

# Rout Communalism

## searchlight on the national democratic convention in delhi



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By Our Political Correspondent

For a long while now, democratic forces in the country have been talking about the necessity of establishing a common platform to fight communalism and to help build that unity, which is so vital for India's future. 1964 has seen a greater awareness of this necessity, following the round of communal violence, which took such a heavy toll, in the wake of the carnage in East Pakistan.

**T**HE National Democratic Convention held in New Delhi on November 29 and 30 was a step in the direction of building such a common platform. And all secular, anti-communal forces in the country will undoubtedly support the main content of the resolutions and the speeches made at the convention. A large number of leading personalities of the Congress Party were associated with the work of the Steering Committee, and the conference was addressed by both the Prime Minister and the Home Minister. There were names of persons belonging to other democratic forces also on the Steering Committee, and several leaders were announced as speakers, whose names gave the people reason to hope that the convention would be truly representative of the widest progressive forces in the country.

### LAUDABLE AIMS, BUT...

It must be stated at the outset that despite its laudable aims and welcome results—the convention was by no means the success which it could have been. In the first place, the great majority of the delegates to the convention had undoubtedly been mobilised by the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-I-Hind. This resulted in the monopoly press and the reactionary press in the country commenting on the "large percentage of Muslims", some even attempting to rename the convention as the Democratic Muslim Convention.

It is good that the Jamiat

was able to attract so many delegates from among its supporters. But surely it is obvious that a convention meant to fight communalism in India and to defend the rights of the minorities should have substantial participation by delegates of all communities—and certainly a preponderant number from the community which must bear the special responsibility of ensuring the rights of the minorities—that is the majority community.

And here it is obvious that little or no work was done to ensure the wide participation of delegates from any other organisation than the Jamiat.

There was a strong feeling that some of the leaders of the Jamiat, who had the entire organisation in their hands, had succumbed to the totally false idea of "controlling" the convention, and thus kept out delegates not chosen by them.

But whatever mistakes were or were not made by the Jamiat leaders—what can explain the failure of the other members of the Steering Committee, particularly those belonging to the Congress Party, to help mobilise support for the convention and enrol delegates?

This failure to do more than give their names as speakers or members of committees resulted in some serious lapses.

One of the most outrageous of these was the pushing forward of Morarji Desai as a star speaker on the inaugural day. It is not clear who invited him and

why. He was never on the list of speakers.

As for the speech Morarji made, all that can be said about it is that it was good RSS-Jan Sangh propaganda. And naturally it was greatly resented by most of the delegates.

Morarji made what amounted to a full-scale assault on the minorities and made an apology for the Hindu communalists. Like the Jan Sangh, he repeated the old thesis that the "responsibility" for the creation of Pakistan was that of the Muslims as a whole.

### QUESTION OF BAN

It was clear also that communalism was not absent among a section of the delegates belonging to the minority community. When it came to demanding a ban on communal parties and organisations—this section prevented the naming of the communal parties and organisations and also succeeded in changing the wording of the resolution. Instead of demanding a ban on "all communal parties", the resolution speaks only of "all parties based on religion and semi-military organisations."

It was felt that this definition was intended to exempt both Jan Sangh and the Jamiat-e-Islami from the operation of the resolution.

As has been stated in the beginning, the resolutions as a whole deserve support. But to a careful observer, there appeared to be a skirting round the key problem at stake.

Ban the communal parties—yes. But what about the communalists inside the Congress itself and in the administration? Not one of the Congressmen spoke up strongly against the Jan Sangh influence among the Congress Right. As long as there is this attempt to hide the

truth and put the blame solely on the communal parties (their share is major, it is true, but the right inside the Congress is not by any means innocent)—so long will the battle against communalism remain superficial.

Despite these and other drawbacks, the convention was a good beginning. A continuing body was elected, but here again it was surprising to see that only a few Congressmen and members of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema were included in the committee.

Some of the most important leaders of the democratic forces inside the Congress Party, like Krishna Menon,

K. D. Malaviya and Aruna Asaf Ali were conspicuously missing from this committee. So also were members of the other secular parties: not one Communist or Socialist is in the committee.

This will obviously reduce the continuing body to a formal and ineffective affair—with the Jamiat, because of its organised strength, dominating the future work, as it did the convention.

If this weakness is remedied and the committee is enlarged and made representative, it can be hoped that the beginnings of that common platform against communalism, for which we all hope, will have been made.

## DECEMBER 13

The preparations for the Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India are drawing to a close as D-Day comes nearer and nearer.

On December 13 the Congress will open in Bombay and the history of the Indian working class will record a new chapter.

NEW AGE in its next issue (dated December 13) will carry special articles and materials dedicated to the Seventh Congress and the Party's struggle in defence of the interests of the working masses.

The issues of NEW AGE following that (dated December 20 and 27) will carry exclusive despatches on the proceedings of the Congress, interviews with delegates, biographies of the men and women Communists who will gather at Bombay.

### DELEGATES TO SEVENTH CONGRESS

Please read carefully the detailed circular on the centre pages which gives the LATEST instructions. Please note specially the instructions regarding clothing and bedding in view of the possibility of a cold wave during the Congress days in Bombay.



Bhowani Sen Presents Draft Programme of CPI to West Bengal State Conference (Report on page 17)



# Maharashtra: Offensive Against Communalism

**BOMBAY:** The right thinking citizens of the country were shocked by the acts of some of the communalists in Poona who organised a public meeting to observe the death anniversary of Nathuram Godse, the assassin of Mahatma Gandhi, and to felicitate other ex-convicts of Gandhi murder case like Gopal Godse and Karkare.

**T**HE editor of the TARUN BHARAT, G. V. Ketkar, claimed at the meeting that he had known about the plot to assassinate Gandhiji in advance and he had informed this to the late B. G. Kher, Chief Minister of the erstwhile Bombay state and Morarji Desai. But Kher failed to save the life of Gandhiji.

The death anniversary of Godse was observed as "Martyrdom day of Godse". Another important event of the day which aroused the feeling of the people was the garlanding of the portraits of

throughout the state to make the people conscious of the danger of this new move.

It is learnt that prominent leaders of the Jan Sangh along with their colleagues in the RSS met Chief Minister Vasant Rao Naik and tried to convince him that their parties had no hand in it.

But, they could not deny the fact that prominent Jan Sangh and RSS men had participated in the meeting held to admire the assassin of Gandhiji. According to them, those men had done so in their individual capacity.

Following this Naik made a public statement at Nagpur that he considered it to be an act of some bad people and the government had no intention to implicate any political party as a whole in this crime.

The Communist Party and the Samyukta Socialist Party have already started a regular campaign to educate the masses against the danger ahead due to these elements.

The statements of the Communist leader A. B. Bardhan and SSP leader Daulawat had the desired effect and the campaign has taken the form of an all-party move.

But Jan Sangh leaders have kept themselves away from the united front against communalism and political violence and are thus creating more doubts about their bonafides in the minds of the people.

Ketkar, however, has been relieved of the editorial post of the TARUN BHARAT in order to "remove the misunderstandings from minds of the people".

Many people here are of the opinion that the government of the erstwhile Bombay state should be held responsible—particularly the late B. G. Kher and Morarji Desai—for this tragic incident, since they had prior knowledge about the plot.

They demand a clear statement by Morarji Desai

and the Government of India in this regard. If Ketkar's statement is false, then Morarji and the Government of India should at least come out with a categorical statement saying that the facts were not so.

Chief Minister Naik has assured the people that the state government was fully conscious of the danger and would take serious measures to curb the menace of communalism.

Accordingly Gopal Godse, N. G. Abhayankar, V. R. Karkare and P. V. Dave, had been arrested. Ketkar, against whom a warrant was issued, has also surrendered himself in Madras.

In a statement in the Lok Sabha Home Minister Nanda said: "As both Babu Kara Kantekar and Mr. Kher are now no more, it has not been possible to verify Mr. Ketkar's claim of having communicated his knowledge of the intention to assassinate Gandhiji to Mr. Kher. Government is making a thorough enquiry into the matter with the help of old records and in consultation with Government of Maharashtra."

# New Delhi Conference: Landmark In Peace Movement's History

## DECISIVE CONTRIBUTION TO STRENGTHENING INDIA'S PEACE POLICY

One can now look back calmly and dispassionately at the crowded week during which New Delhi played host to the World Conference for Peace and International Cooperation; earlier it was too near to see the conference in its full perspective, it was too early to assess its impact and its results.

**L**ET it be said right away that as far as India is concerned, the conference was a far greater contribution to the cause of peace than any other single event in the entire history of the

peace movement. It had not associated themselves actively with any peace organisation before—gave the conference a significance which could not be ignored by even the worst enemies of the peace movement.



Saad Ed-Din (UAR)

Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri's address at the special plenary session of the conference gave the full support of the Government of India to the aims and principles for which the conference stood. This declaration was indeed a reflection of the realisation by government of the importance and significance of the peace movement. Shastri's association with the conference followed along the lines already laid down by Pandit Nehru during the last year of his life, when he inaugurated the Seminar on International Affairs and World Peace in December 1963 and sent warm messages of support to the All India Peace Congress in Amritsar and the Conference of the



Simango (Mozambique)

tempt or hostility had been given up much earlier—the transition to a positive policy of cooperation and support has taken longer than necessary.

The world conference opens up the possibilities for a much wider and stronger peace movement, uniting the major peace organisations as well as individuals and political forces standing for the objections and policies so clearly enumerated by the conference.

But the significance of the New Delhi conference for India was by no means confined to its contribution to the organisational strengthening of the Indian peace movement.

The clear-cut support given by the conference to India's policy of nonalignment and of the use of nuclear energy only for peaceful purposes is a forceful slap in the face of the right reactionary forces, who seek to reverse that policy.

The New Delhi conference is the first world conference of its kind to pronounce itself so forcibly on the important contribution to peace of the policy of nonalignment. The Indian people saw with their own eyes speaker after speaker from all parts of the world reiterating his people's admiration for India's policy of peace.

The tributes paid to Pandit Nehru on November 14—his seventieth birthday—by the delegates to the conference were again a blow at the reactionary forces, who seek to reverse the positive policies of peaceful coexistence and nonalignment, for which Panditji stood. The imperialists and right

reactionary parties, backed by sections of the monopoly press, sought to spread lies and fantasies about the conference. The usual Communist bogey was raised. Tales were invented that the conference would not go on record on certain issues like the recent Chinese test explosion. The US agencies in the country brought out provocative posters condemning the conference.

But it was all to no purpose. The conference went on, with its work, undisturbed by the provocations. It was interesting to note that the Chinese leaders also carried on a ceaseless propaganda campaign of the most filthy nature, against the conference.

They declared that the conference was run by the "imperialists" (sic!), that the word "cooperation" in the conference title meant "cooperation with the imperialists", and so on.

In every part of the world, Chinese embassies were used to spread lies about the conference and its sponsors.

Thus the conference organisers fought a two-front battle—against the right reactionary forces on the one hand, and against the Chinese leaders on the other.

It was not surprising that both attacks on the conference were identical—though they pretended to come from opposite ends. Again the Chinese leaders' attacks failed to win them support. The main direction of their efforts was to prevent Arab, African and Latin American participation. Despite the fact that the

blique, Zambia, Nigeria, Ghana, UAR, Chile, Argentina, Syria, Lebanon and Iraq.

The Chinese leaders' propaganda line was that the conference (being held in India) would not pronounce itself against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

Only a look at the resolutions adopted unanimously (and it is no secret the initiative in most cases was



Boaten (Ghana)

that of the Indian delegation which required no prodding in taking a sharp anti-imperialist stand) shows how mendacious was the Chinese propaganda.

Similarly the imperialist propaganda here was: "this is a Communist conference; it takes place after Khrushchov's resignation—it is bound to reflect the 'changed policies' and so there will be no criticism of Chinese policies".

Again, one has only to look at the conference resolutions' clear-cut condemnation of the Chinese test explosion and its support to the Colombo proposals to know that the imperialist lies were as baseless as those of the Chinese dogmatists.

The aim of both was the same, to split, divide and disrupt the peace movement. And both failed miserably. With the conference, India is again firmly in the map of peace. New Delhi is once more in humanity's eyes one of the peace centres of the world.

The New Delhi Appeal adopted by the conference must be made the starting point of a vast campaign against nuclear weapons. This itself can become the basis for the growth and expansion of the peace movement, and for exerting decisive influence in support of the peace policy and against those who would subvert it.

The conference declaration and resolutions provide a programme for peace activities, which will help to take the peace movement to millions of people in the coming days.



Piliso (S. Africa)

conference resources did not permit assistance for travel of delegates from abroad, as is usual in conferences sponsored by international organisations, far more delegates came from Africa and Latin America and the Arab countries than were expected.

A six member delegation from Algeria attended the conference and there were delegates from South Africa, Basutoland, Angola, Mozam-

## By ROMESH CHANDRA

peace movement in this country. Here, in a flash, one could see the fruition of the work of the Indian peace organisations over the past decade and more: this is not to say that the work has ended, but only to indicate that the world conference was a high point never reached before.

The Indian representation at the conference was the broadest ever. For the first time such outstanding national personalities from many walks of life not merely participated in the work of the Preparatory Committee, but were its actual office-bearers and active leaders.

The fact that among the chief Indian delegates were persons of the highest national and international stature—among them, several who

Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity in Jaipur.



Baha El-Din (UAR)

But the support to the conference given by Shastriji went far beyond any previous declaration made on behalf of government.



Algerian delegates who attended the Peace Conference

## SPOTLIGHT

**C**ERTAIN events of the past two weeks have spotlighted a very ugly aspect of the situation in the country. They have revealed two sinister facts—first, that the Godse cult is alive and kicking in the land, and, second, that an active organisation like the RSS is associated with this cult.

Events in Poona—celebration of assassin Nathuram Godse's death anniversary, the public reception accorded to his accomplices, Gopal and Vishnu—and open revivification of faith on that occasion by some leading lights of RSS-Jan Sangh worked as a shock treatment to many who seemed prone to be complacent about the danger of Hindu communalism and the fascist trend that it represents.

Twenty-nine members in Parliament tabled a calling attention motion on the Poona events. In the debate that ensued, member after member got up to demand that the revival of fascist trends in the country needed to be curbed firmly.

One member stressed that the RSS which had organised the reception to Mahatma Gandhi's murderers, should be immediately banned; it was banned soon after the murder of Gandhiji and there was no justification for lifting the ban subsequently.

It may be recalled that the ban was lifted after some

agitation by Sangh men and an exchange of letters between Gopal Godse and the then Home Minister Sardar Patel who, it is significant, is now being idolised by the RSS and Jan Sangh as the man who would have delivered communal reaction's goods if he had been alive.

Home Minister Nanda assured that the member's suggestion would certainly be considered.

### Result of Agitation

TARUN BHARAT editor Ketkar, who presided over the Poona function, Sangh leader Abhayankar and others have already been arrested as a direct result of the wave of indignation of that swept through the country. Ketkar's statement that Nathuram Godse had discussed with him his intention to kill Gandhiji has been made the starting point of a thorough probe as the government claimed.

It is very interesting to note that when Ketkar started openly reminiscing about his association with the murderers and some one in the audience cautioned him to be discreet he replied that nothing was going to happen to him now. This is extremely significant.

It is evident that RSS men are so reassured by the claim of their mouthpiece like the ORGANISER, PANCHJANYA or the TARUN BHARAT about the overwhelming success of Sangh propaganda work among the people that they think they can talk anything with impunity.

Don't they see the picture of 'socialist' Lohia rubbing shoulders with Guruji in their propaganda organs? Don't they read in their reports of some eminent public figures addressing—RSS—rallies? Haven't they heard Guruji's claim about his 'satisfactory' confabulations with the Prime Minister himself?

# GODSE WORSHIP AND THE RSS

Are they not openly selling the fuchrer's book "Hindu Rashtira" which defies the Indian Constitution and calls all Indians belonging to the minority communities "thieves" and "aliens" in India? No wonder they feel they can afford to be as brave as they wish!

But murder will be out. Just when they thought that they had erected their neat little propaganda edifice and succeeded in appearing before the people as harmless lambs ("nothing to do with Gandhiji's murder whatsoever"), they found themselves in the midst of a crash! The Ketkars and Abhayankars have put their foot into it.

### Abject Attempt

In an abject attempt to escape responsibility and complicity, they have removed Ketkar from the editorship of TARUN BHARAT and Abhayankar has been asked to resign from the Sangh.

Can this succeed in throwing dust in the eyes of the people? Ketkar was the trusted exponent of RSS-Jan Sangh ideology till he foolishly exposed himself. Abhayankar was an RSS-Jan Sangh leader till he took the indiscreet step of getting reported in the press with his very legitimate activities as Sangh leader. And they are removed now. It is patent that the action taken is a belated attempt to save the Sangh's skin!

Jan Sangh representative Thengdi came out in the Rajya Sabha condemning Ketkar's statement at Poona. But so far as we know, he refrained from condemning the reception to

the assassins. At least the ORGANISER which reported his condemnation of Ketkar's statement, has kept silent on this point. Nor was there any condemnation of the Godse cult whose revival is today being noted by every patriotic Indian with feeling of the greatest revulsion.

On the other hand, Thengdi made the amusing statement that the Jan Sangh would support every move of Government of India when it deals firmly with all the culprits who believe in violence as a method of revolution.

This is plain talking through the bat. Evading to denounce the Godse cult, the Sangh representative talks of the cult of those who believe in violence as a method of revolution. Godse was certainly no violent revolutionary and the Godse cult is not the cult of violent revolution.

It is the cult of "Hindu Rashtira" which preaches hatred and mistrust among the Hindu against the Muslim and Christian citizens of India, prepares for violence and suppression of the minorities and resorts to methods of physical liquidation. It is an anti-patriotic and anti-humane philosophy which sets Indians against Indians, and revels in terror. It is revisionist and violently opposed to everything progressive.

The base communal approach of the RSS can be seen clearly again in Golwalkar's latest revivification of faith, which is little more than an obsession about building up "Hindu strength" against "Muslim aggression and atavism".

In an article in the Divali special of the ORGANISER, he has passionately pleaded again for basic Hindu-Muslim antagonism, and permanent

communal strife. Going hammer and tong at any fraternal approach between Hindu Indians and the Muslim, he has declared:

"More than a thousand years back Muslims invaded this land, and established an empire by force of arms. But we have known great men in this country who, forgetting all atrocities and barbarities they committed, have sought to establish fraternal concord against them".

He has even criticised Shivaji who is generally extolled by the Sangh as a great "Hindu leader" for "accommodating" the Muslims. The fact that Shivaji had Muslim Naiks in the army and "Muslim religion was as scrupulously protected as the Hindus' in his regime, is noted and brought up against him to prove the theses of irreconcilable Hindu-Muslim antagonism!

### Pet Theses

On the basis of this pet thesis of theirs, RSS and Hindu Mahasabha—the Hindu communalist organisations—brought up an accusation of "Muslim-appeasement" against Gandhiji and Nehru. Precisely this became the plea for liquidating physically the former. And thus it is so natural for them to extoll Gandhiji's assassins.

The Sangh had become notorious among the people as the organisation of Gandhiji's murderers. The Poona events have again brought the same charge home to it.

—GARUDA



# ILL-TIMED VISIT

## Editorial

THE PRIME MINISTER has just left for London, as we go to press. It is a quick and short dash he is making. Was it necessary? And why in heaven's name was Britain chosen as the FIRST country to be visited on a goodwill mission by the head of our government? For this IS Shastriji's first visit, as the trip to Cairo was essentially for the Non-aligned Conference and only incidentally a visit to the United Arab Republic as such.

The British press is already commenting that the visit is ill-timed. Our Prime Minister is travelling this long distance for a bare THREE HOURS talk with the British Prime Minister. Wilson is going to be very busy preparing for his own visit to Washington on December 7.

The insult to our Prime Minister is not confined to the ridiculously short time being spared by Wilson for his talks with Shastriji. There is more to it than that. Take for instance the fact that Shastriji will NOT be a state guest. He will stay with the Indian High Commissioner. Why? One may not know all the intricacies of protocol, but the affront is obvious.

Again the programme for the Prime Minister's visit is full of the most inane items. One which is least understandable is "signing the visitors' book at the Queen Mother's house". Why should the Prime Minister of an independent country sign the Queen Mother's visitors' book? Is this protocol or sheer humiliation?

Quite apart from the utterly contemptuous way in which the visit appears to be handled, the Indian people would like to know why the Prime Minister has been forced to agree to discuss Indo-Pak relations with the British Prime Minister and his Cabinet. One would have thought that after the criticism made of TTK's activities at the Commonwealth Conference, the Government of India would have learnt never to agree to discuss Kashmir and all that goes with it with the British.

Surely we have often enough declared that we do not want others to poke their noses into our internal affairs, that we do not want imperialist intervention in "solving" the Indo-Pakistan differences. And yet now, we are acquiescing in the British government's insistence on discussing Kashmir under one pretext or the other.

It is commonly known that Wilson made this discussion of the Kashmir issue a condition for the visit. The Indian government accepted the condition, with the proviso that it would not be strictly on "Kashmir" that the discussions would take place but on Indo-Pakistan relations, the core of which is so obviously Kashmir!

While leaving India, Shastriji has said that his mission is essentially one of peace and that there are several urgent problems of peace to be discussed with Wilson.

The Indian people would like to know whether the Indian Prime Minister will take up with Wilson the most immediate question of British support for the US-Belgian aggression in the Congo. Everyone is aware that the British government gave permission to the US planes to use the island of Ascension for their foul attack on the Congo. Shastriji must convey to the British government Indian resentment at this support to aggression as forcefully as he can.

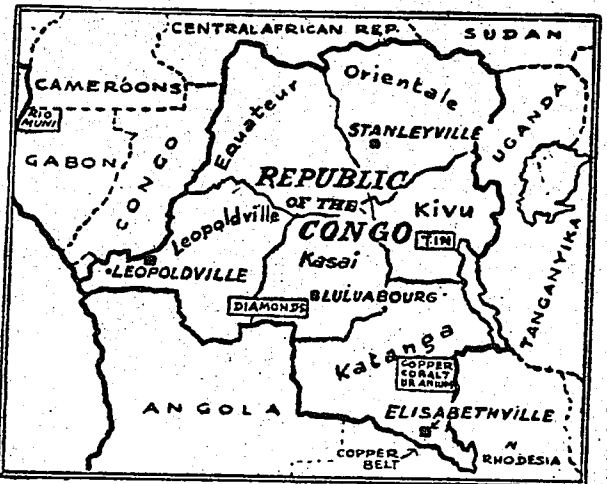
Again there is wide condemnation of the refusal of the new Labour government to stop the delivery of aircraft to the Verwoerd regime for use against the freedom fighters of South Africa. Will Shastriji inform Wilson and his cabinet India's anger at this violation of solemn pledges made during the recent election campaign?

The visit will be useful, despite the insults being offered as far as the arrangements are concerned, if the Indian Prime Minister puts clearly and unhesitatingly the Indian people's criticism of British imperialist policies and their hopes that despite the recent negative actions in regard to Congo, the new Labour government will take positive steps in future for peace and the ending of colonialism and neo-colonialism.

# INDIA AND THE AGGRESSION ON THE CONGO

There has been a welcome improvement in the stand being taken by the Government of India in regard to the U.S.-Belgian aggression in the Congo. Foreign Minister Swaran Singh, addressing pressmen in Moscow on his way to the United Nations, went out of his way to support the demand for the withdrawal of foreign troops and mercenaries. Again in the Rajya Sabha this week, Deputy Minister Dinesh Singh has stated that India is in full accord with the other African states in regard to the Congo problem.

It is clear that the determined protests by democratic organisations in the visit, if anything, will voice Afro-Asian condemnation of the British government's



India has decided to switch its vote on the crucial issue which will come up first in this regard: that is, whether the issue of China's admission is a procedural issue (which requires only a simple majority vote) or a 'political' issue (which requires a two-thirds majority vote).

The significance of this decision is obvious when there is a real possibility of a simple majority vote for China's admission this year. India should vote for allowing a simple majority to decide. Newspaper reports indicate however that this year India will vote on this question with the USA and insist that the question requires a two-thirds majority, which virtually means that the issue will be negated in any case.

It is small consolation to know that in the final vote India will continue to vote for China's admission.

In this context the decision to support the resolution being brought up by two of the US imperialists' stooges on the question of Tibet and "human rights," will also be viewed with dismay by progressive, anti-imperialist countries in the UN.

India has thus far refused to be drawn into this cold war game, despite its anger at the Chinese aggression on India. It has understood well enough that the issue is raised for political reasons and not for human rights, and therefore India has continued to dissociate itself from such resolutions.

India has always also recognised that the UN has no right to interfere in the internal affairs of countries and since Tibet is recognised as part of China the question should not be allowed in the UN.

It is necessary to go deeper into this question. Just as we would resent any attempt to raise matters pertaining to

## U.N. AND CHINA

ANOTHER UN session, and the question of the admission of the People's Republic of China to its rightful place in the UN is again on the agenda. Each year, the US vote dwindles further. This year with the change in the position taken by France and the consequent possibility of a big shift

country have had their part to play in this development. The letter sent by the Chairman of the Communist Party to the Prime Minister as early as November 23 placed the facts in their proper context, and expressed anxiety at the possibility of the Government of India hesitating to take a positive stand on the aggression, and thus lagging behind the anti-imperialist African governments.

Statements by the All India Peace Council, the Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity and other democratic organisations have also had their influence. The demonstration organised in Calcutta by the Communist Party reflected India's wrath at the aggression.

But all this is NOT enough! The test is yet to come. In the United Nations, African states are demanding a special session of the Security Council to discuss the aggression. The Indian people expect the Government of India to state its support for the African governments' demand unequivocally.

Statements dragged out of ministers in press conferences or in Parliament are indications of policies. But the world will judge India not only by these statements, but by concrete actions.

Thus far the only action by which the world will judge the Government of India in the post-aggression days is the Prime Minister's visit to London, one of the seats of the aggression against Congo. A great deal needs to be done to make it clear that the

# Comment

in some of the French "community" African countries, there are chances of a majority being cast in favour of China's admission.

This question has nothing to do with approval or disapproval of China's policies or her bomb or her aggression against India. In fact the vast majority of those who support China's admission also hope that this ending of China's isolation from the councils of the world will help to bring its policies into accord with those of other peace-loving states.

It is surprising therefore to read that the Government of

(December 2)  
—Romesh Chandra

"Small" public limited companies registered a lower growth rate but showed improved profit margin in the year 1962-63, compared to the medium and "large" public limited companies, reports IPA.

HOWEVER, the margin of profit and return on capital employed for the large companies continued to be "substantially higher" than for the small companies. This is revealed in a recent Reserve Bank study of the financial position of 1015 small companies, each with a paid-up capital of Rs. five lakhs or less and of 1333 selected medium and large companies with a paid-up capital of over Rs. five lakhs each. Among the latter are included 145 companies with a paid-up capital of over Rs. one crore each.

**Slow Growth**  
In small companies, the rate of growth between 1961-62 and 1962-63 in sales was 8.7 per cent and in value of production 9.8 per cent. As against this, the respective growth rates of large companies were 10.5 per cent and 10.1 per cent. As for the profit margin (ratio of gross profit to sales) for the small companies, it improved from 5.1 per cent to 5.3 per cent, while the return on capital (ratio of gross profit to total capital employed) for them appreciated from 7.2 per cent to 7.5 per cent. The profit margin for large companies showed a slight decline from 10.2 per cent to 10.1 per cent. But there was at the same time a slight improvement

**Fall in Profits**  
However, the largest fall in the percentage of profits retained after tax occurred in the case of companies with a paid-up capital of Rs. 25 lakhs to Rs. 50 lakhs, amounting to a fall of over 19 per cent from 41.7 per cent to 22.0 per cent, in the two years. Profits "retained" as percentage of profits "before tax" declined from 11.9 in 1961-62 to as much as 5.0 in the next year in the case of small companies. The corresponding decline in the percentage of the profits "before tax" in the case of the group of companies with over Rs. one crore paid-up capital was from 21.1 to only 18.9.

Here too the biggest decline in the profits before tax was shared, among the large companies, by the group with the paid-up capital of Rs. 10 lakhs to Rs. 25 lakhs—the decline was from 21.9 per cent to 8.1 per cent. "Tax provision" as percentage of "profits before tax" in the case of "small" companies rose from 59.0 in 1961-62 to 68.1 in the following year (over 12 per cent increase), while in the case of the group of "large" companies with above Rs. one crore paid-up capital the rise in the percentage was from 40.5 to 47.7 (over seven per cent increase). According to the study, the return on the shareholders' equity and the rate of dividend paid to shareholders by the small companies was substantially lower than that paid by the large companies.

As regards capital formation, the rate of gross assets formation was higher in the case of larger companies but inventory accumulation by small companies was considerably higher around 18 per cent as against nine per cent for the large ones. Consequently, the gross and net capital formation at around 11 per cent was higher for small public limited companies than with 9.5 per cent gross and 8.4 per cent net capital formation among the medium and large public limited companies. The size-wise analysis of the "large" companies showed that the largest size group of 145 companies, with over Rs. one crore paid-up capital each accounted for about one-half of the total rise in sales, while the next lower group (184 companies with Rs. 50 lakhs—Rs. one crore each) contributed a little less than one-fifth. These two groups also accounted for 90 per cent of the total increase in gross

As regards profitability ratio, among the "large" companies, those in the lowest size-group (with paid-up capital of Rs. 5 to 10 lakhs) and the two largest size-groups showed improvement in the margin of profits as well as in the return on capital employed. Among the major industries showing increases in the output and sales, jute industry made a "spectacular" recovery; jute companies improved their profit margin from 2.1 per cent in 1961-62 to 11.9 per cent in the year 1962-63. Iron and Steel too made considerable progress. Both its value of production and sales improved by 11 to 12 per cent as against five to seven per cent in the year 1961-62. It also improved its margin of profit. The improvement in the Chemical industry was however "moderate".

# GIANT FIRMS GROW AT RAPID PACE

## Reserve Bank Study Reveals Interesting Pattern In Companies' Finances

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# ALL-INDIA PEACE COUNCIL CALLS FOR HANDS OFF CONGO DAY

The All India Peace Council has called for the observance of Hands Off Congo Day on Sunday December 6 to extend India's solidarity with the protest actions being organised all over Africa and in other parts of the world against the latest aggression in Congo by the Belgian paratroopers assisted by the US and British governments.

D IWAN Chaman Lall, MP, Chairman of the Presidential Committee of the All India Peace Council, has issued the following statement: The All India Peace Council fully shares the concern and anxiety officially expressed by the Government of India at the recent armed intervention in the affairs of the Congo by the Belgian paratroopers, carried in US planes and with the help and support of the US and British governments.

**Act of Aggression**  
This armed intervention has been rightly condemned as an act of aggression by the governments and peoples of resurgent Africa. The demand for the immediate withdrawal of the invading troops as well as of all foreign mercenaries in the pay of the enemies of Congo's independence must be raised forcefully all over the country. The Organisation of African Unity had set up a special committee under the chairmanship of the great African patriot Jomo Kenyatta, to help solve the Congo problem in a peaceful manner. The US-Belgian action is a flagrant attack, therefore, not only on the Congo but on the entire African peoples. The Indian people fully share the sentiments of the African brothers. Ever since the foul assassination of Patrice Lumumba, the imperialist powers have sought to intervene in the Congo in order to retain the hold of foreign monopolists on the rich mineral wealth of this country. But the popular liberation forces have continued to grow in strength. At the recent Conference of non-aligned countries in Cairo,



Above: D. P. Sinha speaking at PHQ Branch Conference. A sectional view of the Conference.



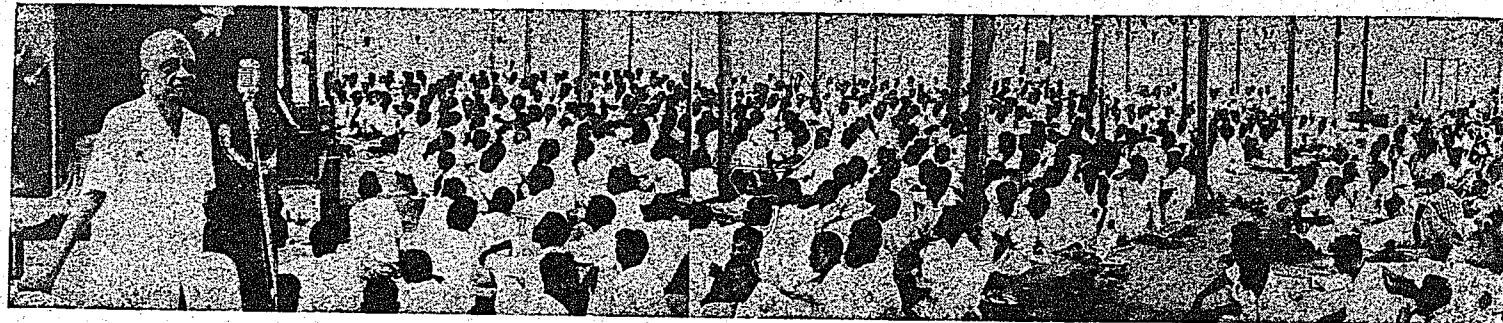
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S. A. Dange addressing the Andhra State Conference of CPI in Guntur

# ANDHRA CPI CONFERENCE CONCLUDES

From MOHIT SEN

(CONTINUATION FROM PREVIOUS ISSUE)

After the Draft Programme had been unanimously adopted, together with the amendments, Rajasekhar Reddy introduced the report on the activities of the Party in Andhra Pradesh since the Rajmundry conference in 1960. He said that these four years had been the most eventful years in the life of the Party.

AFTER dealing with the general elections and the success of the general line of the CPI, he referred to the great agitation against the enhanced land levy which had reached the stage of active preparation for satyagraha when the Chinese aggression took place against our country in 1962.

This was a big blow to our prestige and provided a good handle to reactionary anti-Communist forces. But we successfully stood the test and came out of it with our mass base intact. This was possible precisely because of the correct line adopted in the November Resolution of our National Council.

He went on to deal with the tremendous mass mobilisation throughout the state during the Great Petition and Great March campaigns. Over 12 lakh signatures were collected in Andhra—and one thousand people went to Delhi. This campaign released new energies, overcoming the previous diffident mood and gave new confidence to the masses. It was a turning point.

## Kisan Satyagraha

Then came the kisan satyagraha against the enhanced land levy. The "left" comrades opposed it on the pretext that the Party was not prepared for it organisationally. Then they tried for postponement but the majority firmly resisted their anti-struggle line.

Once the struggle started, the success was again beyond expectations. Satyagraha was conducted at 140 centres and more than one lakh forty thousand participated in it. During its peak seven to ten thousand took part in the satyagraha at various centres. Such was the response.

But this great mobilisation could not secure many concessions precisely because of the attitude of the "left" leaders during the struggle.

During this period the trade unions also launched their national campaign against high prices and for better wages and dearness allowance through hungerstrikes and demonstrations.

The effect of all this is, Rajasekhar Reddy said, that in spite of the split we have maintained our position and strengthened the striking initiative of the Party. The result is that we are holding such a big conference here in an atmosphere of enthusiasm and confidence.

One general conclusion to be drawn is that the leadership of mass movements did not have to wait till inner-Party problems were first solved. On the contrary, mass activity is the best means by which to successfully fight the dogmatists.

## Splitters' Tactics

Turning to the split, he said that the leading splitters had decided to form a rival party a long time ago. At first they did not inform their ranks about this but step by step led them to the position of a formal split. The talk of differences and so-called "Dange letters" was just a smokescreen.

Since the Rajmundry conference the majority adopted a conciliatory attitude to the "left" leaders and made them many concessions to accommodate them. But this only increased their appetite until they demanded the right to formally run a party within the Party.

When this was firmly rejected they went over to open disruption. They split the student and youth federations and set up a rival candidate for the Raja Sabha. While the self-styled "party of proletarians" has little base among the organised workers they did and are doing their best to split the unions and to try to remove our comrades from elected posts.

VISALAANDHRA was and remains an eyesore to them. First, they tried to paralyse it by mass resignations. Next, they attempted sabotage from within and now Sundarayya wants to claim his "share" and threatens litigation. If anybody who splits can lay a claim to the property of the parent organisation then Sundarayya should have gone to court to demand a share of Congress property when he left the Congress.

Now they plan to physically capture or paralyse VISALAANDHRA. Basavapunniah's speech at Vijayawada and Hanu-muntha Rao's articles in JANSAKTI are all directed to whip up frenzy with this end in view. There is no doubt that this campaign, too, will end in utter fiasco.

Sundarayya's declaration that the CPI is his main enemy is not just a bombastic phrase. It is intended to try to convince his followers that we are not even a left force but such criminals that no code of political behaviour need tie their hands in the struggle against us.

As against their policy of disruption our stand is to unite the mass movement and take it forward. We adopt a political attitude towards the "left" Communists. We consider them a splitting-away group of "left" dogmatists. We shall go on patiently explaining our principled stand to those who have been temporarily confused.

Most of those comrades who have joined the splitters have done so because they believe that theirs is a truly revolutionary policy. Slowly they will realise that the dogmatist leaders are utter reformists in practice and that their entire approach to the organisation and the movement is determined by the deep-rooted idea that they could capture power in India only on the basis of favourable international developments. Until that day they have merely to somehow sustain themselves. This is a policy of despair and frustration which will not take them far.

The process of disillusionment has already begun. In Khammam district over one thousand comrades have left them and come back. In Nalgonda, Medak, Srikakulam, Warangal and Anantapur a similar process has begun. Some who had temporarily gone over to the dogmatists are present at this very conference as delegates. This process is sure to continue, he declared, amidst loud applause.

## Mobilise Masses

The CPI in Andhra will not confine itself merely to answer the "splitters". It will take the ideological-political offensive against them. It will expose their ideological stand, their political formulations and their inactivity. It will draw them into arguments on concrete questions of policy and practical activity. Thus, alone would the dogmatist leaders be shown up in their true colours.

Nor will the CPI confine

itself to arguments. It shall, above all, strive to build mass movements on the political positions of the Party, mobilise the masses and strengthen confidence in our line.

Taking up questions of Party organisation, Rajasekhar Reddy said that membership had declined from the peak of 40,000 to 31,000 by 1962, before the split. And yet the Party has won 30 lakh votes. We should raise the membership to one member for every ten voters, i.e., to three lakhs. We must overcome conservatism in recruitment of Party members. Party education should follow enrolment and should not be made a pretext for holding up recruitment. Immediately, in Andhra Party membership can easily be taken to 50,000.

There is a great shortage of cadres and the only remedy is that of promoting cadres boldly and giving them responsibilities. Promotion is a crying need and has to be made a regular policy. The past policy of denying promotions has to be thoroughly repudiated.

He warned against the corroding influences of capitalism on the ideology, functioning and style of work of the Party. Collective functioning has been a casualty inside the organisation. Parliamentarism is creeping in with a craze for public elected positions, individual representations instead of mass mobilisation, regarding of MLAs and MPs as a special privileged category and a tendency to avoid Party organisational responsibilities.

## Party Education

As for Party education, there has to be mass education below and a permanent school to impart higher education for leading cadres with a view to preparing them for discharging more responsibilities.

VISALAANDHRA should remain a political paper of the Party for the mass of the people while there must be a separate paper to cater to the needs of Party organisation.

The serious situation in Party

finances has to be rectified. The deviation of depending on individual donors alone must be fought and emphasis placed on mass collections.

Concluding, Rajasekhar Reddy said that despite the split the CPI remains a big force in Andhra and the main opposition Party. We have to further strengthen our political influence in the state. We have to build up a mass Party, boldly promote cadres, increase the sale of the Party papers, educate our ranks and cadres, improve our finances and launch an inner-Party rectification campaign to get rid of wrong outlooks and practices.

## Exhaustive Discussion

The discussion on the report was exhaustive and extremely critical. Not only was the situation in each district and mass front presented with a wealth of detail and the successes won against the splitters proudly repudiated. The comrades went further and exposed many hesitations and vacillations in the struggle against the dogmatists and the serious weaknesses that still exist. All the speakers underscored the need to further develop mass struggles and build up a strong and efficient Party that could give effective guidance to these struggles.

The sharply critical spirit came out of a sense of deep confidence that the Party had withstood the gravest test in its history, turned the corner and set itself ready for a massive advance. After the discussion and the acceptance of concrete amendments the report was adopted by the conference.

One of the highlights of the conference was the speech of CPI chairman S. A. Dange on the morning of November 22. He was greeted with a thunderous ovation when he entered the conference hall and the delegates, listened to his two-hour address in pindrop silence.

S. A. Dange dealt with the main features of the new epoch and the specific features of the

\*ON FACING PAGE

S. A. Dange, C. Rajeswar Rao and N. Rajasekhar Reddy at the Andhra State Conference of CPI



CALCUTTA: District conferences in preparation for the forthcoming Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India have been over. Only in Cooch Behar, the conference has not been possible to be held.

THESE district conferences and the local conferences preceding them have helped to consolidate the forces of the Party and already 7,124 members out of 17,600 members of 1962 roll have signed the scrutiny form and more will do so before the state conference ends on December 5.

At Midnapore Bhowani Sen, Biswanath Mukherjee and Ila Mitra MLA spoke.

In Jalpaiguri Bhowani Sen was the main speaker. Indrajit Gupta MP addressed the conferences at West Dinajpur and Malda.

In Calcutta Somnath Lahiri presented the Draft Programme.

More than 1,000 new members have been enrolled during the last few months on the basis of the movements conducted during the last two years and the notable feature is that most of them come from among the working-class and the peasantry.

In Calcutta out of 150 new entrants 57 per cent are from working-class and in Jalpaiguri in north Bengal nearly 80 per cent are from among workers and peasants.

## Masses Mobilised

The open session of the district conferences have seen good mobilisation of masses. Particular noteworthy have been the meetings at Kharda in 24 Parganas, in Midnapore and Odalari in Jalpaiguri.

The 24 Parganas conference was opened by Gopal Halder and poet Subhas Mukherjee was the chief guest. Somnath Lahiri, Renu Chakravarty and Bhowani Sen addressed the gathering of more than 5,000.

All the conferences discussed the Draft Programme on quite a high level of political maturity, sharply posing the problems and different speakers expressing their views quite frankly.

The conferences generally approved of the basic strategic formulations of the Draft Programme. At the same time there were many criticisms against looseness in drafting, using language not understandable to the common people, being full of clichés and jargons and of the vagueness of the descriptive part.

Some amendments were also proposed by some conferences. Request for redrafting in simpler language in more concise volume has also been made from some conferences.

The discussion on the reports placed on the activities of the district Party organisations showed the awareness of the difficulties of the split and the danger of split spilling over to mass organisations. The discussions were permeated with the resolve to

# Dange Addresses Big Rally At Guntur

\*FROM FACING PAGE

concept of national democracy. He emphasised the historic significance of the November 1962 resolution of the CPI which established the patriotic bonafides of the Party and demonstrated its independence of judgment.

Outlining the path of struggle which the CPI had been treading in the past 18 months, he said that this was a combination of the universal forms of struggle of the working-class with traditional Indian forms of struggle evolved during our struggle against imperialism.

He sharply ridiculed the pathetic effort of some "left" leaders to make out of these struggles were all "economism" and "reformism". He drew attention to the utterly new and immensely significant phenomenon of the bands. At the Party Congress the Party would work out a concrete plan of carrying this form of mass struggle to new heights.

In such a situation, the Party Chairman stated, there could be no more counter-revolutionary work than the splitting of the CPI, which was in the forefront of these mighty surging mass movements and which had played the role of initiator and pioneer. But the splitters have evidently miscalculated. The mass surge for unity and for struggle, together with the firm principled stand of the CPI, had upset their plans and would continue to foil their evil intentions.

The best way of checking further damage was for the CPI to persist in the line of mass unity and developing the actions of the toilers, together

with exercising vigilance and strongly rebuffing any attempts at hoodlumism.

Before mentioning the mass mobilisation for the conference, attention needs to be paid to some interesting facts that emerged from the report of the credentials committee. A total of 594 delegates and 85 observers attended the conference. Industrial workers (97), agricultural workers (46) and poor peasants (164) together made up 307 delegates. Others were middle peasants (293), rich peasants (six) and landlords (30) and urban middle class (208). Among the delegates there were 346 wholesalers. There were five MPs, 24 MLAs, 2 MLCs, one Zilla Parishad Chairman, and 18 sarpanches among the delegates.

The total jail life of the delegates was 373 years and the total underground life 327 years. Age-wise the composition of the delegates was: 160 delegates below 30; 316 between 30 and 40; 164 delegates between 41 and 50; and 58 above 50 years. The Party life composition was: eight had joined the Party between 1933 and 1935; 56 between 1947 and 1952; 189 between 1953 and 1962 and 43 had joined in 1962.

After the discussion of all the reports were over the conference elected a state council of 97, leaving four seats open with the council given the right of co-optation and a Control Commission of five, headed by Badam Yella Reddy. Meeting immediately afterwards the council elected an executive committee of 25 and a secretariat consisting of N. Rajasekhar Reddy, Y. V. Krishna Rao, Tammarreddy Satyanarayana, Sanku Appa Rao, N.

Giri Prasad and Raj Bahadur Gour, with acclamation. N. Rajasekhar Reddy was re-elected state secretary.

Guntur had only some weeks ago gone through the funfair of the AICC meeting and some press correspondents were sceptical about the mass rally that was to conclude the Pradesh Communist conference. But the pull of the Party and the splendid organisational work of the district committee, headed by Sri Krishna, T. Nagaiah, Koteswara Rao and Malliahlingam, belied all this scepticism. The whole town and the roads leading to it had been covered with Red Flags, banners and posters. The entire district was agog with expectation.

From the municipal reception, where S. A. Dange was accorded an official civic welcome, to the numerous flaghoisting ceremonies, the response of all sections of the people was tremendous. The climax came with the procession and rally on the evening of November 22. The conservative estimate of the procession was that it was 10,000 strong. Some others felt that 20,000 was nearer the mark. But all were agreed that the public rally was well over one lakh and one of the most disciplined ever seen. It was presided over by B. Yella Reddy and addressed by S. A. Dange, Rajasekhar Reddy and C. Rajeswara Rao.

By any standard the conference was a mighty success. It marked the triumphant emergence from a severe ordeal and signalled the beginning of rapid, deep and magnificent advance. The Communists of Andhra have proved their mettle and are ready to struggle to bring new laurels to the Red Flag.

DECEMBER 6, 1964

# West Bengal: District Conferences Over Preparations For State Meet

From AJAY DASGUPTA

fight back the threat of disruption by relying on the basic urge for unity among the toiling masses, while carrying on sympathetic criticism of the wrong ideological political and organisational standpoints and methods of those who have left the Party and have formed a separate party.

## Focus On People's Condition

The conferences sharply pointed out the conditions of the people and the need to carry on ceaseless struggles on a wide united basis. Food problem naturally was the centre of focus. Bonus, protection of real wage and security of service of the wage earners, lands and aids to cultivation for the peasants, educational facilities for students etc., came in for discussion on a big way in all the conferences.

New district councils have been formed which have laid the basis of new leadership. The conferences have helped to sharpen the political understanding and or-

ganisational keenness and have assured a high standard of deliberations at the state conference.

The state conference will be held at Calcutta from November 29 to December 5. A mass rally will be held on the last day which will be addressed among others by S. A. Dange, chairman of the Communist Party of India. More than 350 delegates are expected to attend the conference.

Brisk preparations are being made for the December 5 Rally. Already 40,000 printed posters have been distributed to all the districts and most of these have been pasted. Hand-written posters, banners and streamers are being put up at prominent places.

More than 60,000 invitation letters are being issued. Communist workers are approaching individuals in areas, mohallas, offices

and factories with the letters inviting them personally in the name of the Party to come and join the rally and to hear what the Communist Party has to say about the problems facing the country and the way out suggested by us. This personal approach will help the Communist workers to know the mind of the people and establish close link with them.

This new method of mass approach has created some enthusiasm already and some prominent non-Party persons have indicated their desire to come. In the face of slanders and calumnies the Communist workers are putting the line of broad national democratic united front for fighting against the anti-people policies of the government, against the food thieves and for peoples demands and rights, for more democratic regime.

# TRICHUR GETS READY FOR KERALA STATE CONFERENCE OF CPI

TRIVANDRUM: Brisk preparations are going on for making the Kerala state conference which is scheduled to be held at Trichur from December 2 to 6, a grand success.

A big procession and mass rally have been planned on the concluding day. Party members and sympathisers in the city and all over Trichur district are preparing for the rally.

District conferences have been completed in all the nine districts in the state. These were held in three batches.

The Trivandrum and Trichur districts were the first to hold their conferences, which concluded on November 8. Then came the conferences in Cannanore, Calicut, Kottayam and Palghat, concluding on November 22. The Ernakulam, Alleppey and Qullon conferences concluded on November 29.

Massive rallies and militant demonstrations marked the end of the conferences in all the districts except in Trichur, where the comrades had decided to concentrate on the demonstration and rally to be held at the conclusion of the state conference.

The Trivandrum rally was addressed by CPI national council leaders including S. A. Dange, C. Rajeswar Rao and G. Adhikari. The National Council, it may be recalled, was in session in Trivandrum from November 3 to 10.

One thing which these district conferences have proved beyond doubt is that contrary to all the slanders being spread by

the splitters, the CPI still commanded the allegiance of a very big chunk of the Party members in the state.

In those districts where the splitters had claimed "cent per cent" influence, the militancy and enthusiasm of the delegate comrades in participating in the proceedings of the conference and the ordinary comrades in marching under the banner of the CPI were the greatest.

The discussions showed that party members generally approved the main formulations in the Draft Programme and in the ideological document. There was demand for further improvement in both the documents.

The political-organisational reports presented by the secretaries of the district councils were the subject of thorough discussion. Criticism was positive, pointing out drawbacks and suggesting measures to meet the challenge of the splitters.

The last of the district conferences were held after the splitters had announced their intention to forcibly occupy Party offices and take possession of Party properties.

Naturally, these conferences declared the comrades' firm determination to resist any such onslaughts on Party offices and properties.



# PUNJAB CPI CONFERENCE REBUFFS SPLITTERS WITH ONE VOICE

From Our Correspondent

**JULLUNDUR:** The Punjab state conference of the Communist Party of India concluded its six-day session in Amritsar on November 29 with a mighty anti-mehagai demonstration of five thousand and a rally of 25 thousand people.

**T**HE conference was attended by 320 delegates, besides observers, representing 7124 old full members. Before the split our Party had 9500 members in Punjab.

The proceedings of the conference was conducted by a presidium consisting of Sohan Singh Josh, Teja Singh Swatantra, Satish Loomba, Vimla Dang and Teka Ram Sukhan. Three evening sessions of the conference were open to the press.

## Leadership Endorsed

This conference will prove to be a landmark in the history of the Communist movement in Punjab as the overwhelming majority of the Party members in the state put their seal of approval to the policies pursued by the National Council and the Punjab state leadership since the Chinese aggression.

It is also significant because it endorsed the stand of the minority leadership in the two years prior to Chinese aggression, when the dominant leadership pursued a line of opportunist and unprincipled alliances with all sorts of reactionary elements and made an election deal with Master Tara Singh.

The minority leadership (now forming the leadership) was all along opposed to this and was supported by the majority of the cadres in the districts.

When the dominant leadership refused to accept the majority view of the cadres, the demand for a special conference was made, but the autocratic leadership resorted

to punitive measures, dilatory tactics and suppression of inner-Party democracy. It also repudiated the principle of democratic centralism by not implementing the decisions of the Party at the Vijayawada Congress.

This was the background in which the Ludhiana special conference was held where the majority of the 450 delegates fully endorsed the positions of the old minority led by Avtar Singh Malhotra, Satyapal Dang, Satish Loomba, Jagit Singh Arand and Darshan Singh Canadian and elected a 101-member state council to implement the conference line and restored democratic centralism in the Party.

The Amritsar conference revealed the unity achieved in the Party in this period inasmuch as it unanimously held the Chinese leadership responsible for the differences and split in the international Communist movement and held that it was violating the 81 Parties Statement line in its attitude to India, to the border dispute and the Communist Party of India.

## Draft Approved

The conference unanimously approved the Draft Programme of the CPI incorporating some amendments and suggestions which the conference adopted. There was sharp criticism on some defects in the Draft but the main formulations including that of the National Democratic Front was accepted.

The political and organisational reports of the state council, placed before the

conference by Avtar Singh Malhotra, were adopted unanimously with amendments and suggestions. The documents underwent thorough discussion in commissions before adoption.

There was sharp criticism against the failure of the state government in the sphere of land reforms, small irrigation, flood control and anti-waterlogging operations as a result of which agricultural production has suffered badly and peasants badly hit.

The conference decided to organise an agitation against price rise if the government fails to take any effective action and to support whatever mass action the Rashtriya Sangram Samiti of trade unions decides upon.

It was also decided to organise a mass campaign on the Party's proposals on Punjab's Fourth Plan and the conference asked the new state council to prepare a detailed memorandum on the same with stress on accelerated development of industry, agriculture, road development, mineral research and popular welfare.

## Cadre Training

The conference also chalked out a plan to expand the Party organisation and launch a big drive for cadre training.

On the concluding day, the conference delegates met in commissions on mass fronts and discussed their problems.

There were commissions on trade unions, agrarian problems, women, youth and students and culture. A plenary session in the evening heard the reports of these commissions.

The panels for a 91-member state council, a control commission of five and 36 delegates to the Party Congress, presented by Avtar Singh Malhotra were unanimously accepted by the conference.

The new state council met immediately under the chairmanship of Vimla Dang and unanimously elected Avtar Singh Malhotra as its secretary. A 25-member executive was elected and it asked the outgoing secretariat of eight to continue till the next meeting of the council.

The control commission met and elected Tuls Ram as its chairman.

Late in the night the conference met to hear P. C. Joshi, member of the central secretariat of CPI, who called on the delegates to make all efforts to bring back to the Party the honest elements who have now gone with the splitters.

# Biggest Ever, Colourful Mass Rally in Madurai TAMILNAD CONFERENCE OF CPI

From S. SHARMA

**MADURAI:** The Tamilnad state conference of the Communist Party of India ended here on November 29. The grand finale to the conference was a 20,000-strong demonstration and mass rally of half a lakh people.

**T**HE participants in the demonstration wore red scarfs and held thousands of Red Flags in their hands. Besides, huge banners and Red Flags fluttered in the air throughout the city and atop the innumerable arches erected specifically for the conference.

Hundreds of workers, kisans and young people formed lines on both sides of the road to welcome the chairman of the CPI, S. A. Dange and the 300 delegates to the conference. From Coimbatore came 130 buses carrying Party members and sympathisers.

The procession took about two hours and fifteen minutes to cross any particular point.

A series of trucks also moved with the procession on which folk dancers showed their feats, adding gaiety to the procession.

According to various quarters, the procession was the biggest held during the decade, bigger even than the one held during the Party Congress at Madurai in 1953.

The rally held in the afternoon was addressed among others by Chairman Dange, who explained the programme of the Party for uniting all national patriotic forces in the struggle against monopolists, hoarders and feudal elements, for the building up of a new India.

The 300 delegates who attended the conference repre-

sented a membership of about 15,000 the CPI has in the state. The splitters strength is about 5,000.

The holding of the conference at Madurai, which earlier was described by many as the stronghold of the splitters, and the respective membership strength, fully affirmed by the mass following of the CPI, proved beyond doubt that the conference itself was a sharp rebuff to the splitters.

The conference elected 75 delegates to the Party Congress as well as the new state council. Manali Kandaswamy has been re-elected as the secretary of the council.

Chairman Dange also addressed a special meeting of the delegates and other Party members. He exhorted them to double the membership of the Party, to raise their political-ideological understanding to be able to face new national tasks which the Seventh Congress of the Party will formulate.

## ON CPI DRAFT PROGRAMME

# THOROUGH DISCUSSION ON INDIAN SITUATION NECESSARY

By PATANJALI ROY

The Communist Party is a Party of revolutionary action and not a debating society. We, therefore, cannot remain bogged in "discussion" on the line of action too long.

**B**UT, for an immediate line of action, adoption of a political resolution based on an assessment of the current and the immediately foreseeable political and economic situation is tolerably good enough. And, a sufficient degree of understanding and agreement exists today to enable us to formulate the main ingredients of such an immediate tactical line.

The immediate tasks are:

**a** to forge a united front, as broadbased as possible, to prevent a reversal of national policies enunciated by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, and

**b** to propose an immediate programme of structural reforms that will do away with some of the very palpable weaknesses of those very national policies which have produced the current economic crisis and political dangers.

It is, therefore, incorrect to hold that, unless we can produce a Party Programme here and now, we shall not be in a position to confront the splitters with an immediate line of action and to galvanise the rank-and-file and the supporting masses into specific mass actions.

True, a complete unification and crystallisation of consciousness can only take place on the basis of an ideological document and a Party Programme. But, it is better always not to rush this process, particularly in a situation in which many of the accepted conceptual duties of the international Communist movement have fallen from grace in course of the last decade of breathless developments.

**1** The relevance of the basic concepts of national democracy and the non-capitalist path to the Indian context requires a much more thorough-going examination;

**2** The meaning of these two concepts in terms of classical Marxist teachings on the questions of state power and the socio-economic characteristics required to define a stage of social development awaits many a clarification;

**3** There is a baffling backlog in regard to a Marxist analysis of the facts of India's class-structure;

**4** There is also a baffling backlog as regards our ideological assessment of the major trends in Indian nationalism—the present ideological document does not even address itself to this task and, to that extent, could have been adopted by any other Communist Party of the world.

What I am very much afraid of is the fact that, in the absence of even a tolerable degree of arti-

clulation on the above issues, the present ideological document and the Programme are mainly governed by the requirements of sharpening the inner-Party struggle in India and the world over; rather than by an attempt at objective assessment of the contemporary national and world situation.

Ideologically, it is not enough to assert that the position of the Chinese leadership is wrong in terms of the 81-Parties' Document. It is necessary to find out what are the objective factors (and subjective), (a) favouring the Chinese deviation and (b) favouring the considerable influence that the Chinese deviation has been able to achieve, particularly in Asia and Africa.

Only such an analysis would empower us to achieve that patience and non-partisan flexibility in tactics which can enable us to contain the Chinese deviation and its local variations of left opportunism within the framework of the broad anti-imperialist unity.

For, let us not deny that the Chinese Party and state and the various other national versions of the Chinese type deviation, are still the fraternal forces of world communism against imperialism, in spite of the fact that some of the wrong headed policies of these forces are objectively abetting the imperialists and reactionary ultras.

## DISTORTED VIEW

Looking at the world through the prism of the inner-Party struggle is bound to be wrong, subjective, even disastrous in the present context. And, my fears about this tendency are based on the following features of the Programme which create the impression that the lay out of the Programme has been largely governed by the requirement of providing a set of formulations and cliches as alternatives to those in the Programme of the splitters.

**f** to provide a rationale for the programmatic structural reforms that will cut at the roots of these economic forces and to deduce the class composition and the economic context of national democracy from such a rationale;

**g** to provide an agrarian programme and a perspective for mass work that seriously takes account not only of the fiasco of government policies on the agrarian front, but of the much more important fact of the total fiasco of the Party and the Kisan Sabha on the agrarian front during the last decade, which must be the most decisive reason why the Party failed to register any significant advance between the second and third General Elections, while the parties of Right reaction emerged as the major opposition force in the country's political life, (the agrarian section repeats the same old unsubstantiated cliches and does not differ essentially from the agrarian sections of the splitters' programme).

In the absence of any attempt to formulate and apply the methods of classical Marxism to the context of the Indian economy in transition from semi-colonial feudalism to capitalism, the Programme essentially adopts the method, which it has been our habit to go on reciting.

nature, the real casualty is the application of the methods of classical Marxism to the Indian context. Other consequences are lack of precision and concreteness, and clumsy phrasemongering which makes it incomprehensible to the lay public.

The most serious consequences that arise out of this lack of method are the failure:

**a** to envisage the most serious danger of reversal, of the threat to sovereignty arising out

And, naturally, the very premises of that method, derived from the old Leninist Thesis of the Comintern, cannot possibly square up with the new strategic aims and tasks. The splitters' programme, therefore, has at least the merit of being logically consistent and coherent, though woefully blind and unreal, whereas our Programme is a jumble of inconsistent, unsubstantiated hypotheses and formulations.

The fundamental similarity in

# FORUM

of the very premises of the government policies;

**b** India's economic and political life which enable imperialism to operate as a self-same economic and political force from inside the Indian body politic as well as from outside, notwithstanding the fact that the state power is sovereign;

**c** to take note of the fact that Anglo-American, particularly, American imperialism has been wielding very powerful instruments in the economic, political, military, administrative, mass media and educational setup of the country;

**d** to bring out the significance of the rise of Right reaction as the direct instrument of foreign imperialism, of the neo-colonialist path in India, paving the way for an Indian restoration, however temporary that may be;

**e** to analytically relate the forces operating in the economic scene that provide the social base for imperialism and inexorably work towards an Indian restoration of a reactionary combine;

**f** to provide a rationale for the programmatic structural reforms that will cut at the roots of these economic forces and to deduce the class composition and the economic context of national democracy from such a rationale;

**g** to provide an agrarian programme and a perspective for mass work that seriously takes account not only of the fiasco of government policies on the agrarian front, but of the much more important fact of the total fiasco of the Party and the Kisan Sabha on the agrarian front during the last decade, which must be the most decisive reason why the Party failed to register any significant advance between the second and third General Elections, while the parties of Right reaction emerged as the major opposition force in the country's political life, (the agrarian section repeats the same old unsubstantiated cliches and does not differ essentially from the agrarian sections of the splitters' programme).

In the absence of any attempt to formulate and apply the methods of classical Marxism to the context of the Indian economy in transition from semi-colonial feudalism to capitalism, the Programme essentially adopts the method, which it has been our habit to go on reciting.

the methodological premises of the NC Programme and the splitters' may be enumerated as follows:

**1** For both, the point of departure is the role of the bourgeoisie. Both Programmes do not care to examine factually the entire class structure of Indian society and then come to an enumeration of the respective weights and roles of the different classes and strata. If that examination were carried out first, it might even transpire that the most important single class in such transitional backward economies as India (and Afro-Asia) is the petty-bourgeoisie, urban and rural, and not the bourgeoisie.

**2** The role of the bourgeoisie assumes importance to the extent that, it has, by virtue of its individual base and in proportion to the strength of that base, the ability to provide a capitalist alternative to the urge for economic independence and thereby provide an ideological leadership to the vast petty-bourgeois masses, which by virtue of its transitional nature perpetually oscillates between the bourgeoisie and the working-class, between reaction and progress.

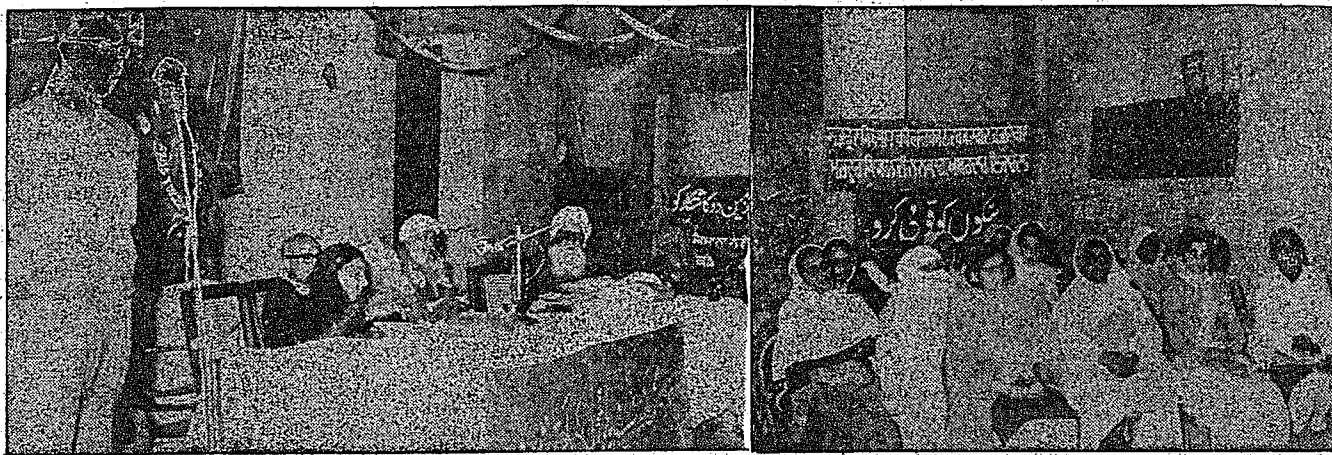
**3** For both, the national bourgeoisie is split into two wings—following the traditional hypotheses of the Colonial Thesis and Stalin's dictum. Both base their strategy on this split in the bourgeoisie. But none can claim that the big bourgeoisie in India is thoroughly of a compradore-bureaucratic type, as the PEOPLE'S DAILY would have us believe. For, that is so palpably absurd.

**4** Both exclude the big bourgeoisie (the monopolists, as we, Indian Marxists, call them) from the united front. But, the Left's Programme at this point renders Stalin consistent by proposing to nationalise all key industries, while we go on maintaining the inconsistency of the 1951 Programme in which the slogan of nationalisation of key industries was, it is known, penned through.

**5** But, it is not clear at all how, if the big bourgeoisie is not essentially of a compradore-bureaucratic type, it can be definitionally excluded from the anti-imperialist front, so long as its anti-imperialist national role is not exhausted.

The question cannot be casually brushed aside, particularly when in the new context of the alignment of forces between imperialism

\*ON PAGE 12



Punjab State Conference of CPI—Left: Avtar Singh Malhotra presents the State Council Report—Right: Some of the women delegates at the Conference



# ON THE DRAFT PROGRAMME OF CPI

## OUR ATTITUDE TOWARDS NATIONAL CONGRESS

In the course of discussing the role of the Congress the Draft Programme states the following: "Centring around these differences, progressive and reactionary trends inside the Congress are in the process of formation. There is no question of building a general united front with the Congress as a whole because the Congress also includes reactionary elements." (para 88)

do not know whether such a categorical statement regarding our attitude to the Congress should find a place in the Draft Programme of our Party. After all the Programme that we are attempting to draft and adopt at the 7th Congress is a programme for the entire period, starting with the achievement of independence and concluding with the achievement of national democracy.

Hence it is something different from a political resolution which deals with the immediate tactical positions to be taken up by the Communist Party in order to achieve the further advance of the mass movement for the final attainment of the strategic objective, laid down in the Programme.

### TRENDS IN CONGRESS

The strategic objective laid down is clearly the objective of national democracy. Hence we have to consider the position of the Congress in the background of the struggle for achievement of national democracy.

The Draft Programme places the existence of progressive and reactionary trends inside the Congress arising out of the contradiction between the anti-popular policies followed by the Congress in many respects and the interests of the masses.

It lays down, again correctly, that there are differences between the progressive and reactionary trends on "such vital issues, as foreign

contributions both towards achieving freedom and towards its consolidation—defeating the 1947 conspiracy of imperialism worked out through the princes; developing and concretising the foreign policy of nonalignment; adopting a policy of friendship towards the countries of socialist system; its present refusal to surrender to the campaign to produce an atom bomb; its policy of development of heavy industry and so on.

It is this policy that continues to provide the Congress with its mass base. Yet, at the same time, there can be no doubt that more and more differences are developing inside the Congress, arising out of contradiction between its policies and the interests of the masses, as the Programme points out.

The present situation underlines this more and more. Is it not a fact that there is a substantial volume of discontent inside the Congress regarding the mishandling of the food situation and regarding the economic policy and the further direction of economic development of our country?

This will necessarily lead to an accentuation of the present differentiation inside the Congress, that is, the differentiation between the progressive and reactionary trends and the consequences of the speeding up of such differentiation cannot be easily forecast today.

In this background it is possible for anybody to rule out

elements and the progressives being defeated but this also cannot be looked to as an unavoidable development which is bound to come to pass.

On the contrary, much will depend on the work of our own Party. If we are able effectively to build up the mass movement behind positive slogans and a positive national economic programme, then the direction in which the Congress will go may well be a direction which we can wholeheartedly welcome. But if we continue down the negative path of criticism without being able to build a powerful mass movement, which has been our basic weakness these last 12 years, surely the reactionary elements inside the Congress will triumph.

In fact if we are to strike the balance as to the effect of our own policy during the last 17 years after India won independence, would we not have to admit that in the years immediately after the advent of independence we played very little positive role? And then after 1952 till today has not our role more facilitated the strengthening of reactionary elements inside and outside Congress because of our failure to work out any concrete solutions and concrete campaigns regarding the difficult problems facing our peoples?

### TOGLIATTI'S MEMORANDUM

In this connection it may be worth while remembering what Comrade Togliatti wrote in his memorandum:

"It is necessary to develop and coordinate the immediate demands of the working-class and proposals on reforming the economic structure (nationalisation, agrarian reform, etc.) unite them in a general plan of economic development as an alternative to capitalist programming".

Such, I consider, to be the proper approach to the question. And necessarily this means elimination of this formulation of no united front with the Congress as a general blanket formulation for the whole period of the Programme.

Yet, we have to admit that we have failed in the crucial task of putting forward any clear-cut proposals on economic reform and the economic structure which together can make up a general plan of economic development as an "alternative" to the present Plans of the government.

It may of course be more correct to say for India that our duty is not to produce an alternative plan but to produce concrete amendments to the present Congress plans which will really enable us to build a proper mass movement behind

them. Moreover if we were able to produce such a plan and rally the masses behind it, waging our struggles within its ambit, then we could also rouse the progressive elements inside the Congress who are dissatisfied with the present state of affairs and who wish to bring about a change in the correct direction.

### CONCENTRATE ON MASS MOVEMENT

Thus, concentration on building the mass movement behind such a positive economic plan would necessarily lead to speeding up the differentiation inside the Congress between progressive and reactionary forces and hence towards the solution in a progressive manner of the conflict inside the Congress.

Hence it is that I wish to emphasise that the concentration must be much more on building up the mass movement behind a broad programme for national regeneration and the stronger and more effective that movement, the more we shall progress in our task of speeding up the differentiation between the reactionaries and progressives inside the Congress and achieving the defeat of reaction.

When and if this perspective is actually attained, then certainly the question of a general united front between the Congress and the democratic forces will become a realisable and practical proposition.

However, if we content ourselves with negative criticism as we have done these 12 years, and merely look upon the Congress as an onlooker from the outside, undoubtedly I do not think there can be any other end to the struggle of the progressive and reactionary trends inside the Congress except for the Congress to be completely taken over by reaction.

Such, I consider, to be the proper approach to the question. And necessarily this means elimination of this formulation of no united front with the Congress as a general blanket formulation for the whole period of the Programme.

### Attention Delegates!

## Arrangements for VII Party Congress

1 The dates of the VII Party Congress will be from December 13 to 23, 1964, both days inclusive. Delegates and visitors should arrive in Bombay on 12th or 13th morning at the latest.

2 All incoming trains of the Central and Western Railways halt at DADAR. Comrades should get down at DADAR and not proceed to Victoria Terminus (Central Railway) or Bombay Central (Western Railway). They will be received at Dadar by volunteers.

3 The Party Congress will be held at Purandare Stadium which is between Dadar and Parel, adjacent to the main road, Dr. Ambedkar Road.

4 Boarding and lodging arrangements for the delegates and visitors have been made in buildings adjacent to the Purandare Stadium.

5 The office of the Bombay Council of the Party and the Reception Committee of the VII Congress is located at the Parel Naka (junction) within half a mile of the Purandare Stadium. The address of the office is:

Bombay Council,  
Communist Party of India,  
23-Dalvi Building,  
Dr. Ambedkar Road,  
Parel, BOMBAY-12  
(Telephone No. 61608)

The Reception Committee will also maintain an office at Purandare Stadium during the days of the Congress.

6 Correspondence can also be addressed to the following:

Maharashtra State Council,  
Communist Party of India,  
Raj Bhuvan,  
Sardar Patel Road,  
Bombay-4  
(Telephone No. 41144)

7 All telegrams should be addressed as under:

MARATHIYUG (G.G.)  
BOMBAY-4

8 Comrades needing any particular medical treatment should inform the Reception Committee in advance.

9 A cold winter is expected this year in Bombay and so delegates and visitors should bring sufficient bedding and woollen coverings.

10 National Council members arriving in Bombay in advance of the Party Congress for the meeting of the National Council should inform the Reception Committee about the trains by which they will travel, or proceed to the Bombay Council office at Parel at the address given above.

## CONSOLIDATION OF REACTION NEEDS STRESS

It is welcome that the Draft Programme for the first time makes an attempt to assess the character and role of the Indian bourgeoisie after independence and their relationship to the state in India. It is also a welcome feature that an attempt is made to present a complete picture of the Indian scene after independence from the Marxist point of view.

THE Draft is an advance and an improvement from the previous political resolutions of our Party Congresses. It serves as a useful basis for serious study and for arriving at correct formulation of our policy, strategy and tactics.

But there are serious defects in the Draft. They have to be eliminated. The following are the striking defects:

The preamble is dull. It is "tasteless, colourless and odourless". It must be rewritten in a way that the glorious and heroic struggles waged by our people for independence are correctly and enthusiastically depicted.

### PARTIES TO COMPROMISE

In para. 3 it is mentioned: "... the British imperialists read the writing on the wall and decided to compromise and stage a strategic retreat with the intention of returning to the attack again." This is correct. But, with whom did they compromise? Who are their counterparts in India that compromised with them? was it not a compromise arrived at by the national bourgeoisie with British imperialism? Why fight shy to mention this fact?

That aspect of the national leadership, one of struggle against imperialism and compromise with it, rousing the masses and betraying their interests as it suited the bourgeoisie, should be brought out.

The whole Draft does not mention anywhere that India should withdraw from British Commonwealth. No use pointing out that Burma and Ceylon are still members of this Commonwealth. What those countries did already to complete the tasks of national democracy our country has not yet even thought of doing. In view of the specific features of our national leadership, fight for India's withdrawal from the British Commonwealth, is a fight for building an anti-imperialist national democratic front.

## FORUM

the anti-people activities of landlord Congress leaders at various levels in collusion with the officialdom; and

the stupendous waste of crores of rupees on the annual conferences of the Congress, AICC Sessions, birthday celebrations of Congress leaders and erection of their statues.

By V. ANANTHARAMAIAH  
Member, Nellore District Council, CPI

Again, a plain reading of paras 5, 6 and 7 gives the impression that all blame is on the British imperialists and that the Indian National Congress, the party of the Indian bourgeoisie, had no vacillations and was a consistent and sincere fighter against British imperialism at all stages. To give this impression is misleading and erroneous.

Party is a tail of the Congress, which, of course, it is not. The great changes for the worse that have taken place in the Congress must be brought out. They are:

the strengthening of the influence of the right over the Congress and the corresponding shift to the right of government policies;

the entry of rajas, zamindars, old pro-British landlords, self-seekers and such other anti-national and anti-patriotic elements into the Congress;

ousting of genuine patriots who sacrificed for the country from places of authority in the Congress bodies;

seizure of a vast number of Congress committees by anti-patriotic careerists;

ever-increasing use of state power by Congressmen through control of Parishads, Panahayats and co-operatives for strengthening their hold on the people;

Corruption in the Congress ministries and the phenomenal riches amassed by individual ministers (Punjab, Orissa, Kashmir, Andhra, Kerala etc.);

portions. Our Party not being left opportunists will have to fight resolutely this disruptionist trend in order to save our democratic movement,

The ever-increasing autocratic and anti-democratic trends are shamelessly exhibited even in public life by the national leadership. It is surprising how the authors of the Draft failed to give due importance to them.

The failure to mention the rape of democracy in Kerala in unseating of the Communist Ministry and the anti-democratic role of even Pandit Nehru in this whole affair, is difficult to understand. How could anyone miss this important onslaught on democracy in India? Has it not a far-reaching lesson to us about parliamentary democracy?

### SET-UP OF COOPERATIVES

The co-operative movement in India is mainly a tool in the hands of rich landlords to collect their otherwise uncollectable debts and is the medium through which politically influential persons in the ruling party lay their hands on public funds for their own personal and factional ends. There must be a radical change in the set-up and organisation of these co-operatives. The whole law on co-operatives must be changed and the experience of Yugoslavia and Denmark emulated.

Sufficient prominence must be given to the existence of corruption at all levels of various types, from one rupee bakshish to Keeler kind, and relentless fight has to be carried on for its elimination.

Mention may be made in the Programme for the provision of provident fund benefits to the intelligentsia like lawyers, doctors etc.

### GROWTH OF COMMUNALISM

The Draft also failed to mention the following among the major changes that have taken place in our country during the period after independence.

1 While the most important change is the growth of right reaction both inside and outside Congress, the growth of casteism and communalism is menacing and is an important danger to democracy. This dangerous force is fomented and nourished mainly by the Congress in every election and it has its own influence on our Party (including the rival party), though not of alarming proportions.

In para 54 of the Draft it must be clearly stated that the elections under this capitalist regime are not free. The words "however free they may be" may be deleted. We should state clearly that the vast majority of voters are from villages and that they are effectively coerced by the vested interests by direct and indirect methods to vote against their will and even not to go to the polls.

We must include in our Programme that an election commission consisting of representatives of all parties would be constituted to lay down rules and regulations for the conduct of elections and their enforcement and to ensure that the elections are held in a really free and fair atmosphere.

# SEVENTH CONGRESS OF COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

## BOMBAY, DECEMBER 13 TO 23, 1964

policy, aid from socialist countries, conditions for the import of foreign monopoly capital, nationalisation of banks, price control, state-trading in foodgrains and the implementation of land reforms" (paragraph 87).

The Programme also correctly emphasises that the Congress is a very important factor of the political life of our country and has played a positive role in leading the struggle for national freedom and "in taking measures to consolidate independence" which has given it "a big mass base" (paragraph 86).

All this is true and the earlier part of the Programme gives the foundation for these formulations. For we have to appreciate, the Congress has made substantial

the possibility of such a differentiation leading to a defeat of the reactionary elements inside the Congress and the victory of the progressive elements, thus providing a basis for a general united front between the Congress and the forces led by our Party?

I do not think therefore it is correct for us to lay a blanket ban in the Programme itself on the question of building a general united front with the Congress. None is in a position in our country with its swiftly changing events after the death of Jawaharlal Nehru to forecast in which direction the Congress will go.

I do not rule out, of course, the Congress itself being entirely captured by reactionary



# COMMENTS ON THE

## CHARACTER OF THE INDIAN BOURGEOISIE

\*FROM PAGE 9

and socialism, possibilities arise of a temporary coincidence of interest between sections of even imperialist monopoly capital on questions of war and peace and a number of other issues and the forces of peace and democracy (e.g. CPUSA supporting Johnson, CP of France supporting de Gaulle, on his plan for neutralisation of South-East Asia).

Further, experience of our national movement shows that while fissures and conflicts have persisted in the National Congress, the leadership has remained largely united at the most critical moments.

In both Programmes, the government's policy in the agrarian sector is characterised as one aimed at fostering the growth of capitalist landlords and rich peasants, while both Programmes do not care to substantiate the hypotheses that the historical category of the capitalist landlord is applicable to the Indian context.

In view of the virtual stagnation of the per acre yield in Indian agriculture, the complete stagnation (shown by recent census figures and the two Agricultural Labour Enquiries) of the proportion of agricultural labour in the rural working force, the complete failure of land legislations to break the power of land monopoly (the Mahalanobis Committee Report gives 1961 figures of landownership which prove this beyond doubt), and the steady and continued preponderance of small peasant economy, coupled with the increasing tie-up of mercantile, usurious and semi-feudal interests in the rural economy, the present agricultural crisis and the price situation, a thorough re-examination of the nature of developments in the Indian rural economy is imperative. Only that can give us an insight into the required orientation of the agrarian programme and mass work among the peasantry, as well as the dynamics of Right reaction in India.

### Alternative Premises

Alternative hypotheses and the premises of an alternative method are called for to enable us to face a radically different situation since the attainment of political independence which transferred power to the Congress leadership. The revision should start from the premises of the Colonial Thesis and the 1951 Programme. Comrade Adhikari acknowledges this in his book but makes hardly an attempt to formulate the alternative premises. That is why I seek postponement of the finalisation of the Programme.

It is no use having a Programme just because requirements of the inner-Party struggle dictate it. If mass work proceeds on the same habitual moorings—because the Programme fails to break from the worn-out catechism that has been our stock-in-trade—we shall fail to evolve a concrete mass line which is the final means of routing left-opportunism and of enabling the people to judge which of the two trends is correct.

If we do not succeed in that, left-opportunism shall continue to gain ground and, if Comrade EMS means what he says, Left-opportunism and Right reaction will go hand-in-hand, disarming

the Indian people before the impending danger of a reversal. It is not the business of any single individual to provide the alternative. Nor are the pages of a weekly the proper setting. However, the humble efforts made in understanding the fast changing reality of today show that fruitful effort along the following lines may ultimately enable us to formulate the premises of a new method of analysis:

1. What is necessary is a sharp break from the premises of Lenin's *State and Revolution*, which essentially dealt with the circumstances of a socialist revolution in an imperialist state—without foregoing the principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat as the precondition for actually building up socialism. The theory of state and revolution for the new states in this period has to be derived rather from the historical writings of Marx and Engels on the European revolutions in Western Europe.

### Lenin's Thesis

Considerable help can be obtained also from Lenin's *Two Tactics, The Agrarian Programme of Social Democracy, The April Thesis and the Impending Catastrophe and How to Avert It*. This is not the place to go into this vast literature. One can only point out some of the outstanding concepts derivable from these writings:

a. In the formative period of the nation states, the state is not yet an ossified entity in which class relations have been settled. The State and the Constitution in this period of transition from feudalism to capitalism represents a "temporary equilibrium of class forces" in which situations may arise when "the warring classes are so evenly matched that the state can exercise a certain degree of independence of both the chief contending classes" and no class holds decisive sway over the state power.

b. In such periods, situation may arise when the petty-bourgeoisie may become, for a certain length of time, the main driving force of the state.

c. The bourgeois, revolutions proceed in at least two stages. In the first phase the lords of money and commerce, i.e., the *haute bourgeoisie* comes to power on the basis of a compromise with the landed interests, seeking to execute capitalist development in the second way. In the second phase, the *parvenu bourgeoisie* led by the rising industrial bourgeoisie sweeps into power at the crest of the industrial revolution.

d. The task of the working class is not to allow the class relations to get stabilised, to make the revolution "permanent" by forging an alliance with the petty-bourgeoisie radical bourgeois democracy, i.e., the forces of the first way of capitalist development.

e. It is only in the context of such a confrontation of the forces of the second way and the forces of the first way of capitalist development that the European Restorations and their breakup can be understood.

f. Under such circumstances, when the class relations are not stabilised and the warring classes are evenly matched, the petty-bourgeoisie becomes the decisive factor and the prospects of

a peaceful transition arise as envisaged by Lenin in the period between the April Theses and October, till the Bolshevik majority replaced the petty-bourgeois majority in the Soviets.

g. The initial programmatic platform during this phase is that of progressive state capitalism as elaborated in *Impending Catastrophe and How to Avert It*.

2. In the present epoch when the two warring classes, the imperialist bourgeoisie and the international working-class, are evenly matched, with the latter daily gaining ascendancy, the state power in the newly emerging nation states is very much more of a temporary equilibrium of class forces, is capable of exercising a large degree of independence of both the warring classes—which is the objective basis of the phenomenon of nonalignment—and the petty-bourgeoisie may become the main driving force.

Due to the over-riding fact that centuries of imperialist drain have sucked these countries dry of the sources of primary accumulation and that the scope of colonial war and plunder is closed to these states in the present epoch, the need for capital accumulation on a large scale impels these countries along collective forms of accumulation through state and co-operative property. Under such objective limitations the petty-bourgeoisie and other forces of the first way of capitalist development, notably the industrial bourgeoisie, are goaded on to the path of progressive state capitalism, mouthing slogans of petty-bourgeois socialism.

### Experience Abroad

The international hegemony of the working class exercised through the military, political and economic protection extended to these states by the socialist system provides the necessary external hegemony of the proletariat under which the internal forces of democracy and socialism can propel these states along a transition from progressive state capitalism to the non-capitalist path peacefully.

Such are the experiences in Algeria, UAR, Ghana, Burma, Ceylon and even in Aitid's Indonesia. For altogether geopolitical reasons Aitid has a different posture, though his Party is following a version of the "revisionist" strategy and tactics.

All these potentialities exist in India. But, with a difference. None of these countries had a strong national bourgeoisie with a considerable industrial base. Compradore and mercantile elements linked with imperialism and feudalism constituted the bulk of the bourgeoisie, which could not possibly provide an anti-imperialist leadership to the petty-bourgeoisie in these countries. The forces of the second way in these countries were basically pro-imperialist.

The Indian situation is further complicated by the fact that not only has this country the most powerful national bourgeoisie compared to all other colonial and dependent countries, including pre-revolutionary China, but that the big bourgeoisie in India, controlling as it does the overwhelming portion of the industrial output of the organised sector, is part of the national bourgeoisie—in fact, the leading core.

The big bourgeoisie in India has thus been able to project itself as the leader of the entire national bourgeoisie and has been able to associate itself, in varying degrees, with the biggest mass multi-class national party in the world—the Indian National Congress—based primarily upon the petty-bourgeoisie, the vast peasant masses.

The strength of the industrial base of the big bourgeoisie in India is the objective basis of the fact that India is the only one among all the colonial countries which has been able to develop and maintain a parliamentary democracy based on adult suffrage.

This big bourgeoisie, however, has clay feet. First, it is mortally afraid of its own party's mass base.

Secondly, economically, the history of the rise of Indian big business, associated as it is with that specific form of business enterprise in India, the managing agency system, shows that it has considerable stakes in forms of accumulation of the compradore mercantile speculative type. Economically, the big bourgeoisie is a split personality.

The *sine qua non* of the second way of capitalist development consists in a combination of the forms of primary accumulation based on what Marx calls "profit-on-alienation" in Volume III of *Capital* and of accumulation based on production of surplus value. The big bourgeoisie in India is interested, by virtue of its in-built economic duality, to retain as much of the forms of the second way of capitalist development as possible and

reaction in the countryside—while the rural economy continues to stagnate at the level of indigent small peasant economy. It is no accident that the crises of price mechanism and of agricultural output are the two rocks on which Indian planning has foundered.

### Wrong Formulation

The Programme is all wrong when it characterises the problems of the Indian economy as "contradictions of the path of capitalist development". It is not just any kind of capitalist development that is taking place in India. Lenin has said that Communists welcome the first way of capitalist development because it unleashes the process of revolutionary democracy and the productive initiative of manufacturers and peasants. But Communists, must oppose tooth and nail the second way, because that is the way of the slowest development of productive forces and the throttling of democracy. This was his main bone of contention with Mensheviks in the period of Stolypin reforms.

Now, what is the political relevance of all this? First, the crisis of Congress policy is a consequence of attempting a "mixed economy" in which the elements of the second way have been sought to be "mixed" with and reconciled to the requirements of the Indian situation and to the pressures of the forces of the first way, i.e., the

# FORUM

combine these with modes of collective accumulation through the state sector on its own terms.

The specific forms of crisis in Indian planning arise out of this singular fact that the second way of capitalist development is doomed to failure and stands in violent contradiction with the requirements of capital accumulation in the Indian economy. The second way is bound to fail and inexorably leads to the triumph of the neo-colonialist path, to the triumph, however temporary that may be, of the Indian Restoration which can only mean the comeback of imperialism.

This is so because the Indian second way cannot repeat the Prussian or the Japanese experience of accelerating capital accumulation by fleecing the peasantry internally and exploiting colonies and the world market abroad.

Attempts to push the second way in Indian agriculture exhaust themselves within the limits of the sphere of circulation and cannot alter the production-base of agriculture to any considerable degree.

This is exactly what has happened in the Indian economy during the last decade. Rapid inroads of money economy into the village have geared up the sphere of circulation to the requirements of profit-on-alienation through the price mechanism and the mechanism of usury, while the production-base in agriculture remains largely unaltered. We are not having a rapid growth of what is historically called capitalist landlordism—i.e., largescale mechanised farming by the latifundia—but a diseased, neurotic antediluvian form of the second way expressed through the concentration of 60 per cent of land, 75 per cent of the marketed surplus and 60 per cent of rural credit in the hands of a top 10 per cent of rural society—the base of Right

petty-bourgeoisie and of the militant working class.

The Centrists in the Congress leadership represent the interests of the entire national bourgeoisie including the big bourgeoisie insofar as the big bourgeoisie in India exhibits the characteristics of the industrial bourgeoisie. The Left in the Congress represents the voice of petty-bourgeois social democracy and reflects the pressures of the mass petty-bourgeois base of the Congress. The Centrists tend to lean towards the Right.

### Rightist Parties

The Right outside the Congress represents, first of all, the direct imperialist lobby in India and is based upon the darkest forces of semi-feudal reaction in the countryside, i.e., the old feudal and zamindari houses and the new class of the rural rich (the top 10 per cent which owns the land, owns the marketed surplus, owns the credit, controls the administrative links at the lower levels).

The communal and provincial chauvinist parties and groups are the direct instruments of imperialism. This Right also draws sustenance from the political fears and the compradore-mercantile features of the big bourgeoisie.

But the Right outside the Congress basically represents the forces of imperialism and semi-feudal reaction and is the political mouthpiece of the neo-colonialist path. Comrade EMS is tragically wrong. The Right inside the Congress is a link between the Right outside and the Centrists and represent the interests of the big bourgeoisie only, i.e. a combination of accumulation through the state sector on its own terms.

# DRAFT PROGRAMME

It should be clearly realised that the big bourgeoisie is not an enemy of the state sector as such. On the contrary, it very much wants the development of the state sector to proceed—only on its own terms. But the experienced leadership of the big bourgeoisie in India knows it more than anybody else that the Indian state in the present epoch is an unstable equilibrium of class forces and therefore campaigns against the state sector, while benefiting the most from it and monopolising key positions.

The structural reforms in the programmatic platform should follow from the rationale of plugging the *modus operandi* of the second way of capitalist development, i.e. of abolishing the forms of accumulation through profit-on-alienation, without touching the base of productive bourgeois property, i.e. of the modes on profit-production-of-surplus value. This is essentially a programme of progressive state capitalism and a fully worked out set of measures are available in Lenin's "Impending Catastrophe and How to Avert It".

### Vulnerable Economy

It should be borne in mind, however, that the combination of the second way and the state sector on its own terms represented by the big bourgeoisie in India is not by itself the neo-colonialist path. It does, however—by slowing down the growth rate of the economy, by precipitating a crisis in the financial plan and the system of allocations and by promoting the particular version of the Indian second way of the growth of mercantile speculative usurious forces in agriculture—make the economy vulnerable to a counter-attack of imperialism; to a reversal along the neo-colonialist semi-feudal restoration.

To the nationalisation of foreign capital, banks, import-export and wholesale trade (Why not exclude the nationalisation of plantations as such—nationalisation of foreign capital in plantation is enough?)—which are quite correctly advanced on the basis of the above criterion—should be added:

1. Nationalisation of Managing Agencies—25 houses to start with, involving Rs. 4 crores of capital only, which will hand over to the state managerial control over nearly Rs. 400 crores of company capital in the industrial sector. This is an old slogan of the national movement and is

entire national bourgeoisie including the industrial features of the big-bourgeoisie, and of politically isolating and paralysing the Right inside the Congress, representing the interests of the big-bourgeoisie only. The Right outside has to be destroyed.

2. Countrywide rationing in essential commodities to include the agricultural labourers also—with a system of compulsory grain levies directed, at the top 10 per cent of the rural rich. The Party must not go on keeping rationing and levies waiting for the ruling party to introduce the allegedly unpopular measure. Planning without rationing is an absurdity—and Communists have no business to keep tactfully silent over it.

3. Demonstration of currency to tackle the present emergency and long term measures aimed at forcing the non-bank monetary sector in the Indian economy, which is more important than the banking sector, to be incorporated into the banking sector. This is also an important traditional issue which the present government have refused to settle.

In exchange of these measures the entire national bourgeoisie, including the big bourgeoisie should be promised all help in the promotion of their industrial ambitions. The point to note is that we are not aiming at national industrial capital, big or small, but all those

very important if the mercantile financial operations of the big bourgeoisie are to be controlled by the state.

With regard to the evaluation of the plan and development, the Vijayawada thesis gives a more balanced picture and the draft should be amended accordingly.

★ On the question of achievement of Indian freedom it should be clearly mentioned that the dream of the patriotic people was realised after a bitter and hundred year-old struggle. It should be noted that this struggle is older than the life of the Congress itself.

★ The subsequent integration of the Indian states is pictured in the draft as an achievement of the Indian bourgeoisie against imperialism. In fact it is otherwise.

★ The Indian bourgeois leadership of the Congress adhered to the position of non-interference in states' peoples movement. The states' peoples movement in Saurashtra, Eastern Agency, Rajputana, Travancore, Kashmir and above all the glorious armed struggle in Telengana were the major instruments defeating the imperialist intrigues and forcing the integration of India.

★ It must also be noted that even after this struggle the bourgeoisie which now held state power compromised with the feudal princes and gave them ample concessions.

★ Similarly the Draft Programme requires to be amended where it deals with the economic development and limited agrarian reforms.

The kisan struggles in the country, and here again, the Telengana struggle in particular, forced the government to take certain steps. It is also true that the objective interests of the bourgeoisie required these changes.

features of big and small capital which thrive on the backwardness of the economy through the modes of profit-on-alienation. The agrarian sector is of decisive importance in this matter.

In the agrarian sector the *sine qua non* of the Programme should be an attack on the economic power of the top 10 per cent and the remnants of the old feudal and zamindari, houses. This should be coupled with a concerted attempt to lead the working peasants and rural intelligentsia's urge for village reconstruction and promotion of agricultural output through an all-out drive to organise working peasants' cooperatives and small industries under popular initiative. Agricultural labour unions and labour cooperatives should be separately organised.

In any case, the Party should have a detailed programme worked out for the various agricultural regions of India to take account of the great diversity of the rural economy. Our entire approach to the agrarian question should be thoroughly overhauled in the light of this requirement to tackle the problem of peasant-unity on the village plane. A single "land to the tiller" slogan can hardly serve the purpose which it used to do before.

Finally, since the political battle in India has now to be fought mainly on the economic front, the entire method of mass work and working of mass organisations and the Party should be thoroughly

### Only Anti-Feudal

National Democracy covers an entire period from progressive state capitalism to the non-capitalist path. It is wrong to call it the state form of the non-capitalist path, just as it is wrong to consider its programme to be "about the same as the 1951 programme", as the present Draft does.

ly overhauled. The task ahead is to relate the overall Party Programme through a series of intermediate links of structural reforms to the daily life of the people, to a solution of the everyday problems of the entire gamut of social life in the different states of India in terms of feasible, immediate alternatives to the steps and policies of the ruling class.

Peoples' Choice

Only then will the people be able to discover the national alternative in the Party and finally settle which of the two trends is correct.

A final word of caution. The principles of the immediate Programme of National Democracy make it a programme of progressive state capitalism, not of the non-capitalist path, though leading towards it. The non-capitalist path in India has to undertake definitely anti-capitalist measures attacking capitalism as such, to the extent that the worker-peasant alliance gains ascendancy within the National Democratic Front.

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## AMENDMENTS SUGGESTED BY HYDERABAD CITY COUNCIL, CPI

On the basis of discussions in the conference and the amendments suggested, the conference of Hyderabad city council of the Communist Party of India suggests that the Draft Programme be amended in certain aspects.

★ On the question of achievement of Indian freedom it should be clearly mentioned that the dream of the patriotic people was realised after a bitter and hundred year-old struggle. It should be noted that this struggle is older than the life of the Congress itself.

★ The subsequent integration of the Indian states is pictured in the draft as an achievement of the Indian bourgeoisie against imperialism. In fact it is otherwise.

★ The Indian bourgeois leadership of the Congress adhered to the position of non-interference in states' peoples movement. The states' peoples movement in Saurashtra, Eastern Agency, Rajputana, Travancore, Kashmir and above all the glorious armed struggle in Telengana were the major instruments defeating the imperialist intrigues and forcing the integration of India.

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The kisan struggles in the country, and here again, the Telengana struggle in particular, forced the government to take certain steps. It is also true that the objective interests of the bourgeoisie required these changes.

★ With regard to the character of the state, we insist that it is a bourgeois-landlord state.

The programme must include an unequivocal statement on elimination of feudal remnants not only in the agrarian field but from the political and cultural life of the entire nation.

In the tenth chapter it should be specially mentioned that even though the hegemony of the working-class is not a must to bring about na-

tion democratic coalition in the present international conjunctures, but the decisive role of the working-class and the worker-peasant alliance has to be underlined to achieve the objective.

The programme of national democracy must include elimination of unemployment and continuous striving for improving the living standards of the people.

The conference is also of the opinion that in para 82 where settlement with neighbours is mentioned, China be included along with Pakistan.

In the chapter X the portion concerning Literature, Art and Culture, should be

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### Announcement

With this contribution, the discussion Forum opened in the NEW AGE concludes. By the time the next issue of the NEW AGE is out, the Seventh Congress of our Party will have begun in Bombay and therefore further continuation of Forum will have no meaning.

Although we did not receive as many contributions as we expected in the discussion Forum, still from those contributions which we published, a number of important points of view on questions of ideology and the Party Programme emerged. We are sure the Party members and readers found these contributions interesting and useful.

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# Congo: Worldwide Indignation Against Imperialist Invasion

From Kunhanandan Nair

BERLIN: The international press during the past week has been throbbing with indignation expressed by world public opinion against the US-Belgium-Nato invasion of the Congo (Stanleyville).

THE sympathy and support for the national liberation movement of Congo have increased tremendously during this period of crisis.

The socialist states, the governments of free African countries, the nonaligned powers, Communist Parties all over the world and the working-class movement in the countries ruled by imperialists who intervened in the Congo are in the forefront of the struggle against this imperialist perfidy.

A marvellous picture of a mighty worldwide anti-imperialist action in support of the national liberation movements, merging all progressive streams and movements is today revealed in solidarity with the brave fighters in the Congo.

Mighty demonstrations of the angry peoples have rocked the imperialist citadels in London, Washington, Brussels, Bonn and also Paris where the Nato headquarters is situated.

Demonstrators stormed the United States embassy in Cairo.

In Nairobi where the Congo committee of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) met last week and decided to oppose imperialist intervention, on November 26, thousands of Africans protesting against imperialist occupation of Stanleyville burned and stoned cars outside the United States embassy.

In Prague, African and Czech students stoned the courtyard of US legation damaging cars and smashing windows. In Brussels demonstrators paraded the streets with a banner "Imperialists have brought shame on our country".

In short wherever there is a US or Belgian diplomatic mission in Europe or Africa people demonstrated and protested spontaneously, moved by the outrages in the Congo.

## Unity of Africa

The unity of Africa against imperialist intervention in the Congo is complete and unprecedented. Majority of free African states, peoples of the entire continent, have condemned the intervention.

★ President Nasser of the UAR described imperialist policies in Congo as a danger to security and independence of African states. The Government of the United Arab Republic quickly called on the foreign ministers of the African states to hold consultations immediately, to discuss the critical situation in the Congo.

★ The President of the Democratic People's Republic of Algeria, Ahmed Ben Bella, condemned in a speech on Tuesday the aggression against the Congolese people as a crime and an imperialist plot. Ben Bella assured the Congolese people of Algeria's support and solidarity.

★ The Secretary-General of the Federation of Revolutionary Trade Unions of Zanzibar, Khamis Amer, in an interview described the intervention as "another desperate attempt by the imperialists to maintain their economic and military interests, as well as their prestige in Africa."

## Kenya Protest

★ The Kenyan government on Tuesday published a statement on the incidents in Congo which said among other things that the Americans, the Belgians, and their mercenaries contrary to an appeal of the mediation commission in Congo started an offensive against Stanleyville.

★ President Leopold Senghor of Senegal condemned the intervention in Paris on Tuesday. He demanded "all countries should refrain from interfering in the internal affairs of other countries."

★ The Prime Minister of Ethiopia termed the intervention in Congo a "unilateral action which might have gravest consequences for Africa."

★ The all-African Trade Union Federation pilloried the offensive against Stanleyville as "a serious provocation" and "a threat to world peace".

★ Radio Guinea described the invasion as "a new imperialist aggression".

★ President Nyerere on behalf of the Government of Tanzania denounced the bloody invasion.

★ Mali President Keita said in Bamako that, Belgian American invasion in Stanleyville is an expression of the policy of strength and adventurism which the imperialists want to effect in the whole world.

★ In New York UN delegates from 33 African countries at an extraordinary meeting last Friday condemned the Congo aggression and decided to demand a Security Council meeting to debate the intervention.

★ Almost all the African trade unions have condemned the invasion.

Thousands of Algerian working people protested most strongly against the imperialist aggression in Congo at rallies held in numerous towns Thursday evening.

★ All representatives of Afro-Asian liberation movements stationed in Algiers supported the Algerian position in the Congo crisis identifying themselves with the Congolese freedom fighters by demanding immediate withdrawal of foreign interventionists.

The powerful support the socialist countries are rendering to the Congolese Liberation movement is well-known.

## German Reactions

In Berlin, the capital of the German Democratic Republic 10,000 people gathered in a public meeting organised by the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee on November 27, to demand freedom and self-determination for the Congolese people. The meeting was addressed by the GDR Deputy Prime Minister Paul Scholz. A deputy minister of the Government of Kenya Kariuki Njuri who was in Berlin that day was also present in this meeting.

Earlier the Government of the German Democratic Republic through a Foreign Ministry statement condemned the Nato invasion of the Congo and firmly backed the demands of the Organisation of African Unity to remove all mercenaries and foreign troops from the Congo and to stop immediately all imperialist interference.

While the GDR is firmly with the Afro-Asian Peoples' freedom struggles, the other German state, the Federal Republic of Chancellor Erhard is backing the intervention in the Congo (as it backed the

Portuguese in the Goa, the Dutch in West Irian and the Turks in Cyprus) through the Nato, by recruiting mercenaries for the puppet Tshombe and giving him financial credit to boost the war against the Congolese people.

The collaboration of imperialist powers against the Congolese people was aptly described by the Deputy Foreign Minister of GDR Klesowetter when he told this correspondent:

"Look at Congo and the Nato, how unitedly the imperialists acted; the USA supplied transport planes, bombers and the commander of the operation, Belgium supplied the paratroopers, Great Britain, the island of Ascension as a landing base. The puppet Tshombe handed over the base of Kamina and West Germany gave storm trooper mercenaries and a ten million mark credit to puppet Tshombe".

The British Weekly New Statesman is highly critical of the Belgian-American intervention. "It is essential that the paratroopers be seen to pull out quickly. It is vital that the OAU be a party to working out the next stage in the Congo," the weekly said.

Tribune, the socialist weekly from London, noted that "the Belgians and Americans have been waging, for some time, a war on behalf of Tshombe and the non-African interests he represents".

## Belgian CP Condemns

In Brussels, the Political Bureau of the Belgian Com-

munist Party, sharply condemned the landing of Belgian paratroopers in Stanleyville and described it as a "brutal interference into the internal affairs of the Republic of Congo".

"Belgium is setting a dangerous example of how solutions are brought about by force and how peaceful efforts are frustrated," the Party declaration said.

"Belgium is adding a new element to the tensions in the world from which only the extremists of racism and war".

The statement further said, "the Belgian government has again embarked on a reactionary policy which is being sharply condemned by the workers and democrats representing the majority of the country. It bears the responsibility for the loss in human lives. It must immediately stop the military operation and withdraw the paratroopers and all Belgian military men from the Congo".

## Stanleyville Recaptured

Reports reaching from Stanleyville shows that the morale of the liberation fighters has not been affected in spite of the mass killing of Africans, the loot and arson and pillaging in Stanleyville by the paratroopers and the Tshombe mercenaries. The international wave of solidarity is heart warming for the Congolese freedom fighters. They have recaptured Stanleyville and other important centres from the mercenaries. Yesterday an agency report said the Belgians have killed nearly 800 Africans in Stanleyville itself.

Antoine Gizenga who was held by Moise Tshombe's mercenaries in Leopoldville was deported to an unidentified place on Wednesday, it was announced here on Thursday in a communique of the Congolese National Liberation Council. The Council appealed to the Organisation of African Unity to save the life of Gizenga.

# ITALIAN CP GAINS IN LOCAL ELECTIONS

ROME: The Italian Communist Party has again confounded its detractors and ill-wishers.

ONLY last month they were rejoicing over the results of elections in the factory committees at the FIAT works in which the CGIL (trade union centre in which Communists participate) had suffered a setback.

Last Sunday and Monday it registered significant gains in the local and provincial council elections. Its vote went up from 24.7 per cent won in the same elections in 1960 to 26 per cent now.

The Party gained 1.5 per cent more votes now than it had received at the last parliamentary elections which were held in April 1963.

Particularly impressive are the Communist Party successes in Central and Northern Italy, where it was already strong. In Turin, the Communists gained between 2 and 3 per cent and in Rome—traditionally rightwing—they won over 100,000 votes, increasing their

and 26 per cent, and there are no easy explanations.

The TIMES man finds the situation "all the more disquieting" because last week-end's gain by the ICP was recorded in the face of "at least two factors that should have hurt the Communists", according to all NATO calculations, these two factors being the death of Togliatti and the changes in Soviet leadership.

The columnist is forced to recognise that "at least one element in the ICP success has been the fact that 'Italian Communism, where it has had the chance to exercise power, has done on the whole a fairly good job of it', although according to him this has been done 'in a pragmatic fashion leaving the ideological aspects of Marxism relatively untouched'."

That perhaps means the ICP's insistence on a creative application of Marxism which as contrasted with dogmatic approaches has proved so inconvenient to NATO interests in Italy.

(SEE PAGE 18 ALSO)

Whatever the outcome of the current elections in Pakistan, the opposing sides in the contest are preparing for a real showdown outside the polling booths, reports IPA.

THE common people in Pakistan have very little faith in the possibility of changing the present regime by the processes granted to them by the Ayub Khan Constitution. Now that the first round of the elections (the only round where the common people have been allowed to come into the picture) is over, the ruling party as well as the combined opposition are poised for some form of extra-parliamentary struggle, which might unfold unexpected developments.

It might be recalled that till shortly before the polling for Basic Democrats, there were sharp differences of opinion among the opposition parties as to whether they should go in for the present elections at all. In view of the refusal of the Ayub government to concede the right to have direct elections based on adult franchise for the President's office as well as to the National and Provincial Assemblies, many opposition parties felt that the elections would be pointless and boycotted.

Going into election, on the terms dictated by the ruling party was like playing with an opponent who had already loaded the dice. Important parties like the National Awami Party advocated this point of view. Later on, however, as the elections approached and sentiment in favour of participation became effective, the National Awami Party of Maulana Bhasani also fell in line. They evidently realised that election of the sort that was

offered by the ruling junta could be utilised for extending the influence of the opposition parties and thus furthering the cause of the extra-parliamentary struggle.

## Miss Jinnah's Role

Fatima Jinnah commands universal respect in the country. The election campaign became a lever for furthering the struggle for democracy. The mass upsurge that has been unleashed in both the wings has provided a solid foundation on which the opposition parties can now build the edifice of their extra-parliamentary struggle.

The government too, for all its unwillingness, was obliged to extend formal facilities to the opposition to carry on their campaign, at least in the first round. But this situation is not likely to continue.

A foretaste of what is in store for the opposition, specially if the ruling party succeeds in winning the Presidential election—because in the entire election it is the only thing that matters—is beginning to make itself felt.

# Pakistan: Opposition Challenge To Rulers

Take for instance the threat of the Central Minister for Informations and Communications, Khan Abdul Sabur: "The opposition press in the east wing is mean and dirty", and "it has been publishing concocted results of the elections in the wing. It has behaved in such a way that more drastic action than the nationalisation of the press will have to be taken against it."

In reply to a question the Minister said President Ayub Khan embodied the ideology of Pakistan and the two could not be separated. "Loyalty to President Ayub Khan is loyalty to Pakistan", he bluntly stated. It is clear from such utterances that Ayub Khan and his band of storm-troopers, the Sabur Khans and the Khaliquzams and the Waheeduzzamans have no intention of handing over power whatever the verdict of the ballot box.

## Popular Resentment

From these and numerous other statements which Fatima Jinnah has been making it is clear that she is already projecting her role in the possible situation where the ruling party might manoeuvre itself into retaining power notwithstanding the powerful upsurge in support of the opposition. She even at this stage appears to be preparing for the future struggle that would inevitably follow Ayub Khan remaining in power after the current elections.

As far as the common people of Pakistan are concerned, an indication of their mood could be had from the recent incident in Daudkandi in Comilla district in East Pakistan. Popular resentment against a corrupt minister boiled over and led to a violent clash with the police in which two persons including a woman were killed and several more wounded.

The background to the incident was provided by the recent judgment of an election tribunal against a sitting

member belonging to the ruling party, Abdul Awal Bhulya. The election had taken place in October last year to fill up the vacancy caused by the elevation of Mafizuddin to the Provincial Cabinet as Education Minister.

The tribunal consisting of a number of High Court judges found the returned candidate guilty of adopting corrupt practices. What was even more significant was that Mafizuddin was also found guilty of corrupt practices in support of the official candidate.

In a democratic set up Mafizuddin would immediately have resigned. But in the Ayubian set up he was going about with impunity campaigning in favour of President Ayub. The people were naturally in no mood to listen to him. Shortly before a public meeting which was to have been addressed by him there was a students' black flag demonstration. When the meeting was about to start the audience became restive and surrounded the dais as well as the police party which was holding up the students from approaching the venue of the meeting.

It was at this stage that the police opened fire and two were killed including a woman. Mafizuddin fled for safety to a nearby house but the crowd collected there too and the police opened fire for a second time. On receipt of the news of these incidents, a huge posse of armed police proceeded from the district headquarters to the spot and Mafizuddin was escorted to safety and took a launch back to Dacca. Large number of arrests have been made in this connection.

# Soviet-Indian Cultural Society Holds Second Conference

From MASOOD ALI KHAN

MOSCOW: The second all-union conference of the Soviet-Indian Cultural Society which was held here last week showed the popular and mass character of the movement for friendship with India and its deep roots among the Soviet people.

THE beautiful hall of the Friendship House was draped with the flags of India and Soviet Union where about a hundred delegates from many different parts of the Soviet Union assembled to review their past six years' work and plan future activities for strengthening the ties between our two countries.

President of the society, Academician Nikolai Tsitsin opened the proceedings of the All-Union Conference and a presidium of 25 was elected to conduct the proceedings. Indian Ambassador T. N. Kaul and a delegation of Indo-Soviet Cultural Society led by Balraj Sahni, the well-known film star also attended the conference.

Presenting the main report Tsitsin expressed deep satisfaction over the developing Soviet-Indian relations. "India's policy of nonalignment, friendship and cooperation with the USSR and other socialist countries is highly appreciated in our country," the President said. Soviet-Indian relations help in the preservation of peace, he declared.

Tracing the history of the friendship ties between the two countries Tsitsin mentioned Tagore's and Nehru's contribution to it. He mentioned Soviet Union's help in India's progress such as in building

34 big industrial plants, some of which are already in operation.

Books by Indian authors have been translated into 37 languages of the USSR and have been published in 40 million copies. Much credit in spreading knowledge about India goes to the society. In six years the number of its collective members has grown from 26 to 150 and includes thousand-strong collectives of large factories, universities, schools and institutions.

Tsitsin expressed appreciation of the work done by ISCUS in India in popularising the Soviet Union and strengthening friendship between our two countries. But he said that there were also difficulties in this as the reactionaries within India were trying to hinder this friendship and push India away from the course charted by Nehru. The Soviet people welcomed the efforts of the democratic forces in India in defending progressive policies. Tsitsin mentioned with satisfaction the fact that India was one of the first to sign the Moscow test-ban treaty.

Tsitsin's report gave a wide survey of the activities of the society in Moscow, Leningrad, Gorky, Kiev, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Azerbaijan etc., and mentioned

the exhibitions, lectures, film shows, celebrations of anniversaries of Gandhi, Tagore, Vivekananda and others organised by its enthusiastic workers. He also mentioned the ten month study course arranged by the society for which students from India have been invited. The numerous delegations exchanged between the two countries provide another example.

Tsitsin also mentioned the new development of establishing especially closer friendly ties between the Soviet Republican branches of the society and state branches of ISCUS; like between Uzbekistan and Punjab, Tajikistan and Uttar Pradesh, Kazakhstan and Kerala etc. New collective members were being added to the society, Tsitsin said, and more commissions were to be established to facilitate its work in different fields.

"The Soviet people", said Tsitsin "have been brought up in the spirit of internationalism and solidarity with the working people of the world and they have a deep respect for the industrious and gifted people of India. The friendship which links the USSR and India is a remarkable achievement of both peoples. The society of Soviet-Indian cultural relations sees its task in developing and expanding the noble traditions of this friendship." The Soviet people rejoiced in the achievements of the Indian people in the 17 years since independence, Tsitsin said.

Balraj Sahni conveyed the good wishes of ISCUS to the Soviet conference. "We saw the successes of your socialist system with our own eyes. Socialism which was a dream of people has now become a reality", he said.



Indian Ambassador T. N. Kaul presenting "INDIA" magazine to N. V. Tsitsin, President of Soviet-Indian Cultural Society in Moscow on November 14.



# SOUTH-EAST ASIA ON VERGE OF DISASTER!

By OLGA CHECHYOTKINA

The situation in South Vietnam is growing more tense and dangerous every day. The struggle waged by the patriots of South Vietnam against the regime of American puppets in Saigon is becoming more and more acute. This is a heroic and staunch struggle for national independence and preservation of peace not only on the peninsula of Indo-China, but also in the whole of South-East Asia.

A few years ago an American general said that South Vietnam was a proving ground where "modern means" of suppression of the national liberation movement would be tested. As we see, the "proving ground" has turned to be a battlefield where the people of South Vietnam are fighting a pitched battle against the invaders and their puppets. And the Pentagon is hardly able to keep pace with the losses suffered by the American "advisers" in battles against the patriots.

Not long ago the US militarists felt the force of the blows dealt by the people's liberation detachments when they destroyed the airfield at Bienhoa under the nose of the puppet government. And it was an airfield on which nuclear bombers were based.

## Trap for Patriots

After this the American "advisers" and the puppet generals worked out a plan for delivering a "retaliatory blow" at the guerrilla forces in the delta of the Mekong River. It was the intention of the Pentagon strategists to set a trap for the patriots at a place where forces faithful to Saigon would wait in ambush with artillery and fighter-bomber support.

The operation proved to be a disgraceful failure.

It was reported that the Saigon paratroopers bumped into a horrible maze of subterranean passages from which the Vietcong snipers were firing with deadly accuracy. The operation ended with the guerrillas encircling the entire paratroop detachment. To do so they made use of the subterranean passages where they were at home.

Nevertheless, the Operation Brushfire was proclaimed the largest of such operations in the entire history of the war in Vietnam. It took place only forty kilometres away from Saigon and ended in the complete rout of the puppet forces, whose losses were three times as high as those of the patriots.

At the same time the streets of Saigon were the scene of frequent fierce mass demonstrations against the government.

Anyway, there is nothing new in the latest dispatches from South Vietnam. Was it not clear long ago that the American militarists were deeply and hopelessly involved in their gamble on the peninsula of Indo-China? And one failure followed another, despite the fact that South Vietnam, according to General Abrams, Deputy Chief of Staff of the US Army, was flooded with 15,000 American soldiers.

More than that, the number of majors and captains engaged as "advisers" in South Vietnam was sufficient to man five divisions and the number of lieutenants being sufficient to fill in the vacancies of three and a half divisions.

The Pentagon officials tried to

explain their defeat at Bienhoa base by the fact that they deliberately took the risk of leaving their B-57 bombers there. However, General Westmoreland, US Commander in Saigon, gave a different explanation. He said that the military bases in South Vietnam could be protected only by full-strength battalions of the US combat forces.

The general admitted that if these units were brought to South Vietnam the US pretense to appear there only in the role of "adviser" would finally be abolished.

But it is already clear that it is only the US militarists that are responsible for turning South Vietnam into a real battlefield. They are responsible for the threat of spreading the military conflict over the entire peninsula of Indo-China.

Even the US Ambassador Taylor who three years ago worked out the plan of building up the armed forces in South Vietnam has been forced to admit that there is no end in sight to the war against the patriots of South Vietnam. It was the national liberation movement in South Vietnam and the support it enjoys on the part of world public

opinion that forced the American general to admit that the patriotic army is invincible. The danger is that the "hot heads" in Washington are working out new plans. Preparations are under way to shift the war to the territory of the Democratic

plans will begin. It looks like Taylor's voice will be one of the most decisive in this "round." He is said to be likely to demand "a limited expansion of the war outside South Vietnam."

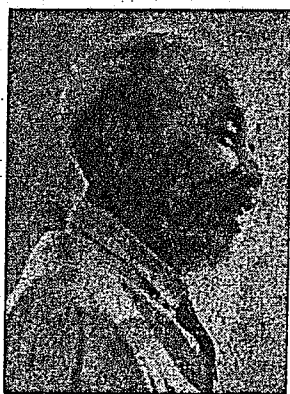
What kind of "limited" actions does the General have in mind?

## Taylor's Plans

Taylor intends to employ bombers which will air-raid the "targets of the Reds in North Vietnam and in Communist-controlled areas in Laos." The New York Times says in this connection that the US Ambassador to Saigon and his assistants think that "the limited air attacks will not entail any serious retaliatory actions of the North Vietnamese or Chinese."

Is it complete military mediocrity or open adventurism? Both notions are fraught with great danger not only for the people of South Vietnam. The expansion of the war North-wise, be it called "limited" or "a thousand times, will mean an expansion of the aggression to the whole of the Indochinese peninsula. Evidently the Pentagon aims at involving new Asian countries in this military conflict jeopardising universal peace.

Recently the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam appealed to the world public to raise its voice against the new dangerous provocation planned by the US militarists, against the open violation of the Geneva agreements



The Target

Republic of Vietnam, as well as to Laos and Cambodia. This is done on the pretext of the allegation that "the guerrillas in South Vietnam receive assistance from outside."

The US press reports that President Johnson has appointed a special group headed by William Bundy which has worked out "a heap of plans" for further activities in South Vietnam. In a few days when General Taylor comes to Washington from Saigon a "round of conferences" on

# PENTAGON CLAMOURS FOR ALL-OUT WAR IN VIETNAM

By DANIEL MASON

The Pentagon Brass have mounted a drive for White House approval to extension of the war in South Vietnam to North Vietnam.

THE key figures in this campaign that could suck the entire world into a nuclear holocaust are Gen. Maxwell Taylor, the general in the muffs of ambassador, and Gen. William C. Westmoreland, chief of the US military mission in South Vietnam, who really runs the dirty war for the Pentagon. Press, radio, and TV have been harnessed by these war-expanders. And a story planted in the press said Taylor would quit if President Johnson rejected the plan.

To panic the American people into support of this plan, Taylor and Westmoreland are talking about the imminent defeat of the US controlled forces in South Vietnam.

Westmoreland argues that the North Vietnam bombing is needed to destroy the supply lines of the liberation fighters in South Vietnam, who have already taken over in practically all of their country except a tiny area around Saigon.

Taylor stresses the need to bolster the morale of the puppet army.

The drive for this dangerous extension of the war is being assisted by William P. Bundy, Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs, and like minded State Department officials. Bundy heads a task force of Pentagon and foreign service aides set up to examine the situation in South Vietnam and to propose new steps.

## Bundy's Words

Bundy is on record as convinced that, if the mysterious "supply lines from North Vietnam" are destroyed, the war in South Vietnam can be brought "to manageable proportions in a matter of months".

Most experts insist, however that the liberation fighters there could carry on their struggle for at least five years without outside

help. Most observers there report that almost all arms of the liberation fighters are either captured from the US puppet troops or manufactured in primitive arsenals.

Even Defence Secretary Robert McNamara has admitted, "No miracle in the north can suddenly transform or eliminate the problem in South Vietnam."

The supposedly limited bombing of "supply lines" in North Vietnam and Laos being propagandised here conceals more dangerous schemes, such as one for bombing a city or village in North Vietnam every time the liberation forces freed a village in South Vietnam.

Richard Hughes, Times correspondent in Hong Kong, writing of the proposal by General Taylor and Westmoreland, asserted:

"The recommended action includes phased attacks by land based and carrier planes on selected industrial installations—beginning with electric power units—and air and land thrusts across the border to destroy or seize known

of 1954. The just war of the South Vietnamese patriots has won broad support throughout the world. Every congress of peace supporters, every trade-unions and women conference, every youth forum forwards the demand to stop the US military intervention in South Vietnam to let the peoples of the Indochinese peninsula determine their own destinies.

Some days ago an international conference of solidarity with the Vietnamese people was opened in Hanoi. It will pronounce the support extended by millions of people of the world to the heroic and just struggle of the Vietnamese patriots. The delegation of the Soviet Union takes part in the work of the conference.

"We believe," wrote Hoang Quoc Viet, one of the leaders of the National Front of Vietnam, "that this conference will be an important contribution to the strengthening of the solidarity and unity among socialist countries and peoples of all continents in their common struggle against imperialism and colonialism headed by US imperialism for obtaining and consolidating national independence, democracy, peace and social progress."

True to the teaching of Lenin, the USSR has always been standing by the side of the peoples fighting for their national liberation. The interference from outside and the armed intervention of the imperialist forces are an inadmissible violation of national sovereignty and represent a serious menace to universal peace.

The Soviet people have always rendered fraternal support to the Vietnamese people in their struggle for national liberation. This stand remains firm and unshakable.

The responsibility for the new provocations in South Vietnam and other areas of Indochina will rest with the militarist forces which initiate these provocations.

(Courtesy: PRAVDA)

BOMBAY: The Maharashtra state conference of the Communist Party of India was held at Guha in Ahmednagar district from November 21 to 25. The session concluded in an atmosphere of great enthusiasm.

AHMEDNAGAR district is a stronghold of the Communist Party and has glorious traditions both of the national movement as well as the Communist movement.

The militant peasantry in the district was the first to raise the banner of anti-Sahoukar revolt in 1874. It stood foremost in all the national struggles for independence and the great jungle satyagraha of 1930 was a great historic event. The entire membership of the CPI in the district and its leaders are reared in the national movement.

Naturally, the Party conference had created great enthusiasm among the peasantry in the district who came forward in large numbers.

The conference began in the evening of November 21 with flag-hoisting by veteran leader Nana Patil. The proceedings of the conference were controlled by a presidium consisting of Nana Patil, Madhavrao Galkwad, A. B. Bardhan, Kamalabai Bhagwat, Chandragupta Choudhuri and V. D. Deshpande.

The conference was attended by 280 delegates drawn from all over the state. The Party membership in the state stands at 7,400 at present. Majority of the delegates came from the working and peasant masses, the biggest contingents coming from Bombay and Ahmednagar, the strongholds of the Party in the two fields.

A number of important resolutions were passed by the conference dealing with the food crisis, merger of Goa in Maharashtra, support to the impending struggle of landless peasants.

The conference called on the people of the state to rise unitedly against the communal menace which has again raised its ugly head in the state as evidenced through the glorification of Nathuram Godse, the assassin of Mahatma Gandhi.

The conference condemned the use of the Defence of India Rules against political and trade union activists and demanded the release of all political and trade union prisoners.

An incident which added urgency to this resolution was the

arrest of Raoba Chikne, veteran Communist and trade union leader of Thana from the conference venue.

It is understood that Chikne was arrested on a complaint lodged by an employer of a Thana factory where a strike is going on. The police had come all the way from Thana to Guha to arrest him.

Four important documents were before the conference, namely, the National Council document on ideological differences in the international Communist movement, the Draft Programme of the CPI and the political and organisational reports of the state council.

G. Adhikari, member of the

central secretariat of the CPI, presented the ideological document to the conference, while S. G. Sardesai, secretary of the state council, presented the Draft Programme. Both were adopted by the conference unanimously.

The political report of the state council was moved by Chandragupta Choudhuri. It gave an account of all the main events in the state since the last state conference at Thana in 1961.

In 1961 when the Thana conference was held Samyukta Maharashtra had already been formed. The Second Plan was being implemented and the Congress leadership was skillfully weaning away the Samiti-minded mass by turning the stream of finances into rural areas and strengthening its base—the rich peasant.

The India-China border dispute gave a handle to all anti-Communists, with the result that with a defeat of the Samiti forces in the general elections, the popular movement received a great setback.

However, it soon recovered and the great working-class and peasant struggles were fought. The mass movement surged forward, but another blow came again in the form of Chinese aggression in November 62.

Correct Lead

The Party gave the correct lead on this vital issue. It took the correct position of national defence and people's defence with emphasis on the first part in the beginning and later on with emphasis on the second part when the threat had receded.

The initial period was extremely trying, but our contribution to the defence preparations was excellent, and was made in the teeth of opposition from the reactionary forces outside and the splitting forces inside.

From March 1963 began the emphasis on people's struggles against the burdens thrown on their shoulders by the monopolist bourgeoisie, and the anti-people budget of the government.

The mass movement that we inaugurated beat all previous records. The gigantic signature campaign was a great success—ten lakh signatures were collected in Maharashtra and 2000 volunteers took part in the great historic Delhi march.

These struggles bore fruit. The policy of nonalignment was saved, American imperialist machinations were set at nought, pro-monopoly ministers

Two very important meetings were also held separately during the conference—one of the workers on the TU front and the other those on the kisan front. It was decided to hold widely representative meetings of workers on these two fronts as a preliminary step towards strengthening the organisations.

The conference elected a new state council which later re-elected S. G. Sardesai as its secretary. Delegates to the Seventh Party Congress were also elected.

From OUR CORRESPONDENT

NEW AGE

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# Ahmednagar Plays Host To Maharashtra CPI Conference

From OUR CORRESPONDENT

central secretariat of the CPI, presented the ideological document to the conference, while S. G. Sardesai, secretary of the state council, presented the Draft Programme. Both were adopted by the conference unanimously.

The rising curve of mass movement was well represented in Maharashtra. The great Bombay Bandh strike and hartal found ready response in Maharashtra. Working women made great strides and while the prospects of a nation-wide movement appeared rosy, the splitters launched an all-out attack.

The so-called "Dange Letters" were produced and a virulent anti-Party campaign was launched and a parallel Party set up under the inspiration of the Chinese and the Indonesian 'true' Marxist-Leninists.

The result was that the Party was split. The National Council of the Party took measures to avoid a split but the splitters were determined and had already taken organisational steps in that direction. In Maharashtra too, a section of the Party broke away and established its own parallel center.

After a short inevitable break in the movement, the campaign and mass struggles were unleashed again, with the Bombay Bandh and the state bandh movements giving the lead.

In Maharashtra, we achieved a great success. For the first time in the state, a complete strike and hartal was observed at the call of the Communist Party and other Left parties. First beginnings were thus made to lay the foundation of a national democratic front, comprising the Left parties and progressive elements inside the Congress.

The organisational report was moved by Eknath Bhagwat. It focussed the attention of the delegates on the fact that while gigantic mass movements were in the offing, the Party organisation still remained very weak and unequal to the task of leading them.

New Tasks

He dwelt on the vital question of tackling the peasant problem and evolving correct slogans on this front. It emphasised the fact that agricultural labour has not been given proper attention and that efforts should be made to build an effective kisan organisation.

Efforts were also needed in the field of Party education while the intelligentsia and the students needed particular attention. Though the Party is doing fairly well on the trade union front in the state, the threat of a split there cannot be ignored.

Two very important meetings were also held separately during the conference—one of the workers on the TU front and the other those on the kisan front. It was decided to hold widely representative meetings of workers on these two fronts as a preliminary step towards strengthening the organisations.

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# WEST BENGAL CPI CONF. OPENS

From OUR CORRESPONDENT

CALCUTTA: The West Bengal state conference of the Communist Party of India began on November 29.

THREE hundred and seventy eight delegates and a number of visitors were present. The delegates represented a membership of 3,588 party members of whom 7,368 were in the 1962 membership rolls and the rest were new members.

The conference elected a presidium consisting of the following seven: Abdur Rezzak Khan, Indu Singh, Dharani Goswami, Nirmala Sanyal, Patit Jana, Raman Banerji and Ajit Bose.

The flag hoisting was performed by Somnath Lahiri. Before the proceedings commenced Abdur Rezzak Khan placed a wreath at the martyrs' column.

The dais was decorated with a large red flag on which the photographs of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Ajoy Ghosh were put up. A large number of pictures and posters on the walls depicted the history of the International and Indian Communist movement.

Bhowani Sen, secretary of the West Bengal state council of the CPI and one of the members of the commission which drafted the Programme, introduced the Programme at the conference on November 29.

Before achieving socialism, which remains the goal of Communist parties in non-socialist countries, stages of revolution might be necessary and the task of the Party Programme is to decide the present stage of that revolution and its tasks, he said.

The present stage of revolution in India according to the Draft Programme is National Democratic, i.e., anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, anti-monopoly, and democratic.

The working class, from the time it appeared as a distinct class had been the driving force behind all revolutions. The crux is to determine its allies in a particular revolution, he said. Sen further said that at the present stage of Indian revolution the front which can accomplish the tasks of the revolution must consist of four sections, namely, working class, peasantry, intelligentsia and the patriotic section of the Indian bourgeoisie. Referring to the dual role of the bourgeoisie in an underdeveloped newly liberated country, he said that differentiation had arisen among them and due to the laws of development of capitalism a section of monopolists had also grown in In-

dia who are more prone to collaborate with foreign imperialist capital and to back internal forces of reaction.

The present international situation, when socialist camp had become the decisive factor in the world historical process, is favourable for a non-capitalist path of development and it might take place in one or the other country, though it is not an inevitable step in the onward march of history.

The Draft Programme says that this path is possible in India and can be achieved through powerful mass movements and struggles of the people.

Explaining the class alliance of the National Democratic Front and the National Democratic State, which will make possible the development through non-capitalist path, he pointed out that the Programme envisaged a state in which the national bourgeoisie no longer holds the exclusive leadership of the working class.

In this alliance working class would make efforts to win over the peasantry and to run the economy gradually more and more along the co-operative lines. The outcome will depend on many factors but naturally the working class and the Communist Party hoped to move forward towards socialism through the non-capitalist path of development.

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# ITALY: GREAT SUCCESS FOR COMMUNIST PARTY

Statement by Luigi Longo, General Secretary, ICP

Luigi Longo, General Secretary of the ICP, made the following statement on the results of the local elections.

THE results of the provincial and city elections represent a great success for our Party, for the working class and for all those who struggle for a political and socially renewed Italy. Our Party has made great progress in respect to the city administrative elections of 1960 and the national parliamentary elections of 1963 which, with the gain of a million more votes, represents an important step in the development and the carrying out of its unitary policy of democratic renewal and economic and social progress.

This new increase for the Communist Party is much more significant because of the existing conditions and the time in which it was achieved—during a violent anti-Communist and anti-Soviet campaign in which all our enemies and political opponents were united. Therefore our success represents a distinct refusal to accept anti-Communism, fed on slander and lies.

It also shows the failure of the attempt by the Christian Democrats and their allies to prevent us from presenting our problems, Italian problems and above all the questions which greatly interest and preoccupy the large masses of the working-class and the entire national society.

The affirmation and the advancement of our Party signifies approval, by an ever-increasing number of voters, of our unitary policy and a positive recognition of our work and our autonomous action for peace, liberty, and the correctness of the socialist perspectives towards which we are moving. We consider this approval and this recognition a strong incentive to continue along the same path with tenacity and coherence in seeking the largest popular and democratic unity.

The election results show that once again the most violent anti-Communism did not succeed in either stopping or slowing down our gains, but only served to weaken the right-wing forces and to give the Liberals a new gain.

Moreover, our Party's success acquires major significance when one realises that the general move to the left was a change characterised by the significant affirmation of the new Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity (PSIUP) which has come from the best traditions of Italian socialism, and that the parties which adhere to socialism jumped 48.8 per cent, again improving their position compared with 1963, while the Christian Democrats

decreased to 37.4. On the other hand, it should not be forgotten that all the parties to the left of the Christian Democrats obtained 48 per cent of the votes. Also these local elections confirm the general evolution to the left, already clearly indicated in last year's elections.

These elections have given birth to the urgent need to look for new and positive solutions which go beyond the centre-left. Thus a revision of the policy and of government solutions, which takes into account the expressed wishes of the electorate, becomes necessary after the new condemnation by the voters of the economic and social orientation and the policy

of division of the democratic forces pursued by the Christian Democrats and the centre-left.

Our affirmation and our gain have opened the road to the realisation of a new majority. In every part of Italy, be it where we have a majority or where we occupy a determining position, our Party will always support the largest popular and democratic unity and the broadest collaboration, so that we can give life to solid democratic solutions of the left. It is ready for local discussions with every popular representative, with a view to not only preventing solutions from the right or the election of prefectural commissioners in so-called difficult cases of the junta, but

also to avoid solutions oriented to the centre.

We invite all our local organisations to put these problems before the public, the parties and the militant of every political current, so that together they can look for possibilities and ways of finding, in the broadest sense, democratic and popular solutions of the left, truly capable of reflecting and interpreting the vote and the wishes of the electorate.

It is up to the leading organs of the Party, during these next days, to carefully examine all the aspects of this election in connection with the varied results obtained in the different parts of Italy. Thanking the voters Longo said:

We have worked under difficult conditions but we can consider ourselves amply compensated by the results obtained which indicate a new increase in strength, influence and prestige of our Party, which today, more than ever, is the determining force in the struggle for liberty, democracy and the progress of our Country, the large unified force of the workers and the Italian people. (from *L'Unita*, November 25, 1964)

## THE WHITE BACKLASH COMES TO BRITAIN

By STANLEY HARRISON

LONDON: A very dirty element, of which much more will be heard, has become part of the opposition to Britain's new Labour government, as it struggles to survive with a parliamentary majority of five seats.

IT centres on Smethwick, the town near Birmingham where a racist candidate unseated Patrick Gordon Walker—now the Foreign Secretary—at the recent general election, in total contrast to the voting trend in the rest of the country.

The old "Black Country" engineering town of the early industrial revolution, where thousands of Indian, Pakistani and West Indian workers have made their home since the war, is infected. Peter Griffiths, the new MP heads a group which for years has been making the immigrants the scapegoats for bad housing. In his electoral campaign, he said that a Labour victory would result in race riots.

### Whisper Campaign

His helpers carried on a whispering campaign along the lines: "If you want a nigger for a neighbour—vote Labour". The local Labour Party's reaction to this appearance of what in the United States is called the "white backlash" was too feeble to

counteract the poison. The local Labour Club—a social club for working people—refused Walker permission to hold a party on its premises to thank his election helpers unless the party observed its "no coloureds" rule.

Indignant over Walker's defeat by such methods, the Labour leaders have tried, without success—to extract from the Conservative, Opposition a disavowal of Griffiths. Premier Wilson, in his first speech called the new MP for Smethwick a "parliamentary leper".

Thirty Conservatives walked out in protest at the stinging phrase. But the Conservative leaders sat silent, and have not since been drawn into the smallest sort of apology for Griffiths.

They are not openly defending him—the effects of that would be bad throughout the multi-racial Commonwealth. But they refused to condemn him and offered all kinds of alternative reasons for his success at the poll. It resembles on a smaller scale the way the Home Government used to defend South Africa and apartheid at the United Nations.

The fact is that they consider the Smethwick issue far too valuable an electoral card to throw away. Premier Wilson is widely expected to hold another election next year in an effort to increase his majority. His government is pledged to introduce penalties for racial discrimination. The Opposition speculates that this will cost Labour votes. Their press is running articles under such headlines as: "Is Britain heading for a race war?"

It is the easiest thing to inflame the question. All the frustrations arising from the defeats of colonialism create a favourable atmosphere. Mil-

lions of workers living in poor conditions are vulnerable to the racists' poisonous "solutions". The immigrants, as everywhere in the imperialist countries, crowd into the worst accommodation. "Black ghettos" are tending to form.

The Conservatives, who clamped controls on coloured immigration—are calling for even tighter measures, and lose no chance to exaggerate the "grave social problems". The Labour government, while also favouring controls, wants the Commonwealth governments to administer them.

### Potential Trouble

In most of the potential trouble centres multi-racial citizens' committees, formed of Labour Party people, church members, Communists and other progressives are fighting the spread of racialism. It is a big job.

Britain's hospitals and buses and local train services and building sites, with many more poorly-paid occupations, are largely manned by the immigrants. Formally these have equal rights—as trade union members, at law, in access to social service benefits, schooling for their children, and so on. But a cobweb of discriminatory practices and prejudices surrounds them. The words "No coloureds" are freely included in press and shop window advertisements of jobs and lodgings. Anybody can slander them as a group; by saying, for instance, that they spread venereal diseases, specialise in prostitution, or eat catmeat sandwiches.

All the muck from the racists' handbook, that scarcely differs from Birmingham, Alabama, or Birmingham, England, or

\*ON FACING PAGE

THE US, it is clear, is determined to press on with its plan for the creation of a multilateral force. Matters may come to a head at this month's NATO Ministerial Council meeting in Paris.

The US plan was discussed by Mr. Patrick Gordon Walker, in Bonn last month and will stand high on the agenda when Mr. Wilson, accompanied by the Foreign Secretary and Defence Minister Mr. Denis Healey, goes to Washington for talks with President Johnson.

As originally put forward, the plan is for a fleet of twenty-five surface vessels disguised as merchant ships, each carrying eight Polaris missiles and manned by crews drawn from a number of NATO countries.

### Bonn's Eagerness

Bonn, eager to get a finger on the nuclear trigger, has all along been the project's most enthusiastic supporter. West Germany has offered to foot 40 per cent of the bill and to provide 40 per cent of the crews.

West German Chancellor Erhard told a West Berlin press conference last month that the West German and United States governments were ready to sign a treaty setting up the force before the end of the year.

This prospect has alarmed France: "If the M.L.F. ended in the creation of a sort of American-German military alliance we should not, in the first place, regard such an outcome as

entirely compatible with our relations with the Federal Republic under the Franco-German treaty," Premier Pompidou has said.

Nor "would it accord with our conception of the defence of Europe, nor with our idea of a European defence policy." In short, we might ask whether this M.L.F. project is not destructive for Europe, provocative for certain other countries, and finally directed more or less against France.

What of Britain's Labour government?

Labour's election manifesto expressed opposition to "the current American proposal for a new mixed-manned nuclear surface fleet" [italics mine—D.O.].

And during his election campaign Mr. Wilson pledged that no Labour Prime Minister will agree to policies which mean having a German finger on the nuclear trigger.

This was consistent with a declaration he made in the Commons as long ago as January 31, 1963: "We are completely, utterly and unequivocally opposed, now and in all circumstances, to any suggestion that Germany, West Germany or East Germany, directly or indirectly, should have a finger on the nuclear trigger or any responsibility, direct or indirect, for deciding that nuclear weapons are to be used" [italics mine—D.O.].

It was consistent, too, with a

# Wilson For NATO Nuclear Force?

By DENNIS OGDEN

statement made by Mr. Patrick Gordon Walker, now Foreign Secretary, in May of last year: "We on this side adamantly oppose any possession or control of nuclear weapons by Germany" [italics mine—D.O.].

But it is not consistent with another passage in Labour's Election Manifesto which stated that Labour "will put forward constructive proposals for integrating all NATO nuclear weapons under effective political control so that all the partners in the Alliance have a proper share in their deployment and control" [italics mine—D.O.].

There is no reference here to excluding West Germany, who has been a member of NATO for nearly ten years, from the control of nuclear weapons.

### Even Bigger!

In fact, according to one of the last reports by Mr. Alun Gwynne-Jones, former Defence Correspondent of *The Times* who is now Lord Chalfont and Labour's Minister for Disarmament, the British government's defence experts are drawing up new propo-

sals for an even larger multilateral nuclear force including all nuclear delivery systems in Europe in the control of which West Germany will have a voice.

"The consensus of official thinking is that the proposed Polaris surface fleet, if it comes into being at all, should be much smaller than the twenty-five ships now proposed—probably not more than ten or fifteen at the most—and that it should be only one element of a comprehensive allied nuclear command that would include national nuclear contingents as well.

"These might include all existing nuclear delivery systems in Europe from the 400-mile Pershing missile to the medium bomber, with an American national contingent, possibly of Polaris submarines. Smaller battlefield nuclear weapons such as Honest John and Sergeant would remain under the existing two-key system of command and control exercised by the Supreme Allied Commander, Europe.

"The political control of the force, which presents far more difficult problems than its military organisation, might be based upon a double veto system. It has been suggested that the United States should have the right of veto, but that no European country should be able on its own to veto the use of the force.

"They could, it is suggested, do so by a collective decision arrived at either by a simple majority vote, or by a weighted vote based on the size of the contribution to the force. Operation control would be exercised by a force commander responsible through the Supreme Allied Commander, Europe, to the controlling political directorate" (*The Times*, 23.10.64).

### Britain's Share

Britain's Polaris submarines and V-bombers would, according to some sources (e.g. *The Times* 16.11.64), be assigned to this "Atlantic Nuclear Force".

Among the advantages of this British alternative, according to the "British experts" quoted by Mr. Alun Gwynne-Jones, is the fact that it would "bring West Germany into the nuclear councils without giving them a disproportionate or provocative influence."

He also points out that "it would also give Britain a more effective share in the Allied nu-

clear force than the 10 per cent slice of the M.L.F. now being proposed."

In fact, far from limiting West German atomic influence, the scheme would widen it. Instead of the twenty-five ships of the US proposed force, West Germany would have a voice in the control of all the largest nuclear delivery systems in Europe.

### Violation Of Pledges

A nuclear force on the lines here outlined would violate Mr. Wilson's pledges that there should be no German finger on the nuclear trigger, and that Germany should have no responsibility, direct or indirect, for deciding that nuclear weapons are to be used.

It is clear too that such a force, no less than the US-proposed version, would mean the further proliferation of nuclear weapons and constitute a new obstacle to disarmament and the relaxation of tension.

The proposal is in many respects similar to that for an "inter-allied nuclear force" of national units "assigned" to NATO (and subject to withdrawal at any time) put forward by Tory spokesmen over a year ago as an alternative to the US M.L.F. project.

In support of the British project it is argued that Britain cannot afford to affront its more powerful ally, or to be left in isolation if the American-sponsored version should come into being in spite of British opposition.

The answer to this is simple: Britain cannot afford the vast expenditure on arms, both nuclear and conventional, which has been the consequence of the American and NATO tie-up.

It was Mr. Gwynne-Jones who earlier this year wrote that "the threat of massive Russian assault, if indeed it ever existed, has disappeared" (*The Times* 6.4.64). So there can be no justification for a multilateral force, be it American or British style, or for NATO, or the American tie-up which has distorted British post-war policies.

Far from being "in isolation" a Britain which came out against NATO nuclear policies in favour of genuine moves toward disarmament and the relaxation of tension would take its place in the growing ranks of nations striving for an end to the arid controversies of the cold war.

## WHITE BACKLASH

\*FROM FACING PAGE

from Johannesburg to London's Notting Hill is spread around.

Fascist candidates where they have stood in local elections have usually been able to scoop in a sizeable minority vote by exploiting this situation. The Labour Party's veteran campaigner on this issue, 71-year-old Fenner Brockway, chairman

of the Movement for Colonial Freedom also lost his seat in the general election, and racial prejudice played some part in this defeat too. The government has said it will put through the anti-racism legislation which Brockway introduced ten times in previous parliaments.

Not a few Labour leaders would prefer to think the question, in fear of the electoral capital that the Con-

servatives might make of it. Wilson himself, however, is understood to be determined to force some legislation through.

His government has shown signs of a desire to tackle the neglect of housing which has given the racists their opportunity. He has stopped evictions and promises a law giving people security of tenure in the spring. The two problems are closely linked—and the new government knows that its future largely depends on what it is able to do to solve them.



Max Saffrin at the "India Yesterday and Today" exhibition which opened in Berlin on November 29. (Report appeared in last week's NEW AGE)

## New Situation Developing In Italian Politics

From KUNHANANDAN NAIR

BERLIN: As Pope Paul VI visits Bombay, the Italian working people, majority of whom are Catholics, have made a wonderful present.

THE Italian Communist Party has won a resounding victory in the countrywide municipal and local elections held on November 22 and 23. The Party emerged as the single Party that gained most in this ballot.

The Christian Democratic Party of Premier Aldo Moro (the biggest and leading group in the Centre-Left coalition) suffered reverses falling poorly in the contests. Never before in history had the Christian Democrats had such a small share of popular support, just 37 per cent. The Italian Communist Party, the biggest in the capitalist world and strongly rooted among the Catholic masses won 28 per cent of the total votes polled.

In many municipalities and local councils the Communist Party is the strongest group; the centre-left coalition no longer holds a majority. The Communist Party is striving for a national united front of left parties.

Anti-Communism in Italy has suffered yet another defeat. The Nenni socialists who

tried to make capital out of the difficulties in the international Communist movement and the recent Khrushchev resignation that came to them very handy for propaganda even released to bourgeois press, an old exchange of Nenni's private correspondence with Soviet Presidium member Suslov. But he did not gain any thing from this. On the contrary the Nenni socialists lost to their disident leftwing.

On the whole a new qualitative situation is developing in Italy as observers see it, in which the Communist Party can play a leading role. The present centre-left regime is discredited as the election results showed. The Italian public has tilted the balance against the four-party formula of Christian Democrats, Social Democrats, Nenni, and Republicans who excluded the Communist and other left forces.

The imperialist circles are very much alarmed at these developments in Italy. New York Times wrote editorially on November 29: "The un-



## DANGE WRITES TO SHASTRI

# INDIA MUST STAND BY CONGO

S. A. Dange, Chairman of the CPI, in a letter to Prime Minister Shastri on November 28 urged the Government of India to take a firm stand against the imperialist aggression in Congo. Following is the text of his letter:

I AM writing to you on the question of the American-Belgian landing of paratroopers in Congo.

The papers report that the Government of India has had some communications with the Governments concerned. The Foreign Minister has stated that India has demanded the speedy withdrawal of foreign troops from Congo as the only means to improve the situation. This is welcome.

Tshombe. But that is an event of the past.

Since then the revolt of the Congolese people had been gathering strength and though the murderer of Lumumba, Tshombe could contrive to become the Premier of Congo with the help of the Americans and the terrorisation of some of his former opponents, he could not suppress the revolutionary revolt by the Congolese people who had begun to capture large

As against the abstention of a great country like India, the firm behaviour of representatives of other countries stands out in bold contrast.

It is because of this that I feel somewhat concerned whether your government is going to firmly disapprove of the latest crime of Tshombe and his imperialist patrons in landing soldiers to massacre the Congolese patriots who are in revolt.

The smokescreen of saving "white hostages" who are said to be threatened by the revolutionary army does not deceive anyone. The stories of so-called atrocities by the revolutionary forces are totally false. As for these so-called "white hostages", the bulk of them had no business to be in Congo. Several were there as spies and murderers of the Congolese people, whatever may be the titles under which they were parading.

On no account must your government accept directly or indirectly the imperialist story of "a humanitarian mission to save the hostages and acquiesce in this new aggression against the Congolese people. There is also the additional

fact that despite the assumption of office by the new Labour government in Britain, the British army allowed the paratroopers to land on Ascension Island base to facilitate the air-lift of the paratroopers involved in the aggression. This association of the British imperialists in this new aggression may also weigh with you in dealing with this matter for reasons which are quite apparent.

I had to recall, in brief, all these facts and bring them to your notice because some of your "expert" advisers and members of the permanent bureaucracy who make notes for you and advise you are definitely inclined towards a reversal of our foreign policy and desire that India should line up with the Anglo-American camp. They argue that to 'displease' the Anglo-Americans on any issue would lose us their 'aid' in our difficulties.

Though no doubt you as Prime Minister take your own decisions, yet it is known to all how much power for good or bad the permanent bureaucracy wields in state matters. In conclusion I wish to urge

upon you the necessity of your Government unequivocally condemning the aggression carried out against the people of Congo by the imperialists before the public as well as in diplomatic protests, UN meetings, etc. The Government of India must render aid not to Tshombe and the imperialists, but to the revolutionary patriots in Congo who are fighting to liberate the country from the neo-colonialists and their stooge, Tshombe. India must declare its complete solidarity with the stand being taken on the issue by the anti-imperialist African governments.

I know that the Government of India is committed to a policy of opposition to colonialism, in all its shapes and forms. But there is an unfortunate hesitation when it comes to practical action against such manifestations of imperialist aggression as the recent attack on the Congo. India must not lag behind the anti-imperialist African states in its opposition to imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and in its solidarity with the victims of imperialist aggression.



Sweeping out the vestiges of imperialism

But it is not clear from press reports that you have unequivocally disapproved or condemned this new imperialist aggression in Congo.

The people in Congo and in the whole of Africa as well as elsewhere condemn the regime of Tshombe as a tool of the imperialists who want to continue the exploitation of the Congolese people and of the most valuable mineral wealth of Congo.

Everyone knows that it was Tshombe who organised the murder of Lumumba with the aid of the Belgian mercenaries. And when Hammarskjöld, the UN Secretary, went there to investigate, he also met the same fate though in the disguised way of an accident.

The Indian army units who were in Congo as part of the UN forces could not do anything to save Lumumba though the late Pandit Nehru was extremely shaken by the murder of Lumumba and had no illusions about the role of the Belgian mercenaries and

areas and even towns from Tshombe's army.

It was at such a time that Tshombe tried to gatecrash the conference of the non-aligned countries in Cairo.

It is regrettable to note that when the conference discussed the question of Tshombe's admission to the conference, the representative of India in the conference abstained from voting, which in effect meant giving indirect aid to the prestige of Tshombe.

The plea that it was an African question and hence India did not want to vote is not at all valid since the admission of a murderer and an avowed imperialist agent to a conference of nonaligned states is not a local or geographical question but a political one affecting everyone in the conference.

This abstention on the part of India's representative on that occasion was encouraging to the neo-colonialists and a disappointment to the fighters against colonialism.

## THE LID IS ON WHISPERING Gallery

ORISSA is still sticking like a fish-bone in the throat of the Congress High Command. For the leadership Orissa has proved much more intractable than the Kairon business. Apart from the difficulty of evolving a procedure for sending away the Mitra government, the High Command has not been able to find a reliable successor.

Whatever may be the outcome, whether Biren Mitra and his patron Patnaik stay on or go down, the Orissa imbroglio has spelt the doom of the drive against corruption in ministerial berths, however feeble the drive may have been.

From now onwards the public will hear no noise about this business. From Punjab to Orissa it is a long and tortuous way that the leadership has travelled and, as some right-wingers say, it has become wise.

Here on all this slimy business of corruption against Congress Ministers will be dealt with behind the khadi curtain of the AICC. Police will be kept out of bounds as also the newsmen. The lid is now on.

As I said, Biju and Biren Babu may or may not be able to save themselves but they have certainly saved the Congress from continuing embarrassment.

INSIDER is thoroughly convinced about some of their arguments. They have been able to maintain that there is

hardly any one at the summit who is not financed by one business house or the other.

And to cap them all, they have been asking whether Nanda would bring the cash from Sadhus and Sadacharis for the next general elections!

Recently Kamaraj received a purse of Rs. 3½ lakhs at Ranchi. And they have been saying that most of it had been collected from colliery owners and the like. The plain fact is that the Congress has stopped collecting money from the common people. So long as the money comes from big business it becomes ludicrous to haul up the collectors.

Kamaraj is facing an organisational problem in finding a replacement for the late Rajagopalan, AICC secretary. He was his trusted lieutenant.

Many people are trying to push in their own buddies. S. K. Patil is trying to smuggle Ram Subhag Singh in the vacancy. The alleged qualification of Ram Subhag Singh is that he had been "bribed" by the Syndicate and seduced from the Morarji camp. It is true that Singh was to have contested the election for the Working Committee at the Bhubaneswar session on his own but he was at the last moment manoeuvred into the official panel.

K. K. Shah is another aspirant. Reports say he has the blessing of Indira Gandhi. But others say that Shah is close to Morarji.

Indications are that neither of the candidates is acceptable to Kamaraj.

I have always wondered what would have been the shape of economic building in this country if the Soviets had not come in.

The Yankees would have demanded the pound of flesh for whatever little they might have offered. This is precisely they are demanding in the projected fertiliser and petrochemical industries.

Because the Soviets have not been able to help us in these two spheres the Americans and their British collaborators are demanding 51 per cent control in the share capital and management.

A variant of this proposal is for the government and the foreigners to have 40:40 and the remaining for the Indian tycoons.

In some other lines also the Americans have forced the Government of India to sign what is called the commingling clause in certain project agreements.

The commingling clause prohibits public sector enterprises, executed with Soviet assistance from using any service, originating from an enterprise undertaken with the American financial help.

In other words, a Soviet-assisted colliery would not be able to get power from a nearby station if that station happens to be American-assisted or vice versa.

—INSIDER