

JANUARY 26, 1964 • REPUBLIC DAY • JANUARY 26, 1964 • REPUBLIC DAY • JANUARY 26, 1964



NEW AGE

★ COMMUNIST PARTY WEEKLY ★

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SALUTE THE REPUBLIC

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Editorial

REPUBLIC DAY dawns this year in a India which is by no means the same as it was on Republic Day in 1963. Last year, across Republic Day were flung the dark shadows of Chinese aggression and all that followed it. This year, the shadows are still there and the evil deeds of the reactionary communal gangsters of Calcutta have not helped them to disappear.

But there are more than shadows today: bright lights are beginning to wage war against the shadows. This is the new reality, the new hope for our millions.

The Republic Day pledge we take is the same we have taken before: to build the India of the dreams of our martyrs. But we take it today with a new confidence, confidence of a kind we could never have before.

The working class will celebrate Republic Day with proud memories of the Great March and with eyes fixed firmly on the mighty struggle that is now being conducted for bonus and dearness allowance, for reduction in high prices and taxes, for increase in wages and for nationalisation of banks, oil, export-import trade, etc. The working class will celebrate this Republic Day, in united readiness to respond to the call for an all-India action, the like of which this country has not known before. The national campaign of the toilers is a campaign for the fulfilment of the promises given by the national movement to the people and of the principles which have been at the heart of India's battle for freedom and well-being for so many decades.

The working class does not fight, alone. The peasantry is also poised for action in state after state against levies and taxes and high prices. The women are preparing for the biggest all-India action ever undertaken by them—the observance of March 9 as Working Women's Day. Mass signatures of women are being obtained on memoranda protesting against high prices and other anti-people measures. Students have been in action in a number of states—a strike-wave has swept several universities.

The echoes of the people's struggles were hard only a few days ago even at the Bhubaneswar Session of the Indian National Congress. Behind the new strength of the democratic forces inside the Congress, behind the sharp assertion of their point of view by the Left at Bhubaneswar could be heard the marching feet of the toilers determined to free themselves from the stranglehold of the monopolies and giving notice to all concerned: change the anti-people policies now—or earn the wrath of the masses.

What gave the Congress Left at Bhubaneswar the impetus to speak out against

★ON PAGE 17

More Reports On All-India Demands Day

NEW DELHI: The call given by the Bombay conference of trade unions to observe January 12/13 as all-India Demands Day has been responded to with great enthusiasm by the working class. Never before has the response been so wide and extensive; never before has a campaign been taken to each nook and corner of the country as this campaign in support of the eleven-point demands charter adopted by the Bombay conference.

REPORTS are still coming in of the enthusiasm with which the workers all over the country observed the Demands Day. In many places it was not a day, but a Demands Week or a Demands Fortnight. Last week NEW AGE gave some of the reports of the observance of the Demands Day. Given below are more reports which have come in.

BIHAR

From Bihar have come reports that the Day was observed all over the state. Rallies and demonstrations took place in almost every industrial centre and in all the towns.

Steel and Engineering workers of Jamshedpur brought out a cycle demonstration and held a rally at Bari Maidan on January 12 which was addressed by SUNIL MUKHERJEE, RAMAVTAR SINGH, DR. U. MISHRA and KEDAR DAS. The rally was preceded by a series of public meetings covering workers of other industries in Jamshedpur like Tinplate, Telco, Cable Co. and Indian Tube Co.

Largely attended busties and area meetings were held throughout the first fortnight of January in Kadmia, Sidhgora, Baghabra and other places. Three leaflets on the preparation of the state trade union convention against high prices and specific problems of Tisco and Telco workers in the background of the main struggle against high prices were brought out by Jamshedpur Mazdoor Union.

The rally on January 13 organised by Hatia workers was addressed by CHANDRASHEKAR SINGH MIA, SATYANARAIN SINGH and RAJKISHORE SINGH. It was preceded by a meeting on December 27 and a series of gate meetings. Two leaflets were

were addressed by ALI AMJAD, SUNIL MUKHERJEE, CHATURANAN MISHRA, CHINMOY MUKHERJEE, LALIT BURMAN and JAGAN-NATH SARKAR.

The NDCD workers of Karanpura field have decided to prepare for a strike if their immediate demands are not fulfilled, some of which are: opening of fair price shops, absorption of temporary and badli workers, regularization of categorization.

Copper workers of Maubhandar held a rally on January 10 addressed by SATYANARAIN SINGH and MAN-DHEER SINGH. It was decided to serve a demands notice on the Indian Copper Corporation.

In Patna, a joint meeting of Phulwarisharif, Cotton Mills, Bicycle Factory and Press workers was held at Anjuman Islami Hall where small demonstrations converged from different factories. It was addressed by CHANDI PRASAD and RAMAVTAR SHASTRI. The rally was preceded by separate meetings of different factories during the fortnight from January 10.

Bidi workers of Biharsharif brought out a big demonstration on January 12. The rally was addressed by MOHAMMED YUSUF, GOURI SHANKAR and VIJAY KUMAR. Bidi workers of Sheikhpura also held a meeting addressed by BHOLA PRASAD.

In Faridabad the Demands Day was observed on January 14 under the auspices of the Mazdoor Ekta Committee. Processions were taken out by the Bata Shoe, engineering and textile workers. A mass rally was also held. In Amritsar, all the AITUC unions jointly observed the Demands Day. A demonstration of workers was held and a memorandum submitted to the deputy commissioner listing the demands.

Iron ore workers of Gua held a rally on January 30. The Oil Refinery workers of Barauni held a rally of 1,500 on January 12, in support of the demands put forward by the Bombay conference. In Dalmianagar Demands Day was observed on Jan. 12 and 13 under the auspices of

the Dalmianagar Mazdoor Union. On 12th morning, prabhat pheri was taken out which went round the industrial city. A demonstration was held in the evening.

In the coal mines of Hazaribagh district Demands Day was observed on January 13. In Giridih, the Coal Workers Union, the Bihar Mica Mazdoor Sangathan and Safal Mazdoor Sangh jointly observed the day. Earlier torch-light processions were taken out on December 25 at Saunda colliery and on January 6 at Giddi colliery. Mass meetings were held in the Karanpura area and at Bermo. At the pit heads in Giridih, there were brief meetings and slogan-raising in support of the 11-point demands.

In the background of these preparations and statewide observance of the Demands Day, the workers of Bihar are preparing to hold the Bihar state trade union convention against high prices at Jamshedpur on January 28 and 29. A meeting of the general council of Bihar State Trade Union Congress will be held on January 27 and 28, also at Jamshedpur.

PUNJAB

In Punjab, the campaign has transcended party barriers. One of the general secretaries of the Punjab INTUC has agreed to participate in the state trade union convention.

Representatives of Kisan Sabha, Youth and women's organisations will also participate in the convention which is sponsored jointly by the AITUC unions and unions of bank and insurance employees and working journalists.

In Dehra Dun the Demands Day was observed on January 12. A large procession of workers and employees paraded the streets and held a public meeting in the evening under the auspices of AITUC unions. AMAR NATH ANAND of the UFTUC also addressed the meeting, conveying his organisation's greetings.

KARNATAK

A campaign committee of trade unions in Bangalore, including representatives of the AITUC unions, unions of the HMT, HAL and BEL employees and other independent unions has been formed.

ANDHRA

A united demonstration and rally was held in Visakhapatnam in which AITUC, INTUC and independent unions took part. Port and dock workers, bank employees, electricity, railway, post and telegraph, civilian defence, Brooke Bond and engineering workers participated in the demonstration.

TAMILNAD

Plantation workers in Tamilnad were in the forefront of the campaign in that state. The Demands Day was observed in Seaforth estate, Guyund estate and Pandhar. Demonstrations were held in all the plantation centres and a rally was organised at Coonoor.

The textile workers of Salem district observed the Demands Day on January 12. Resolu-

tions were passed on the charter of demands.

WEST BENGAL

In the steel town of Burnpur, the Demands Day was observed on January 12 and at Kulti on January 13. Rallies were organised by the United Iron and Steel Workers Union. The eleven-point charter of demands was endorsed and resolutions passed putting forth the workers' demands.

The Asansol municipal workers observed the Demands Day on January 13. A meeting was held at which the decisions of the Bombay conference were endorsed.

ASSAM

In Assam, the Demands Day was observed at Tinsukia on January 12. The meeting was attended by workers from various mills in the Tinsukia-Makum area. It was addressed by BARIN CHOWDHURY, KALYAN KUMAR BHATTACHARJEE and DULAL DEY. Resolutions were passed supporting the demands charter.

RAJASTHAN

More than a thousand bank employees demonstrated on January 18 in Jaipur demanding the taking over of the Bank of Rajasthan by the State Bank of India. A demonstration was also held demanding nationalisation of banking.

UTTAR PRADESH

In Dehra Dun the Demands Day was observed on January 12. A large procession of workers and employees paraded the streets and held a public meeting in the evening under the auspices of AITUC unions. AMAR NATH ANAND of the UFTUC also addressed the meeting, conveying his organisation's greetings.

KERALA

In Kerala, the Demands Day was observed close on the heels of the Anti-Price-Rise Day on January 10. The Demands Day was observed on January 12, 13 and 14 in all important trade union centres and towns.

Meetings were held at Trivandrum, Trichur, Kottayam, Cannanore and Alleppey. In Trichur district alone more than 25 meetings were held and more than ten thousand leaflets explaining the demands distributed.

Kerala is also witnessing many other struggles by the workers for their demands. In Cannanore district more than 25 thousand beedi workers belonging to the AITUC, INTUC, HMS and independent unions have gone on strike from January 15. Workers have begun satyagraha before 25 depots. The strike has been forced on the workers by the refusal of the employers to concede the minimum wage increase demanded.

Joint Action councils have been formed in all the important beedi industry centres in Cannanore district. Thus workers have achieved

* On Facing Page

CALCUTTA, January 20: Thanks to the unrelenting efforts and intervention by the forces of secularism, humanism, democracy and communal amity, the riot-affected areas of Calcutta and other parts of West Bengal have wakened out of a nightmare and the situation is now returning to normal.

CURFEW has been relaxed and bazars have opened. Educational institutions which were declared closed upto January 27 opened today. Offices and factories are also returning to near-normal hours of working.

The highlight of the efforts for peace was the massive peace march held on January 16, called by the Central Peace Committee with hardly 24 hours' notice. It was a spontaneous and tremendous manifestation of the desire for communal harmony among the people and showed the latent strength which could be harnessed to fight communal reaction.

A huge gathering estimated to be between 25 to 30 thousands assembled at the foot of the Monument by 1 p.m. on January 16. Among them were workers of political parties, workers, students, office employees, writers, actors, singers, artists, painters, journalists, artisans, shopkeepers—persons coming from all religious communities. In fact, all sections of people of Calcutta came there to add their voice and weight for securing communal amity.

Thousands of people, mostly of minority community, were waiting along the route of the procession. The organisers also did not visualise that such a large number of people will come to join the peace march which was announced in the day's morning papers and in the local news over the radio.

Tremendous Enthusiasm

When the procession began to move there was some confusion but with the arrival of the Chief Minister and the Mayor and through the attempts of the leaders of political parties it became an orderly column stretching from the foot of the Monument to the Corporation building, all lustily shouting the only slogan of the day—DANGA CHAINA SHANTI CHAI: HINDU-MUSLIM BHAI BHAI (We don't want riot, we want peace; Hindus and Muslims are brothers).

After proceeding nearly a mile the procession was diverted to go back to the maidan at the insistent request of the military authorities as it was considered impossible to cover the long route within the curfew-free hours and also inadvisable to block the narrow streets.

This caused disappointment not only among the processionists but also among the people who were waiting in different riot-affected areas for the peace march. But the coming out on the streets of Calcutta of such a

large number of people in defence of peace had its galvanising effect and from then the situation began to improve and tension to ease.

In Calcutta, three zonal committees and many mohalla committees have already been formed under the Central Peace Committee. Such committees have also been formed in many mofussil areas and begun work. Relief work by government and non-official agencies have also begun. About 15,000 of the nearly 80,000 refugees have gone back to their homes.

West Bengal government has promulgated an ordinance which empowers any magistrate or other officer specially empowered by the state government to evict summarily any person who may have occupied or taken possession in any manner whatsoever of any house, hut, structure or land which any other person has had to leave or has left on account of any disturbance, commotion, violence or arson.

Restoration of Property

It also empowers the authorities concerned to restore possession after proper enquiry to the original occupant. This ordinance, if properly applied, will help in rehabilitating displaced persons in their own homes and in nullifying the nefarious game of some landlords. But the need is to build model hygienic dwellings by government and other agencies, in place of the old bustees.

In the few days of disturbances naturally events in Calcutta and suburbs drew the main attention. But now the extent of damage in the mofussil areas is coming to light. At some places it was devastating and cannot be believed unless seen with one's own eyes. In the Bongaon area nearly 70 villages have been completely gutted.

In nearby Habra and Basirhat areas more than 60 villages have been burnt to ashes. The people there have lost all their possessions and some people were dead.

PEACE MARCH TO RESTORE COMMUNAL AMITY

Normalcy Comes After Days of Violence

★ From AJOY DASGUPTA

But the people, almost all of them peasants, were in tears when they showed the burnt paddy. In choked voices they said "why did these people not take away the paddy and consume it themselves, why they had to burn MA LAKSHMI in our very

Paddy Burnt

Paddy worth crores of rupees have been burnt in these villages, as the arson took place when all the paddy had been harvested and brought into the homes. Not only paddy but also the implements of cultivation have been lost—either burnt or broken or taken away.

One of the peasants in a Basirhat village showed the signboard of his agriculture department on his plot of land—he is a model cultivator. He raised three crops a year and this year his lands yielded 13 maunds of paddy per bigha and he was told by the BDO that he would surely get the first prize in the area for his achievement. He showed the broken farm machinery given to him by government, but the government's police did not protect.

Everywhere in these areas people complained of organised hooliganism. They told how armed gangs came in convoys of lorries, and attacked village after village. They got support from local people of majority community in many areas no doubt, and in some places they might even have participated in looting.

But the main acts of arson and destruction were carried out by

organised gangs. At many places collusion of police with the miscreants was also reported, while at a few other places people spoke highly of the police officers and other government officials for their activities to stop riot.

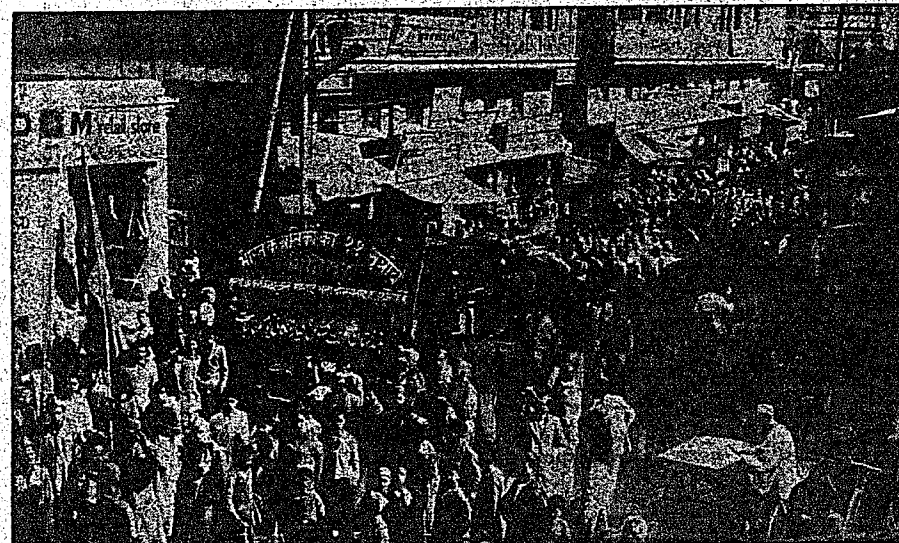
This kind of complicity of police or at least its apathy to the situation has been reported from many parts of Calcutta also. That there is ground for such complaints is proved by the removal of the Police Commissioner, Calcutta and the SDO, Bongaon even during this disturbed situation.

But it is to be realised that the matter is not one of law and order alone, or even primarily that. What the progressive forces have to ponder seriously is how the question of minorities could be tackled in right manner. There is no shadow of doubt that a large number of people even now think that some sort of pressure on Muslims in India is necessary to make the Pakistan government alive to the necessity of protection of minorities there and that such attacks on Muslims in India is a logical and inevitable consequence of attacks on minorities in Pakistan.

Further Steps

It points to the urgent necessity of concerted and sincere, planned and prolonged activities on many fronts—by all progressive secular forces. A damaging feature was the attitude of a large section of student community and a section of the workers to this riot. At some places they were involved in it.

The Mammoth Peace March in Calcutta



Demands Day Demonstration at Moradabad.

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Imperialist-Pak Conspiracy

The Pakistan government has launched a new smear campaign against India: the demand for a special meeting of the UN Security Council is only the vehicle for this campaign of lies and falsehoods.

THE events of the last few weeks form a pattern almost as if they had been planned: the theft of the sacred relic from the Hazratbal shrine was followed quickly by the intensified hate propaganda in the Pakistani press and in the statements of Pakistani government leaders; this hate campaign had its inevitable consequence in the attacks on the minority community in East Pakistan; Calcutta came next; and, in a flash, the Pakistan government rushed its charge-sheet of fabrications to the Security Council.

There is no doubt that behind the Pakistan government stand, as always, the imperialist powers. It is with their encouragement and blessings that the "complaint" has been filed before the Security Council.

The object is simple: to pressurise India to yield to imperialist demands for a weakening of our policy of nonalignment and for the virtual surrender of the Valley of Kashmir.

Following President Radhakrishnan's letter to President Ayub Khan, proposing a joint appeal against communal violence, the US Ambassador and UK High Commissioner in New Delhi were notified to be more than ordinarily active. It is understood that they indicated to the External Affairs Ministry officials that their governments could "persuade" Ayub to respond positively to the suggestion for a joint appeal, provided that

whatever the provocation or the excuse. Apart from the black patch in West Bengal, the attempts by the imperialists and the Pakistan reactionaries to make out a case against so-called suppression of Muslims in India is bound to fail. As a matter of fact, the dominant note during the demonstrations in Kashmir following the theft of the sacred relic, was that of Hindu-Muslim-Sikh unity.

India could now agree to reopen the old imperialist proposals for some sort of joint administration over the Kashmir Valley. The delay in Ayub's reply to President Radhakrishnan was arranged precisely to give time for the imperialist blackmail to work. When India refused to accede to the imperialists' demands, Ayub gave his reply: he refused to consider any joint appeal and instead took his pack of anti-Indian lies to the Security Council.

EVERY LIFE IS PRECIOUS

THE blackmail and pressure is now being stepped up. Inside our country, the communal parties are making desperate efforts to whip up frenzy once again. The ban on public meetings in Bhopal and Gwalior follows attempts by the Hindu Mahasabha to hold rallies to protest against the East Pakistan events.

Nothing has helped the imperialists and the enemies of India more than hoodlumism in Calcutta and West Bengal. At the same time, the prompt and effective action taken to put a halt to the communal violence, after the arrival of Home Minister NANDA in Calcutta, is adequate proof of India's determination to suppress all communalism,

whatever the provocation or the excuse. Apart from the black patch in West Bengal, the attempts by the imperialists and the Pakistan reactionaries to make out a case against so-called suppression of Muslims in India is bound to fail. As a matter of fact, the dominant note during the demonstrations in Kashmir following the theft of the sacred relic, was that of Hindu-Muslim-Sikh unity.

notes OF THE Week

In West Bengal also, there have been numerous cases of demonstrations of communal animosity. And it must also be noted that, despite the rotten provocations of the Pakistani press and government, in East Pakistan also there were heart-warming stories of protection extended to the minority community.

Fresh reports of communal violence in East Pakistan are now being received in India. Too often the sources are British or American. The latest is a Reuters message, which puts the figure of killed in East Pakistan at a thousand. Imperialist news agencies have been equally quick to give exaggerated figures of the dead in West Bengal for consumption in Pakistan. It is the old story of imperialist provocation on both sides.

The need of the hour is for resolute struggle against the provocateurs and the



On January 30 the Nation pays Homage to the Martyrs

communalists. Every life is precious and must be protected. Indians who love India must assert themselves against the monster enemies of all that we hold dear. Secular India's image must not be allowed to be tarnished by the Right reactionary communal forces in the country.

7th FLEET REHEARSAL?

THE Ceylon government has done well to refuse permission to the US Navy ship *Greenwich Bay* to pay a call at Colombo. The Ceylon authorities demanded to know whether the warship was equipped with nuclear weapons. The American naval bosses refused to give an answer to this perfectly legitimate question. *Greenwich Bay* was told to keep off Ceylon.

The government and people of Ceylon can be proud of this step. There is every reason to suspect that the "cruise" of *Greenwich Bay* in the Indian Ocean is a precursor of the Seventh Fleet. And the refusal to deny that it carries nuclear weapons only confirms the suspicion that it does.

What is, however, deeply disturbing is the news that "India has agreed to the *Greenwich Bay* paying courtesy visits to Bombay, Cochin

and Madras" (INDIAN EXPRESS, January 21).

The same news-item says that "the American ship will be in Bombay from January 25 to 30, in Madras between February 4 and 7, and in Cochin between February 17 and 19".

If this is true, it is a disgrace and a shame for our country. If Ceylon can resist US pressure and keep this nuclear-equipped ship out of Colombo, what is the difficulty in the Government of India taking the same attitude? Even elementary solidarity with Ceylon demands that the government does not rush in to welcome the US warship in the manner it seems to be doing.

There is no doubt that if the *Greenwich Bay* is allowed to enter Indian ports, the world will be confirmed in the belief that despite denials, India has given the green signal to the Seventh Fleet to enter the Indian Ocean.

This is the thin end of the wedge. Today the government admits one US warship, tomorrow this will be made the precedent for the ships of the Seventh Fleet to pay us "courtesy calls".

This must NOT be allowed to happen. The voice of the Indian people must be raised loud and clear against any attempt to sully India's name by giving facilities to US warships at our ports.

Romesh Chandra
(January 22)

TWO NEW PUBLICATIONS FOREIGN MONOPOLY CAPITAL IN INDIAN ECONOMY

by SOFIA MELMAN
Price Rs. 15

INDIA ECONOMIC FREEDOM VERSUS IMPERIALISM

by V. I. PAVLOV
Price Rs. 15
People's Publishing House
New Delhi

Compared to the 48.5 lakh circulation of the London DAILY MIRROR, the largest circulated daily in India looks like a provincial newspaper; compared to the 117-unit newspaper empire of ROY THOMSON the newspaper chains in this country are merely a handful of links and no chain.

IT is perhaps natural that in an underdeveloped country where literacy percentage is low, newspaper readership is also restricted. But along with the spread of literacy, newspaper readership in India is also growing. This growth in newspaper readership has resulted also in certain trends which do not bode good for the democratic development of the country.

The most significant of them is the emergence of monopoly trends in the newspaper world. Just as is the case with Indian economy, the term monopoly is not used here in its literal sense but to connote the concentration of newspapers in the hands of a few press magnates.

And these press magnates manage the newspapers in the country not for the dissemination of news but for furthering their personal interests in the business and industrial spheres. The newspapers are adjuncts to their industrial and business empires. That is the second malady afflicting the press in the country.

The report of the Registrar of Newspapers for India for 1963 which deals with the press in this country in 1962 has given an idea of the twin dangers of monopolistic trends and tightening grip of Big Business on the press in India.

The total circulation of all newspapers and periodicals in the country rose by 8.8 per cent against 4.7 per cent increase in 1961. The circulation of the dailies rose by 11.7 per cent in 1962 against 4.6 per cent in 1961.

This increased circulation did not mean that all the papers enjoyed its benefits. A larger share of the increase in circulation was taken by the giant newspapers owned by chains, groups and multiple units.

The number of dailies under common ownership went up from 125 in 1961 to 132 in 1962; their circulation from 30.40 lakhs to 35.04 lakhs. In 1962 the circulation of dailies under common ownership constituted as much as 65.9 per cent of the circulation of all the dailies taken together; in 1961 it was 64.3 and in 1960 only 59.7 per cent.

NINE OWNERS

Nine important newspaper owners (four chains, three groups and two multiple units) between them published 41 dailies commanding a total circulation of 22.20 lakhs. This was as much as 41 per cent of the total circulation of all the dailies in the country in 1962.

Individually, the EXPRESS chain accounted for 11.1 per cent of the total circulation of dailies; the TIMES OF INDIA chain 7.9 per cent; the DAILY THANTHI (multiple unit) 4.2 per cent; the HINDUSTAN TIMES chain 4.1 per cent; the AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA chain 4.1 per cent; the ANANDA BAZAR PATRIKA group 3.2 per cent; the FREE PRESS JOURNAL group 2.9 per cent; the HINDU group 2.4 per cent and the STATESMAN (multiple unit) 2.2 per cent.

The total circulation of all the publications brought out by the EXPRESS chain was 10,19,781 in 1962; that of TIMES OF INDIA chain 8,24,055; HINDUSTAN TIMES chain 3,03,865; and AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA chain 2,36,089.

An interesting aspect brought out in Press Registrar's report is that the individual form of ownership of newspapers was on the decline and that of joint stock companies (public and private) and firms and partnerships on the ascendancy.

It is true that several small newspapers which do not form part of any chain or group are owned by companies and firms. All the same the above said goes to prove that newspaper business is a flourishing industry and businessmen are entering the field in large numbers.

Thus, the percentage of papers owned by individuals went down to 44.1 in 1962 from 46.5 in 1961. The fall in the percentage of daily newspapers owned by individuals was from 44.4 to 36.4.

The joint stock companies increased their share in the ownership of papers from 7.4 per cent in 1961 to 8.1 per cent in 1962; firms and partnerships from 7.6 per cent to 8.0 per cent.

The increase in the share of ownership of daily papers of the joint stock companies was more and so was that of firms and partnerships. The former increased its share from 27.9 per cent in 1961 to 32.0 per cent in 1962; the latter from 15.5 per cent to 18.9 per cent.

INTERLOCKING GRIP

The Press Registrar has also focussed the Big Business grip on the press and the interlocking arrangements existing in some of the newspaper establishments.

The EXPRESS chain has four companies under it, namely, Indian Express Newspapers (Bombay) Ltd., Express Newspapers Ltd., Delhi, Indian Express (Madurai) Ltd. and Andhra Prabha Ltd. The four companies among them publish eleven dailies and ten periodicals. (In 1959-60, the chain closed its eight papers published from Madras as a retaliatory measure against the journalists and workers employed in them.)

The Bombay concern has as its directors Shriyans Prasad Jain (Chairman of the Board), S. Rajagopalan and Saroj Goenka. The principal shareholders are: Jankidas Bajinath 74.2 per cent of the preference shares, Moonghibhai Goenka and Saroj Goenka 12.9 per cent of the preference shares each, and National Company Ltd. 12.5 per cent of the equity shares.

The publications of the company are INDIAN EXPRESS Bombay, LOKASATTA Bombay, SCREEN Bombay, SCREEN Vijayawada, SCREEN Madurai, FINANCIAL EXPRESS Bombay and SCREEN Chittoor.

The Delhi concern publishes only two papers: INDIAN EXPRESS Delhi and SUNDAY STANDARD Delhi. Controlling shares are held by the parent concern, Indian Express News-

GROWTH OF INDIAN PRESS MONOPOLY

Ramnath Goenka himself is the chairman of the board of directors. Other directors are Bhagwandas Goenka, A. N. Sivaraman and Panna Lal Phumbra.

Ramnath Goenka is the chairman of the Madurai concern also, other directors being V. S. Tyagaraja Mudaliar and Saroj Goenka. The principal shareholders again are the Bombay concern.

EXPRESS GROUP

The publications of this concern are INDIAN EXPRESS Madurai, INDIAN EXPRESS Vijayawada, SUNDAY STANDARD Madurai, SUNDAY STANDARD Vijayawada, DINAMANI Madurai, INDIAN EXPRESS Chittoor, SUNDAY STANDARD Chittoor and DINAMANI Chittoor.

The Andhra Prabha Ltd. has Bhagwandas Goenka as chairman for its board of directors and R. S. Jhaver and Saroj Goenka as directors. The Bombay concern again holds the controlling shares. Its publications are ANDHRA PRABHA Vijayawada, ANDHRA PRABHA ILLUSTRATED WEEKLY Chittoor and ANDRA PRABHA Chittoor.

The TIMES OF INDIA chain is owned and controlled by one single concern unlike the EXPRESS chain. The owners are Bennett Coleman and Company Ltd. Shanti Prasad Jain is the chairman of the board of directors and Shriyans Prasad Jain, who is the chairman of the board of directors of the Indian Express Newspapers (Bombay) Ltd., and Shital Prasad Jain are directors.

The principal shareholders of the company are Minerva Dealers who have 43.01 per cent of the paid up capital to their credit, Bharat Nidhi Ltd. (24.47 per cent), Ashoka Vineyard Ltd. (15.45 per cent) and Sahu Jain Ltd. (11.73 per cent).

The publications of the chain are THE TIMES OF INDIA Delhi, THE TIMES OF INDIA Bombay, EVENING NEWS OF INDIA Bombay, NAVBHARAT TIMES Delhi, NAVBHARAT TIMES Bombay, THE ILLUSTRATED WEEKLY OF INDIA Bombay, DHARMA YUG Bombay, FILM-FARE Bombay, FEMINA Bombay, PARAG Bombay, ECONOMIC TIMES Bombay, SARIKA Bombay and MAHARASHTRA TIMES Bombay.

The HINDUSTAN TIMES chain comprises of four concerns which among them publish eight dailies and four periodicals. The companies are The Hindustan Times Ltd., New Delhi, Newspapers Ltd., Allahabad, The Behar Journals Ltd., Patna and the Eastern Economist Ltd.

The publications are THE HINDUSTAN TIMES Delhi, THE HINDUSTAN TIMES EVENING NEWS Delhi, THE HINDUSTAN TIMES Kanpur Supplement, HINDUSTAN Delhi, SAPTAHRIK HINDUSTAN Delhi, OVERSEAS HINDUSTAN TIMES Delhi and KADAMBINI Allahabad.

The Allahabad concern has K. C. Sarda, P. C. Thorani and S. N. Gupta as its directors. Piliani Investment Corporation holds 23 per cent of equity shares, Birla Cotton Spinning and Weaving Mills 17 per cent, Birla Jute Manufacturing Co. 13 per cent, Kesoram Industries and Cotton Mills 12 per cent, Sulej Cotton Mills 12 per cent, Upper Ganges Sugar Mills and Oudh Sugar Mills two per cent each. The publications of the con-

cern are LEADER Allahabad and BHARAT Allahabad.

The Patna concern also has two publications: SEARCHLIGHT Patna and FRADEEP Patna. The directors are K. C. Sarda, G. C. Dharwal and Chandra Madhav Sinha. The New India Sugar Mills own 61.09 per cent of the shares, Bharat Sugar Mills 11.25 per cent, Birla Bros. 2.35 per cent and Oudh Sugar Mills 1.08 per cent.

★ By PAULY V. PARAKAL

The Eastern Economist Ltd. has only one publication from which the company itself has derived the name. Its directors are Murlihar Dalmia, Dalip Singh, U. C. Dubey and C. Ramasubban. The shareholders are Birla Jute Manufacturing Co., Kesoram Industries and Cotton Mills, Piliani Investment Corporation, Sulej Cotton Mills (each owning 20 per cent of the shares) and Birla Cotton Spinning and Weaving Mills (17.6 per cent of the shares).

With so many jute concerns owning shares, no wonder the monopoly press is dubbed jute press in this country.

PATRIKA GROUP

The AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA chain is also comprised of four concerns, namely Amrita Bazar Patrika Ltd., Amrita Publishers Private Ltd., Jugantar Pvt. Ltd. and Allahabad Patrika Private Ltd. The chain publishes three dailies and one weekly, namely AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA, JUGANTAR, NORTHERN INDIA PATRIKA and AMRITA.

Tushar Kanti Ghosh is the chairman of the board of directors of all the four concerns. Other common directors are Sachivilas Raj Chowdhury and Sookamal Ghosh.

The principal company's shares are held exclusively by Tushar Kanti Ghosh and his relatives. This company holds 52.96 per cent of the shares in the Amrita Publishers (12.62 per cent being held by Sudhir Chandra Sarkar), and 84.71 per cent in the Jugantar concern (10.45 per cent being held by the late G. G. De Sarkar). T. T. De Biswas owns

circulation 96,251; Lokshikshan Trust—two dailies and two weeklies, circulation 84,468; D. S. Potnis and A. D. Potnis (partnership concern)—two dailies and four periodicals, circulation 74,589; N. L. Shah (sole proprietor)—two dailies and two periodicals, circulation 59,168; Shri Narakesari Prakashan Ltd.—five dailies, circulation 48,043; Ram Gopal Maheshwari (sole proprietor)—six dailies, circulation 40,824; and Maharashtra Newspapers (Private) Ltd. (three dailies and one weekly (circulation not available).

TOP SIX GROUPS

Among the 32 groups which the report has listed, the following six occupies foremost positions: Kasturi and Sons Ltd. Hindu group—one daily and three periodicals, circulation 3,15,035; Ananda Bazar Patrika Pvt. Ltd. (Ananda Bazar Patrika group—two dailies and two periodicals, circulation 2,26,184); Indian National Press (Bombay) Ltd. (Free Press Journal group—four dailies and a weekly, circulation 2,14,615); Nageswara Rao Estates Private Ltd. (Andhra Patrika group—one daily and two periodicals, circulation 1,41,852); Lok Prakashan Ltd. (Gujarat Samachar group—two dailies and three periodicals, circulation 1,10,656) and Sandesh Ltd. (Sandesh group—two dailies and six periodicals—circulation 1,07,969).

Despite all the announcements by official spokesmen about encouraging small and medium newspapers by giving them advertisements, the big newspapers are flourishing on advertisements, not all of them from the private sector. Even a casual perusal of the extent to which government advertisements, both display and classified, are given to the big newspapers.

The Registrar of Newspapers had this much to say on the advertisement policy of the big papers:

★ ON PAGE EIGHT
PAGE FIVE

SCRAMBLE FOR THE GADDI

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU had always frowned on the terribly annoying question: who after Nehru? Nor had he relished the oft-repeated suggestion that GANDHIJI had anointed him as the Cardinal of new India.

He was on his own, he always insisted. And who after him was none of his business. But hasn't he had a responsibility? Of course, he had. And he has been submitting to every questioner that what he leaves behind, namely, a well ordered economy with a strong technological base, would succeed him and throw up the necessary man at its helm.

But unfortunately such an economy has not yet arrived. It's miles and miles away. Whatever we have is wobbly and its direction is in the hands of a former salesman and a perverted socialist who is about to be expelled from his party. Things are bleak indeed.

Naturally, therefore, in such a messy situation when Nehru suddenly took ill the smooth natural process of sharing the burden was not in evidence.

On the other hand, struggle for co-partnership and even succession had begun at Bhubaneswar itself. Of course, on the dais of the Congress pandal was

dutifully laid an empty chair to symbolise the reverence for the ailing leader. But there was nothing very reverential in the lobbying and jockeying that went on in the shadow of that chair.

Even before the Kalinga employees uprooted the Kalinga tubes that supported the vast shamiana in which the 68th Congress session was held, talk started about LAL BAHADUR SHASTRI's return to the Cabinet. Indeed, even a month before that it was rumoured that the Kamaraj was going to be kamarajed a bit. It acquired some credence when Lal Bahadur Shastri continued to occupy his former bungalow at York Place.

Simultaneously some chief ministers and central ministers represented to the Prime Minister that he should bring in his daughter. It was quite clear that the struggle was on. But Nehru, for the time being, has discountenanced this move, lest he be charged with feathering his own nest.

The suggested return of Lal Bahadur—he was personally very keen to go back though he was the first goat which volunteered for sacrifice at the altar of Kamaraj Plan—roused fierce jealousy among the other goats.

MORARJI left Delhi in a huff. His friends say his destination is Sabarmati, though I personally doubt it.

JAGJIVAN RAM, the leader of the Harijan wing in the Congress, is in no mood to go to vanaprastha. He is bitter that Lal Bahadur alone is going back and he is making no bones about it.

S. K. PATIL of Union Motor Socialism first showed resentment at Sabarkanta. But when he returned to the capital he confided to the Indian Express that he had no objection. May be, he might get his pound of flesh in due course.

Trouble did not end there. What would be the rank of Lal Bahadur in the cabinet? Above NANDA? Below? Will he be the floor leader? Preside over the cabinet?

Nanda's friends whispered that he has done well as the Home Minister. Why disturb him? INDIRA is reported to be among them.

Others asked: has Indira made up with Shastri? And how close is she to KAMARAJ? Some said she has taken the preliminary step of making up with SANJIVA REDDY whom she despised and Sanjiva Reddy is thick with the new Congress president.

The whole thing is nauseating. But INSIDER is convinced that none of these Rightist-Centrist tricks can ensure any kind of stability.

—INSIDER

YOUR QUESTIONS ANSWERED

Q Would it be correct to say that the Chinese Communist Party emphasises anti-imperialist revolution while not denying the need for peaceful coexistence; the Soviet Communist Party stresses peaceful coexistence while not denying the need for anti-imperialist revolution? (VENKATACHARI, Hyderabad).

A The question is based on a wrong understanding of the nature and forces of the revolutionary process that shapes world developments today. It is based on a lack of understanding of the main contradiction in the international class struggle. It sets up a Chinese wall between peaceful coexistence and the anti-imperialist revolutions. It evades the question of what is the chief duty of the socialist states, led by the Communist Parties, towards the development of world revolution. It wrongly evaluates the policies of both the CPSU and the CPC.

What are the revolutionary anti-imperialist forces today? The Moscow Statement of 1960 clearly defines them:

"All the revolutionary forces are rallying against imperialist oppression and exploitation. The peoples who are building socialism and communism, the revolutionary movement of the working class in the capitalist countries, the national liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples and the general democratic movement—these great forces of our time are merging in one powerful current that undermines and destroys the world capitalist system. The central factors of our day are the international working class and its chief creation, the world socialist system."

Thus, four forces—the socialist camp, the working class struggle in capitalist countries, the national liberation struggle and the general democratic movement—have to be united and are objectively uniting, in a single powerful current that will sweep away world imperialism. And the central factor, the main force is the working class and its chief creation, the world socialist system.

International Tactical Line

This is the complete and complex picture of the world anti-imperialist revolution today. None of these forces can be ignored. Nothing should be done to disrupt the unity of all these four forces. The central position of the world working class and the world socialist system must not be overlooked.

Only with this composite relationship of forces firmly in its mind can the world Communist movement draw up a correct international tactical line and each section of that movement its correct tactical line for its own country.

The CPC has a very partial and narrow understanding of the world anti-imperialist revolution. It confines this revolution to the national liberation struggle of a specific type in Asia, Africa and Latin America. It holds that these areas are the storm-centres of world revolution, that the main battle against imperialism is being fought there and that the main focus of world contradictions is located there. (See especially, *Once More on the Differences Between Comrade Togliatti and Ourselves* published by the CPC).

The so-called emphasis on the

Peaceful Coexistence and Anti-Imperialist Revolution

when the world socialist system comes into being.

And in 1956 over the Suez Canal crisis, in 1958 over the threat of US intervention in Iraq and above all, in connection with Cuba's freedom, we have tangible evidence of the strength of the world socialist system containing imperialism, preventing its intervention and allowing free scope to the internal forces of anti-imperialist revolution in the countries concerned.

It is flying in the face of facts to deny that the main brunt of the jobs of taking on world imperialism, of thwarting the aggressive designs, above all, of US imperialism is taken on by the world socialist system, above all the Soviet Union. It is no exaggeration to say that Soviet economic and military strength, built by heroic labour and sacrifice is the main sword and shield of the world anti-imperialist revolution, the spear of the CPC leadership notwithstanding.

How is the main contradiction to be resolved, what is the main form of struggle between the two opposing world social systems, what is the chief task of the world socialist camp?

Here again certain formulations of the 1960 Moscow Statement clinch the issue and give us the correct guidance—again "overlooked" by the CPC in its extensive hunt for quotations.

"The course of social development proves right Lenin's prediction that the countries of victorious socialism would influence the development of world revolution chiefly by their economic construction.... The foreign policy of the socialist countries rests on the firm foundation of the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence and peaceful competition between the socialist and capitalist countries. In conditions of peace, the socialist system increasingly reveals its advantages over the capitalist system in all fields of economy, culture, science and technology.

Peaceful coexistence of states does not imply renunciation of the class struggle as the revisionists claim. The coexistence of states with different social systems is a form of class struggle between socialism and capitalism."

Economic Competition

Peaceful competition, the development of the economy and culture of the socialist system at a faster pace than that of the imperialist countries—this is the main form of struggle, the chief task of the socialist countries. And without peaceful coexistence there can be no peaceful competition but an unprecedently destructive war which would destroy entire peoples—half of humanity: Mao Tse-tung concedes—and throw back world civilisation for generations.

Let it not be forgotten that it is precisely in conditions of peaceful coexistence that a "new stage has begun in the development of the general crisis of capitalism," of which the disintegration of the colonial system is a prominent feature.

Failure to accept peaceful competition as the main form of the world anti-imperialist revolution, the chief task of the socialist countries, has landed the CPC in its present impasse. That is why it prefers to build atom bombs to building up its economy and culture and imagines that a China with atom bombs will do more

for the world anti-imperialist revolution than a China building a socialist civilisation.

Thus, it is not a question of who emphasises world revolution and who emphasises peaceful coexistence. It is really a question

of who understands properly the forces and the tasks of the world anti-imperialist revolution today. And the CPC makes a terrible mistake precisely on this point.

—MOHIT SEN



ants show the way

At railway stations and other public places, quite frequently, crowds jostle and fight their way to booking counters and into compartments. If only we had followed the ants!

Please form a "Q"

NORTHERN RAILWAY



STEERING - NR-100

NEW AGE

JANUARY 26, 1964

KALYAN ROY, general secretary of the Indian Mine Workers Federation, in two articles analyses the state of affairs in the coal industry in our country. The first article is published in this issue. The second article will appear next week.

In the year 1961, coal was responsible for 84 per cent of total commercial energy consumed in our country. There are about 850 collieries in India employing nearly 440,000 workers, out of which 38,000 are women employed in various surface jobs and open cast mines.

ALTHOUGH the production position of public sector in the coal mines is steadily increasing and it is given larger allocation in the Plan, the private sector still overwhelmingly dominates the field.

Out of nearly 68 million tons produced in 1963, public sector produced only 11 million tons and the rest came from private sector. Further the mines which produce best grade and metallurgical coal are practically in the hands of a few big monopolist companies dominated to a great extent by British capital.

The private sector is waging a bitter campaign against the public sector and desperately trying to 'halt its' expansion, modernisation and growth.

The public sector today suffers from several evils common to the private sector such

as, wage policy, corruption, wastage, nepotism etc.

While the private sector presents a solid front against the public sector, it is a divided house and inside this sector, there is also a sharp clash of interests between the big, powerful mining companies producing good grade of coal with a firm grip over finance and market, and middle and small companies producing inferior type of coal perpetually confronted with problems of finance, marketing and transport.

It would have been difficult to build up and expand the public sector but for the aid of the USSR and other socialist governments. With the massive assistance of the Polish government, nine deep mines are being opened which

SPOTLIGHT ON COAL INDUSTRY

Growing Pressure Of Private Mineowners

* By KALYAN ROY

would produce over two million tons each. Besides financing 30 per cent of costs, Poland would assist India produce by 1970 about 60,000 tons of mining machinery a year. Washeries are being built up in the state sector with the Soviet and Polish assistance.

One of the most significant developments is the scheme to build up a big plant for producing mining machinery equipment in the public sector, as at present we are nearly totally dependent on the Anglo-American tycoons for even simple types of mining equipment for which they charge fabulous price, and through that also dominate the coal and mining industry. The building of a mining machinery plant with the Soviet help will go a long way to lessen our dependence on Western imperialist powers.

The Chief Inspector of Mines, G. S. JABBI wrote in

the ECONOMIC TIMES some-time back:

"No scheme of general machinery of an industry can succeed if the requisite machinery (and the spares for the same) has to be imported. The difficulties faced by the mining industry in this connection are too well known. It would, therefore, be a big relief when the products of Coal Mining Machinery Plant at Durgapur and the Earth moving Machinery Plant at Bhopal start coming into the market!"

Massive Aid

Against it, the barons of the private sector, are getting massive aid from the World Bank and other US agencies and also assistance from British capital. But nearly 95

per cent of their aid is being pocketed by big monopoly mining companies. The World Bank is giving a loan of Rs. 17 crores (nearly 42 million dollars) which so far has gone only to three to four companies dominated by British capital.

The so-called American Expert Committee which visited the Indian coal fields some time back openly recommended various kinds of subsidies for the private sector, increase in the coal price and demanded liberalisation of import licenses of mining machinery.

All these tensions, clashes of interest and contradictions and retreat by the government before strong pressure by the private sector as is seen in the recent amendments to the Coal Bearing Act and permission to two big companies to develop mines in areas kept reserved for public sector, are seriously jeopardising the planned target of coal production of 97 million tons in the Third Five Year Plan. Because of these and other factors, the production of coal in the Second Plan was only 52.62 million tons while the target was 60 million tons—a shortfall of nearly 8 million tons.

Another factor which is the source of continuous friction between the government and mine owners and vitally affects all phases of coal industry is the question of coal price which is controlled. In other words, the government, fixes the selling price of coal per ton which leaves an adequate margin of profit to mine owners. The owners make further and tremendous illegal profit by violating the safety laws and by curtailing wages and amenities of miners and by tax evasion.

However, the mine owners are consistently putting utmost pressure on the government to increase the coal price and deliberately sabotaging production and creating artificial problems in order to compel the government to enhance the coal price.

Main Forces

It is in this background that the municipal elections in the state are taking place. The main forces in the election are the Congress and the DMK-Swatantra-Muslim League combine. The Party is only the third force in the state.

The Communist Party has decided to field about 200 candidates. The Party has a total of 75 seats in the outgoing councils.

Not only in the 200 seats which the Party will contest will the Party try to make its impact felt. In many other municipal constituencies the Communist Party will "battle to bring about the victory of good Congressmen against the candidates of the reactionary combine of the DMK, Swatantra Party and the Muslim League," said Kandaswamy.

He was hopeful that the Party will improve its position considerably in the coming elections and exert its influence in the new councils to the benefit of the people.

The Communist Party has already started its election campaign. A call for funds has been given and election rallies have already been held. Party members and sympathisers are now engaged in door to door canvassing in the urban areas of the state.

in most of the municipalities. This concentration of power in the executive has had another bad effect also. All the blame for the shortcomings of the municipal councils and the rampant corruption was pushed onto the shoulders of the executive, which in many cases was true, too.

With a view to overcoming these shortcomings the Communist Party has put forward as one of the important slogans in the municipal election battle, power to the elected councils.

TAMILNAD MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS

DEFEAT FORCES OF REACTION

Manali Kandaswamy Explains Party Stand To New Age

MADRAS: "Strengthen the democratic forces, weaken the power monopoly of the Congress and defeat the emerging forces of reaction"—this is the tactical line of the Communist Party regarding the forthcoming municipal elections in Madras, according to **MANALI S. KANDASWAMY**, secretary of the Tamilnad council of the CPI.

ELECTIONS are to take place for about 1500 seats in 68 municipal councils including Madras Corporation. Other important towns going to polls will be Madurai, Coimbatore and Tiruchirappalli.

Elections to these councils were held last in 1959 when the Congress swept the polls and secured majority in almost all the municipal councils. Exceptions were the Madras Corporation, Madurai, Coimbatore, Dindigul and Udumalpet.

In Madras the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam secured the majority and a DMK leader was elected chairman. In Udumalpet also, the DMK secured a majority and had their own chairman.

In Madurai, the Democratic Congress could secure the Chairmanship with the help of anti-Congress forces, including the Communist Party. But since then, this party has shown more inclination to follow Swatantra politics than progressive ideals.

An independent was elected chairman of the Dindigul municipal council with the help of the Communist Party, but he betrayed the democratic forces and crossed over to the Congress.

With the support of the DMK, the Communist Party was able to secure the chairmanship of the Coimbatore municipal council.

The record of none of these councils except Coimbatore can be said to have been free from blot. Corruption and

nepotism were the order of the day. Party politics was not deeply reflected in the administration of the municipal councils whether they be of the Congress or of the DMK. The only politics which entered the municipalities might be said to have been that of according civic receptions to and unveiling portraits of one's own leaders.

In Coimbatore however, the Communist majority in the municipal council has been able to bring forward certain measures in favour of the poorer sections of the people. Even the enemies of the Party have to accept that the administration of the Coimbatore municipality is free from corruption and it has done much good to the people.

Power Of Council

Then there is the question of powers of the council. As it stands today, the elected councils have little power; the state government has full powers to intervene in the functioning of the councils whenever it found necessary. Most of the financial sanctions depended on the attitude of the state government.

Power is concentrated in the hands of the commissioner, who is appointed by the state government. There have not been many conflicts between the elected councils and executive so far because Congress remained the power at the government level and



Kandaswamy told **NEW AGE** that the slogan is "more powers to the elected councils, executive to remain the executive organ of the decisions of the councils."

The Communist Party will be fighting the elections not only on the basis of the civic issues. The resolution of the Tamilnad unit of the Party on the municipal elections said:

"The Party takes into account that there will be reactions of the people towards recent steep up-

Concessions Granted

The government in spite of opposition, has given subsidies to the private sector in the form of big financial assistance, heavy rebate in taxation upto 35 per cent etc., and increased coal price on seven occasions since 1956. The coal price has gone up by nearly 75 per cent.

The results of the working of fifteen leading coal companies in the year 1960 show that the profit per ton was more than what government expected (Rs. 2 per ton). The total profits amounted to over 22 per cent of the capital employed and rated at over 15 per cent of the cost of production.

The Investor's Guide commented: "Over the year

FROM BHOPAL TO AHMEDABAD

Jan Sangh Shows More Audacity

Reactionary parties like the Jan Sangh can be compared to maggots which breed over putrescence. They wallow in the rotteness created by Congress misrule.

THE fact that the Jan Sangh feels sure about itself and comes out a little more openly in its annual conference this year in the advocacy of its reactionary policies is an indication of the fact that the ruling party's bunglings and failures became more glaring in the year that has gone by.

The mid-term assessment of the Third Plan, the bleak economic picture that it presents and the failures on the price-front emboldened the Jan Sangh to unveil more of its ugly face at Ahmedabad as servant of the worst type of vested interests.

The wobblings over foreign policy matters, e.g., the ill-fated VOA deal, the SHIKSHA Trojan horse or the failure to condemn the 7th Fleet intrusion, gave it the courage to formally demand for the first time in its annual conference the abandonment of nonalignment. It will be recalled that last year, at Bhopal, the Jan Sangh had, in its resolution, "disfavoured abandonment of India's policy of nonalignment." But this year it came out more openly.

For Private Sector Profit

The resolution on economic situation started with the expression of

deep concern at the state of economy and ended with the demand that "the doctrinaire distinction between public and private sectors be given up"; the private sector "should be allocated additional responsibilities" when the public sector has not been able "to discharge its share."

The resolution further championed the cause of profiteering vested interests by welcoming the Finance Minister's recent announcements "in respect of the lifting of controls on certain commodities and restrictions on the establishment of new industries" and demanding that persistent threats of nationalisation of banks and trade in food grains and other essential commodities "must be withdrawn."

Jan Sangh has already been carrying on a hectic campaign at the behest of its Indian and foreign capitalist masters against the popular demand for nationalisation of banks and state trading in food-grains.

Its conference put the seal of approval on this campaign with its economic resolution authorised by general secretary DEEN DAYAL UPADHYAYA who was freshly back from a tour of USA. The unashamed call for curtailment of the public sector and extension of the private sector brought Jan Sangh closer to the Swatantra Party with which it is

DELHI DEMONSTRATION ON JANUARY 25

THE Delhi State Council of the CPI has decided to stage a demonstration in front of the Corporation Hall on January 25, to protest against the proposed rise in bus fares and electricity rates. The transport and electricity committees of the corporation are presenting their proposals for increase on January 25.

In a statement on January 20, the council has said: "In the name of rationalisation, the bus fares are being increased once again. This is the second increase in the course of one year. If the proposal is accepted the minimum fare will increase by 100 per cent from 5 pP

to 10 pP within a span of one year only." The electricity rates were also increased in the last year's budget. Now another increase is being proposed, the statement adds.

The statement points out "The Delhi Transport Undertaking (DTU) and the Delhi Electricity Supply Undertaking (DESU) are notorious for breakdowns and inefficiency. Instead of improving these two civic services, the authorities are thinking of increasing fares and rates. This is impermissible."

The Delhi Council of the CPI has appealed to the members of the corporation to reject the proposals to increase bus fares and electricity rates.

new situation of eclipse of feudalism.

Even its lip service to land ceilings and abolition of intermediaries is being frowned upon. Jan Sangh leaders responsible for its election strategy feel that they cannot escape taking such positions; but the old RSS gurus feel that their offspring is letting itself be 'corrupted' by the politics of elections.

It is significant that at Ahmedabad, the Jan Sangh openly declared, for the first time, that India should give up nonalignment to become a camp follower of America. It demanded that "closer links" should be forged with the West "particularly the USA". A delegate's amendment that the phrase "particularly the USA" should be deleted was unceremoniously rejected.

Land Policies

On the question of the tardy Land Reform measures of the Congress, the Jan Sangh apparently took a position which was different from its blood brothers, the Swatantrites. Its resolution mentioned without disapproval that the state governments have enacted various legislative measures to abolish intermediaries and grant to the tiller permanent tenancy rights; and that ceilings on land holdings have also been fixed in a number of states. But it at once went on to declare uncompromising opposition to the proposed amendment to the Constitution.

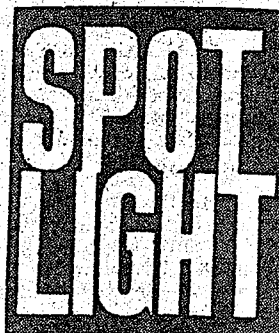
It may be mentioned here that the reported unhappiness of the old RSS leadership with certain trends inside their political offspring, the Jan Sangh, relate to the latter's wobbly stand on "Land Reforms." The RSS born and bred as servant of feudal interests, is unable to appreciate the efforts of the Jan Sangh to streamline itself in the

Foreign Policy

It is obvious that Jan Sangh leaders, whose links with USA are growing closer and closer, can no more afford to mince words.

Still more serious is the thesis propounded in the resolution that America's "own defence is involved in the defence of the South-east Asian region."

The same thesis had been put forth in the presidential address at Bhopal last year. This address had lauded America's nefarious role of reaction's gendarme in Asia and Far East. India should act as her assistant in this job. That stand has been cheekily reiterated this year in the party's resolution.



It is not surprising that the resolution suggested two new concrete steps, "recognition" of and "collaboration" with the American puppet regime in Formosa, and revision of attitude towards Israel.

It is plain as pikestaff that this party which indulges in a lot of demagogic talk about BHARATIYA glory is led by agents who will stop at nothing to make India a tail of America in Asia and the world. One may feel thankful that they came out so openly at Ahmedabad. The policy of serving Big Business at home is at one with the policy of serving neo-imperialism abroad.

It is clear that Jan Sangh, emboldened by more propitious conditions so thankfully provided by Congress, has sunk further. Moving from Bhopal to Ahmedabad, the maggots have put on more cheek.

-GARUDA

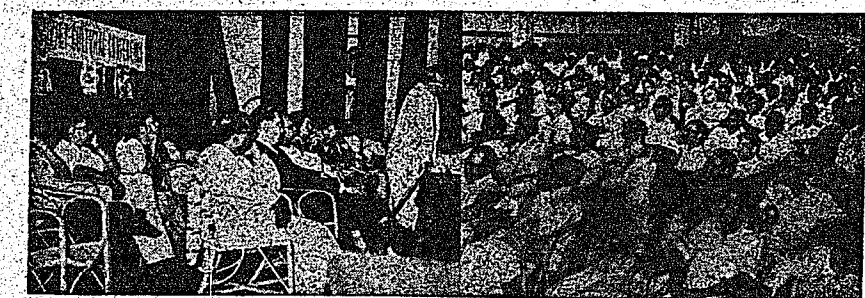
Biopsy Of Indian Press Monopoly

* From Page Five

"Information supplied by 23 big papers on the space devoted to advertisements during 1962 revealed that in some papers advertisements were making inroads into space which would normally be devoted to reading matter."

Advt. Space

The report revealed that THE TIMES OF INDIA Bombay devoted 58.5 per cent of its printed area to advertisements in 1962 (in 1961 it was only 56 per cent). THE STATESMAN Calcutta 55 per cent, THE HINDU 50 per cent, SAKAL Poona 47 per cent.



A. V. Baliga addressing Kerala ISCUS Conference at Ernakulam on January 5

All-India Demands Day

* From Page Two

unity through action in these places. In Alleppey, workers of the nationalised Water Transport Corporation went on a one-day mass hunger strike in front of the corporation's office on January 18 in support of their demands. Earlier, two AITUC leaders had begun a hungerstrike. Five hundred workers demonstrated on January 18.

The toddy tappers and the workers of the Balaramapuram textile mill are also preparing for struggles to achieve their demands.

Preparations are already afoot to hold district trade unions conventions in the coming three weeks. These district conventions will be followed by a state convention at Alwaye in the second week of February.

BOMBAY: The report of the experts committee on consumer price index in Bombay has been termed as "absolutely disappointing, extremely unsatisfactory and basically unacceptable" by prominent trade union leaders in the city.

IN a memorandum to the Labour Minister of Maharashtra, S. S. MIRAJKAR, DATTA DESHMUKH, S. G. PATKAR, YESHWANT CHAVAN and GULABRAO GANACHARYA have demanded correction, and not adjustments, of the faulty system of computing the index.

The memorandum says that the demand is made "not at all because recommendations of the experts committee made therein do not coincide with or are not anywhere near our views and expectations; we are disappointed at the very approach and the manner and method adopted by the committee."

"Whether it is called a fraud or a mistake, one thing has become very clear that the present index number is not reflecting correctly the movements in prices and the Labour Commissioner's office is solely responsible for the discrepancies," says the memorandum.

"The experts committee was set up to investigate into these discrepancies regarding which all the trade union organisations irrespective of their ideological orientations had made allegations ranging from pro-employer bias to direct collusion with employers, against the Labour Commissioner's office in this matter."



some of the glaring breaches in principle, such as repetition of prices over a long period and unwarranted and wrong substitutions. But these admissions are only a figleaf.

"The experts of the committee have totally failed to conduct an independent and detailed examination of the whole procedure

Experts Committee Report Submitted

BOMBAY TUs PROTEST AGAINST FINDINGS

* From OUR CORRESPONDENT

and practice of compiling consumer price index number in existence at present on the basis of the accepted and established principles of compilation of consumer price index series."

The trade union leaders said they disagreed with the experts committee's conclusions on both the linking factor and, on the change of specifications which have also affected the corrections effected.

The memorandum said all the trade union organisations had expressed strong opposition to the new series being given consideration at this stage. It is their demand to allow the present series, after corrections, to run for a year or so to reveal the full effects of the corrections.

The basic data of the family budget survey on which the new series of index was not made

available to trade unions, nor was it published by the government as demanded by the trade unions. The INTUC, which appears to have seen the data, has described it as highly defective.

Despite all these, the experts committee "for reasons best known to itself has rushed to make recommendation on the question of linking method and the linking factor", the memorandum said, adding: "The trade union organisations will refuse to be rushed like this into linking without a proper correction of the present index series and also without a thorough examination of the new series."

Specific allegations had been made about the "arbitrary and impermissible" changes made in specification on turdal, gram, salt, chillies, tamarind, turmeric, potatoes, charcoal, supari, sugar, mutton, raw sugar, fish etc. To support the allegation, trade unions had also submitted a comparative table to the committee which showed considerable differences with the official figures. Yet, the committee has not said anything in its report about this.

The memorandum also noted that the committee did not even mention the demand that a tripartite body be constituted to supervise the collection of prices, in its report. "In view of the existing confusion regarding specifications the constitution of such a committee is all the more urgent", the memorandum said.

Shortcomings in the readjustments made by the committee in the index number have also been pointed out in the memorandum. Controverting the claim of the committee that prices of 'patni' would also have moved in the same way as prices of other materials and the Labour Commissioner's office that its price quotations were not available because

it had gone out of use, the memorandum says: "The facts are that the price of 'patni' rose very high after February 1960 and the index compilation office stopped taking prices of 'patni' although the same were available.

On the question of varieties of cloth such as dhoties, sarees and shirting, the committee "has gullibly accepted" the statement that particular varieties had gone out of production and new varieties similar to the old ones could not be found.

It also got into difficulties of its own by seeking to correct the index at the 1960 level. It took as basis for its calculations the wholesale prices of cloth while it is well known that fluctuations in retail prices have no relation to wholesale commodity.

The memorandum, in conclusion, listed the demands of the workers thus:

★ For the time being the government should concentrate only on the correction of the present consumer price index series.

★ The government should make available to the trade unions all the basic data on which the new consumer price index series is based and thus enable the trade union organisations to give their considered views and suggestions on the new series.

★ The government should give definite instructions that the original specifications of turdal, gram, salt, chillies, tamarind, turmeric, potatoes, charcoal, supari, sugar, mutton, raw sugar, fish etc. be strictly followed in the collection of prices by the price collectors.

★ The government should direct the immediate setting up of an advisory board consisting of representatives of both the employers and the employees to supervise the collection of prices.

★ Prices of 'patni' should be taken and included in the compilation of index.

★ The government should prescribe particular varieties of dhoties, sarees and shirting which can be substitutes for the varieties of original specifications and direct that prices of these varieties should be taken for compiling the index.

★ The government should direct the adoption of the house rent index worked out by the experts committee for the time being and should arrange an immediate fresh sample survey of house rents in Greater Bombay. The committee's index for house rent may be corrected on the basis of the results of the sample survey. Government should direct a six-monthly survey of house rents and subsequent adaptation of the house rent index after every survey.

★ The government should direct that the weightage for medicine may be distributed over the miscellaneous items.

The government should assure that the question of linking of the present series with the new series will be considered after a year, during which period the present series will be worked out on the basis of the above mentioned corrections and consultations will be held after making all the basic data available regarding the new series.

INDEX FRAUD IN AHMEDABAD

* From OUR CORRESPONDENT

AHMEDABAD: With the experts-committee on the consumer price index for Ahmedabad starting its work, the workers and their organisations have been giving a closer look at the official index and the methods of its compilation.

WHAT has come to light is as startling as was the case with the Bombay index. Many are the manipulations made in the collection of prices for purpose of compiling the index that the workers are cheated out of their rightful dues in dearness allowance.

The labour bureau of the state government has flouted the directives given in the manual for price collection in many ways so that the prices of commodities are kept lower than they actually are.

The first manipulation is over the grade of a commodity. The use of inferior quality of a commodity in comparison with the base year quality results in not reflecting the exact rise in the price level.

By resorting to this method the Labour Department has compared inferior quality of a commodity with medium or superior variety considered at the base year. This has happened in the case of rice, wheat and milk.

In the month of September 1963 the milk sold at 64 pP a seer—which is the Labour Department figure—was the worst quality of milk available in Ahmedabad. Milk is supplied to the people in Ahmedabad by the Municipal Corporation at 37 pP for half a seer. Therefore, an average of at least 70 pP should have been considered while calculating the index for this item.

The second is change of unit. This is possible because of the vague specification in the family budget survey.

In the case of kerosene, the unit taken into consideration was a "small-bottle". As no exact quantity was mentioned,

the unit was not maintained while collecting the data. It has been found that while in September 1963 a small bottle of kerosene cost 15 pP, the Labour Department put it at just 12 pP.

This is an attempt to take advantage of the vagueness of the earlier family budget study. Enquiries made with the old workers would show that the "small bottle" of the old days was not so small as the labour department takes it to be and it could not have been so in view of the price charged at the base year.

Then there is freezing of the index of particular items such as clothing.

Without assigning any particular reason, the authorities of the Labour Department instructed the price investigators not to collect prices of clothing for the purpose of computing the index since 1952-53. This is not only against the basic concept of the index but has anti-social implications. In any civilized society, this would be considered as a criminal act.

Despite significant rise in the prices of clothing, the index was kept stationary for over ten years as far as expenses on clothing were concerned. It is a well-known fact that cloth prices in the country had risen to such a level in 1960 that the government spokesmen had to threaten serious actions.

The prices of textile goods have gone up still higher in recent years. Therefore, the extent of the inaccuracy in the clothing index can be imagined.

And finally there is the static house rent.

find out the position of house rent in Ahmedabad. The committee pointed out that between 1926 and 1930 the house rent had increased by 7 per cent. The index on house rent was thereafter raised to 107.

However this index has remained pegged at 107 till today while during the last 30 years, the house rents have gone up by over three times. Particularly after Ahmedabad was made the capital of Gujarat, the rates of house rent have skyrocketed.

Independent Investigations

AITUC unions in Ahmedabad made independent investigations about the actual prices and costs of commodities and services and an attempt was made to calculate the extent of inaccuracies in the official index. This survey showed that the most glaring differences were in the matter of clothing prices and house rent.

For a pair of dhoties the official index showed the price as Rs. 7.81, while the actual price in the market was Rs. 14.00; for shirting Rs. 1.02 a yard instead of the actual Rs. 2.34; for a saree Rs. 7.36 instead of Rs. 11.46, and so on.

The house rent is calculated at Rs. 4.94 in the official index, while the trade union survey showed that it should be at least Rs. 15. This is the minimum which a worker has to pay for any kind of accommodation in the city. Actually the workers are paying more than Rs. 15 as house rent.

There were differences in the case of food articles also, the official index showing the price of wheat at 89 pP while the actual price was 97 pP, and for wheat 51 pP instead of 65 pP.

The comparative table of the trade unions and the official

Resolutions Of The Central Executive Committee

ON THE BHUBANESWAR SESSION OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India, which concluded its six-day session on January 17, adopted the following resolution on the Bhubaneswar Session of the Congress.

THE Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India has briefly considered the work of the eventful Bhubaneswar session of the Indian National Congress which was marked by a debate on the definition of "democracy and socialism" and more concretely on the building of economic policies and social objectives.

This Congress session highlighted the rising Left trends within the Congress. The session was preceded by discussions on such concrete questions as nationalisation of banking, state-trading, abolition of privy purses, in different Congress organisations, including several PCCs. Even resolutions were adopted in support of these demands.

The significance of the Bhubaneswar session lies in the fact that it took place in the background of sharpening contradictions in our society, as well as of the intense conflict between the declared objectives of the ruling party on the one hand and the policies and methods of the government under its control on the other. It took place in the context of the crisis of the Third Five Year Plan which has caused serious rethinking on the part of many people, including Congressmen, who are now groping for real solutions to the problems.

Its significance also lies in the fact that this session, more than any other, brought to the forefront these contradictions and conflicts. The Left forces within the Congress came out sharply not only in criticising monopolists and the vested interests, but in pressing forward certain concrete urgent demands in the interests of the people and country. All this reflected the growing democratic urges among the masses, including the Congress, never in recent history has the Left in the Congress been so forceful and articulate as it was at Bhubaneswar.

The Central Executive Committee naturally welcomes the growing sentiments for socialism on the part of the people, including the members of the ruling party. This is yet another evidence of the tremendous force of attraction of the ideas of socialism and points to the great possibilities for drawing the masses into the struggle for democracy and socialism based on the only correct definition provided by Marxism-Leninism.

Since the Congress has raised the debate on socialism, the Central Executive Committee considers it necessary to once again state that so-

cialism has long since been defined by the founders of scientific socialism, Marx, Engels and Lenin. The teachings of these great revolutionary thinkers have also been tested in life and have in fact, triumphed in one-third of the world, embracing over 1000 million people.

The historical experience of worldwide struggle for socialism irrefutably proves that for the transformation from a capitalist society into a socialist one, the state power must pass into the hands of the working people and there must come into existence a popular proletarian statehood.

In socialism, the means of production, distribution and exchange are under social ownership and exploitation of man by man is ended once and for all.

Socialism is achieved through the revolutionary direction and intensification of class struggles on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. Class struggles are an objective law of social development. Class struggles cannot be wished away.

Those who want to achieve socialism without class struggle are either indulging in a utopia of they deliberately want to disarm the working people ideologically. Hence the Central Executive Committee fundamentally disagrees with the new Congress President Shri Kamaraj when he calls upon the people to achieve socialism without class struggle.

In India today, the class struggles of workers, peasants and other sections of the working people against the exploiting classes are sharpening every day. The future of the Indian people lies not in renunciation of struggle but on their development in the spirit of scientific socialism. The Communist Party of India will, of course, seek to develop such struggles through peaceful and democratic means.

Since one of the main points in the current debate touches on the approach and methods and the Congress President Shri Kamaraj and other Congress leaders have emphasised in this connection parliamentary democracy, the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India would like to point out that the Preamble of the Constitution of the Communist Party of India lays down:

"The Communist Party of India strives to achieve full democracy and socialism by peaceful means. It considers that by developing a powerful mass movement, by winning a majority in Par-

liament and by backing it with mass sanctions, the working class and its allies can overcome the resistance of the forces of reaction and ensure that Parliament becomes an instrument of people's will for effecting fundamental changes in the economic, social and state structure.

"In co-operation with all forces working for socialism in the country, the Communist Party shall strive to build a socialist society which ensures rapid advance in all spheres and also guarantees the widest possible extension of individual liberty, freedom of speech, press, association, and the right of political organisation, to all, including those in opposition to the government, as long as they abide by the Constitution of the country. Socialism alone, by abolishing the exploitation of man by man, can create conditions for the full flowering of human personality."

It will be seen that the controversy between the Congress and the Communists is, therefore, not whether socialism is to be achieved through peaceful means and based on Parliamentary democracy. The controversy relates to other fundamental questions.

In this connection, the Communist Party would once again emphasise that mere adherence to Parliamentary democracy is not enough to safeguard democracy in practice for the common citizen. When the citizens can be arrested and put in prison without trial, when poor workers and peasants can be arrested and belaboured to death in police lock-ups, when the students struggling to get cheaper education can be attacked by the lawless ferocity of the police, the mere protestations and phrases of parliamentary democracy are not going to make the existing bureaucratic system, which is a very negation of democracy, a truly Parliamentary Democracy.

Not mere formal elections and debates in the legislatures can secure democracy to the toiling millions. The establishment of full-fledged exercise of rights of workers in the factories and the toiling peasantry in the villages can be the beginning of real democracy summed up at the top by the Parliament.

The Congress session declared the establishment of "a socialist state based on parliamentary democracy" as the organisation's goal. Such socialist declarations on the part of the Congress are, however, nothing new. Nine years ago, at its Avadi session the Congress pledged itself to the establishment of a "socialist pattern of society". Two years later in 1957, the objective

was defined as "socialist co-operative commonwealth". But with all these declarations, what however really went on is the building of capitalism and the increasing concentration of wealth and economic power in the hands of a few multi-millionaire families.

It would not perhaps be out of place to mention in this connection the fact that despite all the declarations of Congress leaders about socialism, the Congress government has not taken the necessary effective steps to curb

Communists will participate in this debate and will always be ready to exchange views with all those who stand for the cause of socialism. They are confident that all genuine socialists will ultimately come to accept the ideas of scientific socialism.

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India considers it necessary to make a general appraisal of the Bhubaneswar Congress from the point of view of the immediate practical tasks facing all democratic and patriotic forces.

In the opinion of the Committee, the Bhubaneswar session does not signify a shift to the Left, notwithstanding certain welcome sentiments expressed in its main resolution on "Democracy and Socialism".

ON SEVENTH CONGRESS OF C.P.I.

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India at its meeting in New Delhi on January 17 adopted the following resolution on the Seventh Party Congress.

THE Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India resolves to recommend to the National Council that the Seventh Congress of the Party be held in October, 1964.

According to the provisions of the Party Constitution, Party Congresses should normally be held once in two years. Hence, a Congress was due in the year 1963. This, however, could not be held because of the serious political situation that developed in the country following the Chinese aggression and the arrest of a large section of leading Party members. The National Council considered this and adopted a resolution postponing the Congress to 1964.

National and international developments of great importance have taken place since Vijayawada. These have to be properly assessed and the Party unified on the basis of a common political understanding. Besides, serious organisational problems are facing the Party today.

As a matter of fact, the Congress High Command has virtually rejected all important proposals for immediate concrete actions such as nationalisation of banks, which dominated the speeches of the overwhelming majority of the delegates, including some prominent Congressmen.

The entire operative portion of the resolution has been left hazy and without any clear lead for concrete measures against the vested interests such as foreign and Indian monopolies, profiteers and speculators, or for the well-being of the working people.

It is no wonder that the resolution should have disappointed many delegates who had looked forward to the

Bhubaneswar session for such positive mandates in the interest of the masses.

It is evident that left to the Congress High Command and the government, these declarations are going to remain on paper, instead of being matched by any radical reorientation in policies so that the gap between the promise and the performance is eliminated. The process of building capitalism will go on under the new declarations about socialism and ideologically and politically there will continue, as ever, the efforts on the part of the ruling class to sow illusions among the masses and keep them away from struggles.

Having been put on the defensive in the debate, the Rightist leaders resorted to manoeuvres. At least one of them, known for his rabid

announced the concessions to monopolists and other vested interests. It expressed discontent with the present land reforms.

The Left and progressive-minded delegates variously confronted the leadership with a number of demands for a fair deal to the masses and for their wellbeing. The voice of the Left found an enthusiastic support among the delegates.

The High Command was put on the defensive in the debate. Nevertheless, the latter was still in a position to draw on the traditional loyalties of the common run of delegates and reject the demands of the Congress Left.

The Bhubaneswar session emphasises the need for far greater strengthening and consolidation of the Left and the democratic forces

nist movement and the stand of the CPI.

● Draft resolution on political developments since Vijayawada.

● Draft Programme.

● A draft resolution on inner-Party unity shall also be prepared for the Party Congress.

DRAFTING COMMISSION

These documents shall be drafted and prepared by a Drafting Commission composed of the Chairman of the Party Comrade S. A. Dange, members of the Central Secretariat, namely Comrades Bhupesh Gupta, M. N. Govindan Nair, Dr. Z. A. Ahmad, P. C. Joshi, Yogindra Sharma, and Romesh Chandra plus Comrades E. M. S. Namboodiripad, Jyoti Basu, P. Ramamurti, S. G. Sardesai, M. Basavapunniah and Bhowani Sen.

MEMBERSHIP BASIS

● 1962 membership shall be the basis of representation to the Party conferences at all levels and to the Party Congress; The enrolment of the membership for the year 1962 ended on June 30, 1963.

reactionary views even came forward as a cosponsor of the resolution on socialism. They seem confident that they can sabotage as before the progressive declaration of the Congress when it comes to implementation.

The most reassuring feature of the Bhubaneswar Congress is to be noted in the fact that the Left in the Congress attacked Right reaction, made forthright criticisms of the leadership and put forward an alternative platform far in advance of the official draft-resolution.

It demanded the elimination of the monopolies, urged for nationalisation of certain industries, notably banks. It also forcefully demanded state-trading in grains. It de-

Every Party member who was in jail during the period of renewal of membership for the year 1962 would be deemed to have renewed membership after he pays up his membership due to the appropriate committee.

● In the case of disputes regarding payment of dues of enrolled membership to the committees concerned, the CEC would set up a mechanism to examine and settle such disputes.

● In the case of any objection to the enrolment or renewal of the membership of any specified person, the state council will set up an adequate machine to examine this objection and settle the issue.

● In the case of such local committees where, due to largescale arrest of the office-bearers of these committees, the membership campaign could not be pursued, the question of renewal of old membership which has been left out of the Party rolls, shall be referred to the Central Secretariat which shall examine the facts and take the necessary decision in each case on its merit.

within the Congress before they can make their demands irresistible.

The platform of the Left was not without certain serious shortcomings. In the Congress Party all sections speak in support of land reforms and protection of the interests of the peasants. But those who are in government do not put the basic land reforms into practice through proper legislations.

On the contrary, if anywhere an attempt is made to bring about such reform as was sought to be done in Kerala by the Communist-led ministry by the enactment of the Agrarian Relations Bill,

ON WEST BENGAL STATE COUNCIL

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India which concluded its six-day meeting on January 17 adopted the following resolution:

THE National Council of the Communist Party of India decided through a special resolution adopted at its meeting on February 12, 1963 to "take over and administer the work of the West Bengal Party" and appointed a State Organising Committee "to assist the Central Secretariat in the above task" and "to function as the Party Centre in West Bengal."

The resolution stated: "In view of the fact that a large majority of the members of the state council of West Bengal have been arrested or have found themselves unable to discharge their functions in executing the policies of the National Council for various reasons in the conditions prevailing in Bengal, and in view of the consequent disorganised state of the Party there, which seriously hampers the implementation of the resolution and directives of the National Council, it has become necessary to take immediate measures of an emergent nature to enable the Party in West Bengal to discharge its political and organisational tasks."

In the same session, the National Council adopted another resolution which regretted that— "there are Party members who have taken an attitude of non-cooperation with and obstruction of the work of the provincial secretariat and opposition to carry out the directions of the National Council."

Some have gone as far as organising rowdism in Party meetings, the most extreme and vulgar manifestation of which was demonstrated in the general body meetings addressed by the Chairman and the General Secretary in the Muslim Institute Hall in Calcutta on the 20th and in the Calcutta DC office on 21st July, 1963. All this indicates a serious breakdown of all norms of Party discipline and accepted principles of Party organisation."

Thereafter, the National Council, at its meeting in June-July 1963 adopted a resolution on "Unity in West Bengal Party" in the course of which it said:

"The National Council finds, on the basis of the reports before it, that certain Party members in their opposition to the POC have gone to the extent of organising a rival Party Centre which, in its circular dated March 9, 1963, issued under the name of PCZ Centre, has called for open defiance of the National Council, and has called upon Party Committees and members to obey the PCZ Centre, and not the POC or the National Council."

The Council further stated that "the PCZ Centre is nothing but a body set up to split the Party, establish an alternative political line and organisation in opposition to the West Bengal Party to begin with."

The resolution called upon all units of the Party to "dis-

sociate from and disapprove of the PCZ circular and all that it implies."

In pursuance of this resolution, the Central Secretariat addressed a letter dated July 25, 1963 to all Party units and Party members in West Bengal, in which it stated:

"It is unfortunate that even after February National Council meeting, some of those who were defying the National Council and violating Party forms seem to persist in their disruptive activities. Rather they have gone a step further. They are trying to organise a rival Party and issuing circulars..."

Despite all these efforts for unity and restoring Party norms in West Bengal, the National Council noted in its meeting in October 1963 that—

"Many of the DCs in West Bengal, as also a majority of the members of the State Council who are out of jail, have neither denounced the PCZ circular nor the behaviour of the rowdies who insulted the woman Party member. Not merely this. The National Council further cannot fail to take note of the fact that a number of prominent members of the Party took part in organising the so-called Democratic Convention, which the CEC had correctly characterised as an attempt to set up a rival Centre for organising mass movements independently of the Party."

Nevertheless, the National Council assured "all Party members in West Bengal" that it has not the remotest desire to perpetuate the existing ad hoc arrangement or to prevent them from having a State Committee of their own choice."

It added: "Considering the fact that the arrested members of the State Council are still

ON RELEASE OF DETENUS

THE Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India notes with resentful indignation that a good number of Communists and other workers of the democratic movement are still in detention without trial under the DIR mostly in Tripura, Assam, Maharashtra, West Bengal and U. P.

These detenus who include two members of the Central Executive Committee, three Members of Parliament and several MLAs have already spent more than a year in prison.

It is amazing, when the overwhelming majority of the detenus have been released and there are no such detenus in a majority of the states, these com-

in jail and it is necessary for the National Council to be assured of the execution of its policies in West Bengal, the National Council defers the question of restoration of the State Council until the arrested leaders are released and authorises the Central Executive Committee to take steps to restore the State Council immediately thereafter."

Now, after the release of the overwhelming majority of the State Council members, the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India decides to depose two members of the Central Secretariat, namely Comrades Bhupesh Gupta and M. N. Govindan Nair to take steps to convene, in consultation with the CEC members from West Bengal, a meeting of all the members of the State Council who have been released and are available and thus proceed to restore the State Council to its normal functions.

In view of all that has happened in the recent past and in order to bring about a better situation for Party work and the mass movements led by the Party and for promoting party unity in West Bengal, the Central Executive Committee calls upon the State Council meeting to take concrete steps to ensure the implementation of the National Council resolutions in West Bengal and the ending of such activities as flout the authority of the National Council and to denounce the PCZ circular and the Democratic Convention.

The Central Executive Committee resolves that the State Council, after its restoration, shall be vested with all powers as guaranteed by the Party Constitution and the National Council shall be divested of the special responsibilities that it had undertaken last February in regard to the Party affairs in West Bengal.

The State Council, however, shall not revise such disciplinary measures as have been formally sanctioned by the Party Centre in this period without the prior approval of the Party Centre.

rades of ours should continue to be held in prison in a totally unjustified manner.

It appears the governments of the states concerned are guided by narrow political vindictiveness. It is regrettable that the central government have failed to compel the state governments to release these detenus when everybody knows that it was at the instance of the Central government that the arrests took place.

The Central Executive Committee protests against the attitude of the authorities and urges upon them to release all these detenus immediately.

It appeals to the people to raise their voice against the attitude of the government which is nothing but an affront to our public life.

People of Iraq Urge World Opinion to Act

★ By Dr. RAHIM AJEENA

DR. RAHIM AJEENA is the general secretary of the Iraqi Youth Federation and a member of the High Committee for the Defence of the Iraqi People. He stopped over for a few days in New Delhi on his way to Jakarta. Before coming to India, he visited Kenya and several other countries. On his way back from Indonesia, he would visit Ceylon. The article below is a graphic description of the crimes that have been and are even now committed by the militarist regime in Iraq.

Iraq never had a genuine democratic life and she suffered from various types of suppression and persecution. But never before were there such a terror and appalling atrocities as were perpetrated by the Baathists and their successors following the coups of February 8 and November 18, 1963.

IMMEDIATELY after the coup, the whole country was subjected to a brutal terror effected by the green arm-banded nationalist guards under the direct control of the Baathists; president AREF and other officers. The guards were given a free hand in killing the Communists and other democratic-minded persons—in short, all those who voiced opposition against the new regime.

The military government issued the infamous decree No. 13 which called upon the guards to "wipe out every subversive element". For 24 hours the Radio Baghdad went on transmitting this decree. As a consequence, an unbelievable rule of terror was brought about.

The leaders and members of the opposition parties were arrested, particularly of the National Progressive Party, the National Democratic Party, the Republican Party and the Communist Party. The leaders and members of democratic mass organisations were also arrested in thousands including students, youth, women, peasants and trade unionists.

Murders And Detentions

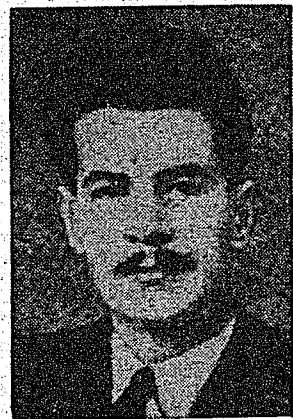
The number of actual murders committed is not known but the newspaper reports estimate the death toll at 12,000 for the first few months of terror rule. The number of political detainees is estimated to be 120,000 including 3,000 women and young girls. Schools, sports clubs, houses, cinema halls etc., were taken over by the nationalist guards and turned into concentration camps, where detainees were brutally tortured and murdered.

Peace fighter TAWRIK MUNIR, deputy general secretary of the Iraqi peace movement and a member of the World Peace Council was murdered. MOHAMMAD HABIB, president of the National Progressive Party and president of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee was physically decapitated.

Dr. ROSE KHADOURY, who visited New Delhi in 1961 to attend the World Peace Council Bureau meeting and who is a secretary of the Iraqi Women League and the Dean in Baghdad University, was arrested and her face was horribly mutilated.

Dr. ABDUL JABBAR ABDULLAH, Rector of Baghdad University was put in solidarity confinement and maltreated. MATTI ALSEKH, a treasurer of the Teachers Union, was shot in front of his colleague in prison.

Student leader FAISAL HAJAJ was tortured and killed, and leaders of the women movement like SAFIRA JAMIL HAFEZ, ZAKIA SHAKIR, LAILA RUMI,



Salam Adil

MARY KARAWAI were subjected to horrifying repression. Tens of young girls and mothers were brutally tortured, beaten and raped. Teeth and nails were pulled out. Many members of the Communist Party including general secretary SALAM ADIL, and a number of youth leaders were tortured to death. Some of them were run over by steam rollers.

Racist War

Four months after the coup the government started its racist war against the Kurdish people living in Iraqi Kurdistan. From February 8 to June 10, 1963 the rulers worked hard to gain time, to consolidate their regime, to liquidate the democratic forces in the centre and the south, and to reorganise their armed forces. Therefore they tried to mislead the public opinion—local and international. They claimed that they recognised the national rights of the Kurds. Actually they never recognised their existence as a national entity. The Kurdish people's demand was, and is, autonomy to the Iraqi Kurdistan within the Republic.

The rulers outwardly showed interest in negotiation to solve the problem peacefully. This was mere deception. Exploiting the good intention of the leaders of the Kurdish uprising, on June 10, 1963, government declared an open war against the Kurds. The troops marched to the north. Planes raided the area with napalms. Villages and farms were completely wiped out. Thousands of old men, women and children were physically eliminated. Here again the tortures and murders were perpetrated. Villages were erased with tanks and armoured cars. About 100,000 Kurdish people mainly old men, women and children had to run away into Turkey as refugees.

Suppressive Laws

Suppressive laws and orders were enforced by the new regime and people were ordered to report to the military governor's office or send by post all the names of the known Communists and other suspects. No citizen was allowed to let a house, room or an office without the permission of the government. Estate and house owners were ordered to send to the military governor's office the

names of the residents since February 8, 1963. No movement from town to town was allowed without special permission.

All political parties were disbanded except the Baathists. A strange slogan was introduced by the government in Iraq that there is no freedom without a nationalist guard. This meant that the freedom is meant for the extreme nationalists headed by the Baathists; it meant also persecution, torture, and imprisonment to the democrats and Communists. Such treatment was extended to other political groups and affected certain nationalist elements, the Baathists' allies in the February 8 coup.

The military governor kept himself busy with issuing frequent communiques of execution of patriots. In less than 45 days about 200 patriots were announced to have been executed officially. The fact was that these citizens were tortured to death by the most brutal methods.

The murdered patriots were known to the public. It was difficult to keep silent about their fate. The government had to lie. They announced that their trials were held, sentences of death passed and accordingly they were executed. But no body knows who the members of the court were, when and where the patriots were tried. And no body can know because there was never a trial.

The press was entirely suppressed. Only government papers were allowed to be published. The simplest human rights were liquidated. No freedom of expression; of assembly, of demonstrations, of organisation—nothing of these could exist. All mass organisations were officially banned by special laws and orders.

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The rulers outwardly showed interest in negotiation to solve the problem peacefully. This was mere deception. Exploiting the good intention of the leaders of the Kurdish uprising, on June 10, 1963, government declared an open war against the Kurds.

The troops marched to the north. Planes raided the area with napalms. Villages and farms were completely wiped out. Thousands of old men, women and children were physically eliminated. Here again the tortures and murders were perpetrated. Villages were erased with tanks and armoured cars. About 100,000 Kurdish people mainly old men, women and children had to run away into Turkey as refugees.

Internationally Iraqi rulers were condemned. World figures came out boldly against the regime and expressed their solidarity

with the Iraqi people—Arabs and Kurds. LORD RUSSEL condemned the government and those who rendered help to them. JEAN PAUL SARTRE described them as a gang of fascists. SHOLOKHOV protested very strongly against the crimes of the Iraqi government.

The Movement for Colonial Freedom in Britain very openly denounced them. International organisations such as World Peace Council, journalists organisations, IUS, WEDY, WFU, Women's Democratic Federation, Democratic Jurists etc., joined the worldwide condemnation of these heinous crimes.

It was clear that the Iraqi government were committing unpardonable crimes. They were flagrantly violating the United Nations Human Rights Charter. Politicians and journalists who visited Iraq were shocked. The delegations of the British House of Commons on returning back spoke of the crimes.

November 18 Coup

On November 18, 1963 another coup took place under the leadership of Aref. It took place after the Baathist factions started shedding blood, killing each other in the streets of Baghdad in their struggle for power. The new rulers condemned their predecessors.

They dissolved the nationalist guards accusing them of the crimes they had committed against the people in the past. They uncovered more crimes besides confirming what had been revealed and made public by our Committee. They have described the Baathists and the nationalist guards as fascists and criminals. They have spoken of the torture cells and the raping of girls and mothers.

Who was responsible for these actions? The partners of the Baathists say they are not responsible. The Persian Chief of Staff is the present Prime Minister. The military governor is the minister of interim military government. The Persian commander of the air force is the present Minister of Defence. Many in the present government were ministers in the past regime too. Can they deny their crimes?

★ create and mobilise public opinion to urge the Iraqi government to release all political prisoners and detainees.

★ create and mobilise public opinion to press the Iraqi government to immediately stop the racial war against the Kurdish people and grant them autonomy within the Iraqi Republic;

★ create and mobilise public opinion to express solidarity with the Iraqi people's struggle for democratic liberties, the end of the military dictatorship and martial law;

★ help the Iraqi people by mobilising public opinion in other ways, in their struggle for a peace-loving, independent and democratic republic.



Dr. Rahim Ajeena

People are yet being persecuted and tortured. Tens and thousands of patriots are being still court-martialed. A few weeks ago, 27 women teachers were sentenced to five and half years of imprisonment. Many other patriots were sentenced recently from five to fifteen years of imprisonment. Hundreds of people were recently arrested for having been "illegally" distributed leaflets. This has been revealed by the Minister for Internal Affairs. This is being done deliberately without taking any pains to reveal the real criminals who are known to the present rulers.

The rulers have absolutely no intention to restore normalcy in the country. On the other hand they have declared that no political parties will be allowed to function. This is the situation in Iraq today. How can the Iraqi people be helped? We therefore appeal to all democratic people to:

★ create and mobilise public opinion to urge the Iraqi government to release all political prisoners and detainees.

★ create and mobilise public opinion to press the Iraqi government to immediately stop the racial war against the Kurdish people and grant them autonomy within the Iraqi Republic;

★ create and mobilise public opinion to express solidarity with the Iraqi people's struggle for democratic liberties, the end of the military dictatorship and martial law;

★ help the Iraqi people by mobilising public opinion in other ways, in their struggle for a peace-loving, independent and democratic republic.

The notorious espionage machinery and organisation for carrying out subversive activities for the United States of America—the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), has pulled another fast one this time as its New Year achievement.

THE CIA has submitted a thesis to its bosses about serious crisis in the economy of the Soviet Union. And contrary to all previous practices about secrecy of the CIA reports, this particular report was put out in a big way.

On January 8, a group of 20 newsmen was escorted to the CIA headquarters in Langley, Virginia. They were not allowed to look into any rooms or talk with any of the CIA staff members they met. According to UPI, they were escorted by special people even to the lavatories.

After the newsmen were herded together, one of the CIA men read out to them the "results of the investigations" into the state of Soviet economy.

Now let us see what are the "facts" revealed in the CIA report.

1 The CIA alleges that the Soviet Union's economic growth in the last two years averaged only 2.5 per cent per annum, while the US economic growth rate was 3.7 per cent in 1963.

2 The CIA asserts that in the Soviet Union there is a serious slow down in the rates of growth of capital investments and that the total capital investments in 1962 and 1963 have increased only by four per cent.

3 To substantiate its claim, the CIA refers to the difficulties faced by the Soviet agriculture last year.

Doubts In USA

The fact of the disclosure of the CIA report, apart from the "startling data" it reveals about the economy of the

Soviet Union, has made the report to be received with a pinch of salt in the USA itself.

The NEWSWEEK has said that the report "...provoked immediate speculation that the agency was trying to 'offset' some of the unfavourable publicity its 'black' operations has earned at the Bay of Pigs (Cuba) and in Vietnam. This speculation was reinforced by the emphasis which the agency spokesman put on the fact that such analytical tasks as determining how fast the Russian economy was growing were as much a part of CIA's job as espionage."

In its Europe-Mideast Business Review on January 16, 1964, the NEW YORK TIMES admitted that the growth of Soviet economy was "making stubborn progress in industry and battling the vagaries of nature and disorganisation in agriculture." THE NEW YORK TIMES, in a reference to the CIA report added: "Experts differed, however, on whether the CIA was using the same yardstick as other specialists in the field."

THE NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE noted that "this clumsy manoeuvre was needed" by the CIA to improve its image.

In this age of news juggling one cannot believe that the CIA actions are quite objective the CHICAGO TRIBUNE writes. Many experts, the newspaper stresses, publicly questioned the CIA figures while one of them described them as fantastic. In the newspaper's opinion these figures smell rather suspicious.

The DETROIT NEWS has demanded public acknowledgement from the US government that the publication of

C.I.A. CANARD ABOUT SOVIET ECONOMY

★ By SADHAN MUKHERJEE

The CIA report had been a mistake.

It is therefore clear that even in the USA, quite a lot of discount is being given to this CIA tomfoolery. Its 'intelligence' is now well known to be treated as dud.

Nevertheless, one can analyse the amount of 'truth' this particular report contains, apart from the political intentions which must have guided the CIA to make this report; and the flourish with which the US government made it public.

Dollar Crisis

It is worthwhile to note that the US economy itself is in difficult situation today and a news agency report states that the International Monetary Fund has recently concluded an agreement under which the USA could draw \$500 million in various foreign currencies.

Why should the country of Rockefeller do such a thing as taking loans?

The answer is obvious: The US dollar is no longer that rock of stability as it was few years ago. The dollar is in crisis. About 70 per cent of the gold reserve of the capitalist world used to be stored at Fort Knox as a guarantee of the US dollar bill. This gold reserve has today dwindled to only 40 per cent plaguing the US balance of payments. The total balance of payments from 1950 till 1963 for the USA today add up to the

staggering figure of \$26,000 million. (Source: I. MOSIN)

And what is the truth about Soviet economy?

1 The gross social product of the USSR in 1962 increased by 6 per cent, and in 1963, despite certain unfavourable climate conditions for agriculture, it increased by about 5 per cent. This is more than the US rate of growth.

2 The capital investments in the USSR increased in the two years under reference by about 15 per cent.

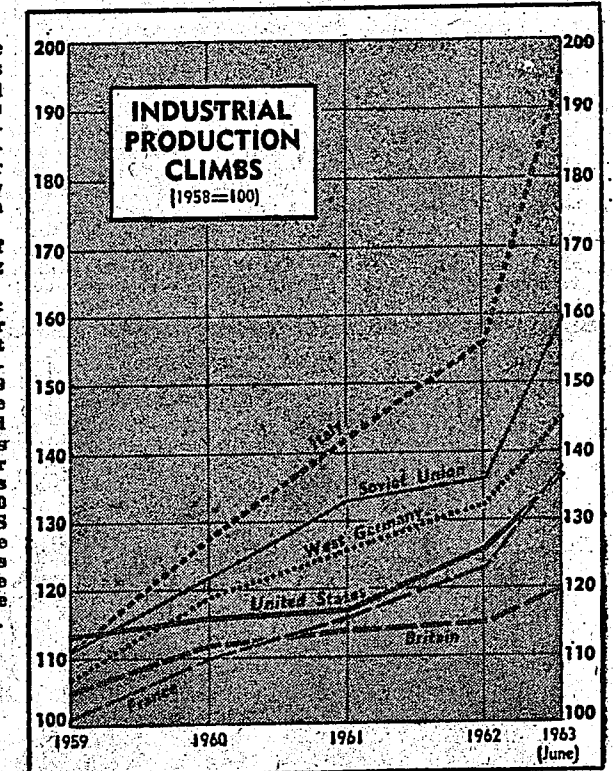
3 The grain harvest of 1963 in the USSR was less than 1962 due to a crop failure.

several countries including the USSR and the USA. In 1961, the US industrial growth was only 1 per cent, in 1962 about 7 per cent and in 1963 only 5 per cent.

But why has the CIA articulated this canard about Soviet economy?

One reason for publication of the CIA report is, as the NEW YORK TIMES has pointed out, that it was brought out to bolster the US campaign in NATO to limit the term of credits granted to the Soviet Union by West European countries.

And another explanation



(SOURCE: UNITED NATIONS). The chart prepared by the United Nations on the basis of its own data shows that the rate of Soviet industrial production is faster than the USA. The index of industrial production of the USSR has moved up from 136 in 1962 to 159 in June 1963 i.e., about 17 per cent, while that of the USA has advanced only from 126 to 137 i.e., about 9 per cent during the same period. In fact, the rates of industrial growth of three countries—Italy, Soviet Union and West Germany—are faster than the USA.

But other agricultural products like cotton, vegetables, fruit, potatoes etc., were much more compared to 1962 production. The CIA survey does not mention anything about this.

Industrial Growth

Moreover, in the CIA report there is no mention about the rate of growth of the Soviet industry. During 1962 and 1963, the volume of industrial production in the USSR grew by 19 per cent.

(Facts about Soviet economy used in this write-up have been taken from a study made by Lev Volodarsky, assistant chief of the Central Statistical Board of the USSR.)

The map printed alongside, taken from the NEW YORK TIMES, shows the comparable rates of industrial growth of

that has come from responsible quarters is that the USA wants to increase its influence in the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Unless it convinces these countries about "fallures" of Soviet economic programmes, the growing tide of Soviet prestige and the glory of socialism cannot be obliterated in these countries.

The 20-year programme of the CPSU, new economic measures under the Seven Year Plans, the rapid industrial progress of the Soviet Union etc., have already made tremendous impression in the minds of the leaders of newly-liberated and struggling countries. The USA could not think of a better method of dimming the image of the Soviet economy, except by throwing slime on it. But the reactions to the CIA report have already indicated that it was a futile attempt.

THIS IS WHAT C.I.A. HAS DONE

★ By VICTOR MAYEVSKI

It is customarily claimed that the CIA is the USA's Central Intelligence Agency. From the formal point of view that is quite right.

At any rate in 1947 an institution by that name was founded in Washington. The newspapers said it saw the light of day as the "child of a catastrophe," a reminder of the Pearl Harbour debacle that had overtaken the US secret service.

However, ALLEN DULLES, erstwhile CIA chief, believed his department of somewhat earlier origin. In his book "The Art of Intelligence", which he bestowed on humanity upon retirement, he claims that the CIA's birth is rooted in legend.



Handiwork of CIA

*ON PAGE 19

● From Centre Pages

this is not allowed to be done. The Kerala Agrarian Relations Bill was changed for the worse by the Congress government and put on the Statute Book on the very eve of Bhubaneswar session.

The Left sections of the Congress, who are dissatisfied with the progress of the land reforms bill and do seriously desire proper land reforms to be carried out, do not, however, still see the fact that for effecting the implementation of their own proposals on land reforms, joint struggles of all democratic forces relying on the peasant masses are necessary.

Without such struggles, Left criticism will remain a mere expression of good intentions without any positive results.

There was practically no mention of the danger of fresh penetration of foreign private capital which the government is still encouraging.

The Left platform contained another serious shortcoming in that it showed no clear awareness of the demands and the struggles of the working class which constitute a powerful blow against the monopolies which were so vehemently criticised at

Bhubaneswar. All democratic and Left forces inside the Congress and outside must support the struggle of the working class.

Even though the Congress did not succeed at Bhubaneswar in getting its demands accepted, the impact it had made on the Congress organisation as a whole and indeed on our public life cannot be denied. It asserted its independent identity even as it underlined the growing differentiation which is taking place within the country's ruling party today.

That has brought confidence to the masses and opened new vistas for broad-based popular struggles against Right reaction and anti-people policies of the government, for defence of the vital interests of the masses and finally, for a shift to the Left in the economic and political life of the country.

Practical possibilities for such united struggles by democratic forces within and outside the Congress, now exist on a wider range of economic and other domestic issues. Much will depend on how in the coming months the democratic forces within the Congress and outside it

ON BHUBANESWAR SESSION OF THE CONGRESS

are united in common actions in unfolding such struggles.

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India calls the attention of the country to the fact that, while the Congressmen and masses are demanding effective measures against monopolies, the Finance Minister of the Government of India is openly advocating a further "open door" policy for foreign private capital, which is instrument of neo-colonialism in the hands of imperialists.

He is also at pains to justify the concentration of wealth and economic power under the pretext of increasing production although the truth is that, despite all the pampering of the monopolists by the government, they have failed to fulfil the Plan targets in a whole number of vital industries.

These monopolists who carry on their robbery through denial of a fair deal to the workers and through dic-

tated high prices, are again the patrons of all reactionary forces in our national life.

Hence, it is not enough to merely denounce monopolies. Their powers must be curbed here and now, through immediate nationalisation of banks, oil, foreign trade and state trading in foodgrains and other economic measures.

Also prices must be brought down and the wealthy must be made to bear their due share of economic burdens for the Plan and the budgets, instead of the common man being fleeced.

The failure of the government to reorganise agrarian relations through radical land reforms and assure economic prices for agricultural produce and cheap credit to the poor sections of the peasantry on the plea of their not being credit-worthy has not only condemned our peasant masses to abysmal poverty and backwardness and our agriculture to semi-stagnancy, but also saddled the country with chronic food shortages. Even for her food, India has to rely on American doles.

The united struggle for radical agrarian reforms assumes the utmost urgency not only for the downtrodden peasant masses but for the nation as a whole.

India's working class is already on the move and valiantly defending its interests and of the nation through campaigns and struggles for bonus, dearness allowance and nationalisation. These struggles constitute a powerful blow to monopolies and they strengthen the country's democratic movement as a whole.

To rally to the support of these struggles is the bounden duty of all those who stand for democracy, progress and social justice.

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India calls upon all democratic and patriotic forces to vigorously develop united actions and struggles against Right reaction and for a progressive orientation of government policies affecting the interests of the masses and the country.

The Committee hopes that the growing opportunities will be fully used in order to unite all democratic forces in Parliament and state legislatures and, above all, in broad united, mass movements outside to make these pressing demands irresistible. The unity of all those who stand for democracy and progress is the crying need of the hour.

In order to disrupt and divide democratic and patriotic forces, reaction uses anti-communism and its ideological weapon. To build up the unity of all democratic forces and then to struggle against reaction in our political and economic life, anti-communism must be rebuffed.

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India, highly appraise the rising forces of the Left in the Indian National Congress as has been witnessed at Bhubaneswar and look forward to the unity of the progressive forces which are within the Congress with those outside. Never since independence have the possibilities for such unity been so great and the need so desperately urgent.

BERLIN: The German Democratic Republic has taken another thoughtful initiative for removing the fear of atomic war and ensuring peace in Europe. The GDR State Council Chairman WALTER ULBRICHT has in a letter to West German Chancellor ERHARD made a new proposal that the two German states conclude a treaty for renunciation of all nuclear weapons.

THIS letter was accompanied by a draft of a treaty between GDR and West Germany which could be joined by the city government of West Berlin.

The letter which was sent to Bonn on January 6 (published here on 16th) is very conciliatory in tone, modest in its proposals and corresponds to the spirit of preamble of Moscow test ban treaty which was signed by both the German states. The new proposal is a concrete contribution towards realisation of an agreement among all states to renounce use of force in settling territorial disputes provided by Soviet Premier KHRUSHCHOV recently.

In this letter Ulbricht has confined to a single question, which is the vital question of all peoples of Europe—saving Germany and Europe from atomic destruction. Ulbricht requested the West German Chancellor to make his contributions so that the fear of a nuclear war is removed from the minds of the German people and the gulf between the two German states is not deepened yet further

Renouncing Atomic Weapons

With this terrible consequence in mind Walter Ulbricht wrote to

by West German nuclear armament.

The recent attempts of West German government to get hold of atomic weapons either through the "multilateral nuclear strike force" of NATO designed by the USA or through French President DE GAULLE's "independent nuclear deterrent" have caused considerable fear and restlessness in central Europe. Not only socialist countries but also small neighbours of Germany and neutral countries like Switzerland and Austria are alarmed by this. If Germany gets hold of nuclear weapons no matter from where it constitutes a great threat to security of Europe. And it is well known to all that in the event of a nuclear war the whole Germany would burn like a candle in the early hours of the war.

WEST GERMAN REARMAMENT ALSO THROUGH AFRICA

★ by WANDA MACHLEJD

The recently revealed details of West German military cooperation with countries in the Middle East and some African states have shown the widening scope of the influence of West German militarism.

ALARMED by even fragmentary data about this cooperation with Egypt and Israel the New York Times columnist C. L. SULZBERGER wrote on January 11:

This is no time for secret deals or scientific mercenaries. Germany's defence needs can be met through NATO.

But facts show that West Germany is far from satisfied with meeting her "needs" through NATO, because "defence" seems not her only military ambition.

On Egyptian territory at Helopolis several hundred German experts have been working since 1951 on rocket construction and in Helwan—formerly known as a resort for tubercular patients—supersonic jets are being produced.

Among German scientists in charge of the programme are constructors of the notorious "Wunderwaffe," the V1 and V2 missiles of the World War II period; they are backed by Professor WILLY MESSERSCHMITT, while notorious DR. EISELE, the war criminal who experimented on the inmates of German concentration camps, takes care of their health.

Bonn Officials' Manoeuvres

It is therefore clear, that certain official circles in Bonn not only knew about this cooperation but "recommended" it. The motives behind the action of these circles also seem to be clear. The possibility of obtaining testing sites for the development of new arms—the production of which on West German soil is either banned or would be too conspicuous—was convenient.

An additional but convenient aspect was the fact that the research was financed by foreign countries, thus making possible the advancement of German scientific know-how in the field of rocketry through foreign investment and with small risk of those directly concerned.

The memorandum of Professor WOLFGANG PILZ, one of the most prominent German scientists working in Egypt, to the West German Ministry of Defence shows this in no uncertain terms. Professor Pilz writes (Der Spiegel, May 8th 1963):

"I have obtained from competent penitentiaries of the Egyptian Government the authorization to make use in Germany of the possible results of my activities in Egypt."

As could be expected these statements were just empty decla-

ULBRICHT PROPOSALS FOR A TREATY

TO ENSURE PEACE IN EUROPE

★ From P. KUNHANANDAN

The Chancellor "in the interest of safety of Germans in East and West, in the interest of life and health of future German generations, in the interest of the preservation of the precious artistic and scientific heritage of German past and present, I hope for your agreement that it would be necessary to renounce atomic weapons without delay."

Ulbricht told Erhard that at the boundaries of the two biggest military alliances of the world further accumulation of inflammable substance of an atomic war must be prevented.

The draft treaty for total renunciation of nuclear weapons which was sent to Bonn has in the preamble itself, expressly stressed that the state relations between GDR and Federal

Germany would not be prejudiced by the conclusion of such a treaty. This was put there to make it clear to Bonn that signing such a treaty would not be interpreted as a recognition of the German Democratic Republic by the West German government.

The draft of the treaty envisages:

● Germany won't produce nuclear weapons of its own or with foreign help.

● Both German states agree to renounce attainment of power of decision of nuclear weapons and would not participate in nuclear tests.

● Nuclear weapons won't be stationed in their territories, governments would not permit an-

other power to bring it to Germany.

● Both sides pledge that never would they employ atomic weapons themselves nor through a third power.

The draft treaty stipulates that signing partners agree to place the implementation of the treaty under strict international control and observation. This will be exercised by a Commission composed of an equal number of representatives of NATO and Warsaw treaty.

The draft says the treaty should be valid until a general agreement on a complete ban on nuclear weapons comes into force.

GDR regards such a treaty is particularly significant because the participation of West Germany in the multilateral Nato nuclear strike force would enormously increase the danger of atomic destruction of the German nation and raise an insurmountable obstacle to the reunification of Germany.

Ulbricht's letter and the draft treaty have been widely welcomed in Europe. All newspapers of the socialist countries wrote editorials hailing the new initiative of GDR. Western newspapers and agencies published large portions of the letter and treaty.

Bonn government circles are particularly unhappy at the evaluation given in first commentaries of a number of West German papers that the proposals of Ulbricht were "certainly to be taken seriously" and must be viewed about other countries, he symptomatically gave "no comment."

Military Aid From G.F.R.

After more details were revealed and interpellations were made by Bundestag members, Von Hase was forced to speak and told of 9 African countries which receive military aid from the GFR.

Further reports indicate, however, that Von Hase's restraint will once more have to yield to the pressure of public opinion because the scope of West German military aid reportedly includes Asian and Latin American countries.

West German columnist, WILIAM SCHLAMM, notorious for his extremely nationalistic and dangerous views on the alleged indispensability of possessing atomic weapons by West Germany, wrote in Der Stern on 28 April 1963:

"The black rockets with which German scientists are playing in the adventurist countries of Asia and Africa are more explosive, than legally produced and controlled atomic arms in the hands of a responsible German government."

If this is the opinion of a columnist whose attention is completely focussed on Bonn's atomic power, then how right are the apprehensions and warnings of those who are viewing the problem of militaristic ambitions of West Germany from a more objective and realistic perspective.

The example of GENERAL SEECKT's activities after World War One shows the possibilities of rebuilding military power in spite of official international bans.

There have been a number of comments in the world press favouring direct negotiations between GDR and West German government. WALTER LIPP-MAN, noted American journalist and commentator in an article in West Berlin paper "SPAN-DAUER VOLKSBLATT" last Sunday said, that "Adenauer's policy of non-recognition (of GDR) could never lead to reunifications."

He substantiated that the only way to reunification is a realistic policy of directly talking to GDR. He wrote, "this is one of many reasons why it is a mistake on our part to force a reluctant Europe into multilateral nuclear force." The role of West Germany in the world is not to be the agent of Washington in West Europe, commented Lippman.



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



MRTISANJIBANI
MAHADRAKSHARISTA
(6 years old)

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

Readers' Letters

BANK PROFITS NOT SO LITTLE

THE main argument of the opponents of bank nationalisation is that such a step would not bring appreciable income to the government. The total profits taken by the banks in the country are so low that it is not worth the effort to nationalise them and entail the heavy responsibilities, they argue. BABU BHAI CHINAI, speaking in the subjects committee of the Indian National Congress at Bhubaneswar put the profits of the banks at just three to four crores of rupees.

This is not consistent with facts. Banking is a prosperous industry. Not only the business of banks is expanding by leaps and bounds, their profits have also been going up considerably year after year. A cursory glance at the balance sheets for 1963 of some banks and the dividends they are declaring would bring this fact home to any one.

The Punjab National Bank has shown a profit of Rs. 141.68 lakhs in 1963 after providing for taxes, grants, fund, trust's and other provisions. The profit was only Rs. 113.83 lakhs in 1962. The

Bank of India has made a profit of Rs. 138.07 lakhs in 1963 after making provision for taxes and other contingencies. The directors have recommended a total dividend of 18 per cent. The Bank of Baroda has shown a profit of Rs. 75 lakhs in 1963 and the proposal is for a dividend of 20 per cent.

These three banks together have shown a profit of as much as Rs. 354 crores. The profits of other giants in banking such as United Commercial Bank, New Bank of India, Devkaran Nanji and foreign banks such as National and Grindlays are besides this. So, the argument that the profits of banking industry are negligible does not hold good.

Also, it is not only profits, but the vast amount of money at the disposal of banks for investments that should be the criterion. Only by nationalisation can the government control the investments and give it a direction in consonance with the economic policies of the government and planning.

New Delhi ARGUS

Bihar Peasants Fight Back Govt. Onslaughts

★ By **BHOGENDRA JHA**

Taking advantage of the proclamation of emergency in the wake of aggression by the Chinese armed forces in November 1962, the Government of Bihar detained 26 Communist leaders and arrested many more under the DIR without any justification.

THIS coupled with the slanderous propaganda offensive by the reactionary press, all the other parties and many leaders of the ruling party created utter confusion among a good section of the fighting peasantry of Bihar. Skillfully utilising this situation and emboldened by the success of the Government of Uttar Pradesh in this respect, the Bihar ministry decided to hush up the passing of its Land Revenues Surcharge Bill increasing land revenue, by 25 per cent.

People's sentiment in favour of organising resources for defence purposes was fully utilised to secure support in favour of this Bill and to confuse and disorganise the opposition against the same. It was decided to convene for this purpose a special session of the Assembly in December 1962. In such a confusing and complex situation the Bihar State Kisan Sabha and the Communist Party took a firm and determined stand. While supporting voluntary contributions to the defence fund by the peasants, the Kisan Sabha voiced its total opposition against any increase in land revenues. Efforts were made and success achieved in securing the support of pro-peasant Congress legislators and others against this bill. The Bihar government was charged with exploiting and disrupting the united will for national defence prevailing among the peasants.

Campaign Against Bill

The Bihar ministry decided to retreat by postponing the passing of the bill though it was not withdrawn at that time. During the statewide campaign to secure half a million signatures on the Great Petition and a thousand marchers for the Great March to Parliament on September 13, the demand for the withdrawal of this bill was kept up. Sensing the mood of the peasants the state government announced the withdrawal of this bill in October 1963. This was a significant victory of the peasant movement in Bihar.

But again, on the plea of pressure from the Planning Commission another Land Revenues Surcharge Bill has been introduced several weeks back enhancing land revenues by 12½ per cent this time. But the Bihar kisans are in no

mood to oblige. Opposition to this bill both among the Congress and opposition legislators had resulted again in the giving up of the decision to convene a special session of the Assembly in December 1963 mainly for passing this bill.

The fighting peasantry of Bihar is preparing strong resistance against the passing of this bill during the coming Budget session of the Assembly and for its complete withdrawal. The Bihar government through a circular on behalf of its Panchayat department had initiated another trick to impose burdens on the peasantry. Panchayat department officers and Gram Panchayats were directed to charge 6 annas for each house from all the residents within the limits of their respective Panchayats on the ground of sticking number plates on their houses.

Novel Method of Extortion

This was a novel method of taxing all the peasants and agricultural labourers without referring it to the legislature. The collection from the peasants and agricultural labourers already began in hundreds of Panchayats in the state.

But the State Kisan Sabha, the Communist Party and later many district and sub-divisional Panchayat Parishads and conferences unanimously voiced opposition and decided not to implement this decision of the state government resulting in a complete deadlock in this collection drive and government machinery is again on the retreat on this issue.

Campaign against increase in irrigation rates by one rupee per acre imposed during the period of emergency is on and has not yet become strong enough to force government hands to withdraw the same.

Stoutly opposing any move to impose additional burdens on the already over-burdened toiling masses of Bihar, the Kisan Sabha has side by side initiated a campaign for alternative resources for defence and development by stopping waste, corruption and extravagance in the administration; by staying payment of compensation to landlords above Rs. 5,000; by strictly collecting tax revenues and loan arrears from the landlords and capitalists etc. The coming budget

session of the Assembly will witness battle royal on these issues.

There are 29 sugar mills in Bihar and sugar cane is a major money crop for the peasants. The greedy and short-sighted policy of the millowners supported by anti-peasant policy of the government under the guidance of S. K. PATIL resulted in abandonment of cane cultivation by a large section of the peasants.

Slump in Sugar Cane

During the last few years the persistent refusal to pay Rs. 2 per maund as price of sugar cane, the freedom to the mills to take only 90 per cent of the cane produced by the peasants, the remaining 10 per cent left to be burnt, the refusal by the mills to pay cane prices to the growers promptly and even during the same year etc., resulted in reducing the acreage and tonnage of cane this year in Bihar to less than half in comparison to the cane produced in the year before last.

Apprehending closure of mills due to lack of supply of cane, the Central Government decided to use DIR against peasants resorting to gur production to save themselves and their cane cultivation. Thus both sugar industry and cane cultivation was faced with the threat of total extinction.

In such a situation the State Kisan Sabha launched a campaign for fixing the price of cane at least at Rs. 2 per maund and not to discriminate in any way against gur production. This demand was unanimously supported by peasants belonging to all political parties. The Sarvodaya workers also enthusiastically supported the demand for full freedom for gur production from the point of view of encouraging village industries.

Open calls were given for withholding supply of cane to the mills unless price of Rs. 2 per maund was paid and for resorting to gur production. Finding it more paying many areas resorted to gur production.

In such a situation some millowners also saw the writing on the wall and supported the demand of Rs. 2 per maund as price of cane. By the last week of November, thirteen mills of Bihar were declared to be in the areas of competition and the price of cane was announced at Rs. 2 per maund, for them. But 16 mills still remained.

The State Cane Growers' Conference held under the auspices of the Kisan Sabha on December 9, at Chakie in Champaran district unanimously gave the call for statewide strike by cane-growers against any mill not paying at least Rs. 2 per maund and against any discrimination against gur production.

Actually in the first and second weeks of December strikes and picketing by cane-growers were organised in many mills of Saran and elsewhere by the Kisan Sabha, Communist and Praja Socialist Party workers.

By the middle of December the Central Government had to announce the decision and all the 29 mills of Bihar began paying cane price at Rs. 2 per maund. After achieving this victory the kisan movement is campaigning for other demands of the cane growers including the nationalisation of the sugar mills as de-

vised by the cane growers conference.

Worse is the case with jute-growers. Jute was selling at Rs. 55 to Rs. 65 per maund year before last. Last year taking advantage of the emergency the jute millowners kept their mills closed during the months of the harvesting and sale of jute by peasants.

Jute Price Slashed

Thus creating an artificial slump, the price of jute was brought down to Rs. 15 to Rs. 18 per maund. The Kisan Sabha raised the demand for ensuring at least Rs. 35 per maund as the price of jute by undertaking government purchase.

The Bihar government announced its intention to enter jute market through the state marketing union to ensure minimum price to the jute growers. This bred complacency among the kisans and kisan leaders. But the government purchase proved a flop.

Not even one per cent of the jute produced in Bihar has been purchased by the government. Even that purchase is made through a very cumbersome process and from a very selected few peasants. It goes without saying that this government purchase has not affected the jute market in the least.

The result is that even this year jute is being sold at Rs. 18 to Rs. 23 per maund. Besides this, the traders exact about four to five seers of jute per maund through about half a dozen types of illegal exactions.

In this background the state kisan sabha organised a state jute growers' conference at Behariganj, a famous jute market in Saharsa district, on December 27-28. The conference called upon the government to ensure a price of at least Rs. 35 per maund through government purchase and to aid jute cultivation in various other ways.

Spotlight on Coal Industry

★ From Page 7

1960, the index of coal share prices increased from 104.3 to 117.4 (1952-53-100) and continued rising briskly.

A study by the Company Law Administration also shows that over a ten year period—1947-1957—the top leaders in the industry gave dividends of over 15 per cent year after year; and on average over 20 per cent. The biggest Coal Company in the private sector—Bengal Coal Co., under the domination of British capital—paid an average dividend of 23½ per cent over the period 1947-1950 and 17½ per cent over 1955-1957.

On the other hand, the exploitation of miners has intensified. The productivity of miners has sharply risen as can be seen from the following table.

Year	Production in Tons	Productivity	Employment
1954	36,380,810	0.38	3,32,320
1961	55,800,000	0.48	3,98,703

The percentage increase in employment is lower than the

Year	No. of Coal Cutting Machines in Use	No. of Mines using them	No. of Mechanical Leaders in Operation	Maximum of Mechanical Conveyors in use
1958	584	151	7	67
1959	620	199	6	73
1960	696	199	23	93
1961	669	199	25	112
1962	696	198	18	135

Inspector of Mines, Government of India will show.

The conference gave the slogan of complete strike by jute growers against the traders who refuse to give up illegal exactions from January 6. More than 150 volunteers were enrolled on the spot for picketing if the traders did not mend their ways.

The conference decided to build united campaign of jute growers of Bihar in cooperation with those of other states, particularly West Bengal to be able to organise powerful and effective resistance of jute growers in the very beginning of the next harvesting season to compel the government and the millowners to yield.

The demand by the conference to nationalise jute mills is getting support from all sections of the peasants in view of the anti-peasant and anti-national practice of the millowners.

On the call of the state council of the Kisan Sabha, Kisan Demands Week was observed from November 22 to 28, 1963 culminating in rallies, demonstrations and meetings in about 75 Block Headquarters of Bihar.

Present Demands

The demands voiced during this week included withdrawal of the Land Revenues Surcharge Bill, reasonable price for foodgrains and money crops, immediate and effective implementation of the Privileged Persons Homestead Act giving occupancy rights on homestead lands to all owning no land or less than one acre of land, proper amendment of the present Land Ceiling Act, no increase in irrigation rates etc., etc.

The Kisan Sabha has decided to organise bigger rallies and demonstrations during the coming budget session of the Assembly on the above and other demands of the peasants. No anti-peasant measure of the government will be allowed to go unchallenged.

HYDERABAD: "Our prayers and protestations have not been heeded to by you. On the other hand our pleas have been brushed aside in a slighting manner on the ground that they are merely the pleas of the opposition... In the circumstances, we, representing the suffering and voiceless ryots and agricultural labourers of this state have no other alternative except to take such peaceful direct action as may be decided upon, unless steps are taken by your government to repeal the present Additional Assessment Act and schemes of banjar distribution are announced before January 31. If there is no such announcement, we shall start satyagraha on February 3."

THIS runs the concluding operative paragraph of the open letter to Chief Minister SANJEEVA REDDY from the All-Parties Action Committee.

The letter is signed by TENNETI VISWANADHAM, M.L.A., Chairman of the Praja Party and President of the Action Committee; T. NAGI REDDY, deputy leader of the opposition in the Legislative Assembly; Y. V. KRISHNA RAO, general secretary of the Andhra Pradesh Ryots Sangham and convener of the Action Committee; VAVILALA GOPALAKRISHNAYYA, M.L.A.; BADAM YELLA REDDY, member of the secretariat of the Andhra Pradesh Council of the CPI, MAKHDOOM MOHIUDDIN, MLC, leader of the opposition in the Legislative

Council and president of the Hyderabad City Trade Union Council.

The letter points out that assessments have risen in almost all cases by 100 to 400 per cent leading to a crushing burden on the peasantry.

It states that the original Bill was rushed through, the select committee being obliged to sit in the afternoons while the budget discussion was going on in the morning. It was passed immediately after the budget, despite protests from the entire opposition and a good section of Congress MLAs, say nothing of the overwhelming popular indignation. And when certain changes were made in December 1962, it did not even go before a select committee.

EDITORIAL ★ From Front Page

anti-people policies as never before, was undoubtedly the clear vision of the new power and strength of the working masses.

At the time of the last Republic Day, it was the Right reaction which was still on the offensive; the democratic forces were on the defensive. Not only that, the disunity of the democratic forces was greater than ever before; the cult of anti-Communism following the Chinese aggression created a gulf which it was difficult to bridge.

Republic Day 1964 dawns in a India in which the national democratic forces are embarked upon a powerful counter-offensive against the Right reaction, and in which the possibilities of the unity of the national democratic forces are greater than ever before.

Nevertheless, it would be a fatal mistake to be complacent or to let the positive developments make us blind to the negative, which still cast their ugly shadows across our Motherland.

The imperialists are continuing their diabolical efforts to drag India into their system of military pacts, directly or indirectly. The decision to extend the operation of the US Seventh Fleet to the Indian Ocean has amongst its many motives, the aim of imposing a virtual "air umbrella" on India. The conspiracy whose ramifications lead through the recent events in Kashmir, Khulna and Calcutta, has now been climaxed by Pakistan's appeal to the Security Council: the blackmail against India by the imperialist patrons of the Ayub government is clear enough.

The vicious and unseemly scramble by the Right following the Prime Minister's illness has only unmasked the grim perils which have yet to be faced by the Indian people.

The influence of the monopolists on Congress policies continues. The refusal by the High Command to accept any positive proposals put forward at Bhubaneswar to weaken the grip of the monopolists, is a danger signal.

The Republic of India was built out of the sacrifices of hundreds of millions of working people of our land. Those sacrifices were not made to fatten the superprofits of the monopolists. The martyrs did not give their lives to create a India in which the rich grow richer, while on the toiling poor, more and more economic burdens are heaped.

Yes, the shadows are there. It is good to point them out clearly and unambiguously. For then we can fight them more effectively.

On Republic Day 1964, we pledge ourselves to work untiringly to bring into being that India, to create which so many of our martyrs mounted the British gallows or bared their chests before British bullets.

(January 22)

IF LAND LEVY IS NOT WITHDRAWN

SATYAGRAHA FROM FEBRUARY 3

Andhra Kisans' Open Letter To Chief Minister

★ From **MOHIT SEN**

Citing official figures, the letter points to the growth of indirect taxes imposed by the Centre and the rise in the Andhra Sales Tax receipts from Rs. 6 crores in 1956-57 to Rs. 15.20 crores in 1962-63.

As for so-called rural prosperity it states: "Even assuming that there are a lakh of ryot-farmers going about somewhat bright and well dressed meeting us wherever we toured, the rest of the ryot population who form more than 99 per cent are in a deplorable condition."

"A man owning more than ten acres of wet land cannot be said to be well off by any standards. During our discussions, we pleaded that at least such persons should be excluded from the operation of these Acts. But no concession of any kind was made."

Mentioning that the Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh governments have in spite of the Emergency repealed the surcharges on land revenue imposed by them in 1962, the letter draws attention to the fact that the Mahalanobis Committee has found that the benefit of planning has gone only to the very top rungs of our society.

It also expresses the indignation over the stoppage of distribution of waste (banjar) lands to landless poor. Such lands comprise 15¼ lakh acres, according to the Revenue Minister himself. Those cultivating these lands are being harassed in every way under one pretext or the other and huge fines are also being imposed.

It is now for the Chief Minister to respond to the offer of the All-Parties Action Committee.

In the meantime he has been put in a most embarrassing position about the denationalisation proposal vis-a-vis the Rajahmundry Mills. It has now been officially admitted that the Planning Commission and National Development Council are seized of the matter.

Angered by all this Sanjeeva Reddy declared in a public meeting

on January 13: "Some of those who criticised the government's proposal to sell the mills were men of straw who undersell themselves for a paltry sum of Rs. 10."

In a press conference on January 16 he had to eat humble pie. He said that he had only meant "some persons" who attributed motives to the government.

"So far as the Communist Party is concerned, the members of that Party always stress on nationalisation and it is a matter of policy with the Communists. We certainly

respect their opinion and also their policy...

"Surely, I cannot attribute motives to Sri Sundarayya or Sri Tenneti Viswanadham, opposition leaders for whom I always have a great respect not only for the position they occupy but also for their views."

A similar retreat on the Additional Assessment Act would also be welcome. Yet in the press conference he merely repeated his appeal for the withdrawal of the satyagraha.

Govt's Ad Hoc Offer of D.A. Not Acceptable

Representatives of all the leading Central Government Employees' Organisations have firmly told the government that the offer of a paltry increase in DA by way of an ad hoc grant of about Rs. 2 (at pay slab of Rs. 70) would be completely unacceptable to the employees.

THE government's offer is by way of a settlement out of court on the demand for arbitration on the dispute over full neutralisation upto 125 points. By the ad hoc increase granted in November 1961, the employees were given Rs. 5 increase in DA on lower slabs which meant neutralisation of only upto 7 points, instead of the actual average increase of 10 points. No retrospective effect for the ad hoc increase is offered except from June 1963 when the demand was formally made for full neutralisation upto 125 points.

The employees' representatives demanded the following, at the meeting convened by the Union Finance Ministry on January 17:

- Grant of full neutralisation for the increase in the cost of living upto 125 points or referring the issue to arbitration as assured in Parliament.
- Grant of compensation for the further increase in the cost of

living from 125 to 138 points.

3 Revising the present formula (10 points and 12 months) of the Pay Commission and making it more equitable by modifying it to 5 points and 3 months.

4 Revising the all-India working class consumer price index series on the basis of Maharashtra Exports Committee findings.

The meeting on January 17 in Delhi was attended by the Secretary, Department of Expenditure, Ministry of Finance; Home Secretary and the Labour Secretary. From the employees' side, there were representatives of the National Federation of Indian Railwaymen (NFIR-INTUC), All-India Railwaymen's Federation (AIRF), Indian National Defence Workers Federation (INTUC), National Federation of P&T Employees (NFPE) and of the Civil Aviation Employees, Union and the Central Secretariat Clerks Association.

BOOK REVIEW SHADES

Very few people interested in literature really know what all new contributions are being made in various languages in the country, except their own. With so many languages in our country, it is almost impossible to keep abreast with these developments and on top of it there is perennial dearth of good and regular translations.

WHILE national integration is accepted by everybody to be of paramount importance to bring about a real change among the people of the country, one of the major vehicle for dissemination of this idea—literature—is not being given the priority it calls for. Un-

less, thoughts of leading personalities in every language are brought to the people, one can hardly be blamed for failing to understand the richness of culture of people of another state. Herein comes the urgency of translations.

The Vallathol Printing and Publishing House of Kerala has endeavoured to tackle this task by bringing out an English monthly entitled SHADES which publishes English translations of the works of important writers of all Indian languages.

The first two issues of the journal which have reached us are proof enough to be convinced about the usefulness of this bold venture. The first issue contains an article by K. P. S. MENON (An Evening with Vallathol), a story each from Tamil and Telugu, a novel by UROOB—a topmost writer in Malayalam language—a thought-

provoking article on university education by the late K. M. PANIKAR and an article on American literary journals.

The second issue contains three short stories from Urdu, Kannada and Oriya languages (KRISHAN CHANDRA TRIVENI and GOPAL CHANDRA MISRA), a novel from Telugu language (M. RAMA-MOHAN RAO) and some other articles of general interest.

The organisers of this venture do certainly deserve congratulations but they should be careful not to cram too many writings on multifarious subjects. Otherwise the venture will tend to become a pointless innovation serving practically no purpose. The illustrations, get-up and editing of the journal require a bit of toning up. We wish the venture success.

—S.M.

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WE SHALL ALWAYS DEFEND CUBA

KHRUSHCHOV TELLS CASTRO

★ From MASOOD ALI KHAN

Fidel Castro's visit continues to be the centre of attention here. The Cuban hero has been enjoying the Russian winter, hunting wild boar, riding troikas, skiing and visiting a number of farms and factories.

HE talks with Soviet leaders were "friendly and frank", and covered a wide range of questions of mutual interest. A warm atmosphere of informality, fraternal understanding, comradeship and deep personal friendship between Premier KHRUSHCHOV and Castro has prevailed throughout.

Repeated warnings have been given to the warmongers that the Soviet Union will remain on the side of Cuba and will not allow any attack on her by the imperialists under any pretext.

At a gala reception in Kremlin on Tuesday evening, Fidel Castro declared that he was very satisfied with the results of his visit and talks he had here. "Our friendship has become even stronger now", he said.

He made fun of the stories spread by the Western press about complications in the relations between the two countries. He said his departure from Cuba had to be secret for obvious reasons.

Khrushchov once again warned the adventurers who wanted to deny Cuba its right of existence; it could produce catastrophic consequences; he said.

He said: "The Soviet Union will always be with revolutionary Cuba and will continue to help. We also highly appreciate the support given by Cuba to the policies of our Party and government."

Long Term Trade Agreement

Talks have taken place for further cooperation between the Soviet Union and Cuba. A long-range trade agreement has been signed which will secure constant market for Cuba and defend her against fluctuations of capitalist world market. A communiqué about the talks will be issued later.

Khrushchov said he was sure the Cuban people will build socialism under the leadership of Castro. There is no force which could stop Cuba's march to socialism and communism.

buy grain from them in future."

The Party and the people, he said, were one and the Party was doing everything to satisfy the material requirements of the people.

"It is true there are some people abroad who allege that Khrushchov runs things in a wrong way, that he is afraid of war. I have already repeated more than once that I should like to see a fool who really is not afraid of war. Only a child and a fool are not afraid of anything. Those about whom I am talking, are like children who do not understand what it is like to play with fire", he said.

Speaking of Cuba, Khrushchov said that when the enemies of Cuba were grinding an axe against it, with Cuba's consent rockets were put there. It was necessary for

the enemy to feel the breath of war on his doorstep. There are people who criticise us for putting the rockets and then taking them away. But a promise was given that Cuba will not be attacked.

"The agreement with Cuba holds good today and we keep our promise until the agreement is observed. I think the other side will have enough common sense to understand where the violation of the agreement could lead."

Khrushchov revealed that a new type of rocket had been completed and tested in the Soviet Union.

He ridiculed the American propaganda that there was Castro's hand in the events in Panama. The people there were fighting for freedom and wanted to be masters in their own country.

Sooner or later, all countries will achieve genuine freedom, the Soviet Premier said. "That is why we say: Show some sense, gentlemen; go of your own accord before it is too late and you are kicked out."

He ended on "Long Live Castro! Long Live our friendship! Communism will triumph!"



Castro at the Kremlin reception

Merits of Soviet people

"The merits of the Soviet people are as great as their country, as great as their example, as great as their history. Magnificent is the future they have opened to all mankind. And if the socialist revolution is taking place in Cuba now it was made possible only because there was first a socialist revolution in 1917", Fidel said.

The Soviet Premier, speaking of the great progress made by his country, replied to the critics of Soviet policy:

"Some people, who call themselves Communists, criticise us because we want our country to be richer and the people to live better. The logic of these critics is strange. They argue that the better the Soviet people live, the greater the danger of becoming bourgeoisified." But, he said, the revolution was made to make the life of people better. That is why the people supported the revolutionaries.

In spite of present difficulties, the population was being normally supplied with bread, he said. The capitalists wanted to take advantage of the poor harvest and demanded higher price than on the world market. "But we said, choke yourself with your bread and then they sold the grain at world market price. I think we shall not have to

USSR Prepares to Observe Indian Republic Day

MOSCOW, January 21: Largescale preparations have been made here for the celebration of India's Republic Day. They show the great fund of goodwill and friendly feeling the Soviet people have for India.

NUMEROUS activities in different institutions have been planned and some functions have already taken place. A meeting and concert was attended by Indian Ambassador T. N. KAUL and other distinguished guests.

Indian students gave a successful performance of TAGORE's "Rope of the Chariot", MAYA RAO and SHIV SHANKAR, both studying ballet and drama in Moscow, presented Indian dances. Students sang Indian songs. Soviet students also took an enthusiastic part in celebrating the Republic Day.

The Indian Ambassador, speaking at the function, declared that Indian independence had to be not only political, economic and social, but it was also a part of the independence of all other peoples of the world. That was why India opposed imperialism and colonialism.

"We admire and respect the Soviet Union for its onerous and strenuous effort for peace, for freedom of the people of colonies, for building the country and for sharing with other people the fruits of their own effort. With the help and cooperation of your country and ours and others, a happier, healthier, more prosperous and peaceful world could be made", he said.

There was no conflict between India and the Soviet Union, Kaul said. India's policy of nonalignment and the Soviet policy of peaceful co-existence had much in common. They could work hand in hand. Nonalignment should

convey the wishes of the Soviet people for his complete and quick recovery. There were happy cheers in the hall when Ambassador Kaul announced that Jawaharlal Nehru was feeling much better.

The Indian reception will be held here on January 27, 28 being Sunday. Functions will also be held in the Museum of Oriental Art, Vishnevsky Medical Institute and in a number of schools, the Friendship Club of the Proletaryskiy District of Moscow, the Friendship House, the Columbia University and others.

The Theatre Roman will give a special performance of the play "Lachi" based on KRISHNAN CHANDER's novel "One Girl and Thousand Admirers". Lectures will be given about India in many institutions.

The Republic Day will be celebrated in other Soviet cities also like Leningrad, Kiev, Tashkent, Baku, Alma Ata, Kirchik and Lipetsk.

One person got up from the audience, enquired about Prime Minister Nehru's health and asked to

Indo-Soviet Cooperation: Signing of the Contract for the Paigat Power Station.



JANUARY 28, 1964

Despite the thick wall of lies and insinuations sought to be built up by the imperialist news agencies, the truth about the change of government in Zanzibar can no longer be suppressed.

THE essential fact is that the new government, which has deposed the Sultan and taken over the reins of power, is more firmly anti-imperialist than its predecessor. That is the reason for imperialist hostility and the attempt to paint the revolt in the most lurid colours.

All types of cock-and-bull stories have been concocted; an attempt has been made to show the "connection" of the leaders of the revolt with Cuba—this is carried to the ludicrous length of inventing Cuban beards for the new Zanzibar leaders; for special flavour in India, the "connection" of the revolt with China has been conjured up.

British warships have been hovering in the vicinity, and threats to send British troops have been made. The US imperialists have also been brandishing the sword.

The quick recognition of the new Zanzibar government by Kenya and other African countries, as well as by the Soviet Union, has helped to warn the imperialists against any armed intervention in Zanzibar. But the danger remains.

The latest news, following the army revolt in Tanganyika, is that 2,000 British troops are being flown to East Africa. The Tanganyikan army revolt is evidently a reaction to the brutal anti-African conduct of the British officers of the Tanganyikan army. The first result has been that several of the British officers have been flown out of Tanganyika.

The US and British imperialists refuse to see the writing on the wall. They are

making desperate efforts to hang on to their old colonial empire using new methods of domination. The announcement of the sending of British troops to East Africa amounts to a declaration of war against the newly independent countries of the region.

The imperialists have no business to interfere in the internal affairs of the independent African countries. That is why from all parts of the world comes the cry: Hands off East Africa!

RECOGNISE ZANZIBAR GOVT.

THE Government of India has still not recognised the new Zanzibar government. This hesitation can only create a gulf between us and resurgent Africa.

It is just over a month since the Indian government delegation, headed by Indra Gandhi, visited East Africa for the independence celebrations of Kenya and Zanzibar. The pledges made on our behalf then, of solidarity with the African peoples, must not be broken. The recognition of the Zanzibar government must not be delayed further.

It is also important that the government of India should make it clear to the US and British governments that India firmly opposes all their efforts at intervening in the internal affairs of the East African countries.

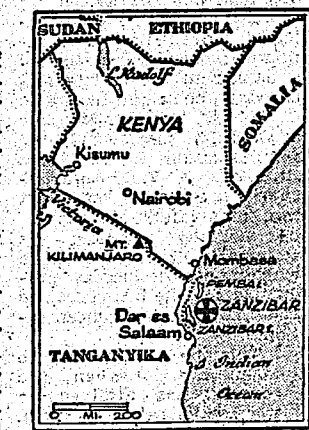
The news that Asian shops and houses have been attacked and Asian lives endangered in Zanzibar and in Tanga-

WORLD

★ By OBSERVER

HANDS OFF EAST AFRICA

nyika naturally causes anxiety in India. Any type of racist antagonism must be condemned unequivocally. But India can be confident that the African governments will accord full protection to



people of Indian origin if extremist elements seek to provoke anti-Asian attacks.

There is no doubt that there is considerable resentment among Africans against certain sections of the Asian trading community, which appear only to amass profits without contributing to the progress of the country of their adoption. The only way to put an end to this resentment is for the entire Asian population to identify itself wholly with the African cause and take steps against their own black sheep profiteers.

The Government of India's vacillations in regard to the recognition of the Zanzibar government will only assist misguided and extremist elements in seeking to isolate people of Indian origin from their African brothers.

PANAMA CALLING

GUS HALL, spokesman of the Communist Party of the USA, in a forthright statement condemning US policy in regard to Panama has made the following demands:

"As a first and immediate step in releasing this area from the grip of US imperialism, the Panama Canal should be transferred under the international jurisdiction of the United Nations, with guarantee of transferring all the income from the operation of the Canal to the rightful owner—the Panamanian people.

"The Canal Zone should be transferred without delay to Panama."

These are just demands. The US imperialists forcibly grabbed the Panama Canal and took away the Canal Zone by force, imposing the unequal 1903 treaty on the Panamanian people (see NEW AGE, January 19).

The US government has sought to create the impression that the revolt in

Panama has been "fomented" by Cuba. This is a monstrous lie. The battle of the people of Panama for the return of their Canal and for the liquidation of the over 30 US military bases on their soil, is an old one. In May 1958, a big student demonstration in Panama City made these demands when 18 patriots were shot dead by the rulers.

In 1959, hundreds were jailed for making the same demands and there were street fights between Panamanians and the government's National Guard backed by US troops.

The movement grew in 1961 with more than 30 trade unions entering the movement, which also included student organisations and major political parties. It is an irresistible movement. The shooting-down of Panama students, killing 29 and wounding over 200 has only fanned the smouldering embers, and brought the issue to the frontlines of world news.

The US imperialists seek desperately some form of "compromise" by which they may in essence continue their domination, under a "rewritten"

By the beginning of the new year more than 4,000,000 people, or almost six per cent of total manpower, were out of work, and 2,000,000 people worked on a part-time basis. There are many other anomalous phenomena testifying to economic instability: (the growing cost of living, the colossal consumer debt reaching 70 million dollars, the reduction of farmers' incomes despite good crops, the chronic deficit of the foreign trade payment balance, thousands of bankrupt firms, etc.)

"There are enough problems", the NEW YORK TIMES points out, "such as automation, inflation, wage and price trends, unemployment, for us to have our doubts about the scope of progress expected in the new year". Especially alarming is the fact that notwithstanding a certain growth of industrial production registered in 1963, unemployment "is still at a level which was considered a depression level but a decade ago."

President Johnson's call for a "war on poverty" not only admits the reality of the great capitalist wonderland. It is also an indication of the growing struggles of the people of the USA against poverty.

The bulk of the Negro population is among the poor. And their battle against racial discrimination, which has reached unprecedented heights, is part of the battle against the poverty to which capitalism dooms them.

President Johnson's words are welcome to the American unemployed and the American hungry. But words cannot end poverty. What is wanted is something which the Wall Street tycoons who run the US government can never allow—the ending of capitalist exploitation.

WAR ON U.S. POVERTY

PRESIDENT JOHNSON in his State of the Union message, laid emphasis on his proposal to wage an "unconditional

war on poverty" in the USA.

In a flash, this call revealed for the whole world the truth about the so-called "prosperity" of the USA. Too often have many Indians dismissed factual data about unemployment and hunger in the USA as "Communist propaganda".

When the President of the United States himself has to put top priority on a war on poverty, it is clear enough that the land of hope and glory is not so wonderful after all.

New York's Welfare Commissioner James E. Dumpson estimated that one million people, 12.8 per cent of the city's population live or rather exist in poverty.

The City's Mayor, Wagner, said at the same time that 29 per cent of the city's population lives at "the poverty level".

The facts—openly admitted—are that 36 million Americans live under depression-like conditions.

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WAR ON U.S. POVERTY

PRESIDENT JOHNSON in his State of the Union message, laid emphasis on his proposal to wage an "unconditional

(January 21)

CONFERENCE OF METAL & ENGINEERING WORKERS

ATTENTION DELEGATES

The conference will start on February 1 at 10 AM at SECUNDERABAD.

Andhra Pradesh Labour Minister B. V. GURUMOORTHY will inaugurate the conference and S. A. DANCE will preside. Fraternal delegates from WFTU (Trade Unions International), USSR, GDR and Hungary will attend the conference.

Delegates should detain at SECUNDERABAD where alone volunteers will be waiting for them.

MD. ELIAS
General Secretary
National Federation of Metal & Engineering Workers of India

Growing Strength of Industrial Giants

By ESSEN

Concentration of power—economic, social and political—in the hands of a few to the detriment of the many, cuts at the very root of our Republic's constitution, which lays down that our economic growth should be tempered with social justice.

YET, as the nation steps into the fifteenth year of the Republic it finds itself facing an aggravated state of concentration which, having established its supremacy in the corporate sector, is fast encroaching into social and political spheres.

The nation's awareness of this reality, although slow in the beginning, has increased tremendously in recent months. The back-breaking budget of Morarji Desai, which left the monopolists practically untouched, gave a jolt to our people.

They could find out through their own experience the corrosive influence of the monopolists who, with the help of their henchmen in the top echelons of the ruling party, could make the state virtually a handmaiden to serve their interests.

The result was the Great March, under the banner of the Communist Party, and an unprecedentedly sharp reaction in the Congress ranks against the growing concentration of economic power. Bhubaneswar saw this reaction articulated in no uncertain manner, and even though it could not make any immediate dent in the defences of the High Command, its reverberations continue to be felt in the Congress and other circles.

The immediate focus of attention have, of course, been the banks, because the monopolistic control, which a few big industrial houses exercise over the use of their resources had been a byword for concentration. But as banks form but a part of a larger corporate sector, it is necessary to view this sector as a whole. And when it is thus viewed it is found to be a close preserve of big business, which, as time advances, and no steps are taken to break its stranglehold, is able to tighten its grip.

A number of studies have uncovered this phenomenon. Dr. R. K. Hazari, who had earlier thrown a floodlight on concentration in the corporate sector, prepared a follow-up early last year. It showed that 20 leading groups had an interest of one kind or other in 1073 companies in 1958 and the share capital of these companies accounted for 32.44 per cent of the share capital of all non-government companies in that year.

The fact that the percentage was 29.6 in 1951 showed that concentration had gone apace in the intervening years.

Among these 20 leading groups four—Tatas, Birlas, Martin Burn and Sahu Jain—accounted for 22.34 per cent of the share capital of non-government public companies in 1958 as against 17.81 per cent in 1951. The

share of their complexes, in the total share capital was even higher at 25.66 and 20.44 per cent in the two years respectively.

These four industrial houses also showed a marked degree of concentration between themselves. In 1958, the public companies in the Tata and Birla complexes alone had 19.51 per cent, or nearly one-fifth, of the gross capital stock of all non-government public companies. Of this Tatas accounted for 12-13 per cent and Birlas for the rest. Thus, the two largest complexes held about 1/6 of the gross capital stock of all non-government companies in 1958.

And how have things moved since then? The ECONOMIC TIMES made a study of the accounts of 51 industrial giants—belonging to various leading houses—for 1962-63. It showed that these giants together accounted, in terms of their paid-up capital, for about 33 per cent of the total non-government, non-financial public limited corporate sector in the country. In terms of total net assets also their share in the total was almost the same. It is, however, clear that along with financial companies (including banks) under their control the share of the leading houses would be even more.

The results of yet another study, entitled "Corporate Sector in India—A Factual Presentation of Long and Short-term Trends", which Raj K. Nigam and N. C. Chowdhury of the erstwhile Department of Company Law Administration are serialising in the "Company News and Notes" present the same picture.

They show that far from diversifying, the control over the capital of the private corporate sector is getting concentrated at a few points. Thus, while big-sized companies (with paid-up capital of Rs. 50 lakhs and above) accounted for 60 per cent of the total paid-up capital of this group of companies in 1957-58, in 1961-62 their share rose to 65 per cent.

Similarly, the share of the gaint-sized companies (with a paid-up capital of Rs. 1 crore and above each) increased from 44 to 51 per cent. In the case of private limited companies also, units with large amounts of capital managed to increase their share in the course of these three years.

Dr. Raj K. Nigam had also published a study on the extent to which directors of various banks in the country are able to exercise control on non-banking companies in the corporate sector. A number of other studies on banking had also brought out the high degree of concentration in this particular sector.

As a good deal of statistical information on this subject has already been published in the columns of NEW AGE it is not necessary to repeat it here. What can, however, bear repetition, is the warning, held out by Dr. Nigam while concluding his study referred above. The concentration of economic power, posed a danger to the society and the state, he said in his study.

But this is not how some of the leading members of the administration view this situation. T. T. Krishnamachari, who once talked about the "man-eaters at large" has virtually recanted his statement. He is so obsessed with the need to increase production that he has chosen to shut his eyes to concentration.

This, he says, can be taken care of when the country has attained a worthwhile rate of growth. He, of course, knows that

with its existing degree of concentration growth for the private corporate sector means a further fillip to this undesirable trend. Still, if he chooses to underestimate this danger, it can only be because of his new love for the 'man-eaters'.

The ECONOMIC TIMES, which had earlier thrown light on the results of 51 'giants' of the corporate sector, has also shown in a subsequent study (covering 48 of these giants) that the "very big" among them have shown "substantial improvements" in 1962-63 in respect of the profitability of their operation.

The gross profit margin on total capital employed was as high as 26.6 per cent in the case of the Hindustan Lever; and 21.2 per cent in that of the Hindustan Motors. TISCO, Texmaco, Scindia Steam Navigation and Tata Chemicals were some of the other concerns showing a high level of return.

Evidently, time has had no stop for these giants as far as augmentation of their power is concerned, and how can it when the government is happy to give them a free rein to make the best of it? It is even ready with a number of new measures to facilitate the growth of the corporate sector which—without

measures to curb concentration—leads ipso facto to its further monopolisation.

TTK is the high-priest of this line of thinking. His acquiescence to 'concentration' referred to earlier, is only the negative aspect of this thinking. He has been advocating and promulgating quite a few positive measures to help in its augmentation.

His fondness for 'decontrol' and call to open the doors wider for foreign private investments are its positive aspects. He finds good support in this behalf from the new deputy chairman of the Planning Commission, who has not only debunked the suggestion to nationalise the banks, but also decreed "radicalism" in economic affairs.

Yet, if the nation is to pursue the objectives, set in the Plan, recourse to what Asoka Mehta would rule out as 'radical' steps is imperative. For a country like ours whose economic backwardness is already a drag on development concentration and such other 'capitalistic' adornments can have no relevance because the progress they symbolise is in fact a blow to its capacity to build an economy and society befitting the aspirations of its tolling millions.

PROFITABILITY RATES OF INDUSTRIAL GIANTS

1962-63

