I hope that the Bhubaneswar Congress will succeed in clarifying all these and like matters so that the definition of 'democracy' and 'socialism' becomes clear. No final definition of these can be made because the

whole concept is dynamic and will go on changing. But some idea of the picture of the future society we aim at must be kept in our minds so that all the steps we take help in realising it. Although the process will inevitably have to be gradual, it should be remembered that we have not much time to lose and certain urgency is essential."

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ADMARK

MOSCOW, January 14: FIDEL CASTRO was given a very warm friendly and enthusiastic welcome in Moscow when he arrived here from Havana yesterday. The Cuban Prime Minister was received at the airport by NIKITA KHRUSHCHOV, LEONID BREZHNEV and other Soviet leaders. There were warm handshakes and embraces of close and heartfelt friendship as the Cuban hero was greeted by the Soviet Premier.

FIDEL CASTRO flew together with N. V. PODGORNY and other members of the Soviet delegation who had gone to Cuba to take part in the celebrations of the Fifth Anniversary of the Cuban Revolution. DOLORES IBARRURI, Chairman of the Communist Party of Spain, returned to Moscow by the same plane.

The Cuban leader inspected the guard of honour, jet fighters zoomed past, the two national anthems were played and a gun salute fired. Muscovites who gathered at the airport to welcome the Cuban guest shouted "Fidel-Khrushchov Together For Ever", "Long Live Fidel", "Long Live Khrushchov", "Long Live Soviet-Cuban Friendship".

The Soviet Premier said he was glad that Fidel Castro had kept his word and had come to the Soviet Union again. Last year's visit in May had turned into a great expression of Soviet-Cuban friendship and had demonstrated to the whole world the strength of the sincere sentiments which the Soviet people entertain for their Cuban brothers. The results of the first five

Cuba & Soviet Union: Bonds of Friendship

Castro Tells Soviet People of Cuba's Progress

* from MASOOD ALI KHAN

expressed his great pleasure at his present visit to a country "which has become near and dear to me." His recollections of the Soviet Union, he said, would never be forgotten.

"I have always said that friendship between the Soviet Union and Cuba is a brilliant example of relations between peoples inspired by the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism," Castro declared with emphasis.

Soviet Help

"The imperialists had failed to stifle the Cuban revolution because of the Soviet help," he said. The country was developing at a high rate, and its economy and social welfare had brilliant prospects.

hurricane a few months ago which had hit a considerable part of Cuban territory, Castro said that "selfless work of the people and timely assistance from friendly countries helped us to pass the test with honour, which under capitalist conditions would have meant innumerable hardships and misery for the workers and peasants."

After five years the revolution had grown stronger, people more united and the Party more organised and filled with militant spirit, Castro said. Optimism, faith in the future and confidence in success—this was the mood of the people.

Castro said that the first Soviet combines for sugar cane harvesting had arrived in Cuba. Khrushchov had taken personal interest in their creation declaring: "If we can solve technical problems of cosmic flights we can certainly solve problems of cutting and

loading Cuban sugar cane." Castro thanked the Soviet people and leaders for all their attention and love that they shower on the Cuban representatives.

It was in this atmosphere of great warmth, fraternal friendship and cordiality that talks between Castro and Khrushchov began in Moscow. "An exchange of views on a wide range of questions that interest both sides is taking place." A long PRAVDA article on Fidel Castro recalled that at the fifth anniversary celebrations the Cuban hero had declared "we shall make no ideological concessions and shall staunchly adhere to the Marxist-Leninist position."

Latin America has been in the picture here also due to the tragic events in Panama and the Soviet people with one voice condemned the American repressions and barbaric actions against a small country.

LABOUR PARTY : TESTING TIME DRAWS NEAR

* From OUR CORRESPONDENT

LONDON: For over a decade now this country has been indulging itself in the dubious pleasure of basking in the reflected glory of American greatness as expressed in what has been claimed by the Tories as the existence of the "special relationship" with their richer cousins across the Atlantic.

NO small flurry was caused in this Tory smugness by the news of WALTER LIPPMAN's column "In Washington" suggesting that somebody from the White House had proposed the promotion of a "Washington-Bonn axis". To Chancellor ERHARD during his visit to the LBj ranch in Texas. The argument was that Britain being weak and France intransigent, West Germany should fill the empty role of America's special ally.

This argument has been heard from Washington for a long time although the suggestion that it was put forward in Texas was denied officially. It remains, however, that a realignment seems inevitable. No doubt German-American

relations will become stronger and more intimate, at least at first, if only, because American policy objectives in Central Europe depend so much upon West German agreement. This is recognised in Britain and if Bonn proves to be more flexible a new triumvirate might well replace the special relationship so long enjoyed by this country alone.

Naturally the USA is determined to defend its own interests in Central Europe; for instance, it is reasserting its rights in West Berlin as one of the occupying powers and is not prepared to accept an extension of the agreement permitting West Berliners to visit relatives in the eastern sector of the city if it would appear to erode those rights.

Conscription: Labour's Headache

Very soon some sort of conscription would become inevitable without basic changes in British policy. As the government is unlikely to introduce it before an election it may fall to a Labour government to introduce this highly unpopular step.

It is suggested here that the reason for Mr. WILSON's proposal last week to the Prime Minister for secret talks and a bipartisan defence policy is to save Labour from the inevitable Tory attack that conscription was a Labour innovation.

The Labour Party has presented a memorandum demanding British initiatives in bridging Soviet-American disarmament plans when the 18-nation conference resumes at Geneva on January 21. It is said that some ideas are incorporated in the memorandum that were adopted by the recent East-West round table talks on disarmament in Moscow which Mr. PHILIP NOEL-BAKER, the shadow Disarmament Minister, Mr. DENIS HEALEY, the shadow Defence Minister, and others had attended on behalf of the Labour Party.

The document reportedly goes well beyond proposals for freezing of nuclear weapons in Central Europe and to agree not to increase Britain's current arms expenditure and proposes:



Walter Ulbricht addressing the gathering at the anniversary.

45th Anniversary of C. P. of Germany

THE 45th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of Germany was celebrated on December 31 in Berlin. The KPD was founded in 1918.

The Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the CC of the

Communist Party of Germany have received fraternal greetings and congratulations on the occasion from many brother parties.

The message of the CPSU greeted the KPD (banned in West Germany) paying tribute to the courageous struggle of the party for peace against the forces of reactionism and police persecution.

1. A six-year disarmament programme with three two-year stages to bridge the gap between the Soviet four-year and American nine-year programmes.

2. Acceptance of a Soviet compromise suggestion to limit Russian and American armed forces to 1,900,000 men at the end of stage one.

3. An initial 30 per cent reduction of conventional weapons.

4. Swift reduction in the number of nuclear rockets and bombers to the level of a "minimum" deterrent accepted by the Soviet Union.

5. The phased withdrawal though not total removal of American missile and other bases

in Europe as part of stage one.

6. Acceptance of factory inspection and other measures agreed to by the Soviet Union as adequate verification that a treaty is being observed, "at least during the first stage."

7. An inspected cut-back of the production of fissionable material.

8. Reactivation of an American proposal that agreed quantities of fissionable material should be handed over to the United Nations for peaceful use.

The Labour Party has also demanded that since meaningful disarmament depended on Chinese adherence to a disarmament agreement, China should be invited to the Geneva negotiations.

BHUBANESWAR: THE BALANCE SHEET

★ From K. U. WARIER

GOPABANDHU NAGAR (BHUBANESWAR):

More than being a preface to his welcome address, BIJU PATNAIK's words seemed to paraphrase the events of these few days in Gopabandhu Nagar when, at the open session of the Congress, he recalled the ancient glory of this 'Land of Lord Jagannath' and said millions and millions of pilgrims had passed this way to pay their homage to the concept of God who is without form, without beginning and without end—'Nirakar', 'Anadi', 'Ananta'.

THE 68th Session of the Indian National Congress provided the modern parallel. To most Congressmen, the pilgrimage to Bhubaneswar had ended in the revelation of a concept of socialism which was as incorporeal and elusive as the concept of God, Nirakar, Anadi, Ananta.

It was therefore no mere joke when a delegate from the Punjab, one among the many from various states who had tried hard to get something concrete to carry back with them from this pilgrimage, moved an amendment in the Subjects Committee to add at the end of the official resolution on 'Democracy and Socialism' that "Finally the 68th Session of the Indian National Congress decided to drop the idea of establishing socialism in the country". The devotees were disappointed, the Gods had betrayed their faith.

When the results of the elections to the Working Committee were known and the Leftist nominee K. D. MALAVIYA had been defeated, a prominent member of the AICC said that the monopolistic combines, with interlocking directorships, had managed to defeat the small and medium industries. YASHPAL's amendment and the AICC member's reaction were both original and reflected the spirit of rebelliousness among the Congress rank and file at Bhubaneswar.

The leadership was prepared to allow it full play in the debate but not in making decisions. The Rightists were amused and happy about this and sought to press it to their advantage by pledging loyalty to the official resolution but in fact opposing its important features, denying even the need for any socialist policy statement for the Congress, and denouncing as 'dogma' and 'slogan' the demands for practical measures like nationalisation and controls. Throughout, the leadership sitting between two stools could only repeat caution like a mantram and contribute its own confusion to the conflict and make it more confounded.

Divided Leadership

The leadership also was divided and spoke with different voices. The classic confusion in Congress thinking was conveyed in LAL BAHADUR SHASTRI's lengthy speeches. His commendation of the resolution as a "synthesis" of different view points in the Working Committee, his advice to the ranks that "life is not all logic" and his warning that the Congress cannot go either the capitalist way or the communist way all were directed to ensure that the ranks' revolt did not surpass the limits and cause a stampede in the party.

Shastri's appeals were directed towards the impatient Left and his moderation had the more irritating effect on the delegates than the open attack from PATIL and others from the Right. In his reply to the debate in the Subjects Com-

mittee, Shastri decried the demand for nationalisation and state trading.

In tone and substance, the speech by Biju Patnaik seconding the resolution offered a remarkable contrast. He straight away entered into polemics with the critics of nationalisation of banks and the taking over of rice mills and urged that all nonsense about Congress objective of socialism should now end. "It is time for the Congress to take socialist action and not beat about the bush", he said, but his flamboyant agitational address also ended with the plea, "We should not make speeches only for the sake of clapping".

Patnaik's purpose was to show that within the framework of the Working Committee's draft, the demand for nationalisation of banks could be met because the draft says:

"Government should place itself in a position more effectively than is the case now to direct the means of credit and investible resources of the country along the lines of national priorities and our social purposes. At present small entrepreneurs and newcomers are placed under a serious disadvantage in respect of availability of financial resources. There is also need for further steps for the removal of abuses and malpractices in financial institutions."

Elaborating this, Patnaik said that the Working Committee was convinced that the few people who controlled banking in the country were obstructing even the growth of the private sector, of productive economy and were only developing monopoly. No one in the Working Committee had opposed the nationalisation of banks, he quipped. S. K. Patil came down on him for this and destroyed that myth of unity in the Working Committee.

Myth Of Unity

Immediately Patil had finished his speech pouring scorn on all those who talked about socialism, "it is an old hat worn by everybody"—bank nationalisation, taking over of rice mills and elimination of middle men etc., a delegate got up to ask the President if Patil's speech was the official interpretation of the resolution. CHANDRIKI, speaking for KAMARAJ, replied that there was no question of official interpretation. "When some Working Committee member puts forth his point of view, others also have a right."

And so came forward one after another members of the Working Committee, Central Ministers and other leaders to give their interpretations of the resolution and their views on the controversial issues posed in the debate. Countering S. K. Patil's philosophy of abundance, without which socialism is mere "sentimentalism", was JAGJIVAN RAM, arguing that equitable distribution cannot wait till the creation of a vast amount of wealth.

TTK argued against nationalisation of banks. MORARJI saw in the resolution the "first steps towards evolving a sarvodaya society" and GULZARILAL NANDA who did not have a chance to speak on the resolution came up later during the discussion on international affairs with a new slogan—socialism to meet aggression.

As the debate unfolded, the hiatus between the leadership and the ranks had become more pronounced as also the sharp conflict between a Right and a Left within the party. The majority of the 64 amendments moved to the official resolution

Ranks' Revolt & Disillusionment

on "Democracy and Socialism" spoke of the impatience of the rank and file and a growing demand from them for a new radical path for the ruling party.

Not a few came forward to warn that the sands of time were running out and unless the party turned to definite socialist objectives and initiated a programme of action to curb monopolies, reduce disparity, nationalise the key sectors of economy, introduce land reform and completely overhaul the administration to carry out all these tasks, no amount of vague talk and pious platitudes would save the party from isolation and ruin.

But all their efforts to break away from tradition which had become a mill-stone round their necks cannot succeed; the amendments were withdrawn and the official resolution was "unanimously" adopted. The High Com-

mand with its simulated holiness had again triumphed.

Nevertheless, the debate had fully revealed the schism in the ruling party and the bold thinking in a section which for the first time found enough strength to spell out a line of socialism more relevant to life than the pie-in-the-sky socialism of the party mandarins. As a delegate from Assam expressed it, the demand from this section was for "scientific socialism" and not the socialism of the "clergy".

Amendments

Their amendments to include an operative part in the resolution covered a vast ground of economic and administrative measures. K. D. Malaviya's alternate resolution suggested nationalisation of banks, a more commanding place for the public sector and its extension to heavy consumer goods industries like sugar and textiles, state trad-

individual comprising the essential requirements in respect of food, clothing, housing, education and health.

His amendment demanded that all industries in the private sector and the import-export trade should be nationalised within five years, press monopoly should be ended, progressive taxation should be introduced to reduce income disparities, land reforms should be implemented by all state governments within one year, equal facilities for education should be provided for all children and public schools catering to the privileged few should be abolished.

SHIV CHARAN GUPTA sought control on margin of profits apart from nationalisation of banks, general insurance and import trade etc. GOVIND SAHAI demanded a "socialist bias" to education and V. V. DRAVID asked for nationalisation of the services of accountants and auditors. There was the demand for stopping privy purses

in food and other essential commodities, ceiling on individual ownership of industrial licences and completion of land reform by June 1965.

SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE's amendment sought nationalisation of commercial banks, general insurance, export-import trade, all key and basic industries except small scale and cottage industries run on co-operative lines, all press including printing press, newspapers and news agencies owned and managed by monopolies, all food grains business as also sugar, tea, liquor and tobacco and all film industries.

BHAGAT JHA AZAD demanded nationalisation of banks, steel, textile and sugar, state trading in food grains, ceiling on licences, deterrent punishment for hoarders and black marketeers. BIBHUTI MISRA wanted fixation of a five year limit to achieve a national minimum of basic needs for every

to ex-rulers and there were many who urged the appointment of some kind of a commission or committee to watch over the performance of governments and enforce implementation of policies laid down in the resolution.

Sheel Bhadra Yajee demanded constitution of a seven member committee from among the members of the Working Committee to advise the Union Government from time to time on the vast nationalisation programme he had laid down in his amendment. Azad wanted a special session of the AICC to discuss details of a programme for administrative reform. RENUKA RAY suggested a committee for evaluation of implementation and V. B. RAJU asked for the appointment of a permanent agency to review the working of Central and state governments and to submit annual reports to the AICC.

The weakness and strength

★ ON PAGE 15

TWO SHOCKS FOR ANDHRA CONGRESS

★ From MOHIT SEN

The Congress government has had two shocks this week. One was the temporary setback to its denationalisation plan. The other was the onward march of the peasants mobilising for the coming satyagraha against the inequitous Additional Land Levy Act.

WITH all due pomp and ceremony the Chief Minister had stated that the "final" decision of the cabinet on the Rajahmundry Paper Mills would be announced on January 2. Yet while many decisions were announced, on the denationalisation scheme the decision was postponed. Speculation was rife as to the reason why.

Some were of the opinion that the cabinet had not made up its mind to whom to hand over the mills, that Birla, and the Somanis were competing so hard that choice was going to be difficult. And the very fact of competition only confirmed the widespread suspicions that the official plea of lack of profitability was a thoroughly spurious one.

Many competent technical observers pointed out that half of the estimated Rs. 7 crores expenditure had already been met, and that the equipment needed to raise the present 10 tons daily production capacity to

60 tons had already reached the site. Nor was the cabinet in a position to affirm that it had seriously tried to enlist the financial support of the various institutions at the Centre or of the Life Insurance Corporation.

It has now been disclosed that an MLA wrote to Prime Minister NEHRU about the denationalisation proposal and pointed out that it was contrary to the proclaimed official policy of building a socialist society with the commanding heights of the economy in the hands of the public sector.

Nehru replied that he had handed over the whole issue to the Planning Commission. While this does not by itself guarantee that the original proposal has been dropped, it does mean that, to a great extent, it has been taken out of the hands of the SANJEEVA REDDY ministry. It further means that the centre has obviously not been convinced by the arguments of the state government that

the whole issue was a simple matter of financial arithmetic.

Sanjeeva Reddy had made it clear in his press conference some weeks ago that he was not in a mood to listen to the demands of the peasants that he abandon the anti-people policy embodied in the Additional Land Levy Act. He had advised the parties of the Action Committee not to take the "drastic step" of satyagraha as the peasants were all quite keen on "paying for development."

An effective answer to all this was given by Y. V. KRISHNA RAO, the convener of the Action Committee, as reported last week. And in district after district, energetic work went on to inform the masses of the issues involved and the form of action proposed as also the recruitment of volunteers for the satyagraha. The leaders of the Action Committee began another round of intensive touring.

The growing momentum of the campaign seems to have thoroughly upset the men dressed in robes of brief authority. The Chief Minister has gone out of his way in the Monthly Letter published in ANDHRA PRADESH to threaten the participants in the movement.