

AGGRESSION IN CONGO

NEW WAGE

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Editorial

WAS IT FOR THIS that the US electors defeated Goldwater? Was it for this that the world heaved a sigh of relief

when the US electorate gave its verdict against the brinkmanship policies of war and aggression for which Goldwater stood?

The Johnson administration, by its latest aggression in the Congo, has made it clear that it has no intention of abiding by the will for peace, so clearly expressed by the people of the United States.

The vast propaganda build-up, intended to justify the new US-Belgian aggression, should fool no one. It is the same outworn excuses used by the imperialists for their aggression in 1960, shortly after they were forced to concede independence and the immortal Patrice Lumumba took his place at the head of the government.

Then too the Belgian imperialists returned to "save the lives" of white colonialists from the uprising by the African soldiers. Then too lurid tales were concocted of alleged brutalities and atrocities on white women and children.

But if these lies fooled some people in 1960, the repetition of the same falsehoods in 1964 fool no one. What is the truth?

The national liberation struggle in the Congo has reached new heights. In July of this year, the sweep of the liberation movement brought about the fall of the Adoula government. The imperialists, quick to react, installed in power instead the notorious imperialist agent Tshombe, the murderer of Lumumba and the mask behind which the foreign monopolists looted the rich Katanga province of the Congo.

Despite the most wily manoeuvres Tshombe and his masters were unable to stem the tide of the patriotic upsurge which grew round the rallying banner of Lumumba's memory. A considerable part of the Congo was liberated from the clutches of Tshombe and his imperialist patrons.

Tshombe was refused admission as Congo's representative at the nonaligned nations conference at Cairo. The knell was sounding on the conspiracies of imperialism in this strategic and rich land in the heart of Africa.

This is the background in which the latest phase of imperialist armed intervention began—the phase which has now culminated in the open aggression by US-Belgian armed forces against the liberation movement.

The scum of society gathered from among the fascists and racialists of several countries were recruited as mer-

cenaries. Using arms supplied by Belgium, the USA, West Germany and Portugal, these gangs committed the worst atrocities against the Congolese people.

During this period, the command of the army and the police and even of the administration has virtually been taken over by Belgians and Americans.

The Salazar regime is using the territory of the Congo against the Angolan liberation movement. The South African and South Rhodesian racialists are closely linked with the operations of neo-colonialism in Congo.

Leopoldville has become the centre of provocations and conspiracies against neighbouring countries like Zambia and Congo (Brazzaville). From Leopoldville the imperialists plot against the independence of Tanzania —conspiracies to which President Nyerere recently referred openly.

Behind the imperialist frenzy lies the story of the billions of dollars of profit which the monopolists of the imperialist countries amass every year from the African countries.

The imperialists must be made to know 1964 is not 1960. The US-Belgian aggression of this week must become the storm signal for worldwide action in support of liberation forces of the Congo and against imperialist intervention.

The African countries have again and again declared that the problem of the Congo is in essence an African problem and should be settled primarily by the Africans themselves.

The Indian people are in complete accord with this view. They demand that the foreign interventionists quit the Congo and leave the Congolese people to decide their own destiny.

The US-Belgian aggression has taken place at a time when the conciliation machinery of the Organisation of African Unity, under the chairmanship of Jomo Kenyatta, was at work. The imperialists have spurned the offer of the African states to assist in the solution of the Congolese problem. By their armed aggression, they have thrown a challenge to all Africa, indeed to all progressive and freedom-loving mankind, a challenge to the forces of peace.

This challenge must be met. The Government of India must immediately voice the feelings of the Indian people in protest against this aggression and declare its full support for any steps which the Organisation of African Unity may take to halt the aggressors' march.

Let the democratic movement raise the cry "Hands Off Congo" with all its might, in unison with the peace forces of the whole world.



SEVENTH CONGRESS OF CPI

NEARLY five hundred delegates from all the states of India, over two hundred and fifty observers... will soon be moving from all directions towards Bombay. Lakhs of working people of this mighty city are eagerly looking forward to play host to the Seventh Congress of the CPI. Each one of them is contributing his or her share to the Party Congress Fund.

To the Seventh Congress will come as fraternal delegates, comrades steeled in the battles of the working-class of many countries. Among them will be the delegation of the Party of the Builders of Communism, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the delegations from the Communist Parties of the socialist countries, delegations from the mass parties of France and Italy... and several others. Messages are pouring in from all the continents.

This will be the biggest Congress in the history of the Party. Its agenda, which includes the adoption of a new Party Programme, is of vital interest to the working masses of this country, of vital interest for their future.

All eyes will soon be turned to BOMBAY.

SEVENTH CONGRESS OF COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA BOMBAY, DECEMBER 13 TO 23, 1964

75-Day Old Strike of UP Roadways Workers Settlement Not Yet in Sight

KANPUR: About 1800 workers of the Uttar Pradesh Roadways Central Workshop in Kanpur are conducting a heroic strike struggle which has become 75 days old on November 25, under the leadership of the Central Workshop Karmchari Sangh.

The strike was foisted upon the workers by the state government through its callous and indifferent attitude towards their demands, numbering eleven. These demands were submitted to the government as far back as May 1961.

The main demands of the workers are:

- Permanency to about 1400 workers in the Workshop, who are now treated as work-charged but have put in service for 15 years and more;
- Minimum wages on par with the employees of the Chark cement factory which is also owned by the state government;
- Scientific fixation of dearness allowance on the model of the textile workers in Kanpur and immediate payment of interim relief to meet the high cost of living;
- Fair price shops to be opened in the Workshop and running of a proper canteen;
- Recognition of the Central Workshop Karmchari Sangh which is the only representative union in the Workshop.

Ever since May 1961 the

demands to the conciliation board reached the Sangh even later, on September 16, four days after the strike began. And the demands so referred are the least important.

On September 16, the government also declared the strike illegal on the plea that certain matters relating to the industrial dispute have been referred to the conciliation board and certain other matters are under consideration of the state government.

This made it all the more clear that it was with a view just to declare the strike illegal that the earlier reference of the most important demands of the workers to the conciliation board was made.

The workers were not taken in by these steps of the government. They stood firm behind the decision of their union to continue the strike.

That brought the police into action. The police started visiting the houses of workers and intimidating them. They also adopted a menacing attitude towards workers visiting the office of the Karmchari Sangh.

In the face of this police intimidation and the threat of disciplinary action by the government, the workers have stood firm. They are heroically continuing their struggle for the realisation of the abject minimum demands.

S. S. Yusuf MLA, president of the Uttar Pradesh Trade Union Council, has in a statement expressed solidarity with the striking workers and urged the government not to shirk negotiations.

He has also appealed to workers all over the country to express solidarity with the workers of the Kanpur Roadways Workshop.

The order referring three

Strike Ballot

Exasperated, the workers took a strike ballot on August 11 this year and a strike notice was served two days later.

The government, instead of meeting the just demands of the workers were even then planning dubious ways of meeting the struggle of the workers.

On September 9 just two days before the notice was to expire, the government declared the workshop a public utility service.

On September 11 the Chief Mechanical Engineer informed the Sangh that ten out of eleven demands of the workers were "under consideration" of the government. On the same day the government referred three of the eleven demands to the per-

Communist Victory in UP Local Body Elections

From Ramesh Sinha

LUCKNOW: Once again the Communist Party in Uttar Pradesh has defied the gloomy forecasts of its opponents and come out with flying colours in the elections to the local bodies held during the last two weeks. It has not only maintained its position in its strongholds, but has improved it, and has further succeeded in penetrating several new areas.

The Party has won more than fifty seats in the municipalities of Meerut, Muzaffarnagar, Amroha, Pilibhit, Dehra Dun, Maunathbhanjan (Azamgarh), Chazipur, Gaugh (Saharanpur), Firozabad (Agra), Gorakhpur and Hardoi.

In Maunathbhanjan, Gaugh and Chazipur municipal boards, the Party, or the Peoples Front led by it, has won ten, eight and seven seats respectively. In these municipalities the Party-led Peoples Front hopes to play a decisive role.

In Maunathbhanjan, in a board of twenty the CPI has won ten seats against the combined opposition of the Congress, the Jan Sangh and others and the Party hopes to have its own chairman.

The success of the Party in the elections to the town areas is even more spectacular. In about a dozen town areas, such as Bilhour (Kanpur), Baweru (Banda), Bahadurganj, Amila, Doharighat and Kopaganj (Azamgarh), the Party's candidates, or the candidates of the Party-led Peoples Front, have won the election to the posts of chairman and secured solid, unshakable majorities.

In Mirapur, Aminagar, Sarai and Tundia town areas the Party, or the Peoples Front, has won substantial majorities, ensuring that their chairmen too will be the nominees of the Party or the Peoples Front.

In the Bilhour town area election, the Party candidate, Asar Hussain, was opposed by Congress and SSP candidates. All his opponents forfeited their securities.

Similarly in the Doharighat election, all candidates of the Jan Sangh fighting against the Party lost their deposits.

In Amila town area election, Party candidate Nandan Raj was opposed by Congress leader Alga Rai Shastri's son Sukhan Rai. He too suffered a similar fate.

Actually, in Azamgarh we have strengthened our majority

ber 8 and 11. All the results have not yet come out.

From the results known, it is obvious that the independents have won the largest number of seats. In fact, they have won more seats than the seats got by all the organised parties together. A poor second is the Congress. The Jan Sangh, which was making a bid to establish its claim as the chief opposition party in the state, has been badly beaten and comes in as a poor third.

The SSP and the CPI contest for the fourth place, the CPI having an edge over the SSP. The Swatantra, the Republicans and others are trailing far behind.

It is obvious that the Jan Sangh has suffered a big setback in these elections. There is no doubt that the recent food movement launched by the Party has contributed substantially to its exposure, isolation and discomfiture.

These elections were fought with great fanfare and, in most places, vast resources were thrown into them by the local vested interests. In many places people are known to have spent Rs. 40,000 to Rs. 50,000 for the chairmanship of the local town area.

For instance, in Tundia, money had flowed like water and yet the Party-supported Peoples Front candidate, who did not spend more than two or three hundred rupees, won the election!

The Party has every reason to rejoice over this happy harvest of its work and struggle. As a post script, and to keep the record straight, it would be helpful to point out that despite all their loudmouthed claims to be the real Communist Party, the splitters have won a total of only five seats in the entire state—and even one of these they got as a gift from

Rasra Results

In the notified area Rasra, the Party-led Peoples Front has won twelve seats out of fourteen.

In Bhatrawal (Muzaffarnagar) the Party has secured three seats, in Baruasagar (Jhansi) two, in Kashipur (Nainital) three (Party one, Party-supported two), in Khekhar (Meerut) three, in Bachharawan (Rai Bareilly) one, in Rudouli (Barabanki) two, in Naganwan Sadat (Moradabad) one, in Chitbaraganj (Ballia) two, in Maniar (Ballia) three, in Tehri Garhwal and in Mehdawal (Basti) two each.

In this way in the town areas the Party, or the Party-supported Peoples Front, has won from 120 to 130 seats. The elections to these local bodies took place on Novem-

ANNOUNCEMENT

With effect from December 5, the headquarters of the CPI will be temporarily shifted to Bombay for three weeks in connection with the VII Congress of the Party. All communications during this period should therefore be directed to:

CPI Headquarters
Raj Bhavan,
S. V. P. Road,
Bombay.

The five-day old strike of 350 interns and house surgeons in six Delhi hospitals, for increase in their remuneration, better living and working conditions ended in the early hours of November 24.

On November 23, Prime Minister Shastri promised a delegation of the doctors that the government would settle the issue "as soon as possible" and that he did not want this to become "a prestige issue".

Prime Minister Shastri's conciliatory move was in sharp contrast to the attitude taken by the Union Health Minister Sushila Nayar who had earlier told the doctors that "it would take at least three to four months" before she could take a decision in this regard. Even after Shastri's declaration, Dr. Nayar has not thought it fit to discuss the demands with the doctors' representatives.

The adamant attitude of the Union Health Minister and her absolute unconcernedness together with the self-deluding stand of the hospital authorities claiming that "all is well" have been very largely responsible for the prolongation of the strike.

The doctors, guided by their professional ethics and being conscious of their responsibilities have been reluctant to resort to a direct action which they realised would hit the patients at the first instance and cause further misery to their existing quota of now-too-well-known hospital rigors. But they were left with no choice. Had it been any other profession, the strike would have been resorted to long ago to break the bureaucratic barrier behind which the Health Ministry hides its inefficiency.

It was callous on the part of the Health Ministry to have threatened the striking doctors to be dealt with under the provisions of the Defence of India Rules; and on top of it the daily bulletins from the high-offices of the hospital authorities announcing that the hospitals worked "normally" provided the keynote to official attitude with regard to the issues in dispute.

The genesis of the dispute stemmed from the low wagescale of the house surgeons and the interns. A house surgeon is paid Rs. 170 per month while an intern is paid Rs. 100. This low rate of wage is paid despite the fact that these doctors have all completed the MBBS courses and are full-fledged doctors. Actually the internship and housemanship are further periods in training.

During the period under training these doctors perform all the duties of full doctors, though the Union Health Minister claimed that these doctors were not doctors as such and the training allowance was quite sufficient for the jobs they perform and that she herself lived on that allowance (20 years ago, of course) without grouse.

At the present level of cost of living, the interns and the house surgeons can barely live with the allowance paid to them and most of them have to get money from elsewhere even to meet minimum necessities. Quite indignantly, a doctor remarked, "you do not expect doctors to go about in

CALLOUS HEALTH MINISTRY PROVOKES

Doctors' Strike In Delhi

By SADHAN MUKHERJEE

tattered clothes?" and he was absolutely right.

The total training period of these young doctors is one and a half years: six months as an intern and one year as a house surgeon. After finishing the house job, a doctor becomes entitled to a registrarship at which level the salary scale is Rs. 325 per month. This amount is unchangeable over the years and the total period of registrarship is spread over three years, on being renewed every year. With a diploma in any subject in addition to the usual quali-

Not merely dripping water taps, cracked ceilings, awful sanitary system, broken furniture and poor food is their quota of living facilities; very often several of them are herded together in one room barely spacious enough for one or two persons. In Kalavati Saran Hospital, two doctors have been provided accommodation in the mortuary! In the Irwin Hospital hostel, there are only six lavatories, out of which three are not usable, for 80 doctors.

The doctors' demand is that the interns should get gates to the conference on post-graduate medical education on November 23, he declared: "I do not want to say anything against them (the striking doctors). I think their demands are reasonable and acceptable."

The Communist Group in Parliament in a statement on November 19 expressed support to the cause of the striking doctors, and called for an immediate settlement of the dispute.

Condemning the attitude of the concerned authorities, the



Striking doctors silently demonstrating before Sapru House on November 23.

WHY IS THIS MAN HERE?

WHAT has he got to do with the Indian people? This man, Franz Josef Strauss, who arrived in New Delhi on November 25, is the chairman of the Christian Social Union Party and former Defence Minister of West Germany, one of the top-most protagonists of West German revanchism.



Even his own people do not believe him. Adenauer had to drop him from his cabinet due to too many complaints about his "character". Herbert Wehner, deputy chairman of the Social Democratic Party, described Strauss as "a power-maniac who would like to take over state machinery for an indefinite time and by means which are beyond legality."

Strauss was most emphatic in condemning the Moscow test-ban treaty and hurled all sorts of epithets at world leaders in true Hitler style in the meeting of his party at Munich in July this year.

His goal is "a clerical authoritarian police state" said DIE ANDERE ZEITUNG of Hamburg (October 10, 1963).

Talking about German policy, Strauss declared that Federal Germany "would strive for the restitution of the borders of German Reich of 1937 with all political means." Strauss wants atomic arsenal, if necessary through independent means, and go forward to press the

revanchist line. He says: "Whoever legitimises the status quo by using the magic word of 'relaxation' or 'co-existence' will become the grave-digger of Europe's and Germany's unity and freedom."

Strauss had joined the Nazi warmachine in 1939 and very soon he reached an important position in the hierarchy. He was at the Stalingrad front but ran away when the tide of war turned.

He is today the spokesman of the most aggressive quarters in the Federal Republic of Germany.

India's foreign policy is well-known: it is a policy for peace, peaceful co-existence and nonalignment. Why has this war-maniac been permitted to come here and carry on tete-a-tete with Foreign Ministry officials? Indian people have the right to demand an explanation from the Government of India in this regard.

fication, a registrar is allowed Rs. 150 a month and the house surgeons Rs. 250 a month.

The little higher category, beyond the housemanship is the registrarship. And their condition is as bad as the juniors. During their tenure as registrars, they are not allowed private practice, nor are they allowed to apply for better jobs elsewhere for more than twice during the three years of service. If they try to apply for better appointments, their applications, are not forwarded at all!

The registrars also therefore have demanded a little rise in their pay scales. According to their demand a registrar with the minimum qualification during the three-year tenure should get Rs. 325 plus two increments plus the usual allowances paid to other doctors.

The justifiability of the demands of the doctors has been accepted by all responsible quarters. Eminent doctors, the Indian Medical Association, and various political parties have supported the demands fully.

Prime Minister Shastri himself supported the correctness of the doctors' demands. Addressing the dele-

statement pointed out: "The attitude of the hospital authorities and the Health Ministry is reprehensible inasmuch as today's newspapers carry reports that various spokesmen have claimed that the strike was not going to affect the hospitals at all and that normal work would be carried on. Such statements not only indicate the fantastic notions of the authorities about attending to the needs of the patients but also point out their apathy towards the grievances of these doctors."

"The position of the Minister of Health is even more irresponsible. It seems that merely by saying that the grievances have been brought to her notice only yesterday and that they would be looked into, she feels absolved of all responsibilities. How could it be that the demands which were put forward some two months back reached her only yesterday? Does it not further strengthen the argument that all along these demands were treated with utter callousness and bureaucratic inefficiency?"

The statement urged the ministry not to stand on false prestige and immediately concede the most reasonable demands of these doctors.

THE BOMB: Is There A Shift In Policy?

The monopoly press is desperately trying to make out that a shift in India's policy regarding the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes has taken place and that now the previous firm stand that India would not make nuclear weapons has been watered down.

THE Political Correspondent of THE STATESMAN in a report on the Prime Minister's speech in the Lok Sabha on November 24, headlined "Significant Shift in Stand Seen", says that:

"...many of Mr. Shastri's listeners—belonging to both sides of the House and including both the protagonists and antagonists of the Indian nuclear bomb—detected a slight but significant shift in the Prime Minister's stand" (THE STATESMAN, November 25).

And what, according to this report, is the essence of the "significant shift"? That the Prime Minister "noticeably shed the sweeping features of his earlier pronouncements" at Guntur and subsequently.

THE STATESMAN says that at Guntur, the Prime Minister's "rejection of the demand for manufacture of an Indian bomb was not only clear, but conspicuously categorical and sweeping". And, says THE STATESMAN, now in the latest Lok Sabha speech, the rejection of the demand is not clear, not categorical, not sweeping.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES has also followed the bomb-makers' wishful line. It has gleefully frontpaged its interpretation of the Lok Sabha

speech with the splash headline: "Atom bomb policy not inflexible, says PM"

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES report says:

"Sharing the members' concern at the threat posed by the Chinese nuclear blast, Mr. Shastri said the government's present stand should not be regarded as a permanent one. No government could afford to adopt a static approach though individuals could do so.

The fact that he emphasised the supremacy of Parliament, that policies were always subject to review and warned against rigidity and inflexibility, was used to suggest that the Right campaign had made itself felt.

It was unfortunate that Shastri, in his effort to meet the criticisms of our peace policy, conceded that consideration might be given to Frank Anthony's suggestion of nuclear war heads for conventional weapons. This was seized upon also to suggest

Comment

"But before the government changed its position, the Prime Minister said, the question should be viewed carefully and calmly from every aspect. Parliament's supremacy on such matters was unquestionable..."

To read this report, one would think that the policy was on the verge of being changed, that the Prime Minister virtually gave a go-ahead signal to the "India-Must Make The Bomb" campaigners.

that this was the thin end of the wedge.

Much was also made of the Prime Minister's acceptance of the suggestion that all the necessary know-how and technical knowledge should be mastered, for the manufacture of nuclear weapons should the need arise. Here was another push away from the policy so forcefully enunciated in regard to nuclear weapons all these years by Pandit Nehru—so claimed the wishful lobbies of Right reaction.

Actually there is no ground whatsoever for these conclusions of the monopoly press and the Right lobbies. Government's position continues to be the same. And the Prime Minister has been conducting a non-stop campaign against the manufacture of nuclear weapons ever since the Guntur session of the AICC.

Solemn Pledge

The highlight of this campaign was the Prime Minister's address to the World Conference for Peace and International Cooperation on November 16. So moving was the solemn pledge given to this international forum to continue our policies of peaceful coexistence and nonalignment and never make the bomb, that the main documents of the Conference highlighted the Prime Minister's speech, as had never been done before in any such peace conference in regard to the speech of any other head of government.

The Declaration (the proposed document) said:

"The Conference heard with deep appreciation the statement by the Prime Minister of India in his address to the Conference according the full support of his government for

Fictitious 'Cuban' Delegate

NEW DELHI: The participation of a self-styled "Cuban delegate" in the XIII Convention of International Federations of Women Lawyers which concluded in New Delhi on November 24 has caused amusement in the capital.

THE woman in question, Isabel Siero Perez, by her own admission has been staying in Miami for the last five years. She came to India on a United States passport.

Isabel is the president of the Cuban Lawyers Association, but this association is based in Miami in the United States and is one of the active counter-revolutionary organisations sponsored and supported by US imperialism.

She is also one of the honorary vice-presidents of the International Federation of Women Lawyers since its inception (which should be taken to indicate the character of this "world federation" itself; none of the socialist countries sent any delegation to its convention in New Delhi).

There could have been no objection if Isabel had come to New Delhi in her capacity as one of the

federation's vice-president or representing the United States since she is holding a US passport. But to claim that she is the Cuban delegate was the height of impudence.

There is a Cuban Organisation of Women Lawyers functioning in Cuba, but that organisation is not represented at the convention and Isabel has nothing to do with this patriotic organisation of Cuba's women lawyers.

It is understood that the Cuban Embassy in New Delhi has taken up the matter with the Ministry of External Affairs.

In a press statement issued on November 24, the Cuban Embassy made it clear that Cuba was not represented at the convention and that it did not recognise any statements or declarations made in the name of the Cuban Organisation of Women Lawyers.

peaceful coexistence, disarmament and international cooperation, and its determination not to manufacture nuclear weapons and its intention to pursue the policy and, where possible, extend the area of nonalignment, as an instrument for world peace."

The resolution on disarmament made a special mention appreciating the declarations made by governments that "they would never use nuclear energy for the production of nuclear weapons."

Delegate after delegate expressed appreciation of India's stand on nuclear weapons. This stand, in the face of the Chinese violation of the test ban treaty, enhanced India's prestige and authority in the world, as nothing else could.

Democratic opinion in India must fight the Right reac-

tionary attempt to shift this policy and thus lower the prestige which India has gained.

The answer to the Chinese bomb is the banning of nuclear weapons. And public opinion all over the world must now act to ensure this. The New Delhi Appeal, adopted by the World Peace Conference must become the basis of a new worldwide action, which can carry mankind forward towards a complete ban on nuclear weapons.

Any shift in Indian policy will weaken our capacity to take the initiative in popular action and in governmental measures through the UN and other agencies to put an end to the nuclear menace.

—ROMESH CHANDRA

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NEW AGE

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GAUHATI: The five-day state conference of the Communist Party of India that began here on November 12 concluded on November 16 amidst much enthusiasm among the delegates and their firm resolve to build up a stronger and bigger than ever Party in Assam.

THE conference began in the afternoon of November 12 with Dadi Mahanta, one of the pioneers of the Communist Party in this state, hoisting the Red Flag at the delegates' camp at Panbazar. Mahanta reminded the delegates of the glorious history of the working class struggle that the Red Flag symbolised and called upon them to rally solidly round the Flag and keep up its great tradition. In the evening the state council secretary Phani Bora placed before the delegates the conference programme which was approved. The evening session also elected a presidium, consisting of Jadu Saikia, Barin Choudhury, Mani Bhowmick, Tarun Sen Deka and Benoy Lahiri.

The same session also adopted a condolence resolution mourning the death of Jawaharlal Nehru, Ajoy Ghosh, P. Togliatti, M. Thorez and other leaders of the international Communist movement as well as national leaders. It also mourned the death of all those who gave their lives in defence of people's rights and interests in our country as well as in other countries. This resolution was adopted by the delegates standing in silence for two minutes.

From the noon of November 13 the sessions of the conference were held at the well-decorated Bhashkar Natya Mandir at Uzanbazar, a traditional stronghold of the Congress at Gauhati. Innumerable streamers and big posters announcing the VII state conference of the Party and the date and venue of the open session were put up at street corners in Gauhati.

was disclosed on a scrutiny of the reports from districts, is about 3,100. There are at present 13 Party district councils, including two recently organised. It is noted that even the leaders of "Left CPI" in this state do not claim to have enlisted the support of the "majority" of Party members.

An analysis of the delegates attending the conference showed that about 90 per cent of the delegates were kisans and Party workers on kisan front. This was at once the strength and weakness of the Party—it was the strength of its root among the local peasants—Assamese, Bengalis, plains and hill tribals. But the weakness of the Party that remains yet to be overcome is that a sizable section of the working-class of the state—majority of whom are non-Assamese—could not yet be drawn into the Party, ideologically or organisationally. This conference adopted various organisational plans to strengthen the Party in the state among the working-class.

Discussion On Ideology

The conference at first took up the document "For the Unity of the Party and the International Communist Movement". Pramode Gogoi, a member of the state council's secretariat, presented this before the delegates. A lively discussion followed in which 34 delegates from different districts took part. A number of positive suggestions were made by them for further im-



Delegates' Session of the Assam State Conference of CPI

One hundred and sixty delegates and 40 visitors attended the conference; some of the elected delegates, however, could not attend because of certain local difficulties and some had become indisposed so that they could not come. Every 10 full members elected one delegate. In 1962 there were 2,100 members on roll of the Party. In this state This figure, however, does not include those who have since joined the parallel Party; their number is estimated, according to available reports, at 400.

The present membership of the Party in Assam, it

provement of the document. After Phani Bora wound up the discussion, clarifying some confusion and doubts on the ideological questions confronting the present-day international Communist movement, the conference adopted the document together with the suggestions. The discussion revealed clearly that Party members had been very critically examining the ideological questions before the international Communist movement in the present day.

Phani Bora presented the Draft Programme of the Party before the conference. As many as 40 delegates took

Towards VII Congress Of CPI

ASSAM STATE CONF. CONCLUDES

Problems Pinpointed, Tasks Outlined

part in the discussion. Most of the delegates spoke on specific aspects of the Draft Programme and offered concrete suggestions for amendment of the Draft for further enrichment of it in keeping with their own experiences. After a general discussion, amendments were moved. The conference devoted considerable time for discussing one amendment that characterised the state in India as a bourgeois-feudal combine in which the bourgeoisie is the leader. This was put to vote and was lost by an overwhelming majority. All the other amendments were recommended by the conference to the Party Congress for consideration.

Among these was one which suggested equality of all the languages of the "peoples of India" in all spheres and another which suggested replacement of the present Upper House of Parliament by a House of Nationalities. There were certain other amendments that underscored the role of the various movements of the people in effecting certain progressive reorientation in government policies in certain spheres. Just as the conference started the discussion on the Draft Programme, the amendments already made by the National Council arrived and the

delegates examined these amendments and found that quite a few of the amendments that were suggested by them had already been made by the National Council itself. The conference accepted the Draft Programme, along with the amendments made by the National Council.

In the political-organisational report made by Phani Bora, it was pointed out how the unscrupulous methods adopted by the splitters weakened the Party and mass movements in this state. But it noted that notwithstanding the efforts of the splitters, the bulk of the Party members in this state stood firmly around the Party banner and this

The report further pointed out that though the establishment of the Gauhati Oil Refinery, construction of a railway bridge over Brahmaputra and establishment of a few small and medium industries in Assam were welcome as far as they went, yet the industrial inertia had not yet been broken. The main obstacle to the industrial development of Assam, it was noted in the report, was the lack of capital and it was the foreign monopolists who still held in their grip the major share of the invested capital in this state and it is they who held the vital sectors of Assam's industries, like tea, oil etc. In Assam, it was pointed out, there



Phani Bora addressing the Delegates' Session

could foil the attempt of the splitters to a considerable extent.

In a general survey of the economic-political situation in Assam, the report observed that in the post-Independence period the state government under pressure of mass movements, enacted certain land reform laws and formally abolished zamindari in the two districts where it was prevalent. But these land reform laws were not fully implemented, nor did the government take any definite step to give land to the tillers. On the other hand, the food and price policies of the government caused an unprecedented scarcity condition and price spiralling, hitting the common people very hard. It noted how this has been creating discontent among the masses.

could not be any real industrial development unless the state set up industrial undertakings.

But the policy of the government, it was noted, had been so far relying on private sector. As there was no big capitalist worth the name within the state, the government had been trying to induce private monopoly capital from outside the state to undertake industrial development of Assam. Thus the door had been flung wide open to the private capitalists of other states to penetrate into the economy of Assam. They exploited the raw materials and labour available in this state, but cared very little to develop industries.

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A View of the Big Procession

KERALA

FOOD SITUATION STILL GRAVE

More Supplies, Streamlining Of Distribution Only Solution

TRIVANDRUM: The Kerala state council of the Communist Party of India which met in Trichur last week, after reviewing the food situation in the state has drawn the attention of the Union and state governments to the fact that the situation continues to be grave and is fraught with explosive possibilities unless the government took more positive measures to improve the distribution machinery and ensure adequate supply of foodgrains in all areas. The council greeted the popular action which forced the government to wake up from its slumber when people starved.

EVEN though the mass agitation had moved the government at a desperate moment, and informal rationing had been introduced in towns from November 1 and in villages from November 15, the council pointed out that these measures have not helped to bring about any appreciable change in the food crisis in Kerala.

The quantum of ration now being given, that is, 6 oz. of rice and 6 oz. of wheat per head per day, is totally inadequate. In many places wheat is not yet being given. In rural areas only half of this quantity is being issued. There is also no guarantee that even this quantity will be continuously available. Union Food Minister Subramaniam's statement gives no room for hoping for any increased quantity of rations to the rural population of the state. He has assured 4 oz. of rice and 6 oz. of wheat per adult.

Apart from the inadequacy of the quantity of rations now being issued, the irregularities, delay and hundred other difficulties that have cropped up in the actual distribution of these rations to the cardholders are proving a curse to the people and their patience is getting exhausted day by day. On the plea that a category of people are peasants or agriculturists, ration cards are not being issued to them.

Plight Of Villagers

Many of them are peasants only in name and they have no paddy to fall back upon. Wholesale trade is not yet directly under the state government or through cooperative societies. The societies have to fall back upon private traders licensed for bringing rice. This helps only blackmarketing. Adequate number of ration shops has not been opened with the result that there are shops where 200 cardholders have registered themselves and they stand in queues from morning till midnight.

Those who draw rice from fair price shops are entitled to get only the balance from the societies as their rations. A ridiculous situation arises when one waits for the balance ration in queue before the society and gets a handful of rice at the end of hours of waiting. The number of cardholders entitled to draw rice

from fair price shops is kept limited so that hundreds and thousands of deserving families go without any card whatsoever.

On top of this, the government has obstinately struck to a policy of not seeking and enlisting the cooperation of people in the matter of proper distribution of the rations and tiding over the present grave crisis.

Critical Position In Plantations

The position in plantation areas and project sites where nothing worth eating can be got is critical, to say the least. The plantation workers in Kottayam high ranges have gone on strike twice in a week. This stoppage of work is likely to be forced on other workers when the meagre rations fail to give them adequate stamina to go for work. A situation fraught with explosive possibilities thus continues.

The Council declared that the responsibility for the present critical situation must squarely be placed on the Central Government who have broken all their previous records of irresponsibility, callous negligence and discrimination against Kerala's interests. It has been and is the responsibility of the Central Government to guarantee adequate stocks of food for a deficit state like Kerala.

The Union Government ran away from this primary responsibility in the most reprehensible manner and has brought about this government-made crisis and suffering for the people. The state council recorded its protest and indignation at this and called upon the Central Government to give up their present attitude and approach the problem on a war footing and organise emergency rushing of foodstuffs to Kerala.

The state council was of the view that the following are some of the steps that have got to be taken to tide over the present situation.

In towns and villages every adult should be guaranteed 12 oz. of rice—the quantity first promised as ration by Food Minister Subramaniam—and people must have the opportunity to buy wheat, if they require it.

Adequate rice stocks to meet the above needs should be made available to the state by the Centre.

Cooperative societies alone should be licensed for wholesale buying of rice;

Adequate number of ration shops—one per 500 cards—should be opened and financial assistance given to cooperative societies for the above purpose.

All people who are entitled to draw rice from fair price shops should also be enabled to get additional ration cards;

Food Committees with representatives of popular organisations and civil supplies officials should be set up at state, district, block and panchayat level with adequate powers to intervene in and set right matters connected with the distribution of rations

The council meeting also discussed the programme and arrangements for the state conference of the Party to be held in Trichur on December 2 to 6. As part of the conference a cultural conference will be held on December 2 and a conference devoted to peace and disarmament on the 6th.

The council called upon all Party branches to observe November 29 as Red Flag Day throughout the state by hoisting as many red flags as possible and recruiting Red Volunteers to join the march and mass rally on December 6 at Trichur when the open session of the state conference will take place. On the days of the cultural conference and peace conference as well as in the last day's open rally there will be cultural performances by progressive artistes and their associations.

'Operation Capture'

The state council had before it a press statement of E.M.S. Nambodiripad, on his return from the Calcutta congress of the splitters, claiming for his party not only the name and flag of the CPI but also the properties of the CPI. A day after the press conference of EMS, certain elements belonging to his party had broken open the editorial office of Janamunnani, the

daily of the Communist Party members are with his party and therefore the properties rightly belong to them and in case those who are in possession now refuse to hand them over to them they will be constrained to use force to possess it.

The threat involved in this statement coming as it does from EMS is not accidental. EMS got this line implemented in Desabhimani a few months ago. During the last week, the Left Communists also forcibly occupied the Muzhakkunnu Martyr's Memorial Building. The council also took note of the widespread talk that "Leftists" are making elaborate preparations to seize hold of the office of the State Council of CPI situated in Trivandrum.

Meanwhile, EMS has lost no opportunity during the last few months to express his keen desire and urge for unity of the left and democratic forces to defeat the Congress in Kerala. He has also repeated a false assertion of his that the official Party is opposed to this unity and united front. But the modus operandi that EMS has evolved for realising this united front is surprisingly to seize the properties of the Party by force.

The council pointed out that the properties of the Party are rightly in the possession of

CPI STATE COUNCIL DECISIONS

through the shops and societies;

Special arrangements to provide all essential food articles besides rice and wheat at fixed prices to workers working in plantations, project areas and other industrial units should be government's responsibility;

Adequate rice must be allotted to hotels, hostels and canteens with the strict proviso that food is served at fixed price.

The council said that events of the last few weeks have shown beyond doubt that if the above steps have to be implemented, a powerful united people's movement has to force the government to act, as it has been able to force them to accept rationing as the way out. The heroic way in which the working class, students, leaders of local bodies and political parties of the left have risen to the occasion is commendable. The Communist Party greets the initiative shown by Party workers and units in this crisis and appeals to them not to rest on their oars but carry forward the movement and struggles to greater heights.

The council was of the view that more than ever before success depends on the unity of action and movement among parties and groups acting on this issue. The state council authorised the executive to hold discussions with like-minded parties, groups and individuals and forge united forms of struggle and movement for food for people. The council called upon the people and all popular organisations to send telegrams and messages to the Central Government demanding adequate food supplies to Kerala.

published from Cannanore, removed the tape recorder, records and furniture in the office and locked it up with their own lock and key. This happened when the district conference of the Party was in session and comrades were at the conference. All these developments were considered by the state council which then adopted a resolution on the subject.

The press conference which EMS Nambodiripad held at Trivandrum was intended not so much to explain the political decisions of their Congress, but more to raise their claims on the properties of the CPI, the resolution pointed out. EMS justified his claim by stating that "ma-

the CPI and those who quarrelled with the Party and walked out of it can by no stretch of imagination have any right to claim these. And in case the Left Communists come to seize the property using force and contrary to law and decent morals, we will be constrained to take all steps to defend our property and the honour of the Party and we have taken steps in this direction, the council said.

At the same time the council appealed to the good sense of the Left Communists to consider this issue dispassionately. It hoped that wiser counsels will ultimately prevail and they will turn their face away from such undesirable methods.

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The united action committee of central trade union organisations and national federations of labour formed at their Ahmedabad conference, the Rashtriya Sangram Samiti, at its meeting held in Delhi on November 20 and 21, adopted the following resolution:

THE Rashtriya Sangram Samiti meeting in Delhi on November 20 and 21, 1964, reviewed the situation since the adoption of the Ahmedabad resolution on October 14, 1964. The Samiti expressed satisfaction that at the third meeting of the Standing Committee on Industrial Truce Resolution, the Samiti scored a signal victory inasmuch as the opposition voiced by it to the government's proposal to pay a part of wages in kind found support from other labour organisations and compelled the government to drop the proposal.

The Samiti, however, noted that on the six basic demands submitted by the Ahmedabad meeting, viz.:

- 1 Introduce state trading in foodgrains;
- 2 Fix the fair price of foodgrains for the producers and for the consumers, and also fix the prices of all essential consumer goods;
- 3 Nationalise all banks;
- 4 Introduce dearness allowance where it does not exist; and in all cases link it providing 100 per cent neutralisation with cost of living indices on a correct basis;
- 5 Revise the bonus formula on a rational basis, providing bonus to all workers in private, state or public sector without any discrimination; and
- 6 Withdraw the Defence of India Rules and release all political and trade union detainees;

no steps have been taken by the government to concede them.

On the contrary, during the last one month, the hardships experienced by the people have been on the increase as is evidenced by the developments in Kerala and else-

where; the Bonus Bill is in the process of being brought before Parliament; the Defence of India Rules are used against the leaders of people's movements with greater frequency.

And, as usual, the government is indulging in platitudes to tackle the mounting economic and political crisis, and if they do not work, resort to the familiar methods of suppression.

It is obvious that the time is now approaching for massive and decisive action by working-class and other toiling masses on an all-India scale. During the six weeks that are still to go for the expiry of the ultimatum, served on the government by the Samiti at its Ahmedabad meeting, the organised trade union movement will have to make the necessary preparations for the success of the impending struggle.

Immediate Steps

To ensure the maximum participation of the working classes and common people in our struggle, the Samiti hereby calls upon all constituent organisations to take the following steps immediately:

- ★ Organise through their affiliates and/or branches in every state regionwise and state-wide conferences to popularise the demands and to explain their significance to the masses;
- ★ Associate all sections and shades of the trade union and popular movements with these regionwise and state-wide conferences;
- ★ Hold rallies at the end of these conferences and pass resolutions on the lines of the Ahmedabad resolution

Memo on Bonus

Meanwhile, the Samiti has submitted a memorandum to Members of Parliament de-

TO SECURE WORKER'S DEMANDS
RASHTRIYA SANGRAM SAMITI
CHARTS CAMPAIGN PATH
Call for Massive and Direct Action

By Our Staff Correspondent

and forward them to the Prime Minister and the Union Labour Minister;

- ★ Fix a day to be observed as 'Demands Day' all over the state by holding of rallies, demonstrations, processions, etc., in every part of the state; and
- ★ Set up regionwise and state-wide action committees on the pattern of the Rashtriya Sangram Samiti to coordinate the organisational and agitational work in the state.

The Samiti expects the leaders of the constituent units to attend these regionwise and state-wide conferences and to report to the central office of the Rashtriya Sangram Samiti on the progress of the organisational and agitational work in the states. The Samiti shall again meet in the first week of January 1965 to review the situation and to fix the date for the nation-wide action that now appears inevitable. In the meanwhile, efforts shall be made to bring within its fold all such organisations as are still not associated with it.

talling its views on the bonus issue. The bonus formula which the Samiti wants to be incorporated in the Bonus Bill to be brought forward in the current session of Parliament provides:

a A minimum bonus equal to one-twelfth of the total earnings in perennial industries and one-sixth of the total earnings in seasonal industries be paid by all concerns irrespective of the number of their employees and irrespective of their financial position.

b The available surplus for distribution as bonus should be arrived at and distributed as follows:

From GROSS PROFITS, deduct:

- Depreciation;
- 6 per cent return on actual paid-up capital excluding bonus shares;
- 2 per cent return on reserves employed as working capital in the relevant year and on bonus shares;
- Statutory income-tax on profits after deducting bonus payable.

Sixty per cent of the available surplus thus calculated should be paid as bonus in cash, without any ceiling.

(Gross profits for calculating bonus will be arrived at before deducting managing agency commission and allowances/salaries of managing partners).

c Rehabilitation, development rebate, super-tax shall not be admitted as prior charges.

d There should be no freezing of any part of the bonus amount into savings certificates.

e Accounts of companies must be made available for inspection on demand from the union.

f New concerns must pay minimum bonus till they start making profits. New establishments of old companies shall be treated along with the parent company for the purpose of bonus.

g All public sector concerns whether departmentally run or otherwise and whether enjoying monopoly or not must pay bonus to all its employees without any discrimination on the basis suggested herein.

h All workers including casual, temporary, contract workers shall be paid pro rata bonus according to the number of days put in by them with the concern in the relevant year. This also applies to dismissed workers.

i Bonus shall be recoverable through Payment of Wages Courts.

j Employers failing to pay bonus due before the expiry of the eighth month

after the end of the bonus year shall be punished.

k Wherever there exist awards/settlements for payment of higher quantum of bonus, or customary bonus is paid, these shall continue.

The principles underlying this formula, the memo said, are:

1 All workers wherever they may be employed, whether in the private or public sector, are entitled to bonus and no invidious distinction can be made between worker and worker simply because one is employed, for instance, by a public sector concern which has a monopoly of its product. If anything, monopolistic concerns should pay a higher rate of bonus as they have no competition and sale of products is guaranteed.

2 Even loss-making concerns should pay a minimum bonus because wages are low everywhere and, secondly, losses are not due to any fault of workers. This has been recommended by the Bonus Commission and has been accepted by the government. At the same time, there should be no ceiling because in case of a concern which is extremely profit-yielding, the workers should also have opportunity of prospering. As there is no ceiling on profits, there should be no ceiling on bonus either.

3 The formula should be self-evident and easy of application so that disputes about its actual application are avoided.

4 Depreciation takes care of replacement of machinery, etc., hence no rehabilitation is necessary. This has been accepted by the government.

Six per cent return on capital (actual paid-up) is enough return and this was what the LAT formula recommended. The government has raised the return to 8.5 per cent which is too high a rate in a poor country like India. Bonus shares are floated out of reserves and hence should be remunerated at the same rate as reserves employed as working capital.

The managing agency system is obnoxious and shareholders, workers and the concern are deprived of huge sums which go into commissions for managing agents which are fixed at levels out of all proportion to the services rendered. Hence it is suggested that for purpose of calculating bonus, such commissions shall not be deducted while arriving at gross profits.

5 As it now is, new concerns will not be liable to pay bonus for six years. Under the LAT formula, this was not so, and any concern which had profits had to pay bonus, if it was due.

Class Character Of Indian State

The amendments adopted by the National Council at Trivandrum improve the Programme Draft and sharpen the understanding on some of the questions. On one important question, on the treatment of the character of the Indian state in the Draft, there have been quite a few criticisms by several comrades. Yet that portion in the Draft is retained untouched. Obviously the National Council is of the opinion that the treatment of the question in the Draft is correct and needs no improvement or amendment.

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

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

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

"To my mind, this elaboration of the class character of the Indian state is incorrect. Here the state is characterised exclusively as the organ of the class rule of the bourgeoisie. The landlords, according to the Draft, have no share in the state power."

But then in the present-day reality of India, the landlord influence in the state policies in a number of spheres is so evident, and cannot be denied. This is sought to be explained thus: the national bourgeois-

distinction between state power and governmental power can have only such a meaning. And when it finds place in the programme, the implication is that there is a lasting discord between state power, i.e., its class basis and governmental power.

I think this concept is erroneous but I don't mean that no distinction at any time can be made between the class basis of the state and the governmental power. Under certain combination of circumstances, such distinction would really exist and hence can be made in an analysis. Kerala is a case in point where social structure and state power essentially remained bourgeois (and shared by the landlords) and yet for a time the working-class Party assumed governmental power. As a result, governmental policies did not accord with the class basis of state power. More often it went contrary to that basis.

But in the context in which the Draft makes such a distinction, it is not valid. Basic trends of policies do emanate from the essential class nature of state power as we shall presently see. Moreover, the political influence of the landlords is much more pronounced on the state apparatus than on the government as such at the state level (as different from the central level). This is to say, the landlords manage to tune to their advantage not only basic policies but also practical administration of the state apparatus.

This is possible because landlords are "admitted" not only in governmental composition but as is factually pointed out in some of the contributions to the discussion on the point already, in the other organs of power and the state apparatus—the organs of local self-government, in bureaucracy, police, and, maybe to a lesser extent, the army. The landlord is not just "admitted" into the governmental composition. He shares state power.

It is true that the weight of landlords' hold and influence on the state apparatus and power is uneven. It differs from state to state and area to area. At the level of the Central government, perhaps, it is even negligible. And on the whole

the share of the landlords in the state power is diminishing due to the basic economic and social processes going on in the country.

FORUM

(This point we shall discuss below). Nevertheless the share of landlords in state power is real.

In fact, it cannot be otherwise. When, with the achievement of national independence, the national bourgeois leadership at the head of the national movement took over state-power, it inherited a state apparatus created by imperialism with a heavy weightage of landlord influence and power. This was not surprising as the landlords and the princes were the social props of imperialism within the country.

With the national bourgeois take-over, the existing state apparatus started getting remoulded to suit the new social class that had come into power. The princes were deprived of political power. Landlords and other feudal interests were both economically and politically curbed.

The bourgeoisie consolidated its position in the state. It also created its own specific parts of the state apparatus to facilitate furtherance of its own interests—the Planning Commission, for instance. But this very process of assumption of state power and methods of consolidation by the bourgeoisie precluded any radical sweeping away of landlord influence from the state apparatus. Yet this is not the basic reason why the landlord still shares in power. It has to be located in the specific features of development of Indian capitalism after independence.

The Draft points out that the state in India upholds and develops capitalism. This is true. From this, the Draft seems to make the assumption that state power cannot be shared by any other 'preceding' social class. Hence the denial of the share of the landlords in the state power. I think that this assumption is factually incorrect and also it is theoretically not necessary to emphasise the basic fact of capitalist development. The basic trend of Indian development is proceeding capitalistically.

In our country capitalism is being built on the basis of compromise by the national bourgeoisie with the landlords and other feudal interests. Though feudal interests in the economy and social life are a big retarding force hindering rapid expansion of capitalism, no sweeping cleansing of these interests could take place at the time of or after independence. The exclusive leadership of

the national bourgeoisie in the national-liberation movement and subsequently, precluded any such possibility. There were no radical forces, the working-class as an independent political force, for various reasons, was too weak to be anywhere near influencing the course of development—which could have intervened to give the national-liberation movement a more revolutionary anti-feudal edge.

Compromise with the landlords is a basic policy for the bourgeoisie. It is conditioned by the objective course of development itself. But the contradictions between the

them continue at the same time. This factor has allowed the landlords to retain a share in the state power.

The bourgeoisie, both through economic compulsions of capitalist development and corresponding state policies, is trying to transform the landlord-property relations into bourgeois-property relations and assimilate the landlords into the bourgeois class by compelling the latter to change their mode of exploitation. The aims of Congress government's agrarian reform legislations have now been generally recognised as the replacing of semi-feudal relations by capitalist relations and forms of production and creation of a class of rich peasants and capitalist-landlords.

But this 'assimilation' is not a smooth process. It involves curbing of the feudal interests, abolishing their feudal privileges and in many cases reduction of their incomes. Naturally the landlords do not willingly give up their rights as feudal owners. They resist changes using their share in state power—not only their role in 'gov-

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LETTERS

'Agri' Community's Demand

A DELEGATION of 30 persons of the 'Agri' community was Minister for Law and Social Security Asoke Sen on November 19 and placed before him their case for including the 'Agri' community in Maharashtra in the class of backward communities.

There are about seven lakh 'Agri' in the Kolaba, Thana and Nasik districts of Maharashtra, spread over the marshy creeks and jungles. They speak a dialect of Marathi and are akin to such communities as 'Kolis', 'Warlis' and 'Katkari'.

'Agri' are a most backward community and have been declared as such by the Kalekar Commission. However, the recommendations of this commission have not been implemented by the government and the 'Agri' are classified as an advanced class. The result has been that they are deprived of all protection and facilities in the matter of education and employment which they deserve.

The Parishad of the 'Agri' community has collected more than 25 thousand signatures from 'Agri' on a memorandum demanding that they be classified as a backward community. The memorandum was submitted to the Speaker of the Lok Sabha whom also the delegation met on November 19, New Delhi.

G. L. PATIL
General Secretary,
All 'Agri' Community Parishad.

Public Being Fleeced

NEW AGE

stopped this kind of looting of the people by greedy showmen.

V. H. MASTER
Secretary, Raichur District Council of CPI.

Govt. Fails To Take Action

MANY complaints of corruption rampant in the water project of the Katol Municipality in Maharashtra have appeared in newspapers. It has been brought to the attention of the Collector of Nagpur, the Public Health Officer and the Deputy Chief Accountant of the state government.

As a result of a sustained agitation, the Urban Development and Public Health Department of the Maharashtra government had charge-sheeted the municipal committee and demanded why an administrator should not be appointed under section 53-A of the CP and Berar Municipalities Act 1922. This was on July 7, 1964. Four months have passed since then, but no action has been taken.

A petition had been sent to the Minister for Urban Development and Public Health. The MLA representing our constituency, Shankarrao Gedam, general secretary of the Maharashtra Pradesh Congress Committee, is also well aware of the corruption in the Katol municipal administration.

We request the Chief Minister to explain the reason why the government has failed to take stringent action against the corrupt office-bearers of the municipal committee, despite all the above said. Shall we expect from the Chief Minister at least follow-up action to the notice served on the municipal committee, and its dissolution under section 57 of the CP and Berar Municipalities Act 1922 and punishment to the guilty office-bearers who have squandered away the tax-payers' money?

Katol KRISHNARAO MULMULE
SHANKARRAO KENE
BABURAO KEKRE
V. S. PANDE
R. S. JUNANKAR
M. H. SHUKLA
HUKUMCHAND VYAS
V. S. LOHAR
VITHALRAO PUNJE
BHIKULAL CHANDAK

NOVEMBER 29, 1964

Character Of National Democratic Front

By PRANAB ROY, Jalpaiguri Town Branch Committee

The Draft Programme circulated by the National Council has made, more or less, correct formulations regarding the stage and nature of our revolution, class alliance and tasks of the present stage of the Indian revolution as well as the form of state to be established to complete the unfinished anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolutionary difference among Indian Marxists belonging to various trends.

BUT controversial questions have arisen regarding character of the present Indian government and the question of leadership in the class alliance of the National Democratic Front. The National Council Draft also needs correction and clarification regarding the characterisation of the transfer of power in 1947.

The CC resolution in 1947 on Mountbatten Award characterised the transfer of power correctly as an advance but our one-sided emphasis on "national advance" by underplaying the compromising role of Indian national bourgeoisie as a whole was due to our over-estimation of the progressive role of the national bourgeoisie and its contradiction with imperialism and feudalism.

As a result the element of retreat on the part of our national-liberation movement contained in the transfer of power was completely missed in the sense that much more advance could have been made but for

the compromising role of the national bourgeoisie born out of its contradiction with the Indian people and the consequent fear of a popular revolution.

In our 1951 programme we went to the other extreme of seeing only a "retreat" and compromising role of the national bourgeoisie in the transfer of power. This was due to our underestimation of the contradiction between imperialism and the Indian national bourgeoisie and its anti-imperialist role. The present National Council Draft on Party Programme suffers from the previous mistake of overestimating the contradiction between imperialism and the Indian national bourgeoisie and the consequent anti-imperialist role of the national bourgeoisie.

As a result it has been forgotten that the national bourgeoisie of India including the big bourgeoisie section, agreed to enter into the compromise with British imperialism by giving up its

struggle for independence of the whole of India (undivided India) and complete abolition of imperialism and feudalism due to its contradiction with the people of India and the consequent fear of revolution.

Indian national bourgeoisie as a whole represented by the leadership of the Congress, became shaky in face of the high stage of Indian people's revolutionary struggle against imperialism and feudalism (Telengana, Tebhaga, July 29, 1946 revolt etc.) indicating that the freedom fighters were going out of the clutches of bourgeois reformism.

It is not accidental that these popular struggles under the leadership of the working-class do not find any mention in the Draft. The overestimation of the anti-imperialist and progressive role of the Indian national bourgeoisie

and an underestimation of the compromising role due to its contradiction with the people run like a red thread all through the National Council Draft giving it a right reformist twist.

No wonder, in the second chapter entitled "Towards Independent Development", all credit have been given to the anti-imperialist role of the Indian national bourgeoisie which gives us a one-sided wrong picture of the reality of the situation.

Initial Years Of Congress Govt

In reality, the Congress government in the initial years after freedom battle, 1948-52, led by the National Congress as a whole including the big bourgeois section leaned heavily on imperial-

ism and internally pursued the policy of compromising with feudalism and suppression of the anti-feudal revolutionary movements of the Indian people and building up capitalist economy by depending on imperialist help. Internationally it adjusted its foreign policy more with the needs of the imperialist camp, (for example, Vijayalaxmi's speech in the UN in 1951 and her support to imperialist war against the Korean people).

But thanks to the world balance of forces turning decisively and absolutely in favour of the socialist camp and imperialism entering the third stage of its general crisis together with the heroic struggle of the Indian people against the compromising policy of the national bourgeoisie as a whole towards imperialism and feudalism, the failure of the Congress government which resorted to inhuman repression against the democratic movement during 1948-50 period, to oust the Communist Party (as evidenced through the results of the first

Secondly, the National Council Draft has also excluded landlords from the composition of the state power (ibid). The left Draft Programme has gone to the other extreme of characterising the Indian government as exclusively under the leadership of the monopoly bourgeoisie in partnership with landlordism.

In my opinion both the analyses mentioned above are wrong, the former suffering from a right reformist angle and the latter from a left sectarian angle. The correct analysis in my opinion, should be that the Indian government is a government of the whole of the national bourgeoisie including the big bourgeoisie. Landlords as a class also share power in the government but occupy a subordinate role in the relation of forces in the government's class alliance.

As to the question of leadership of the government, in my opinion, it is shared between the big bourgeoisie and the non-monopoly section of the national bourgeoisie. But we must not forget that correlation of forces in the class alliance of the government does not remain static, being a flexible one.

Differentiation In Bourgeoisie

In a certain combination of national and international situations, the decisive force in the leadership of the government becomes the big bourgeois section and in a certain other combination of national and international situations, the non-monopoly section of the national bourgeoisie occupies the decisive voice in the government and its leading role is enhanced in the vanguard does not remain static, classes.

That a differentiation in the national bourgeois class has

FORUM

State Power And Monopoly Bourgeoisie

In my opinion it is the bourgeoisie as a whole including the monopoly bourgeoisie that is in state power. The last sixteen years of Congress rule have benefited the monopolies. Monopolies have grown and along with them the concentration of power in the economic and financial fields in the hands of monopolies has further got intensified.

EVEN the official figures speak for it. The National Sample Survey found that one per cent of the population own 11 per cent of the national wealth. In the corporate sector 4 per cent of the private sector companies control one third of the capital resources.

The number of directorships held by top business houses is on the increase. Their increasing collaboration with foreign companies is known to all. The index of profits of giant companies is going up.

In view of the growth and development of the monopolies it does not seem correct to say that the state in India is the organ of the class rule of national bourgeoisie only and that big bourgeoisie only often wields considerable influence. Had the monopolists been out of power, the story of the growth of monopolies would have not been what it is.

The exigencies of a backward economy force the ruling class to develop a state sector, for without it the foundations cannot be laid for a developing economy. To conclude that as the state sector is being strengthened, the monopolists are not sharing state power is objectively wrong.

From this wrong premise follows a very mild programme vis-a-vis monopolies. The Draft Programme only speaks of instituting enquiries into the anti-national practices of the monopolies and only seeks to curb their power. It means monopolies will not be eliminated from the economic life

dia without eliminating monopoly capitalism is moonshine. The Programme should clearly aim at eliminating monopolies.

It is probably with a view not to antagonise this section of the bourgeoisie that the slogan of workers' participation in the management of industrial enterprise in the private sector has been withdrawn while advancing the same for public sector industrial undertakings. Even the Five-Year Plans have made no such discrimination while recommending workers participations.

In the programme for agriculture it is not clear as to what pattern of agrarian economy will the NDF government evolve. Has it the perspective of cooperative farming or does it want to perpetuate peasant farming even after land is redistributed?

It appears that the Programme favours peasant farming.

Even the Nagpur resolution of Congress or the recommendations of the Planning Report are more categorical. The Second Plan Report has observed: "the main task during the Second Plan period is to take such essential steps as will provide sound foundation for the development for cooperative farming so that over a period of ten years or so a substantial portion of land are cultivated on cooperative lines".

About marketing of agricultural produce, the Programme does not speak of cooperative marketing. In fact it is silent on that score. Marketing is a very important factor and at least on the wholesale level it cannot be left in private hands.

This is true of manufacturing goods as well. But here too the Programme is silent.

general election in which CPI became the main opposition party in the Indian Parliament) also played very significant role in bringing about a shift to the left in the national and international policies of Indian government.

But unfortunately this aspect of people's struggle in bringing about the consolidation of independence achieved through planned economic development with its emphasis on heavy industry in the public sector with aid from socialist countries and the nonaligned foreign policy with anti-war and anti-colonial bias, has been almost missing in the National Council Draft.

The National Council Draft has almost excluded the monopoly section of the Indian national bourgeoisie from the class composition of the state power, not to speak of sharing leadership of the state (Para 48). From this it follows that the Indian government is under the exclusive leadership of the non-monopoly section of the national bourgeoisie.

started to appear though not yet reached the point of a split, has been accepted by the Party since the Amritsar Party Congress and given more stress at the Vijayawada Congress of the CPI. We think that the decisive force in the government was the big bourgeoisie represented by the rightwing leadership of the Congress headed by Sardar Vallabhai Patel during the period 1948-52 when the policies of the government shifted to the right. But with the change in the national and international situation, the role of the non-monopoly section of the national bourgeoisie headed by Jawaharlal Nehru strengthened and the balance of forces in the class alliance of the ruling bloc went in favour of the non-monopoly bourgeoisie and as a result the government policy shifted to the left (1953-58).

But again with the rise of the mass movement under the leadership of the working-class which culminated in the formation of the Communist ministry in Kerala,

by
S. V. UNNIKRISHNAN

se compromises with the landlords and admits them in the governmental composition. I think that not only the role of the landlords in relation to state power but the inter-relation between the national bourgeoisie and the landlords as a class has been treated here erroneously. But first of all let me take up the distinction between state power and governmental power made in the Draft. The Draft treats governmental power, governmental composition etc., as a category different from state power. By implication, in present-day India, there is a lasting contradiction (some temporary conflict now and then cannot be taken note of in a programmatic document) between the class basis of the state power and the governmental power. That is to say, the governments in India are formed including the landlord elements and they pursue policies which do not accord with or go even contrary to the class basis and social structure of the state power. A

ON THE DRAFT PROGRAMME OF CPI

Preamble Needs Changes

The Preamble giving the assessment to the development since Independence and the analysis of the present situation in the Draft Programme is rather longish, one sided and needs to be drastically amended. It is no doubt true that the "Left Communists" do not see or highly underrate the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal role of the national bourgeoisie. They stress only the negative aspects of the capitalist economy and other changes that have taken place since 1947. Their one-sided sectarian views have to be countered.

But that cannot be done if we ourselves become one sided and underplay the negative aspects. Hence the positive and the negative aspects should be properly balanced.

At the present moment the mass of our people are being adversely affected as never before by the negative aspects of capitalist development, as high prices, black-market, real cut in incomes and fall in living standards.

It is on these and other issues that local and nationwide mass movements have to be built, the bourgeois government isolated and efforts made to bring a shift to the left in Congress policies. National Democratic Front will itself grow and get strengthened on the basis of such movements.

By Master Hari Singh
Member, National Council, CPI

Therefore by ignoring the negative aspects the mass movement for which great possibilities are opening up cannot be developed.

At the same time sectarian under-rating of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal role of the national bourgeoisie would prevent us from winning over allies for broadening the mass movement on a nationwide scale. The draft underplays the compromising role of the national bourgeoisie and the danger of foreign capital investments.

Misses the Masses

The Preamble suffers from another serious defect. It misses the masses and their movement in shaping certain policies and events since 1947.

The role of mass movement in which sections of the national bourgeoisie also participated for the formation of linguistic states cannot be ignored.

They also played an important role in the liberation of Goa.

Telangana and other peasant movements like those in Pepsu and Punjab, the Warli struggle in Maharashtra and Tehbaga movement in Bengal did play a significant role in shaping government policy and making it accept the principle of fixation of ceiling on landholdings and abolition of statutory landlordism.

Unless the mass movement in the past is properly assessed in its positive and negative sides duly noted, we cannot hope to properly develop the

mass movement in the future also.

In fact a main weakness of the draft is that it does not give full recognition to the role of the peasant movement in our country where over 70 per cent of the population depends on agriculture.

National Democracy

National Democratic Front is the correct strategic slogan of the present period. It is the fighting class alliance of the working-class, peasantry, middle classes and the national bourgeoisie (unconnected with imperialism) to complete the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal democratic revolution.

In this matter. Hence the Vijayawada resolution was unanimously accepted.

In building the NDF the task of forging worker-peasant alliance should be more sharply stressed. The extent to which the working-class wins over the peasantry from under the influence of the bourgeoisie will the Front grow stronger.

The working-class can win over the peasantry only by leading the peasant struggles and help to build their mass organisations. But unfortunately at present, the state of affairs on the peasant front is highly deplorable.

The All India Kisan Sabha and its state and district units have been virtually liquidated. Except for some parts of the country, there is practically no work among the agricultural labourers.

As we all know from our election experience it is the class of agricultural workers who solidly vote for the Congress in parliamentary and assembly elections. Drastic steps must be taken to remedy this state of affairs.

The central and state units must allocate adequate cadres and funds for work among the peasantry and primarily among the agricultural workers and poor peasants. Without doing it, all talk of building NDF will be pure moonshine.

It is the strength of the worker-peasant alliance that will help win over one section of the national bourgeoisie after another into the NDF and consolidate it. The strength of this alliance will overcome the instability of the bourgeoisie and increase the weight of working-class inside the Front.

Ceaseless efforts must be made to forge unity in action

country therefore cannot skip over the capitalist stage.

This road will however apply to a large number of African countries which have newly won their freedom. They have tribal economies and can pass on to the establishment of industries in the state sector and skip over the capitalist stage. In these countries there is hardly any strong bourgeoisie in existence. The classical example of taking to the non-capitalist path is that of Mongolia.

The NDF and its government of national democracy will complete the national democratic revolution. Remnants of feudalism will be liquidated and radical agrarian reforms introduced. Foreign monopolies will be nationalised. But the Indian monopolies will only be curbed. State sector in industry will be extended. This will no doubt bar the path to classical development of capitalism, but it would be wrong to call it a non-capitalist path.

It is not the task of national democracy to nationalise all industries. That would be the task of the proletarian state into which national democracy would grow as and when the working class wins hegemony in the NDF.

I think the slogan of non-capitalist path will hamper the formation of NDF. The national bourgeoisie will not come into the NDF for a non-capitalist path. They will come in because completion of national democratic revolution will open the path for their own growth. And certainly for a time the productive forces of capitalism will advance both in industry and agriculture as a result of completion of this revolution.

I remember that Comrade Ajoy Ghosh was of the view

other possibility and be in a position to smash the resistance of reaction.

It is at the Amritsar Special Party Congress that we, for the first time, adopted and incorporated the idea of the possibility of peaceful transition to socialism into the Preamble to our Constitution. The same position was repeated at Vijayawada. We have always in the past stressed our desire to strive for a peaceful transition but at the same time noted the other possibility.

In the Draft Programme there appears to be a shift from that position. Tendencies have raised head in the Party which more or less equate the possibility of peaceful transition to a certainty. Should that view prevail in the Party, it would be most unfortunate. The Party would be given thereby a social-democratic orientation and ideologically disarmed.

Parliamentary Path

There is also a tendency to equate the possibility of peaceful transition to parliamentary path. This tendency should be strongly combated, for our path is revolutionary and not merely parliamentary. It is a different thing that it may be peaceful.

Peaceful development of the revolution is not an entirely new concept. In April 1917, Lenin visualised peaceful development of bourgeois democratic revolution into the socialist revolution, if all powers were handed over to the Soviets. For some time he worked for converting this possibility into actuality. It was only when this possibility ceased to exist that he advanced the slogan of armed insurrection. And in November 1917 the working-class captured power almost without bloodshed. Later on a civil war was forced on the socialist state by the reactionary generals at the instigation of imperialists.

In the new epoch when the socialist system is more and more becoming the decisive force in shaping world events, possibilities for peaceful transition have grown still more. While it opposes the export of revolution, at the same time it stands guarantee against export of counter-revolution into any country where revolution has won a victory.

In our country there exists the possibility of peaceful transition from bourgeois democracy to national democracy and from national democracy to socialist democracy, because we have got a bourgeois democratic constitution based on adult franchise.

The idea of socialism is becoming so popular among the masses that even the ruling party is compelled to talk of building a socialist pattern of society. In order to utilise this possibility we have to work for extension of bourgeois democracy at all levels and at the same time show the masses that not bourgeois democracy but national democracy will solve their problems.

The materialisation of the possibility of peaceful path into actuality presupposes the

development of a revolutionary movement of the masses of such a high order that reaction is completely paralysed and is unable to resist the will of the people.

Ideological Struggle

To put and keep the Party on correct Marxist-Leninist rails it is very necessary to conduct simultaneously ideological struggle on two fronts, both against the left deviation and the right deviation. Of course the emphasis will shift from time to time.

There is a tendency in the Party at present to fight only against the left deviation and completely ignore the struggle against the right deviation, as if the latter danger never existed in the past, nor does it exist at present. A serious danger arises from this tendency. For if we cease to fight the right deviation it will become the main danger some time.

There is no doubt that left

sectarianism has dogged the footsteps of the Party from the very early times. In the very early days the Party adopted a sectarian attitude towards the national movement because then it was thought that it was led by a reformist bourgeoisie. The 1948 Calcutta Party Congress resolution is the crassest example of left sectarianism run mad. It was then thought that the Indian bourgeoisie had gone over to imperialism. The stage of revolution was virtually equated to that of socialist revolution. In the rural side the rich peasant was described as the main enemy. Thus the real enemies, imperialism and feudalism, were shielded and the allies were considered as the main enemies. India's Independence was considered sham.

This extreme sectarian deviation was later on corrected, but till the Palghat Congress in April 1956 our Party refused to recognise that India had become politically free. The hard core of the now separate Communist Party led by Comrade F. Sundararaya refused to recognise this patent

fact till the very last moment.

Left sectarianism has ever since then expressed itself in various forms. It negates or underrates the anti-imperialist role of the national bourgeoisie. It refuses to see the anti-imperialist content of India's industrialisation based on heavy industries in the public sector. Nor does it see the anti-imperialist character of India's foreign policy of nonalignment. It doubts that the national bourgeoisie can join the front against imperialism and feudalism. It refuses to accept the only correct strategic slogan of the period, that is the slogan of NDF and national democracy.

While ceaseless struggle has to be carried out against the left sectarian trend, which has now consolidated itself into a separate Party, it would be sheer blindness not to see the right danger and to fight against it. We are striving to build the NDF. Thereby we are entering into an alliance with the national bourgeoisie. In this period therefore the danger of trailing behind the bourgeoisie will rise

again and again in various forms. This danger must be concretely nailed down and fought.

The right deviation expresses itself in taking Indian foreign policy of nonalignment for guaranteed and in falling to give vigorous fight to all vacillations of the bourgeoisie in this sphere. It expresses itself in overrating the positive aspects of India's economy and in underrating the negative side. It over-emphasises the aspect of unity with national bourgeoisie and mitigates the importance of struggle against it in ideological, political and economic spheres. It further underplays the role of masses and their movement in shaping the events in the country.

The way in which the Preamble of the Draft Programme has been written is an example of right deviation. It is difficult to say how revisionism expresses itself in our Party. The Left Communists day in and day out accuse our Party of revisionism because they themselves suffer from a serious malady.

I however think we should be very much on guard against the danger of revisionism also. Therefore I suggest that in our Programme we should pledge adherence to the fundamental laws of socialist construction and socialist construction incorporated in the Moscow Declaration and Statement.

It has been laid down therein that in order to build socialism it is essential to have a socialist state and in order to have a socialist state there must be a socialist revolution led by the working-class. The working-class must be headed by a Communist Party armed with the theory of Marxism and Leninism and be able to win the majority of the people to its side.

It is distressing to note that ideas prevail here and there that socialism is being built in Burma and Algeria although no state of the working class is in existence in either of the two countries. This is clearly a departure from the fundamental laws of socialist construction and socialist construction to which the world Communist movement is pledged.

Non-capitalist Path and Working Class

The National Council has submitted a Draft Programme for discussion. The key-slogan of the Draft Programme of our Party has been formulated as the 'National Democratic Front and the government' to follow the 'non-capitalist path'. On this path we shall have to complete the stage of a revolution which is anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and to break the power of monopoly groups. The Draft Programme states that like many other newly independent countries, this opportunity has also come before us in the 'new epoch'.

The Moscow Conference of the World Communist Parties has given us a new understanding and estimate of the present situation. According to the estimate of the conference, we have entered into a new epoch, in which "imperialism is no longer the master of the destiny of mankind". And today "it is the world socialist system and the forces fighting against imperialism for a social transformation of society that determine the main content, main trend and main feature of the historical development of society."

The understanding of the "new epoch" further adds that socialism and the world socialist system

First group: Those colonial and semi-colonial countries, where the struggle for national independence was led by Marxist-Leninist parties and the working class: such countries have already broken away from the capitalist system and have joined the socialist path.

Second group: Some countries where the national liberation movement was led by the national bourgeoisie, forming a non-Marxist nationalist party: such countries pursue an independent foreign policy but remain in the capitalist system of economy.

Third group: The countries which won their independence, but where state power is held by reactionary feudals, landlords and top-bourgeoisie: they openly favour capitalist development in alliance with imperialists.

Further, on the basis of latest experience gained in some countries, the second group can again be divided into two. They are:

One: Where the revolutionary democratic strata of the population are in power and where capitalist relations have not practically developed or have developed to a limited extent without gaining dominance: the possibility of non-capitalist development is quite feasible in these countries and some of them have already followed the same.

Two: There are countries where the national liberation movement was led by non-Marxist nationalist parties and the state power is in the hands of the national bourgeoisie which pursues a policy of independent capitalist development, a policy of limited socio-economic reforms, and observe neutrality in foreign policy with tendency at times to compromise with western capitalist powers: such countries do not follow the non-capitalist path of their own.

In such countries, the capitalist relations have developed comparatively to a much higher stage before the national independence and the prospect for transition to non-capitalist road

of development depends whether the rule of the bourgeoisie can be changed to a state of national democracy, where the bourgeoisie would not be in a dominant position.

Another main feature of the present epoch, which is being derived out of experiences in many countries is: In the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution our understanding was that even the democratic revolution cannot be successful unless it is led by the working-class. But the 'new epoch' has created a condition favourable to us when the democratic revolution can be successful even without the exclusive leadership of the working-class.

Indian Situation

In the context of all such rich experiences of the world socialist system: let us examine the objective conditions in India.

In India, the national bourgeoisie is stronger than that of other colonial and semi-colonial countries. The national bourgeoisie and the progressive intelligentsia had built up a nation-wide mass political party to fight British imperialism and led the anti-imperialist movement up to 1947.

Thus the Indian National Congress although playing a dual role on many occasions during the battle for national independence could earn vast influence amongst all classes of people because of its anti-imperialist character.

The working-class, though an important participant in that movement, was in the main, under the political influence of Congress and before them the Congress was established as the only major political force leading the national liberation movement.

The Communist Party which laid the foundation of organised working-class and peasant movement in the country and have

come to the position of the single biggest force by dint of enormous sacrifice and suffering in the pre-independence, as well as in the post-independence period, is still a small force taking the country as a whole.

After independence although a socialistic pattern has been declared by the Congress the policy pursued in India by the present ruling party is to build up an independent capitalist economy.

This attempt is being made without resolute action against the imperialist foreign capital, without radical agrarian reforms and by heavy reliance on the monopolist section of bourgeoisie.

The foreign policy, though a policy of peace and non-alignment and anti-imperialist in nature, suffers from vacillation, from time to time. The reason of such vacillation is that the Indian ruling class in order to save its own class interest and to keep capitalist development unhampered wants to restrict the over-all impact of the world socialist system.

The whole planning, industrial development and the emergence of public sector, etc., are mainly aimed to serve the capitalist interest. Hence instead of solving peoples' burning problems, it has

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Correction

In the Draft Amendments to the Party Constitution recommended by the National Council which have been printed in last week's issue of our paper, due to oversight a clause was missed in Amendment No. 22.

The proposed amendment will now read as follows:

"22. Re-write clause (c) Section 4 as follows:

"Cases against which an appeal has been made to District Council or Committee and rejected."

National Democratic Front

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the non-monopoly section of the national bourgeoisie began to surrender more and more to the leadership of the big bourgeoisie and with the India-China border dispute reaching its height in October 1962 the decisive power in the state almost passed into the hands of the representatives of the big bourgeoisie and consequently government policies began to shift to the right.

With the passing away of Jawaharlal Nehru, the position of the big bourgeoisie has been more strengthened in the relation of the forces in the ruling bloc and there is greater danger of the decisive power in the leadership of the state passing into the hands of the monopoly section.

But it would be quite wrong and subjective to say that the big bourgeoisie has already become the decisive force in the class alliance of the governmental bloc. A battle for decisive voice in the leadership is going on among the ruling classes and of this battle the working-class cannot remain a passive spectator.

Unity and Struggle

With the shift in the correlation of forces in the class alliance of the ruling bloc, our attitude to the government should also change in emphasis. While our dual attitude of unity and struggle remains constant, the degree of emphasis on the appeal of struggle or unity should be changed with the shift in the correlation of forces in the ruling classes.

When big bourgeoisie becomes the decisive force in the leadership of the government and government policy shifts to the right, our emphasis should be more on struggle (of course, not exclusively) than on unity and when the non-monopoly section of the national bourgeoisie becomes the decisive force in leadership and government policy shifts to the left, our emphasis should be more on unity (of course, not exclusively) than on struggle.

So it is not sufficient to analyse only the class composition of the Indian government, we must also analyse objectively the rela-

tion of forces existing in that class alliance which is not static but flexible, together with our attitude to the same.

Comrade EMS thinks himself to be the sole interpreter of our late general secretary Ajoy Ghosh's political line as laid down in his historic Vijaywada Congress speech. Comrade EMS in his Notes on Draft Programme, analysed the class character of the government as the government of the national bourgeoisie headed by the big bourgeoisie. But nowhere in his speech Comrade Ajoy Ghosh had stated that big bourgeoisie has already established its decisive leadership over the government.

At the end of the chapter on "Rise of the Right Reaction" in his Vijaywada speech Comrade Ajoy Ghosh said: "Development of monopoly is a danger before the people. Already there are powerful supporters of the monopolists within the government. So, if the increase of the monopoly interests continues and they are successful in establishing their full control over the government then the state sector would become more and more a weapon in their hands and the state sector would develop the characteristics of state monopoly capital". (Com. Ajoy Ghosh's speech at Vijaywada Congress—p. 58, Bengali edition).

From the above it is clear that the monopoly bourgeoisie has not become successful in becoming decisive in the government though there are great dangers for such a phenomenon arising in India. So it is entirely Comrade EMS's own invention and that with a deliberate purpose. The purpose is to equate Congress with the parties of the right reaction, i.e., Swatantra, Jan Sangh, Muslim League etc.

In his "Notes for the Programme of the CPI", he has deliberately twisted Comrade Ajoy Ghosh's formulation that, "the most important division is that between the democratic forces that follow the Congress on the one hand and masses that follow the democratic opposition parties on the other." (emphasis mine).

EMS's Equation

Comrade EMS twisted this correct formulation as, "the bulk

of the masses who are to be won over for democratic policies are more or less equally divided into those who follow the Congress and those who are loyal to non-Communist opposition parties". ("Note for the Programme of the CPI, Para 26—emphasis mine).

By converting "democratic opposition parties" into "non-Communist opposition parties", Comrade EMS tries to justify his policy equating Congress with Swatantra Party and advocates policy of united front in action even with Swatantra and Jan Sangh (ibid., p. 32). But this is a gross reversal of the Vijaywada Congress speech of our late general secretary who in that speech had declared to the Congress: "At the same time it would be a mistake to equate the Congress with parties of right reaction" (New Situation and our Tasks—p. 70, Bengali edition).

So the deliberate twist given by Comrade EMS concerning the most important division in the democratic camp provided an alibi for a left sectarian distortion of the Vijaywada line. No wonder he now finds no difficulty in accepting party's democracy to be the perspective for Indian revolution in its present stage as formulated in the recently held Congress of the Left faction in Calcutta.

Question of Power

The question of power is the fundamental question of any revolution. On this question, the National Council Draft has correctly formulated the perspective of the national democratic state before the present stage of Indian revolution which is to be based on the alliance of all anti-imperialist and anti-feudal classes including the non-monopoly section of the national bourgeoisie.

But it is not very clear in the Draft Programme whether the correlation of forces in the class alliance of the national democratic state and that of the National Democratic Front are identical or not.

If it is identical (as may be presumed from the National Council Draft), then we are to accept that the national bourgeoisie may share leadership both in the government as well as in the National Democratic Front. Such a conception has evolved on the wrong assumption that the dividing line between peoples' democracy and national democracy revolves round the question of sharing or not sharing of the leadership of the working-class and the national bourgeoisie.

But the understanding of the international leadership regarding this aspect of the national democracy is otherwise. Comrade Sobolov has stated in his article entitled "National Democracy—the way to Social Progress":

"National Democracy can be established under the leadership of any democratic class—the working-class, the peasantry or the small urban bourgeoisie. In some countries the leading force may be intelligentsia, including the revolutionary army officers... This means that society can launch out on the non-capitalist path under the leadership of any democratic class" (World Marxist Review—February 1963, page 44).

That national democracy can be established even under the leadership of the working class cannot be ruled out and if such an eventuality can be visualised anywhere, it is in India. But we must not for the sake of theory, underestimate the strength and

influence of the Indian national bourgeoisie and its contradiction with imperialism, feudalism and reactionary monopoly bourgeoisie.

Under these circumstances, the question of dislodging the national bourgeoisie from the exclusive leadership of the state and sharing of power by working-class with national bourgeoisie in leadership of the national democratic state is quite conceivable.

Sharing Leadership

But the question of sharing leadership in the National Democratic Front, as distinct from sharing leadership in the state is very much uncertain and debatable. That depends on many factors, such as, the balance of forces in the bloc of the democratic parties, degree of maturity of the working-class hegemony based on worker-peasant alliance etc. If the working-class hegemony in the national democratic front fails to dislodge the national bourgeoisie from exclusive leadership in the state, working-class will have to share leadership with the national bourgeoisie in the National Democratic Front.

But the working-class Party must combine the patriotic and class approach correctly and struggle to establish the initiative of the working class leadership and of worker-peasant alliance in the national democratic front" (Communist Party and India's Path etc. by G. Adhikari p. 26).

And if the working-class Party succeeds in establishing the initiative of the working-class leadership in the national democratic front, the question of sharing leadership in the national democratic front with the national bourgeoisie may not arise. So this question of sharing leadership in the national democratic front should remain an open one.

One thing we must remember. To make the correlation of forces in the national democratic state, necessarily identical with national democratic front is unhistorical. Experience of united front governments in many countries (Spain and France in the past and Ceylon and Indonesia at present) show that working-class leadership may not even share power in the national front go-

vernment though occupying leadership or sharing leadership in the democratic front.

Due to an over-estimation of the anti-imperialist role of the national bourgeoisie, the National Council Draft has not given due emphasis on the question of opposing the compromising policy of the non-monopoly section of the national bourgeoisie towards big monopoly bourgeoisie and feudalism. In order to build a national democratic front, it is an essential pre-condition to break this compromising policy of the national bourgeoisie which tends to build independent capitalist economy at the cost of the people.

In para 82, the question of bringing into being the worker peasant alliance, which is to be the driving force behind the national democratic front has been dealt with very vaguely.

Worker-Peasant Alliance

The most important thing needed for building up worker-peasant alliance is to launch joint campaigns on issues common to both the classes. It is not so much a question of workers helping peasants to build up their class organisation. Of course, the services of the working-class cadres must be increasingly directed in building up peasant organisations, but we can do so only when we are able to make the working-class feel the necessity of building up worker peasant alliance in the interest of the working-class itself and that peasantry is the main force in the present stage of Indian revolution.

This presupposes launching of national campaigns jointly by AITUC and AIKS on common issues like state-trading in food-grains and main economic crops like jute, sugarcane etc., nationalisation of banks without which peasants cannot get adequate and longterm credit at cheap rates and working-class cannot check the depression of its real wages due to rise in prices. Without such joint campaigns, the task of building worker-peasant alliance would remain only on paper and a subject of periodical self-criticism in our successive Party Congresses.

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ernmental composition—and often for a time effectively.

A close study of the complex struggle of different forces that has developed around the agrarian legislation in post-independence India should reveal this process. The failure or partial effectiveness of many of the agrarian reform legislations in post-independence India can be traced to this. It is not that more radical sections of the bourgeoisie do not want radical agrarian reforms. In some areas or states where landlord influence is less, such reforms have been effective to an extent. But on the whole the basis aim of agrarian reforms remains unrealised because of this compromise policy.

But because of the basic process of capitalist development, there is the process of weakening of the landlord

interests in the country's economy. As a result, gradually the role of the landlords in the state-power is also diminishing.

However, in our country the economic compulsions of the bourgeois transformation of the landlord economy is weak. The economic development is not on a sufficient scale to overcome the agrarian overpopulation. And the agrarian overpopulation makes it profitable for the landlords to persist in feudal modes of production. A relapse into share-cropping, sub-letting, leasing-out on exorbitant rents etc. in zamindari areas much after the abolition of zamindari points out to this basic difficulty in the rural economy. Agricultural technology also remains backward in these conditions.

The zig-zag course of agricultural development and the chronic food prob-

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lem are sharp pointers in this regard. This, in turn, further affects the pace of overall economic development. In these conditions overall stagnation can set in in the national economy, despite industrial development in specific sectors, despite even development of heavy industry.

This weak economic compulsion acts as an arresting tendency on the process of the diminishing of the landlord's share in state power. To my mind, only a new course of social force capable of dealing a death blow to the bourgeois policy of compromise with the landlords alone will ultimately fully eliminate

the share of the landlords in the state power (such a force of course will accomplish more than merely eliminate the landlords from power).

For, the bourgeois policy of compromise is not just casual or accidental policy. It arises from objective factors of the class nature of the bourgeoisie and its exclusive leadership of the national-liberation movement and subsequent developments. Hence the landlords' share of state power is not just a transient phenomenon to be ignored in the Programme or undervalued as "the bourgeoisie admitting him into the governmental composition", his diminishing role in the state power notwithstanding.

A correct understanding of this question is extremely important as it has vital bearing on the formulation of day-to-day tactics as well as in giving correct orientation to the struggle for forging the national democratic front. I think that the formulation in the Draft about the characterisation of state power should be modified. The share of the landlords in state power should be recognised, also noting their diminishing influence. In this connection, there is

one more point. It is not the bourgeois-landlord alone who is sharing the state power. If it were so, there was no need of any special mention of his sharing of power in the Draft.

Feudal Landlords

For, a bourgeois-landlord, economically speaking, is a category representing capitalist relations of production in agriculture and as such a part of the bourgeoisie and economically not different from a rich peasant, though in terms of consciousness, he may still be in his old days in many ways. The question is that of the role of the feudal landlord in present day Indian state.

Finally, I must touch upon the role of the big (monopolist) bourgeoisie in the state power. It exercises considerable influence not only in exercise of governmental power but in the state power in all its manifestations. Its control and ownership of huge economic resources enables it to exercise this influence in very many ways at all levels of political power. It is true, however, that as yet it has no decisive voice in the state.

NON-CAPITALIST PATH AND WORKING CLASS

*FROM CENTRE PAGES

brought painful and bitter suffering to the working class and the common people.

The state-owned branches of heavy industry, although directed in private sector, and restrict the monopoly growth, are nothing but state capitalism in nature.

Obviously this state capitalism cannot be confused with what is now observed in the developed capitalist countries of the West, because in the present epoch the growth of "classical" capitalism is unreal, yet under the bureaucratic management and corruption and in the absence of democratic control the aim of such state sectors in the interest of workers employed and country's economy, is restricted.

Thus, during the period of last seventeen years, under the rule of the national bourgeoisie having vast hold amongst the masses, with ambitious capitalist planning, full of flexibility and manoeuvring, we have seen accumulation of wealth on the one hand, and the naked manifestation of poverty and hunger on the other. There has been danger to parliamentary democracy; from time to time under the threat of Right reaction and monopoly interest a trend towards authoritarian methods, policies and actions.

The mass discontent against the government is growing and at every step the government is proved unfit to solve the problems of the people. This is creating fertile soil for the growth of right reaction through whom the imperialists want to consolidate their grip over India's economic and political independence. From all these life experiences, the masses desire to reject the path of capitalist development and to bring about such a democratic setup which ensures the aim of national independence.

But our experience proves that the unfinished tasks of democratic revolution cannot be carried out by the national bourgeoisie on its own.

Hence, in order to overcome all these weaknesses and in order to ensure the national regeneration we need a new path, that is, a non-capitalist path where the state power will not be in the hands of national bourgeoisie alone but the working class in alliance with peasantry and democratic patriotic people shall

share power with the national bourgeoisie.

The concept of 'national democracy' and 'sharing power' does not mean 'tailing behind' the Congress government for the progressive measures it undertakes, and thereby seeking a chance to form a coalition, as our critics intentionally put it.

The core of national democracy shall be the programme of 'non-capitalist' path, a programme of transitional phase before socialism. The national 'democratic front' shall take shape out of continuous consolidation and struggle, by broader and broader sections of masses, to create conditions so that the programme can be implemented.

For Boldness and Maturity

The Communist Party along with democratic patriotic masses shall have the boldness and maturity to stand by those policies of the government which help further consolidation of the socialist front on national and international scale. It shall support those measures which are anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and anti-monopoly in character, fight unitedly with the government against the growth of Right reaction which wants to bring further reactionary shift in the same time shall build up an unprecedented mass movement so that the present government can be dictated the terms of the "Programme" or the government is replaced in case of denial.

While building National Democratic Front, the question of sacrificing working class interest does not arise. The working class along with the peasantry and toiling intelligentsia should be the dynamic force—in this Front, to bring around other sections of the masses and until they take lead in both economic and political struggle, the idea of such a Front shall be an imaginary one.

The question arises why the CPI does not advocate people's democracy and the exclusive leadership of the working class.

The Indian working class is not only divided but a considerable section of them are still under the influence of bourgeois nationalism. The whole working class movement till today has made hardly

any attempt to come out of the orbit of economism.

The peasant masses, the closest ally of the working class, are not only unorganised but due to diversity of interest amongst them, the present stage is not suitable for advancing any other common radical slogan than the end of monopoly in land, feudal exploitation, distribution of fallow lands to the landless and poor peasants and such measures which can ensure progress to all sections of peasantry.

A considerable section of our people are, adivasis and tribals, who are still in the primitive stage of socio-economic bondage.

Due to the underdeveloped nature of our economy and backward industrialisation people other than working class and peasantry are divided into so many economic strata and there are multitudes of conflict of interest amongst them. A good section of them want to occupy and consolidate their own position under the present set-up.

But in one respect a common approach can be evolved. All of them are more or less exploited and their emancipation is hampered due to capitalist growth in economy, concentration of wealth in a few hands and the share of country's prospect still drained by feudal and foreign monopoly interests.

Workers' Leadership

Last of all the leadership of the working class cannot be established by mere claim or by formulating a slogan. The leadership or recognition comes in course of continuous struggle when the working class for the greater interest of the country and for the emancipation of different sections, strata and classes of people fights, makes sacrifices and earns it.

Hence in all respects, the present Indian situation is suitable for 'non-capitalist' path and 'national democracy' and not for 'people's democracy'.

The basic slogans formulated in the Draft Programme are based on the objective condition prevailing in the country today. The character of state is also correct as given in the Chapter VI. It has been rightly said that the Indian national bourgeoisie is

still maintaining the anti-imperialist character. It is further true that the country is stepping towards independent capitalist development. The foreign policy pursued by the government is in the main a policy of peace, non-alignment and anti-colonialism.

But the main weakness of the Draft Programme is that it has all through neglected the role of the working class and the toiling people, its positive contribution for every stage of development, and has failed to put them prominently and sharply.

On the contrary the Draft Programme gives us an impression that the national bourgeoisie on their own became so generous as to do all this for country's progress.

And it appears that if the working class takes correct approach towards the present ruling class, the national bourgeoisie shall be ready to join the National Democratic Front and accept the programme of non-capitalist path. The Draft Programme needs radical modification in this respect.

The correct approach regarding the role of national bourgeoisie is of course necessary. Obviously, while drafting the Programme one should keep in mind the main mistake that the Party has been committing since its formation, but to correct our approach we should not overlook the past contributions as well as the future responsibility of the working class.

There might have been revisionist trend and pitfalls in this direction in the past history of the Party. We should also keep ourselves alert while marching with this programme of National Democratic Front. But it must be remembered that the main mistake the party has been committing since its formation is 'sectarianism and adventurism'.

That is why in the pre-independence period the Party could not come in the forefront and grow as the major political force of the country.

After Independence, it was

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CHANGES IN CPSU DO NOT INDICATE IDEOLOGICAL REVERSAL

From KUNHANANDAN NAIR

BERLIN: Delegations and leaders of a number of Communist and Workers' Parties who had visited Moscow in the last week of October and first week of November and had talks with Soviet Party leaders have clearly indicated that there is no question of any ideological surrender to the Chinese positions.

Anyone who thinks that Khrushchov was removed because of his "revisionism" and to make up with China somehow, would be soon disappointed.

This is also the line generally noted in the speeches and statements of European Communist leaders and articles in their organs.

Recently this correspondent had the opportunity to meet and talk with delegation that went to Moscow from the French, Italian, Austrian, British and Danish Parties, Ceylon Party Chairman Wikramasinghe, Argentine Party general secretary Victorio Codovilla and a number of leaders from Latin American and Arab countries.

Party leaders have said plainly that the activities of Chinese Communist leaders during the last few years had been inflicting serious damage on the international revolutionary movement and there is no change in this evaluation of the Chinese policies.

Public Polemics Must End

Communist leaders whom I met, however, believe that it is necessary to stop all public polemics now in order to create an atmosphere in which another attempt can be made to bring the Chinese leaders to the international conference table. Majority of Communist and Workers' Parties have favoured such a

meeting next year. French, Austrian, Argentine, Ceylon and other Communist leaders told me that the preparatory work of the conference should go on right now without changing the schedule.

Italian Party leaders however, feel that in order to bring the Chinese leaders to the conference the drafting commission meeting planned for December 15 may be postponed for a while. During this time delegations of brother Parties should go to Peking to discuss the positions and persuade the Chinese leaders to come to the Moscow meeting.

Berlinguer, member of the secretariat of Italian Party who led the delegation and Sereni, another member of the delegation, said that the Italian Party is ready to send such a delegation or participate in a joint delegation with other Communist Parties, for example French or British or Indonesian or any other Party. But the Italian leaders felt there was no question of endless waiting.

While many Communist Party delegations that went to Moscow had "reservations" about the way the public was informed of the Soviet leadership changes, every one of them have returned satisfied that CPSU is firmly carrying forward the general line worked out by the 20th and 22nd Congresses, that there is no change in the foreign policy or foreign aid policy of the Soviet government, that it will

continue to support the national liberation movements, and that there was no charge of "revisionism" against Khrushchov.

Khalid Bagdash told me that he is convinced there is no ideological reorientation of Soviet Party line, for the general line of the CPSU since the 20th Congress is the correct Marxist-Leninist line and that line is going on now as well.

Codovilla, general secretary of the Argentine Party told me that he is sure that Soviet Party and government take a public stand against the Chinese atom bomb test and oppose the spreading of the deadly weapon to other governments including in the socialist camp. He believes that Soviet nuclear might is quite enough to defend world peace and the entire socialist camp.

A member of the French delegation said the CPF hopes the Chinese leaders will come to the conference of fraternal Parties, return to the jointly elaborated general line endorsed by the 81 Parties in 1960.

Logical Outcome

The Chinese return to the 1960 general line would logically mean:

1. Giving up their unilateral re-definition of the general line of the international Communist movement contained

in their 25-point Programme letter to CPSU dated June 14, 1963.

2. Giving up their opposition to Moscow test-ban-treaty.

3. Giving up their territorial claims on the Soviet-East and plans to annex Mongolian People's Republic.

4. Giving up their opportunist position that USSR should surrender its socialist territory to imperialist Japan.

5. Accept a line of peaceful settlement of India-China border dispute.

6. Stop splitting activities in brother Parties and return the splitters to the mother Party in each country.

Would the Chinese do these corrections to return to the fold of the 1960 general line?

There are also a whole number of erroneous theoretical positions which the Chinese leaders have to correct.

Every Communist delegation that went to Moscow made one thing very clear: there is no question of ideologically uniting with the Chinese Party on the basis of its 25-point unilateral programme of June 1963.

Unity is necessary but only on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

Unity should come but it is not so easy a task, they all feel.

Every Communist delegation has made another point clear: there is no question of excommunicating the Chinese Party from the international conference and movement.

The general ideological position of the vast majority of Communist and Workers' Parties as I have understood from my talks with members of a number of delegations to Moscow and also from the line of writing in the Communist press in Europe is like this:

While striving for the unity of the international movement, while striving to bring the Chinese Party back to the conference table, Marxist-Leninists should resolutely combat the erroneous positions of the Chinese leaders given expression to in their letter to CPSU and in their nine commentaries on CPSU reply. These theses of Chinese Party contained distortions of Marxism-Leninism and dogmatic positions that would destroy the revolutionary movements if implemented in other countries.

French Party's Resolution

The French Communist Party has passed a resolution on these lines after its delegation returned from Moscow.

The speech of Brezhnev, the CPSU first secretary, on the October Revolution anniversary in Moscow also gives no concession to the Chinese leaders. Not a single Communist Party in Europe has given in writing or by action any concession to Chinese leaders on the ideological questions.

Those who think that Khrushchov was relieved because of his "revisionist" mistakes and to compromise with China, those who think that Khrushchov's exit would mean an approval of Party splitters' line, would soon realise that they have been living in a fool's paradise.

(The following report adopted by the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain appeared in the Daily Worker of November 17).

Our visit to Moscow for the anniversary celebrations was arranged soon after N. S. Khrushchov's replacement as First Secretary and Prime Minister.

WE wanted to take the opportunity to discuss with the leaders of the Soviet Communist Party the change which had taken place, the reasons for it, the method followed and the implications for future Soviet policy.

We also wanted to put the views of our political committee on the way in which the change was presented to world public opinion, and to urge the need for a fuller, balanced public statement.

After our visit was fixed it was announced that leaders of virtually all the socialist countries, including China, would be present at the celebrations of the 47th anniversary of the Revolution.

Naturally, we welcomed the further opportunity which this presented for discussions on the unity of the international Communist movement.

Our main discussions in Moscow were with M. Suslov, member of the Presidium of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and B. Ponomarev, secretary of the Central Committee.

We said that we regarded the changing of the leadership of any Communist Party as an internal matter for that Party.

We did not consider that any other Party had the right to interfere.

At the same time we held that because of the role of the Soviet Union in the world and in the international Communist movement, an event like the renewal of the First Secretary and Prime Minister was of worldwide public concern.

Thus the methods followed and the explanations given were vitally important to all Communists and we thought we had the right to express our views on them.

We pointed out that the public statement made was inadequate, did not meet the concern felt by many Communists and left the field open to rumours of all kinds.

We welcomed the fact that the leadership of the CPSU had stressed in its public statements its intention to follow the policy of the 20th, 21st and 22nd Congresses.

But we were anxious to know what was true and what was false among the many rumours circulating, and we still urged the very great importance of a further public statement.

In reply, the Soviet representatives told us that the main reasons for the removal of Khrushchov were associated with internal policy.

Questions of foreign policy did not enter into the discussions which took place about Khrushchov's position.

The past and present policy toward Cuba and the Cuba crisis was not an issue. Nor were the attitudes to the German question, Suez or the China-India border dispute.

The Soviet Party recognised Khrushchov's services and merits, and these were referred to in the Central Committee meeting which accepted his resignation.

But in recent years there had been more and more defects in his methods of leadership. The principles of collective leadership were violated. When an idea entered his head he hurried to put it into operation without due thought, and without discussion with other comrades.

This applied especially to agriculture. In the 1953-56 period steps taken to stimulate material

SOVIET CHANGES AND THE FUTURE

Report of CPGB Delegation to Executive Committee

incentives had resulted in an improvement in agriculture.

But afterwards there had been too many reorganisations and new ideas put into practice without sufficient thought.

Six weeks ago he had proposed yet another reorganisation. There had been strong disagreements.

People were increasingly opposed to these reorganisations, including the reorganisation of the Party into agricultural and industrial sections.

There had been many discussions and disagreements with Khrushchov in the Presidium, which finally felt that his methods had exceeded all possible limits and had become an obstacle.

Part of the problem was his age and the fact that he was suffering from sclerosis. This contributed to his wrong methods of work.

It was decided to have a special meeting of the Presidium with Khrushchov present. He took the chair throughout the meeting, and the other members told him of their opinion that he could no longer be the First Secretary.

He finally accepted this, and wrote a letter of resignation from the post of First Secretary to the Central Committee, which he also attended.

His resignation as First Secretary was accepted by the Central Committee. He also resigned as Prime Minister.

But he remained a member of the Central Committee and the Supreme Soviet. This was a recognition of the fact that he had made a useful and positive contribution over the years.

There was no comparison with the question of Stalin. There had not been, and there would not be, any abuses of socialist legality.

In foreign policy the Soviet Union would continue to base itself on the principle of peaceful coexistence, support for the national liberation movement and disarmament.

This was made clear in public statement immediately after the replacement of Khrushchov and particularly in Leonid Brezhnev's speech on November 6.

The Soviet Party representatives stressed that in their view the replacement of Khrushchov had been carried through completely in accordance with Party rules and was fully democratic.

They had taken steps to inform the Party membership fully, though not through a public statement.

In reply we emphasised that we were not raising the question of whether or not the removal of Khrushchov should have taken place. That was an internal matter for the Soviet Party.

If it resulted in a more consistent application of the line of the 20th, 21st and 22nd Congresses, and in a further advance of the economy of the Soviet Union, British Communists would welcome such a development.

At the same time we expressed regret at the departures from collective leadership in the CPSU in relation to certain actions of Khrushchov which they had described to us and which are summarised above.

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At the same time we expressed regret at the departures from collective leadership in the CPSU in relation to certain actions of Khrushchov which they had described to us and which are summarised above.

We stressed that we still considered a balanced, reasoned and public statement necessary and desirable in the interests of the Soviet Union and its relations with brother Parties and with the peoples of other countries.

We regretted that we disagreed with them on this question, but we thought it our duty to put our opinion frankly and forcefully.

We had the opportunity of separate discussions on the position in the international Communist movement with other delegations in Moscow, as well as with the Soviet comrades.

We met Chou En-lai and members of the Chinese delegation, Gomulka and other members of the Polish delegation, and Vlahovich of Yugoslavia.

In these talks, as in our talks with the CPSU, we stressed that Communists throughout the world were hoping with all their hearts that there would be some step, however small, toward resolving the differences in the international Communist movement.

The news that the delegations from the socialist countries were attending the 47th anniversary celebrations had aroused tremendous worldwide interest.

It was clear that the differences were very deep and there had been a long and bitter public polemic.

Obviously, therefore, the problems could not be resolved overnight. But any step to avoid a further worsening of relations and move toward a method of resolving the differences would be of the greatest importance.

Our impression as a result of our talks is that there is a possibility of such a small, but significant, step forward.

The Chinese Party leaders, as has been made clear in their public statements, have not shifted their position on the major issues of controversy—peaceful coexistence, the transition to socialism, etc.

Nor has our Party changed its position on these questions. The speech of L. Brezhnev made clear that the Soviet Party stands by its previous declarations. The majority of the Communist Parties continue to disagree with the point of view of the Chinese Party.

Agree on Issues

Despite these differences, however, there are questions on which it should be possible to reach agreement.

There is the need to present a common front against the threats and actions of imperialism. There is the task of supporting the people of South Vietnam and Malaysia in their struggles.

There is the need to improve trade relations, for example between Britain and China, and to break down the embargoes which still hinder the full development of trade with the whole socialist world.

All Communists hope that state relations between the Soviet Union and China will improve.

It is possible for Communists to have honest differences of opinion yet to cooperate on issues of agreement and discuss the differences reasonably and in a Communist manner.

This is what we urged and what we hoped it would be possible to agree on.

We repeated the previous suggestions of our own Party.

1. An end to the public polemic, which was straining relations between the Parties, helping the enemy and damaging the international Communist movement.

If it was impossible to agree on ending the public discussion, then it should be conducted in a different way, avoiding abuse and personalities and in a reasonable and moderate tone.

2. A properly prepared international conference of Communist and Workers' Parties, which should not be posed against bilateral and multilateral talks, but which could not be replaced by such talks.

3. A smaller preparatory meeting to discuss and reach agreement on the arrangements for the world conference.

Public disagreements on the timing of the world conference and on the date and composition of the preparatory meeting have, of course, been strongly expressed in recent months.

We urged, however, that all the Parties concerned should make a big effort to reach agreement on these questions, recognising that it would involve some changes in the positions previously taken up.

We hope that further consultations between the various Parties will take place and that some understanding will be reached.

Nothing would do more to increase the confidence and raise the morale and fighting spirit of every Communist, and give a rebuff to the hopes of imperialism for a continued and deepening split in our movement.

Exhibition In Berlin

INDIA YESTERDAY AND TODAY

BERLIN: An exhibition, India Yesterday and Today was opened in Berlin on November 20 by the Deputy Premier of the German Democratic Republic and President of the German Southeast Asia Society in the GDR, Max Sefrin.

The exhibition is being held in honour of the 75th anniversary of the birth of Jawaharlal Nehru and the tenth anniversary of trade relations between the two countries. The sponsors are the Friendship Society and the GDR Ministry of Culture.

Nearly 1,000 photographs, of which Indian Foreign Ministry lent about a hundred, document the country's path from 200 years of colonial rule to the rise of the new India. They impart a lasting impression of the immense efforts and successes of the Indian people since winning their independence.

The perspectives of free India are illustrated by photos of the Indian nuclear research centre in Trombay and numerous big building sites of the country's blossoming industry.

Special sections in the exhibition are devoted to the life and work of the late Jawaharlal Nehru, who helped to establish India as a bastion of peace in the world, and to the friendly

relations between India and the GDR.

Further pictorial documents offer the visitor an insight into the centuries-old culture of the Indian people.

Opening the exhibition Sefrin said: "We welcome it that India, champion of the principles of positive neutrality and nonalignment, is taking an outstanding role in the struggle for peace and international understanding."

The Southeast Asian Society, the sponsors, had also written to our Ambassador in Prague (GDR) comes under the jurisdiction of our Prague embassy since we have no diplomatic relations with GDR) to give a helping hand to this exhibition and to come to Berlin on the opening day. But no one turned up from the Prague Embassy.

Should our government behave like this? Should we not help our friends in a foreign country who want to honour Pandit Nehru's memory and portray the profile of our great country simply because we have no diplomatic relations with the country?

These are questions of which awaits answer.

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ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY POLIT BUREAU RESOLUTION

The Political Bureau of the Italian Communist Party recently met to hear the report of the comrades of the delegation of the ICP to the CPSU among other subjects.

THE delegation, fulfilled the task that had been entrusted to them, namely to explain to the leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the views of the Italian Communists on the problems of the international Communist movement, in accordance with Comrade Togliatti's Yalta Memorandum and in connection with Comrade Khrushchov's replacement in the leadership of the Soviet Party and government.

The Moscow talks re-asserted the unquestionable determination of the CPSU to go ahead along the line of the XX Congress furthering the policy of peaceful coexistence and the unity of all anti-imperialist forces in the struggle for peace, for the national liberation of peoples, for democracy and socialism.

From the information given to the delegation, it appears that the ground for Comrade Khrushchov's replacement actually lies in the criticism of his methods of leadership, particularly in the last period of his work and the negative consequences of such methods chiefly in the sphere of the organisation of economy, agriculture and the Party.

Comrade Khrushchov's positive contribution to the process of development opened up by the XX Congress with regard to the foreign policy and also the life of the Soviet society is not denied. He remains, in fact, a member of the Central Committee and the

Supreme Soviet of the USSR. It was underlined that his declining health might have had a bearing on the negative aspects of his work in his last period of office.

The Political Bureau of the Italian Party put it on record that on the questions of the method adopted to replace Comrade Khrushchov, as well as on the more general problems of the development of political debate and socialist democracy, there appear to be differences of views. The delegation of the ICP explained the criticism and reservations already expressed by the Political Bureau on these questions.

Common Aims

At the same time the common intention of going deeper into the analysis and study of these questions in the spirit of fraternity that characterises the relations between the two Parties, with full respect for mutual autonomy and without implying any interference with any Party's internal affairs was stressed. On the contrary, the purpose that concerns both Parties is the consolidation of mutual solidarity in the struggle for common aims.

This is the spirit of the ICP's contribution to the debate already under way in the Communist and working class movement, of which Togliatti's Memorandum represents an important aspect. In the

first place, the ICP will carry on in theory and practical action, the elaboration of the problems of the progress to socialism in democracy and peace in a country of advanced capitalism and multifarious social and political differentiations, such as Italy is.

The Political Bureau greets with satisfaction the new signs of an improvement in the relations between People's China, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, evidence of which is the presence in Moscow of authoritative delegations of the socialist countries on the occasion of the 47th anniversary of the October Revolution.

The Political Bureau, in accordance with the position already taken up by the ICP with regard to the problems of the unity of the world Communist and working class movement is in favour of any move that might help restore the relations of friendship and cooperation between all socialist states and thus create more favourable conditions for the success of a policy of peace and the positive development of the discussion on the main strategic issues.

Also for these motives the Political Bureau again confirmed the validity of its reservations on the advisability of calling at this stage a new world conference of Communist Parties.

The Political Bureau of the ICP endorsed the position taken by its delegation and confirmed the justness of the line adopted by the secretariat and the Party press in dealing with the problems of the working-class and Communist movement.

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Modern Yugoslavia In The Making

November 29 is Yugoslavia's national holiday—Republic Day. This date commemorates two historical events in the development of modern Yugoslavia.

While fighting the fascist forces which had occupied their country at a time when the Second World War was at its peak, the Yugoslavs also addressed themselves to the task of tackling problems of their internal socio-political development. The decisions adopted on November 29, 1945 by the Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia—the first representative body which was established while a fierce war was still being waged, constitute the basis of the state system of modern Yugoslavia. They proclaimed the brotherhood and unity of all the

peoples of Yugoslavia and expressed the determination of the Yugoslavs that the new state be founded as a democratic community of working people based on a federal principle.

Two years later, on November 29, 1945, after the Yugoslavs expressed themselves in a nationwide plebiscite in favour of a republic, the Yugoslav Assembly also formally proclaimed the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia, as a community of free and equal nations united in a federal state composed of

six independent republics. November 29 has thus come to mark a date on which the turbulent course of the revolution of the Yugoslav peoples began to converge into a new socio-political system of present-day Yugoslavia.

From one November 29, to the next, in the course of 20 years of development, Yugoslavia—formerly an underdeveloped agrarian country with three quarters of her population making living on agriculture—steadily grew into a modern and recently an industrially-developed country.

During the past six years, industrial output has been increasing at an average rate of 12 per cent. The national income has trebled

in this period as compared to what it was before the war. 2,500 factories, most of which built since the war, today employ over 1,200,000 Yugoslavs. These Yugoslavs are both producers and managers of their factories.

Every year, 12 per cent of the national income is set aside for the needs of social insurance, and one in every five Yugoslavs goes to some sort of school. In the last four years alone, the number of university departments and colleges has increased from 66 to 109.

Such a socio-economic development of Yugoslavia also provides a sound basis for her independent position in international relations and active role in the world community. Last year, Yugoslavia exchanged goods with 113 countries. An increasingly important form of cooperation, to which Yugoslavia is paying the greatest attention, is industrial cooperation with other countries.

Seeing the modern world as an invisible whole whose progress depends on the harmonious development of all its integral parts, Yugoslavia attaches special importance to her relations with the developing countries. Although they are geographically far apart, India and Yugoslavia have developed close friendship and cooperation. The latest successful example in this regard was the Cairo Conference of Nonaligned Countries.

The process of industrialisation has completely changed the lives of 19 million Yugoslavs in the last 20 years. Over 850,000 families have moved into new, modern apartments and whole new towns and innumerable cultural institutions, railway lines and motor-roads have sprung up to meet the requirements of modern man.

TASKS BEFORE YUGOSLAV COMMUNISTS

VIII Party Congress Opens On December 7

In addition to the report of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and of the Central Auditing Commission on the activities of the League during the interval between the Seventh and Eighth Congresses, Josip Broz Tito, secretary-general of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, will submit a report on the role of the League in the further development of socialist relations, current problems in the international labour movement and the struggle for peace and socialism in the world. Edvard Kardelj will speak of the socio-economic objectives of economic development and Aleksandar Rankovic on the problems of the further development of the League of Communists.

Veljko Vlahovic will report on ideological trends at the present stage of development of the League of Communists,

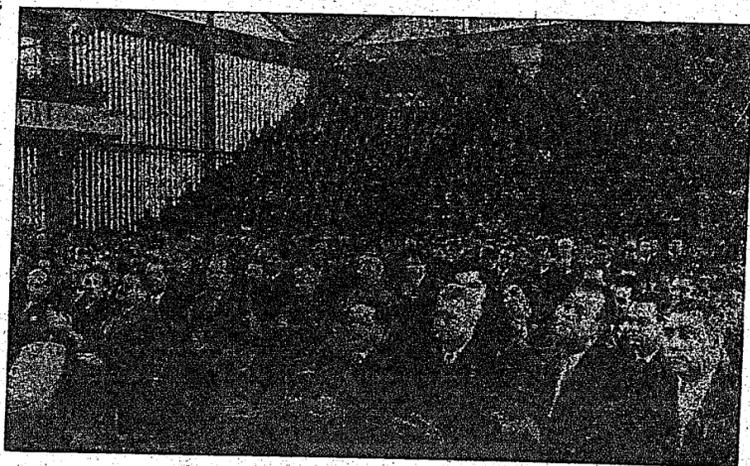
and Lazar Kolisevski on the changes and amendments of the Statute.

Party Programme

Authoritative Yugoslav circles have declared that the Programme of the League of Communists which was adopted in 1958 at the Seventh Congress will not be changed as it is their view that there is no need to do so. Needless to say, this does not mean that some formulations of the Programme, both pertaining to assessments of internal development and the fulfilment of the leading role of the League of Communists, the assessment of the international situation and problems of the socialist and international labour movement cannot be changed by the attitudes and conclusions to be adopted at the Congress.

The League of Communists is closely following the development of the international working class movement, and it should therefore be expected that these problems will be discussed at the Congress. In international relations the League of Communists is guided by the principle of socialist internationalism. Therefore the League of Communists of Yugoslavia endorses all forms of cooperation between Communist and Workers' Parties which may contribute to better understanding of contemporary world problems and socialism today, to the exchange of views and broadening of experience. It is expected that the Eighth Congress will be attended by several delegations of foreign Communist and Workers' Parties. The League of Communists of Yugoslavia is also striving for the improvement of bilateral relations with fraternal parties.

A view of the Seventh Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia in April 1958



NEW AGE

PROGRAMME OF THE CPSU: MIRROR OF A BRIGHT FUTURE

minium, synthetic rubber, fertilisers and chemicals. The city built according to plan prides in its modern construction and amenities for the population. There are 22 schools with 14,000 children, seven schools for the working youth, two residential schools and two technical colleges. Then there are more than 35 creches and kindergartens, seven houses of culture, a musical school and college. Every plant has its own medical institution and including one for children and a TB clinic as well as a night sanatorium for workers.

A plant which was commissioned in 1952 in Sumgait today produces the best grades of synthetic rubber. The tube rolling mill which we visited is comparable to the best in the USSR and tubes produced here are exported

Huge reservoirs and workshops, and an entire transport system including railway and motor cars, workers settlements of two storey apartment houses, shops, canteens, post and telegraph office, hospital, technical schools and facilities for recreation—in short practically everything has been arranged on these platforms to provide a replica of the mainland.

And soon trees and flowers will be planted; earth is being deposited around the islet and it will become a real island in course of time. The plan is to put up ten-storey buildings of concrete in the place of the present small houses and the amenities will include, gas, electricity, telephones and landing pads for helicopters on the roofs.

Everything For Man's Benefit

All these remarkable achievements and adventures of the Soviet people have a constant theme—everything for the benefit of man. All-round development of the socialist economy to attain the world's highest standard of living in 20 years is the keynote of this whole programme of construction for a communist society. And a visitor from abroad is particularly apt to be impressed by the sense of urgency and confidence with which this undertaking is being carried out by the people. The steadily increasing supply of consumer goods, new houses, better amenities and

services and social welfare for which the state spends huge amounts and pays special attention have had their impact of the life of the people who already enjoy a fairly high standard of living. But the Programme of building Communism holds out even more alluring prospects.

The Programme says: "The CPSU will concentrate its efforts on ensuring a rapid increase in the output of consumer goods. The growing resources of industry must be used more and more to fully meet all the requirements of Soviet people and to build and equip enterprises and establishments catering to the household and cultural needs of the population. Along with the accelerated development of all branches of the light and food industries, the share of consumer goods in the output of heavy industry will also increase. More electricity and gas will be supplied to the population."

Already USSR is building more flats annually than the combined record for USA, UK, West Germany, France, Sweden, Holland, Belgium and Switzerland—all capitalist countries with a high rate of development. The use of prefabricated large panels and block units has become the chief method of building construction and this saves much material, time and labour. It is five times quicker than ordinary construction. In the last six years alone 75 million people, one third of the total population, have moved into new flats.

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The Programme of the CPSU adopted at its Twenty-second Congress declared that "The main economic task of the Party and the Soviet people is to create the material and technical basis of communism within two decades."

The impact of the scientific and technical revolution initiated by this historic Programme which aims at raising the productive forces to unprecedented heights and providing an abundance of goods and services to the people is expressed in many ways.

The development of electric power and a power plant industry which could meet its requirements, progressive mechanisation of entire production processes in industry, automation, the increasing use of electronic computers, the development of the chemical industry and the substitution of metals, wood etc. by durable and light synthetic materials are some of the striking features of this process which could be cited.

Evidence to the success of this scientific and technological advance of the Soviet Union is already well before the world in the form of the conquest of space by Soviet scientists and cosmonauts far ahead of the USA, the most advanced capitalist country. One notices the same strides

establishments. The process of mechanisation and automation could be found everywhere and more so in new enterprises.

Automation and the growth of labour productivity however does not result in less employment. Actually the opposite is the case. During the 20 year period of the Programme, the number of people engaged in the national economy of the USSR is expected to increase by about 40 per cent. During the same period labour productivity in

By
K. U. WARIER

Industry will rise by 4-4.2 times and in agriculture by 5-8 times.

One not only does not hear of any unemployment in the Soviet Union, but it is found that there is a shortage of available labour in certain sectors. At the same time, it is pointed out that the growth of labour productivity will result in further shortening



With a group of Pioneers on the Mamayev Hill in Volgograd, the site of the fiercest battle against the Nazis in the last war.

in recent years in the Soviet industry brought about by new achievements in technology, chemistry, engineering, electronics etc.

Already the USSR has attained the first place in Europe and the second place in the world for total output of engineering goods. Also the Soviet Union has today a bigger industrial output than UK, France and West Germany put together, while the gap between the USSR and the USA is steadily narrowing down.

Overtaking USA

By 1970 it is aimed that the Soviet Union will overtake USA in per capita industrial production and by 1980 it will attain an industrial output twice as much as the present industrial output of the entire non-socialist world. Simultaneously emphasis is laid on raising productivity of labour by accelerating the process of mechanisation and automation, by the commissioning of new manufacturing units, by what is described as further "chemisation" of the economy and also by providing more material incentives to the workers. This is an aspect which one cannot miss in visits to Soviet factories and other industrial

of working hours, giving more free time to the working people to pursue their social, educational and cultural activities.

Another aspect of the changes that have taken place in recent years relates to the more rational and even location of productive forces. The development of industrial districts in Siberia, the Urals, Kazakhstan and Central Asia etc. as well as the development of the virgin lands chiefly in eastern areas to raise agricultural production are some of the instances. Thousands of people from all parts of the Soviet Union have taken part in this movement to build new industries and new towns where before none existed.

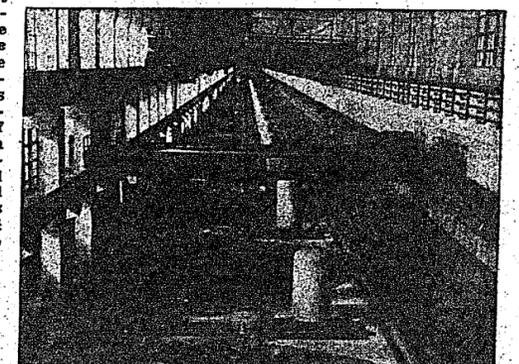
The young but already important city of Sumgait outside Baku on the shores of the Caspian sea was built mostly by the help of the youth who came from different parts of the Soviet Union and today its residents consist of more than 40 nationalities. The city came into being from the necessity of developing the chemical industry based on the oil and gas from Baku and for supplying materials for the fast developing oil industry of Azerbaijan. Whereas before the place was just an empty desert, today this young city is the centre of many important industries like tube rolling, alu-

to many countries, including India which get them for our Oil and Natural Gas Commission. Then there is the biggest chemical plant in the USSR coming up also in Sumgait which will produce rayon.

The development of the petrochemical industry of Azerbaijan in recent years could bear witness to the strides in Soviet technology. The mechanisation and automation of various production processes has ensured increased output of oil. Already hundreds of bores are operated by remote control as a result of automation.

The oil derricks which dot whole landscapes are destined to disappear and mobile lifts will take their place and do everything for the repairing of bore holes. Among other features of this trend are the use of isotopes and the replacing of metal parts by plastics in machinery used in oil industry. With the increased output of gas, almost all industrial establishments and houses in Baku and Sumgait have gone over to gas.

The "group" method of oil extraction which is in use in off-shore drilling in the Caspian Sea enable drilling upto 20 oblique bore holes from a single platform. The senior engineer at one of the off-shore drilling sites near Baku explaining the process drew



The view inside the Hydroelectric station on the Volga named after the 22nd Party Congress.

new line-up for nigerian poll

By IDRIS COX

After four years of independence there is a new line-up of political parties in Nigeria for the General Election due early next month. The situation is more tense now than at any time since 1960, and the outcome of the election may even sharpen the tension.

NIGERIA is different in many respects from the other ex-British colonies in Africa. First, it is the largest, four times the size of Britain. It has an estimated 50 million population—nearly one-quarter of the population of the whole continent.

Secondly, it is the only one divided into separate regions, each with its own Parliament and Premier. Under direct British colonial rule there were three regions—North (the largest, covering three-quarters of the country's area and 54 per cent of its population), West, and East—but last year a new Mid-West Region was carved out of the Western Region.

On the top is the Federal Government, situated in Lagos (the capital), which is reserved as Federal territory. Thirdly, there is a bewildering profusion of political parties, strongly influenced by narrow regional interests, tribal divisions, and open to strong pressure from foreign imperialist interests.

It is not surprising that the big overseas monopoly firms of Britain, the United States and West Germany take a keen interest in Nigeria. It offers splendid prospects for rising profits and the old strategy of divide and rule.

When the 1947 Constitution divided Nigeria into three regions the only organised voice of the liberation movement was the NCNC (National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons), led by Dr. Azikiwe. Its new name is "National Council of Nigerian Citizens", and Dr. Azikiwe is President of the Republic of Nigeria.

division of nigerian

Dr. Azikiwe and the NCNC waged a powerful campaign against the division of Nigeria. But it was not powerful enough. Not only did the 1947 Constitution go through, the separate regions were consolidated by the 1951 Macpherson Constitution, named after the British Governor at that time.

This destroyed the prospect of a united national movement for the whole of Nigeria. In the Northern Region the Northern People's Congress (NPC) was formed expressing the class interests of the feudal nobility and the big bourgeoisie.

It was opposed by the Northern Elements Progressive Union (NEPU), which has always fought in the interests of the workers, peasants and small traders, and against feudal repression.

In the Western Region the Action Group came into being, fighting in the interests of the big cocoa tra-

ders and other capitalist interests, and to protect the position of the traditional Yoruba chiefs.

Even the NCNC leadership was strongly influenced by African capitalist interests. While all three parties professed their interest to be for the Nigerian masses, it became obvious that they were also concerned with separate regional interests and tribal traditions.

In the 1951 elections the NPC won a majority in the North, and concerned itself mainly with the interests of the Fulani feudal emirs. The NCNC won a majority in the East, but was always in a dilemma as to how to keep its influence with the Ibo majority as well as with winning over the Yoruba majority in the West.

The Action Group won the majority in the West, but was unable to conceal its sympathy for rising bourgeois interests and the traditional Yoruba organisations.

'59 elections

The Nigerian masses have paid the price for the artificial division of their country into separate regions. The Nigerian Constitution lays it down that the distribution of seats in the Federal Assembly shall be based on population.

So in the 1959 elections the North was allocated 174 seats, the East seventy-three, the West sixty-two and Lagos three—a total of 312. The NPC won 134 seats, the NNC eighty-nine the Action Group seventy-three, and others sixteen.

Women in the Northern Region are deprived of the vote, but elsewhere in Nigeria there is universal adult franchise. As a result the NPC was able to obtain 134 seats from 2,027,194 votes, while the NCNC won only eighty-nine seats with half a million more—2,592,829.

The average vote needed to secure an NPC seat was 15,128; for an NCNC seat it was 29,140—nearly twice as many. The total votes cast for other parties was over five million—two-and-a-half times as many as for the NPC.

Although the NPC emerged with more seats than any other single party, it could not govern alone. Had the NCNC and Action Group formed a coalition they could have defeated the more reactionary NPC.

All kinds of feelers were put out, including an alliance of NPC and the Action Group, but the final outcome was a coalition government of the NPC and NCNC (which also involved NEPU)—alliance of the most reactionary and the most progressive.

There were those who hoped the NCNC would ex-

ert a progressive influence on the NPC. They have been deceived. The NPC has made the running towards reaction, and the NCNC now has to share the blame. The NCNC decision to join a coalition with the NPC was one of the worst blunders of its entire history.

It is not easy for political leaders to admit to having made blunders, but Dr. Azikiwe must be feeling uneasy. Earlier this year he conceded that "history will judge if I

exit ikeda

By D. PETROV

It was only a few months ago, in July, that Premier Hayato Ikeda got himself elected Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) Chairman for the third time and, after lengthy consultations, formed a new Cabinet.

THE fight for the party leadership was very bitter and one of Japan's biggest papers, the *Mainichi*, predicted that "the new Ikeda Cabinet may not maintain its life until this winter..." That prediction was to prove true.

On October 25 Ikeda announced that he was resigning on health grounds. But the Premier's ill-health was not the main reason for his Cabinet's demise; it only precipitated the political crisis that had long been developing. That crisis was the product of the government's policy—economic, home and foreign—over the last four years.

After coming to the helm in July 1960, Ikeda launched a much-publicized "Doubling the National Income Plan." The national income was to rise by an average 7.8 per cent annually and by 1970 was to be double the 1960 figure. The government promised corresponding increases in wages and salaries.

It was not long, however, before the real purpose of the plan became apparent. Japan's industrial production rose between 1960 and mid-1964 by about 60 per cent. But the result was to aggravate enormously the disparities in her economy, notably the imbalance between production and sales. In 1963 unsold stocks showed a 70 per cent increase, and by this summer a 100 per cent increase, over 1960.

Thus, the rate of industrial expansion far outran what the home and foreign market could absorb. Even though Japan managed to push her exports from \$4,054 million in 1960 to \$5,452 million in 1963—a big achievement which gained her considerable ground in the world market from the other imperialist states—this was not enough to take up the slack.

Other serious troubles developed too. Galloping industry required vast quantities of imported raw materials, also various imported machinery and equipment. As a result, Japan's imports in 1963 came to \$8,736 million, giving the huge trade gap of \$1,284 million. She managed to balance her payments only by taking up foreign loans and credits. But these, after all, will have to be repaid sooner or later, and with interest...

The home market did not come up to expectations either. While initially the industrial boom

erred on the side of optimism by preferring the NPC to the Action Group" (*The Times*, 10-3-64).

Dr. Okpara, who replaced Dr. Azikiwe as NCNC leader is forced to be more forthright. He now admits that this coalition was a "great mistake", and that it was bound to be dissolved this year (West Africa, 13-6-64).

Though the Federal coalition government remains in being until the December elections, the NPC-NCNC alliance has already broken up. New political alignments have now come into being.

In the north the NEPU has joined hands with the progressive United Middle Belt Congress (UMBC) to form a Northern Progressive Front (NPF). This in turn has joined with the NCNC, and the Action Group to form what is termed the United Progress-

sive Grand Alliance (UPGA)—the progressive front.

On the other hand, the NPC has joined with a break-away movement from the Action Group—the Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP), in the western region, led by Chief Akintola; the Mid-West Democratic Front (MDF), and the Nigeria Delta Congress (NDC) in the eastern region to form what is termed the Nigerian National Alliance (NNA)—the reactionary front.

This does not mean that there is a clear dividing line between the two alliances, for there are conflicting progressive and reactionary trends within all the political parties. But the strongest progressive forces are within the first grouping, the UPGA.

The most positive feature

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Around the second slogan—the "moulding of a new man"—the government developed a programme which included cultivation of revenge ideas, fostering the cult of the Emperor, boosting theories of "collaboration" between labour and capital, and, lastly, outright suppression of the labour and democratic movement.

It was a programme for deadening and stupefying Japan's millions, who were invited blindly to accept Big Business policies and renounce all struggle for their rights. The government proclaimed such struggle to be "immoral," while Hajime Maeda of the Japanese Federation of Employers' Associations roundly declared that "it would be stupid for management and labour to go on quarrelling" and that there must now be "class peace" and "harmony of interests" between labour and capital.

It hardly had to be said that the Ikeda government was not able to carry out this programme. The people saw through the slogans of "building a new state" and "moulding a new man," and Ikeda's four years as Premier were years of unceasing struggle by millions in defence of the democratic freedoms, against the onslaught of reaction and against remilitarisation.

The government's foreign policy, with its support for US aggressive actions in the Far East, also aroused widespread opposition. A storm of indignation greeted the decision to open Japanese ports to American nuclear submarines. This decision was one of the things that hastened the government crisis.

Ikeda's resignation was received by Japan's democratic forces as self-confessed bankruptcy. The Socialists—the leading opposition party—declared the Liberal Democrats completely discredited; they had proved their inability to steer a course consistent with the interests of the great majority of the people.

The Socialist Party demanded the dissolution of Parliament and a new election to determine the popular will.

But the Liberal Democrats, aware of the growing mass dissatisfaction with their policy, did not choose to face the electorate. After lengthy negotiations behind the scenes, Eisaku Sato, brother of ex-Premier Kishi, was made the party's new chairman, and on November 9 the Liberal-Democrat majority in Parliament voted him into the Premiership.

It has been reported in the Japanese press that the Liberal Democrat chiefs installed Sato only on condition that he carried on the old Ikeda policy. But that would be utterly at variance with the demands of the Japanese people, who insist on a thoroughly new look in both home and foreign affairs.

Analysing the British election results and the first steps of the Labour Government, John Collan, General Secretary of the CPGB, told its Executive Committee the following in course of his report on November 13:

THE defeat of the Tories after 13 years is of the greatest possible political significance. It can be made the start of a big new political advance in Britain.

It was the result of popular dissatisfaction going far beyond working-class ranks and reflects the crisis in British imperialism.

But while it was a vote for a change, it was not the resounding vote of confidence in the Labour Party and Labour policies which was possible.

Some argued that the less radical Labour's programme, the more likely it was to attract the so-called uncommitted voter.

In fact the policy was watered down with this aim. This did not bring the desired result. Instead we have the big Liberal vote and the tiny Labour majority.

What is the big thing facing every Labour supporter, every Communist, every progressive?

★ To work in such a way as to ensure that the Tories are not allowed to stage a comeback.

★ To ensure that the next election, whenever it is fought, results in an even greater resounding Tory defeat.

The government starts with an enormous fund of good will—great masses of the people not only want the Labour government to survive, but to win.

We Communists want the Labour government to survive and win victories for the people. We will support any progressive measures or steps it takes.

Harold Wilson's attitude that he intends to govern despite the slender majority, is correct. There should be no concessions to the Tories.

Any criticism we make will be to strengthen the government and its standing with the people.

Our test will be what is good for the working-class and mass of the people, and what is bad for the Tories and the millionaires.

The new government has inherited sharp, social, political and economic problems from the Tories—the acute balance of payments crisis (and here the key issue is

What the mass of the people want is systematic advance in our social services, the type of modernisation which brings advances in wages and conditions, decisive action against the monopolists, speculation and profits, the cutting of military expenditure and new initiatives in British foreign policy to end colonial wars and place the country in the vanguard of the struggle for peaceful coexistence and disarmament.

It will be noted that the key cabinet positions, responsible for major policy in home and foreign

Chance For A Big Political Advance In Britain

Labour In Power: What Next?

affairs, are in the hands of the Right wing of the movement.

As for those in the Left in the government and the Left MPs in general, they can rest assured that every struggle they put up for progressive policies will get the full backing of all that is best in the movement.

We now have the first steps to tackle the economy, the queen's speech and the first budget.

On the economy generally, steel will be nationalised, the Crown

Commission on Land is to be introduced.

There is the promise to deal with speculative gains in the spring and the halt to office building in London.

But at the same time we have the general assurance to the big monopolies that Labour will work in partnership with them; Callaghan's reassurance to the City, Jay's statement that they have no bias against private business, that profits earned are the sign of a healthy economy, and Brown's statement that "we want private enterprise to flourish". So we have a dual approach.

The first steps to tackle the balance of payments have been taken with the 15 per cent imports tax, the 2 per cent export rebate.

These steps will cut imports, but they will also increase prices, and are already inviting retaliation from some of Britain's trading partners. A really big change in the adverse balance can only come by slashing military expenditure abroad and the export of capital.

On the social side there has been the widely welcomed decision to increase pensions and benefits. The prescription charges are to be removed.

The Rent Act is to be repealed and emergency legislation to stop evictions has been drafted.

But the new benefits will not operate till March. The increase of 2s in the insurance stamps is a heavy imposition on the workers, and the Petrol Tax means dearer transport.

The new taxes will reduce purchasing power more than the pensions increases will raise it.

The government regards an "incomes" policy as its major pre-occupation. There is to be a reorganisation of NEDC. The consultation with the trade unions and the employers has commenced.

But trade unionists have noted that while the government is clear that wages are to be restrained, it is vague on prices, and even more vague on profits, promising fiscal measures to deal with what they describe as "excessive" profits and dividends.

On foreign and defence policy we have had the visit of Gordon Walker to the US; the reaffirmation of Nato, the proposed visit to renegotiate Nassau and a dangerous ambiguity on the MLF.

The peace movement should now develop a great renewed national campaign for its aims and in particular against the MLF. Here we should recall the resolutions of the Trade Union Congresses and the Labour movement generally on these issues.

We should have the greatest possible anti-colonial mass movements of solidarity and action on Rhodesia, South Africa, Malaysia and Aden, and against racial discrimination.

How far the government goes will depend in the last analysis on the scope and size of the mass movement. This is the way to carry forward the political victory in the general election to the lasting defeat of the Tories.

NIGERIA POLL

* FROM FACING PAGE

In Nigeria is the growing co-operation between the two wings of the trade union movement. Their Joint Action Committee led the successful general strike of 800,000 workers last June, which won an increase in minimum wages in Lagos and other towns from £7 12s a month to £10 a month, and in other areas from £4 a month to £5 4s—an increase of 30 per cent.

These wage rates are still extremely low (especially when compared with those in Ghana, which are more than double), but they represent a big advance for Nigeria. Moreover, the strikers won full payment of wages for the duration of the strike—something which has never been achieved even in Britain.

The Joint Action Committee is still carrying on the fight for higher wages and improved conditions. There have been further successful strikes since last June.

Another equally positive feature of the trade union struggle is that it transcends regional divisions and tribal interests. It unites workers of different regions, languages and tribes.

Even more positive is the political impact made by the Socialist Workers' and Far-

mers' Party (SWAFP), formed in August 1963. In little over a year it has established itself in key centres like Lagos (the federal capital), and in Ibadan, Kano, Benin, and Enugu (the capitals of the four regions).

Like the trade unions it transcends regional boundaries and tribal separatism, and strives to unite all the anti-imperialist forces of Nigeria.

Its programme makes it clear that its policy is based on scientific socialism and the principles of Marxism-Leninism. Its strategy is to work for the formation of a national democratic front of all progressive forces against neo-colonialism.

It will work in cooperation with the United Progressive Grand Alliance (UPGA) and will seek to reach agreement for a number of its own candidates to contest in the united fight for a new progressive government.

This is the new political voice which is now making itself heard in many parts of Nigeria. It is certain to make rapid strides, and deserves the support of all those who are anxious to go forward from political independence to complete national liberation, the building of an independent democratic state in Nigeria, and advancing to socialism.



ASSAM PARTY CONFERENCE

* FROM PAGE 5

As many as 32 delegates participated in the discussion on the report. Many of them made valuable suggestions for further improvement of the report. These positive suggestions were accepted by the secretary. The report, together with suggestions, was adopted by the conference.

The conference also adopted several resolutions on pressing problems of the state. It noted with concern the present food situation in Assam and the ever-mounting prices of all essential commodities. It demanded immediate measures to ensure supply of food and other essential commodities at reasonable prices, support to the policy of deportation of all illegal Pakistani infiltrants. But it recorded its emphatic protest against harassment of Indian citizens in the name of driving out infiltrators. It also demanded punishment of all those police officials who would be found responsible for harassment of Indian citizens in the name of deportation of Pak infiltrants.

It observed that a large number of refugees had been coming to this state from East Pakistan following the last communal disturbances in that country. The condition of the camps in which these refugees were lodged, a resolution of the conference observed, was far from satisfactory. The resolution demanded that those of these refugees who were to be resettled in this state should be immediately shifted to sites of their permanent resettlement and the rest of the refugees should be shifted without further delay to other states where they are to be resettled. Pending that, the condition of refugee camps should be improved and the inmates of these camps should be provided with adequate food and other necessities.

By another resolution the conference demanded immediate release of all the political prisoners detained in different states of India. It also demanded withdrawal of the Defence of India Act and the lifting of the national emergency.

The conference elected a

19-member state executive and a seven member secretariat consisting of Phani Bora (secretary), Barin Choudhury, Pramode Gogoi, Dadi Mahanta, Suren Bhatta, Dhireswar Kalita and Benoy Lahiri. Eleven delegates and six observers were also elected by the conference. All elections were held unanimously.

The conference also heard and discussed reports on trade union activities, presented by Barin Choudhury; on Kisan Sabha, presented by Tarun Sen Dewa; on students and youth, presented by Kamal Bora and on cultural front presented by Beni Mahanta. The conference adopted certain decisions for further improvement of activities in these mass fronts.

On the closing day of the conference, its decisions were reported to a big public meeting, presided over by Dhireswar Kalita. A big procession paraded the main thoroughfares of Gauhati before the public meeting. Kisans from the village areas also came to join the procession.

Party Firmly United In Bihar

ASSESSMENT OF DISTRICT CONFERENCES

From K. GOPALAN

PATNA: The district conferences of the Communist Party of India in Bihar which have so far been held have clearly manifested that the Party in the state is firmly united ideologically as well organisationally.

DISCUSSIONS held at the conferences on the Draft Programme of the Party and the report on the ideological controversy in the international Communist movement have revealed that there is no fundamental difference on the basic concepts of the Programme and the ideological dispute.

After discussions the district conferences adopted the Draft Programme. In some of the districts a few minor amendments have been recommended. But nowhere the concept of National Democratic Front and the National Democratic Government and its tasks has been questioned. The document on ideological dispute has also been generally approved.

The organisational reports adopted at the district conferences have exposed the false claim of the splitters in the state. They had claimed that about 8000 out of 14,000 members in the state were with them. The district reports, which also dealt with the effect of the split, have shown that very few members—less than one thousand—have joined the splitters.

In Singhbhum district, where splitters claimed complete control over the district council, the conference has given a sharp rebuff to them by a unanimous declaration "reiterating complete allegiance to CPI and its National Council headed by Comrade S. A. Dange".

The conference resolved to make tireless efforts to maintain the unity of the Party organisation.

This resolution, sponsored by Dr. U. Misra MP and Nripen Banerjee, was unanimously adopted with thunderous applause.

The Singhbhum district conference was held from November 13 to 15 in the cement township of Jhinkpani. Ninetyfour delegates attended the conference.

Jagannath Sarkar, member of the secretariat of the Bihar state council, introduced the Draft Programme of the Party. Twentyone delegates participated in the debate on the Draft. Nripen Banerjee moved a resolution indicating his differences on some of the formulations of the Draft Pro-

gramme relating to the class character of the state, role of the national bourgeoisie and the stage of revolution. The resolution was adopted by majority.

The conference conveyed its warm greetings to Kedar Das, Ali Amjad, Barin Dey, Satya-

narayan Singh and Urdhab Purty and other working class comrades of Jamshepur and Gua who are undergoing imprisonment in connection with the great heroic struggle of Jamshepur and Gua workers.

The conference unanimously elected a 37-member district council of the Party and 10 delegates to the state conference.

The Patna district conference of the CPI was held at Bihar Sharif on November 13 to 15. Sixtyfive delegates and ten observers attended the conference.

The organisational report adopted at the conference has given an assessment of the effect of the split on the district organisation. Efforts of the splitters to capture the district council and its office have been defeated by the district leadership. Despite all efforts only 100 out of 818 members of the Party have defected to the splitters group. Meanwhile 117

new members have joined the Party.

In the discussion on the Draft Programme 28 delegates participated. The Draft was introduced by Krishna Chandra Chaudhuri, member of the state council secretariat. During the discussion some delegates expressed their disagreement on the assessment of the role of the Congress Party and achievement of the government, role of the national bourgeoisie and class character of the state. But none of them were pressed to a vote. Finally the Draft Programme, with amendments made by the National Council, was unanimously adopted.

The conference elected a 51-member district council and 10 delegates for the state conference. Gauri Shankar was re-elected secretary of the district council of the Party.

The Dhanbad district conference was held on November 15 and 16. The organisational-political report of the district, the Draft Programme of the Party and the document on ideological

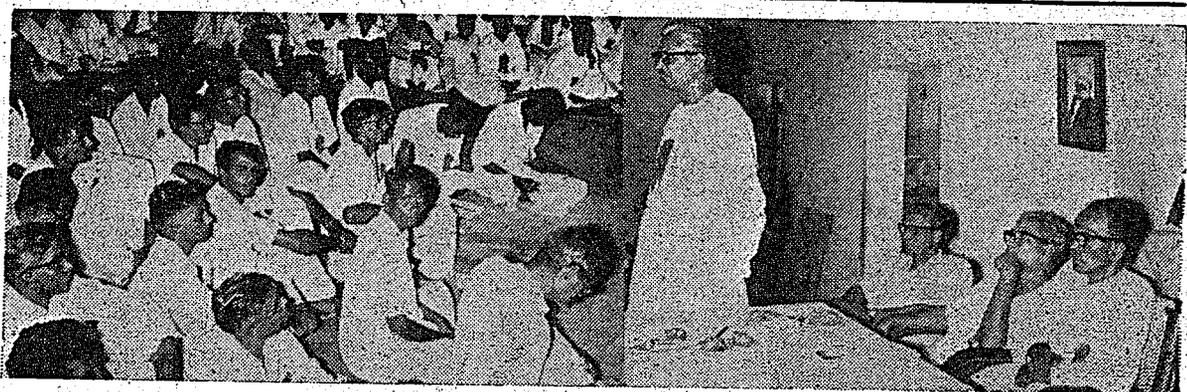
dispute were thoroughly discussed and unanimously adopted.

The split in the Party has not done any harm to this industrial district. Out of 200 members in the district only 25 have joined the splitters. Neither the Party organisation nor the trade unions have been affected by the defections.

The Draft Programme was introduced by Ratan Roy, member of the state executive committee of the Party, for discussion. It was unanimously adopted after discussion.

The conference elected a 15-member district committee and a seven-member secretariat. Chinmoy Mukherjee was re-elected secretary of the district council.

District conferences were held in Saharsa, Ranchi, South Monghyr, North Monghyr and Champaran districts in the last week. The Draft Programme and document on ideological controversy were the main subject for discussions in these conferences. The Draft was approved at all conferences.



Y. V. Krishna Rao welcomes delegates to the Andhra State Conference of the CPI.

Andhra State Conference Begins

From MOHIT SEN

GUNTUR: Six-hundred-and-fifty delegates and observers attended the 10th conference of the Andhra Pradesh Council of the Communist Party of India, which was held at Guntur from November 18 to 22. They represented a membership of 20,000 who had been registered in 1962 out of a then total membership of close on 30,000. In addition preliminary reports indicate that already over 10,000 new members have been recruited.

A HEARTENING feature has been the return to the CPI members who had been temporarily confused by the splitters. Among the delegates here, were quite a few who handed in the cards of the splitters' party, including some who had gone as delegates to their Calcutta congress.

After the flag hoisting ceremony by G. Rajeswara Rao, the conference elected a presidium consisting of M. Chandrasekhara Rao, Iswara Reddy, MP, Vimala Devi MP, S. Vemayya MLA, and Makhdoom

Mohiuddin, leader of the opposition in the Andhra Legislative Council.

A steering committee was elected consisting of N. Rajasekhara Reddy, Tamareddy Satyanarayana, Y. V. Krishna Rao, Sankur Appa Rao, Yellamanda Reddy, N. Giri Prasad, and B. Yella Reddy. A credentials committee was elected consisting of I. Sadasivan, T. Venkateswara Rao and A. Ramchandra Reddy.

C. Rajeswara Rao initiated the discussion on the Draft Programme, as amended by the Trivandrum meeting of the National Council.

In the discussions that went on till the night of November 20, about 100 delegates participated. Many others had given their amendments and wanted to speak on the amendments of others but

had to be barred due to lack of time.

The discussions revealed a deep sense of confidence and partisanship. The controversy was sharp and unsparing but without bitterness or factional groupings. It reflected the deep thought that had been given to the formulations in the Programme and the discussions that had taken place on it at the district conferences.

It was, indeed, a most refreshing experience to be a participant in such discussions and to realise once again that genuine controversy is 100 per cent removed from factional rigidity.

There were three main themes in the debate on which voting also took place:

The first related to the compromising role of the Congress leadership at the time of the winning of independence, against the background of the rising revolutionary movement which it feared would go out of its control. Moved by Y. V. Krishna Rao and Rajasekhara Reddy an amendment to this effect was carried by a majority of 29 votes.

The second related to the characterisation of the present Indian state. An amendment mov-

ed by Y. V. Krishna Rao, Rajasekhara Reddy and Adinarayan Reddy wanted the formulation in the Draft Programme to be amended to include the capitalist landlords as part of the ruling class. The conference rejected this amendment by a large majority and decided to retain the original formulation in the Draft Programme.

The third related to the concept of national democracy. The formulation, as contained in the National Council amendment, relating to the question of leadership in the National Democratic Front was removed through an amendment moved by Giri Prasad and substituted by an amendment moved by Rajasekhara Reddy and Mohit Sen which made it clear that while the national bourgeoisie has to be dislodged from the position of executive leadership, it will be compelled to share leadership with the working class in the national democratic front. This amendment was carried by a narrow majority of 12 votes.

After this wide-ranging debate the Programme, as finally amended, was unanimously adopted with loud applause and acclamation.

(Report incomplete)

Mirror For A Bright Future

*FROM PAGE 17

new heights need peace above everything to complete their programme of building the new communist society. Go anywhere in the Soviet Union, you come across the most ardent and sincere desire of the people for peace. It is a sentiment which is passionately expressed in all their activities.

Even now housing shortage is felt despite the very large scale building activity. But by 1970, shortage in housing will be done away with in the Soviet Union and by 1980 each family will get a flat with all modern amenities. The bene-

fits of modern housing will be extended to cover the peasantry also. A more important prospect is that of rent-free housing.

All the public services are also to become free. To the already available free medical service will be added free medicines and free sanatorium accommodation. Among the free public services will be city transport. By 1980 about half the requirements of the population will be met from public funds.

The Soviet Union will also have the shortest and at the same time the most productive and highest paid working day. As a result of the shorter working hours and rise in

the living standard of the people, opportunities will be created for everyone to receive a higher or secondary special education. By 1980 it is estimated that the number of students at higher educational institutions will reach about eight million as against 2.4 million in 1960. With the rise in living standards a corresponding rise in the cultural level of the people is assured and much emphasis is laid today on the production of goods to meet the cultural needs of the population.

(Concluded)

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