

U.S. UMBRELLA AGAIN

NEW BID TO SCUTTLE NON-ALIGNMENT

The US imperialists are once again peddling their nuclear "umbrella"—and they are specially in the market for India. The Chinese nuclear test is their "excuse" for reiterating their oft-rejected offer. And the change in the leadership of the Soviet government is also sought to be used by them, to make their filthy goods more attractive.

**ON GUARD AGAINST THE NEW CONSPIRACY OF THE IMPERIALISTS!
ON GUARD AGAINST THE SINISTER CAMPAIGNS ALREADY LAUNCHED
BY THE RIGHT REACTIONARY FORCES IN THE COUNTRY!**

PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S specially televised and broadcast message of October 18 clearly stated:

"The nations that do not seek national nuclear weapons can be sure that if they need our strong support against some threat of nuclear blackmail, they will have it."

Here was the offer of the "umbrella" to all and sundry. But at whom it was particularly directed was underlined in a specially-briefed despatch from HINDUSTAN TIMES' Washington correspondent, which said:

"India was one of the countries President Johnson is believed to have had in mind, when warning against the danger of nuclear proliferation."

Only a few days earlier US Secretary of State Dean Rusk had eloquently praised India for refusing to develop nuclear weapons despite the Chinese bomb. Such "praise" from the imperialists has always a sting and a motive.

In this case, it is clear enough. The US imperialists whoop with delight at the opportunity the Chinese bomb gives them to bring out the stinking old "umbrella" once again.

The nation has been observing the Solidarity Day—the anniversary of the Chinese aggression. One can recall the grim days of October-November 1962, when the Right reactionary forces sought to use the people's wrath against the Chinese aggression, to attempt to subvert the policy of nonalignment and peace. Then too the "umbrella" was waved before us temptingly. For months afterwards, it was kept dangling in front of the Indian people.

Indian People Rejected "Umbrella"

But the Indian people rejected the "umbrella". The forces of reaction and imperialist pressure combined at moments to weaken government policies; the "Joint Air Exercises" were accepted—but still it was not the "umbrella".

And then with the dawn of this year, the "umbrella" appeared to fade away. Instead came the forcible entry of the Seventh Fleet into the Indian Ocean.

There were hesitations in condemning the Seventh Fleet. The US chiefs chortled with delight. They had forced the "umbrella" on the Indian Ocean area, whether the countries bordering it wanted it or no—or so they believed.

But it was NOT so easy. Nation after nation protested at the entry of the Seventh Fleet into the Indian Ocean. Ceylon demanded a

nuclear-free Indian Ocean. And finally, the Cairo conference of nonaligned countries condemned the setting up of imperialist bases in this region.

The "umbrella"—even the forcibly imposed one—was pretty well torn to pieces.

But now again—once more in October, the Chinese leaders have presented the imperialists with their first opportunity to bring the "umbrella" out again.

By
ROMESH CHANDRA

The Chinese A-bomb test has been seized upon by Right reaction, as was the Chinese aggression, to start a new offensive for the giving up of nonalignment.

★ The Swatantraites openly clamour for a pact with the imperialists. The Right-wing inside the Congress joins the chorus.

★ The Jan Sangh, as a variation, has launched a "national campaign" to demand that India must have its own atom bomb.

Two Sides of Same Coin

These are merely two sides on the same coin. As the Jan Sangh builds the lunatic demand that India must have a handful of nuclear weapons of its own, to "defend" itself against China—the Swatantraites and the Right inside the Congress plead that this is not possible due to the heavy costs, and therefore, "the only way" to have nuclear weapons, is to accept the US "umbrella"!

The new right attack on our policy of peace and nonalignment seeks also to distort the meaning of the changes in the Soviet leadership, to misinterpret them as being heralds of a shift in Soviet policy.

Again the purpose is obvious: it is to suggest that India can no longer expect the same assistance and cooperation from the Soviet Union in building up its independent economy and its independent defence potential.

These efforts have been frustrated so far by the repeated categorical assertions by the Soviet leaders regarding the continuation and strengthening of Indo-Soviet friendship and cooperation.

Nevertheless, there is fertile ground for the new Right offensive—ground which has been ploughed up afresh by Chinese test and by the shock received by Indian public opinion, following the resignation of Nikita Khrushchov.

There is need for the greatest vigilance against

this sinister offensive—for a full-throated united counter-offensive by all democratic forces.

(October 21)

NEW AGE

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CHINESE ATOM BOMB: CLIMAX OF POWER-MANIA

Editorial

THE CHINESE leadership has filled its cup of chauvinist power-mania to the full. The explosion of its dirty bomb is the latest and most perilous proof of its militarist expansionist ambitions.

The frenzied campaign run by the Chinese leaders against the test-ban treaty has now achieved its goal. They brazenly and proudly proclaim they have broken the "monopoly of the nuclear powers".

Only the wilfully blind can talk of the "monopoly of the nuclear powers", lumping the imperialists with the socialist Soviet Union, in one category. The peace-loving peoples of the whole world know that the Soviet Union's military might stands guard today against the aggressive threats and attacks of the imperialists.

The possession of the A-Bomb exploded in Sinkiang does not make the Chinese people one jot less vulnerable to imperialist attack. Compared to the powerful nuclear weapons in the possession of the US imperialists, the Chinese A-Bomb is a toy.

It is lying nonsense for the Chinese leaders to proclaim that they have made their bomb to protect the Chinese people from US aggression. What protects them militarily from imperialist aggression is, above all, the might of the Soviet Union and its tremendous retaliatory arsenal of rockets with pin-point precision.

The Chinese leaders, in a vain effort to draw a smoke-screen over their criminal action in violation of the will for peace of hundreds of millions in all lands, have called for a so-called summit conference to ban all nuclear weapons. If there were any seriousness in this proposal, the Chinese leaders would have supported the test-ban treaty long ago.

The Chinese leaders have raised the slogan of a world summit only to divert attention from their test explosion from

their defiance of public opinion in all the continents and their spurning of the special appeal of the recent nonaligned conference at Cairo.

The Chinese bomb test has helped only the imperialists and reactionaries in their continuous efforts to sabotage any progress towards disarmament. This test has strengthened Goldwaterism in the USA. It has given a new fillip to Right reaction in India. It has given an impetus to the West German revanchists in their mad strivings for the procession of nuclear weapons. It has given the British Tories a shot in the arm after their defeat at the polls.

The Chinese leaders' call for a world conference to prohibit nuclear weapons, despite its none too savoury motive, nevertheless draws pointed attention to the fact that the United Nations, without the People's Republic of China, cannot effectively discuss the question of disarmament.

It is a welcome sign that government spokesmen like Education Minister Chagla, have once again reiterated India's support to the demand for the seating of the People's Republic of China in its rightful place in the United Nations. In fact, the explosion of the Chinese bomb only underlines this necessity all the more.

Again, the reiteration of India's resolve never to make nuclear weapons, come what may, and to use nuclear energy only for peaceful purposes—is another welcome step.

No "race" in nuclear bombs can assure India any protection from the threats of the imperialists and expansionists. Such a "race" can only help to drag India away from nonalignment and into the vortex of the cold war; it is no answer to the Chinese leaders' nuclear threats and blackmail.

India's shield is her policy of peace and nonalignment.

(October 21)

Discussion on Programme Begins in West Bengal

From Ajoy Dasgupta

CALCUTTA: The Pre-Congress discussions on the draft programme of the Party in an organised manner began in West Bengal in a meeting of the members of the state council and district councils held on October 17 and 18 in Calcutta. More than 100 comrades attended the meeting which was presided over by Somnath Lahiri.

BHOWANI Sen, secretary of the West Bengal state council, introduced the programme and explained its main features. He said that the national council approached the formulation of the objective reality in India integrating it with the general line of the world Communist movement and not the other way round.

He pointed out that the programme said that India after independence has been proceeding to build an independent economy, but on capitalist lines, which in its own logic, has produced monopoly groups. Quoting statistics, he showed the extent of concentration of wealth and economic power in the hands of a few families.

According to him these monopoly groups were mainly responsible for the very slow and painful growth of national economy and now they are creating hindrances in the way of rapid advance. These elements also in varying degrees collaborate with foreign private capital and shield the feudal remnants in the country. The combination of all this

has given rise to a huge black-market in the country, steep rise in prices and untold suffering of the people.

He said that while fighting against imperialism and feudalism this monopoly has to be fought also. This is the concrete application of general line of the world Communist movement in India. He explained the difference between the concept of people's democracy and national democracy and linked the later with the non-capitalist path of development.

He said that the part of the draft which dealt with agrarian question needed to be strengthened and it might also be necessary to make other changes in light of discussions.

Altogether 23 comrades participated in the discussion. Many interesting and revealing statistics were cited, many concrete experiences, particularly in the rural economy, were described.

On many points there was general agreement, while on some points sharply differing views were expressed. There was

a general criticism that the draft was loose and imprecise.

There was also general agreement that on the agrarian question, supreme importance should be placed in its proper perspective with proper emphasis.

Several speakers felt that the descriptive part laid too much stress on the role of the national bourgeoisie and the National Congress while the roles of the people, the working class, the Communist Party have been insufficiently expressed, and this leaves the door open to right reformist deviation, which, they said, has to be fought as vehemently as left sectarianism, exemplified by the splitters' programme.

Some comrades felt that the stress on the monopolists is not warranted by facts and theory, the stage of the revolution in our country being anti-imperialist and anti-feudal and

all sections of the national bourgeoisie still have some role. Too much stress on monopolists is also expression of reformist tendency which relies too much on the other sections of national bourgeoisie. At the same time this might lead to gross sectarian mistakes obliterating the difference between national democracy and people's democracy. Some other comrades felt that it should be clearly stated in the

Other controversial points related to the concept of sharing of power in a national democratic state and the national democratic front leadership. Some comrades hold that in the national democratic government as well as the national democratic front the leadership of the working class in alliance of the peasantry must be ensured.

Others felt that the leadership of the working class in alliance with peasantry will have to be established in the movement and the front and that the bourgeoisie would have to be forced to cede a share of power to this alliance, but exclusive hegemony of the alliance in the government is not the content of the national democracy, that being the stage of people's democracy.

PARTY NEWS

programme that in the present stage of Indian development, considering the fact that India was the most economically-developed country among the underdeveloped and newly-liberated countries, that the bourgeoisie here was quite developed and has thrown up monopoly sections with wide concentration of wealth and power, and consider-

Andhra Party Executive Takes Stock of Situation

From Mohit Sen

HYDERABAD: The tall claims of the state government notwithstanding, the food situation remains grimly serious in Andhra. And popular discontent, so powerfully expressed in the recent period, is still at simmering point.

HERE is naturally enough, a great deal of undisguised cynicism about the proclaimed figures and targets of the Fourth Plan, with which the Chief Minister is sallying forth to do battle in the grab-game at the Centre.

On top of all this has come the terrible floods. The picture that is now emerging of the havoc in the Krishna river catchments and the three delta districts of Guntur, West Godavari and Krishna is harrowing.

Earlier the Chief Minister had assessed the likely amount of damage at Rs. 25 crores. But even the two-day collectors' conference revealed that the total damage will be at least Rs. 40 crores.

Even now the extensive Kolluru lake, touching West Godavari and Krishna, was still overflowing and submerged villages could only be reached by motor launch.

In West Godavari district official estimates put the number of totally-destroyed houses at 4,000 and partially-destroyed at 16,000. About 1.57 lakh acres of cultivated land in this district are under water. Currency notes of the value of Rs. 17 lakhs in the State Bank at Eluru were under water.

In Krishna some 1.30 lakh acres of cultivated land with wet crops have been lost, apart from fifty thousand acres of dry

crop. In Guntur more than 1.50 lakh acres of wet and dry land suffered heavily while three thousand more acres were sand-cast.

It is against this background that the state executive committee of the CPI met in Hyderabad from October 16 to 18 under the chairmanship of J. Satyanarayana.

It discussed the food situation and strongly condemned the government for its utter failure on this front. The government had shielded the hoarders and indulged in lathicharges and firing, as at Markapur and Guntakal. It had been completely unresponsive to the popular demand for food at reasonable prices. It had not distributed fallow land to the landless for cultivation nor reduced the crushing land levy in order to give some incentive to the toiling peasants.

At the same time it has given a paltry, discriminatory and totally unsatisfactory increase of salaries to the NGOs and employees of government undertaking, completely failing to meet their reasonable demands.

In view of all this the executive has decided that the CPI will move a no-confidence motion against the government in the ensuing session of the Assembly. The leader of the Opposition, P. Venkateswarlu has

been instructed to approach other parties in this connection.

The executive also passed a resolution condemning the Markapur and Guntakal firings and offered its sympathies to the families of the victims of this absolutely unwarranted repression. It has demanded that the government help the families of those who were shot dead and immediately institute a judicial enquiry by a High Court judge.

The executive in its resolution on recent floods offered its sympathies to the victims and asked the government to rush help to them. The resolution said that floods have become a routine phenomenon with their annual toll of lives and property. The government has to share blame for this. Flood control projects like reservoirs on Budameru, Tammileru and Yerra Kaluva has been criminally delayed. Only narrow political interests have prevented the Budameru reservoir from coming up.

The drain in delta region is not properly repaired and maintained. Breaches are also serious and point to improper inspection and maintenance. Breach of Nagarjunasagar Bridge and Sarla Sagar Dam speaks eloquently of faulty planning and construction.

The executive committee of the Andhra Pradesh council of the Communist Party of India gave a call for recruiting new Party members from amongst the cadres, thrown up by the recent workers' and peasants' struggles. The membership should be doubled by November 18, says the resolution.

The tenth conference of the Party will be held at Guntur from November 18 to 22.

The council will meet in Guntur on November 16 and 17.

The National Development Council will be meeting in New Delhi on October 27 and 28 for the first time to discuss a Plan without Jawaharlal Nehru present amidst them. It is claimed again and again that government is pursuing Nehru's ideas on planning. Is it really doing so? One can judge for oneself by recalling what Nehru said at previous NDC meetings:

"PLANNING is not putting down just as you want; planning is not merely giving priority to all things which you wish to do. Planning is something wider and deeper...."

"I wish to lay stress on that. The Planning Commission is of no use at all if it has a static outlook. That way, we sit, we sleep, we rest. One must have a dynamic outlook of change, change of every kind — political, of course, economic and social."

"YOU must go to the root and the base, and build up that root and base on which you will build up the structure of industrial growth. Therefore, it is heavy industries that count; nothing else counts excepting as a balancing factor which is of course important. We want planning for heavy machine-making industries and heavy industries; we want industries that will make heavy machinery."

"THERE was a significant gap between the financial requirements of programmes accepted for the public sector in the (third) Plan and the resources which were indicated. The Plan adopted the approach which Shri Nehru had proposed, namely that the physical programmes to be accepted for implementation over the five-year period should not be altogether limited by the financial resources immediately in sight at the stage of drawing up the Plan, although the outlays incurred would have to be regulated with reference to the actual resources mobilised from year to year. Behind this was Shri Nehru's confidence in the future and his view of the nature of planning."

"The fears and doubts about Shastri government's approach to planning, in particular to the Fourth Five Year Plan, appear to be sadly coming true. Vital changes are being made in the emphasis and orientation of the Plan, seemingly with good intentions."

AS was expected, the Union Cabinet has decided to recommend an outlay of Rs. 21,500 crores for the Fourth Plan to the National Development Council meeting in New Delhi on October 27 and 28. Provision has been made for "stepping up the expenditure by another Rs. 1,000 crores" in the second half "if the resources position improves" by that time.

The proposal is a compromise between those who wanted the Plan to be based on the "available resources position" and those who wanted a financial outlay which would bring about the necessary physical targets worked out by the Planning Commission.

Even while the Rs. 24,000 crore outlay suggested by the Planning Commission has been slashed, as a concession to the "resources-men", the Cabinet has sought to placate the "necessity-men" by providing the "built-in" clause of the additional Rs. 1,000 crores.

In an earlier article (NEW AGE, October 11) it was pointed out that Prime Minister Shastri's approach to planning differs from that of the late Jawaharlal Nehru. The details now available about the memo on Fourth Plan which the Cabinet has finalised for presenting to the NDC make it all the more alarming that a new approach is being worked out to planning and its direction.

The memo shows that the all-important sector of organised industry, power and transport is losing its predominant position under Shastri's dispensation: its share in the total outlay has suffered a fall in percentage.

The percentage of outlay on power and transport in the state sector had gone up steadily in successive Plans. From 53 per cent in the Second Plan, it went up to 61.2 per cent in the Third. But now, in the Fourth Plan it is proposed to cut this total to 55 per cent of the total outlay of Rs. 15,500 crores in the public sector.

If the "additional expenditure" of Rs. 1,000 crores does not materialise, the share of industry in power and transport will further go down since most of the projects to be kept in abeyance belong to this very same vital sector.

This means that the "loud thinking" which Prime Minister Shastri did shortly after assumption of office about relegating heavy industry into the background (giving priority to quick-yielding projects) is actually being put into practice. The seeming retreat he made in the face of strong popular opposition was no retreat at all.

If anybody concludes from this that agriculture's share has increased in proportion to the decrease in the industrial sector, he is badly off the mark. Much of it has been taken away by social services (education and health), the share of which had remained static at 11 per cent in both the Second and Third Plans. It is now being proposed to be raised to 13 per cent.

The share of agriculture, which was 12 per cent in the Second Plan and 13.3 per cent in the Third Plan is now proposed to be raised to 15.4 per cent in the Fourth Plan.

Admittedly, agriculture has

Fourth Plan Framework

proved to be the Achilles' heel of Indian planning. But a mere rise in the investments in this sector is not going to bring in any additional results. It has already been proved by past experience that what is needed is a change of outlook itself as far as agriculture is concerned.

The rich peasants were the ones who had benefited from the successive Plans so far. So, without a change in policy and outlook, additional investment would only benefit more the rich peasants. The actual tiller of the soil would remain where he was before and Indian agriculture would not rise from the rut in which it stagnates now.

But the memo remains completely silent on this. All that it talks about is increasing the production of fertilisers and fixing the grain prices—nothing about the peasant and the landless millions and providing them with land and the wherewithal to cultivate it.

The land reforms advisory committee of the Planning Commission had recommended as late as June last that the Fourth Plan should provide for total abolition of absentee ownership, because it was "an obstacle to agricultural production". What has

happened to this important recommendation?

Without a breakthrough in agriculture—and this can be achieved only through effective land reforms—we cannot hope to realise any of the targets proposed in the Plan, least of all that of national income.

The Third Plan had envisaged an annual increase of five per cent in the national income. But the estimated rate of increase in the first three years of the Plan is only 3.1 per cent. Even this was achieved due to an unexpected good showing in the third year, 1963-64—4.3 per cent compared to 2.4 per cent and 2.6 per cent in the first and second years respectively.

The larger growth rate in the third year was due to improved performance in the agricultural sector. Still, it is to be noted that only 0.5 per cent of the overall rise of 4.3 per cent came from agriculture, the remaining 3.8 per cent being contributed by the other sectors.

The national income in 1963-64 was estimated to be Rs. 13,940 crores, while it was Rs. 13,370 crores in the previous year. At this rate of increase, it is very doubtful whether the target of Rs. 19,000 crores by the end of the Third Plan would be achieved.

The perspective planning division of the Planning Commission had concluded that if all our citizens were to be provided with a minimum income of Rs. 20 a person a month by the end of the Fifth Plan in 1975-76 a rate of

growth of seven per cent was the absolute minimum during the Fourth and Fifth Plans. And this was estimated assuming that the Third Plan targets would be realised.

Low Rate of Growth

Now that it is fairly certain that there would be serious shortfall in the Third Plan targets, the efforts at investment and higher rate of growth should be intensified to offset the shortfall in the Third Plan and realise the long-term perspective.

But the Cabinet has opted for a rate of growth which is even less than the one originally suggested by the Planning Commission. It has proposed a 6.5 per cent annual growth during the Fourth Plan, though it has slashed the investment suggested by the Planning Commission even for achieving this rate of growth.

The basis for this optimism that even without adequate investments the rate of growth would be what it desires it to be is not known to anybody outside the Cabinet.

On another aspect also, the memo is silent, and that is the distribution side.

However, the overall tax picture needs a survey. Against a target of additional taxation of Rs. 1,750 crores indicated in the Third Plan, the central and state govern-

ments have already imposed taxes in the first three years of the Plan which would yield a total of Rs. 2,400 crores in the Plan period.

Additional Taxation

The additional burden proposed to be levied in the Fourth Plan will be taking the capacity of the people to pay too much, if the aim is to go in for large doses of indirect taxes, especially with the prices remaining at the high levels they have reached now.

Indications are not lacking that this will be so, too. For, the states, which are being asked to raise the additional resources, are likely to go in for sales tax and other such indirect taxes more than direct taxes on the richer sections.

It is good to note that the "guideline" of the Fourth Plan is to be the stability of pricing and that no deficit financing whatsoever should be undertaken in the Fourth Plan to achieve this aim.

But is it only deficit financing that is the cause of the present inflation? Or is it the greed of the private sector

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Rajasthan Plans Party Conferences

JAIPUR: The Rajasthan state council of the CPI has drawn up a programme of local, district and state conferences. Every district is now busy preparing for the conference.

THE state council conference has been fixed at Alwar from November 12 to 14. The district conferences are taking place in this month, and will continue upto the first week of November.

Some districts have already completed the preparations and fixed programme of conferences. Dausa in Jaipur district has already finished its conference. On 22nd and 23rd Udaipur is holding its conference. On 24th and 25th Durgapur district conference is fixed. H.K. Vyas is attending these conferences on behalf of the state secretariat.

Swal Madhopur has planned its conference in the first week of November and so has Ganganagar. Ramanand is attending these conferences. Alwar district is going ahead with its local conferences and the

district conferences are scheduled in the end of this month. Jaipur has fixed its conference on October 31 and November 1. Jodhpur district is planning its conference in the first week of November.

Reports of membership verification are pouring in and these show that after the satyagraha new enrolment has commenced at all places. Jaipur committee has enrolled about 60 new members—all from the working class. Half of them had participated in the hunger strike and satyagraha campaign. Alwar too has enrolled the new militants. Reports of such enrolment are coming in from different districts.

Discussions are also going on in the branches on the draft programme and the ideological document.

SEVENTH CONGRESS OF COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

BOMBAY, DECEMBER 10 TO 20, 1964

KHRUSHCHOV'S RESIGNATION

It is now fairly clear from the press reports which are emanating from Moscow, as well as from the indications given in the Soviet press itself, that, apart from reasons of health and old age, the removal from leadership of Nikita Khrushchov follows also from allegations of serious mistakes and above all from the beginnings of what is considered to be a new personality cult.

There is naturally considerable concern and anxiety at these developments among Communists and progressive people in all countries. And there is a perfectly understandable demand that more information of an authoritative character be provided by the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

There have been welcome reiterations of the assurance that the essential policies pursued by the Soviet Government and Communist Party through the last decade, will be continued without any reversal or modification. In fact,

Editorial Article

It is emphasised that these policies will be even further strengthened in a positive direction.

The Central Secretariat of the Communist Party of India has already issued a statement (see page 6) in regard to these policies, welcomed these reiterations and expressed the hope that the Soviet leadership will, at the earliest opportunity, put an end to the speculations inspired in this country by right reactionary forces, that the change in leadership represents a concession, in any way, to the chauvinism and expansionism of the Chinese leadership.

The National Council of the CPI, which meets in Trivandrum from November 2, will discuss the full meaning of the change in the Soviet leadership, and express its opinion on the basis of further information which will then be available.

Fight Against Cult

The Communist Party of India fully supported the measures taken by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to put an end to the serious departures from the Leninist organisational principles, which were associated with the cult of personality and which led to several condemnable actions and the imposition of a regime in which Stalin and his close associates placed themselves above the Party and the state.

One of the most significant positive actions carried out by the CPSU, in which Nikita Khrushchov himself played the leading part, was precisely the attack on the cult of Stalin and the restoration of socialist democracy and collective leadership.

It now appears that Comrade Khrushchov, in the most recent period, developed tendencies, which went against the remarkable democratic

the fight against the cult of personality.

This is a serious matter, and it once again raises the questions, which were raised by several Communist Parties at the time when the suppression of socialist democracy in the Soviet Union and in other socialist countries was first exposed.

processes he himself initiated in the Soviet Union through



The National Council of the Communist Party of India, in a resolution adopted in August 1962 on the 22nd Congress of the CPSU, said that "the violation of the Party standards and socialist legality and the excesses that took place during Stalin's life time, cannot be adequately explained merely by attributing them to the cult of personality".

The resolution went to say:

"More objective and more serious examination of the emergence and growth of the personality cult, as well as of all relevant conditions, circumstances, that contributed to these violations and excesses, need to be comprehensively studied and examined".

Other parties expressed similar opinions, urging that it was necessary to go deeper into the causes and the objective conditions out of which the cult arises, and is nourished.

Urgent Need For Deeper Analysis

The latest change in the leadership of the Communist Party and government of the Soviet Union once again underlines the urgent need to make a searching and deep-going analysis of this problem, to devise safeguards and guarantees against the recurrence of such phenomena by devising forms for further democratising the functioning of the Party and the socialist state, so as to enhance their leading and guiding role.

The problem is already raised by various fraternal parties and it is hoped will be further discussed and clarified in the forthcoming consultations to prepare for the holding of the international meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties.

It must, however, be emphasised here and now, that whatever the mistakes made by Khrushchov, whatever the reasons for his removal from leadership, (and on this matter, the sole judges must be the CPSU and the Soviet people), it would be a serious error to underline ONLY these mistakes and keep silent about his achievements. Any tendency to wipe out or obliterate the immense positive contributions made by Khrushchov personally in the last decade must be avoided, and it is hoped that the reports put out by bourgeois newspapers of the removal of all Khrushchov's books and writings are false.

The Soviet leaders are emphasising their determination to ensure collective functioning and prevent any re-emergence of the cult of the individual. They have indicated their dedication to the task of eliminating all that remains of the violations of democracy committed in the period of the Stalin cult.

In this effort, they can count on the enthusiastic support of the Communist Party of India and of all its members and supporters.

(October 21)

MASS MURDER OF WORKERS IN EAST PAKISTAN

Brutal Attack On Peaceful Strikers

A newsagency report from Dacca on October 20 quoting Faiz Ahmed, President of the East Pakistan Federation of Labour, states that about three to four hundred workers have been killed by police firings and clashes in Khalishpur industrial area near Khulna since the province-wide jute workers' strike began on October 12.

FAIZ Ahmed described in a press conference the brutal police attacks on the striking workers as "unheard of in the living memory of the Indo-Pakistan labour movement". He said that workers had been attacked in mills and in their quarters by nearly 2,000 "hooligans" armed with knives and spears. He emphatically stated that the attackers were recruited and trained by the mill management in a "pre-planned bid to crush this strike".

This is just the gist of a report that has trickled down through the strict censor-control under Ayub's dispensation in East Pakistan. But this gist is enough to shock mankind. Such brutal atrocity can only be committed under a dictatorial regime like Ayub's and no where parallel can be found of such mass murders where there is some semblance of civilisation or democracy.

been sought to be choked by Ayub Khan quite some time back and the fundamental rights of people trampled underfoot through blood and terror. Dacca firings, Narayanganj firings, Baluchistan Day atrocities are all grim reminders of the military rule in Pakistan. But the peoples of both East and West Pakistan have not been crushed completely. The seeds of freedom and democratic movement have again sprouted and today the Ayub regime is faced with a determined challenge.

The bloody murderers of peaceful strikers cannot get away with their crime. Already the democratic leaders of Pakistan including Fatima Jinnah, the opposition candidate for the coming presidential election, have demanded that an inquiry commission be set up immediately to probe into this deliberate mass killing.

The voice of freedom has

The All-India Trade Union

Congress in a statement on October 21 condemned this mass murder. The statement says: "The mass killing of three to four hundred jute workers in East Pakistan has shocked the Indian

people. Such a massacre has been unheard of in the trade union movement. That such a brutality is possible in Pakistan today clearly shows the government of that country in its true colours.

"The AITUC expresses its deep sorrow at this mass murder and extends its full solidarity to the workers who are on strike since October 12. It endorses the demand raised by democratic leaders in Pakistan for an inquiry commission."

INDIAN PHILOSOPHY

A POPULAR INTRODUCTION

by

DEBIPRASAD CHATTOPADHYAYA (Author of LOKAYATA)

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OCTOBER 25, 1964

All sections of workers are today agitated over the abnormal and continuous rise in prices. The unequal and unfair formula about DA introduced through the recommendations of the Second Pay Commission has, from the very beginning, aroused considerable opposition among all sections of workers and employees covered by it, i.e., what one conveniently but erroneously called "government servants". With mounting prices, the anti-working class nature of the Pay Commission formula has been brought out in even sharper relief.

RAILWAYMEN number about 12.2 lakhs and they man a most strategic part of our economy. Prior to 1949, for some years, they had the benefit of cheap grain shops. Actually, these shops supplied not only grains but as many as 20 commodities at subsidised rates, the prices charged being those which were ruling in August 1942. In 1944-45 alone, the scheme cost Rs. 9 crores and though part of the expenditure was on administration, etc., the huge sum involved reflects to a great degree the amount of relief afforded to the workers. The scheme was abandoned in 1949.

The 22nd session of the Indian Labour Conference which met at Bangalore in July this year decided to introduce this year a scheme of wages in kind and agreed that rice, wheat or wheat substitutes, sugar, pulses, one or two popular varieties of cloth and cooking medium should be included in the list of items supplied. However, the prices at which these items will be supplied will be those at which prices are controlled by the government in the case of the first three items and at wholesale prices in the case of the rest of the items. This scheme, it is proposed, will cover the railways also.

Without going into the many defects which the scheme proposed by the ILC obviously has, it is clear that it is substantially different from the grainshops system as it obtained in the railways in the past.

The prices in these grainshops were fixed at those obtaining at a particular date in the case of all the 20 commodities supplied. Now, in the case of pulses, cooking medium and cloth, prices will be freely reflecting the upward trend, the only relief being that the workers will have to pay wholesale and not retail rates.

In the case of sugar, rice and wheat, the prices will be as controlled by the government from time to time. In a period of rapidly rising prices and the complete unwillingness and inability of the government to hold the price line, even controlled prices as fixed from time to time are bound to show an upward trend. In this context, the slogan raised by the AIRF that cheap grainshops be opened in the railways on the lines on which they existed upto 1949 is clearly a correct and vital slogan.

It is not enough to supply a few articles at constantly rising

SOME ISSUES BEFORE RAILWAYMEN

prices, although these prices would, no doubt, be a little cheaper than in the open retail market. The refusal of the government to give relief in cash DA on an adequate basis, as reflected in the terms of reference of the Das Commission, clearly shows that there is great need for safeguarding the real wages of the workers by ensuring supply of essential commodities at prices which are not only controlled from time to time but are fixed at the level of a particular date.

Hence the importance of the slogan of cheap grainshops as they existed before 1949. This slogan is also important from another angle. The reports of the committees appointed to go into the correctness of cost of living indices in Bombay and Ahmedabad have shown that the present indices are fraudulent. Now committees have been appointed in Delhi and Rajasthan and some other states are also thinking of appointing them. But till the corrections are made, the all-India index, based on the average of local indices, continue to reflect the mistakes and results in huge loss to the workers.

The railway worker, like the Central Government employee, is paid DA on the basis of the all-India index. What it means is that apart from the inadequacy of the rate of neutralisation, and apart

also from the ban that he will have to wait for a rise till the index shows a 10-point jump on the basis of an annual average, he will never get full neutralisation because the index is incorrect. However, it is essential to concretise the general slogan of restoration of cheap grainshops and link it with the question of cash neutralisation for the portion of

of the commodities are to be supplied in the grainshops.

Cent per cent cash neutralisation for non-grainshop expenditure, at all levels of pay.

The AIRF, along with other organisations of Central Government employees, has correctly boycotted the Das Commission. True to its colour, the NFIR has broken

pay which is spent outside the grainshops. For this purpose, the following demands would seem appropriate:

- Restoration of grainshops on the pre-1949 lines with commodities being supplied at prices ruling at a particular date, say October 1962.
- Correction of cost of living indices. Till indices in various states are corrected, as an interim measure the percentage correction in Bombay and Ahmedabad be adopted as such for the all-India index.
- Cent per cent cash neutralisation in DA upto the particular date on which the prices

once again the solidarity of the workers and appeared before the Commission. However, the basic question has to be raised: Are the railway workers merely "government servants" or are they workers like those in, say, steel plants or heavy engineering plants in the public sector?

Confusions Among Railwaymen

There seems to be some confusion in the ranks of the railwaymen themselves on this basic question. The point is not merely of academic interest, not of classification alone, it has an intimate bearing on the rights of the workers.

The railway worker is engaged in the most vital job of distribution and transportation. He is directly linked with productive economy and forms a part of it. Today he is lumped together with purely administrative employees in the all-inclusive category of "government employees".

A PATRIOT'S NOTEBOOK

ATOMANIACS: Indian Style

WHEN the Chinese aggression took place, there were a number of Right reactionary leaders, who vomited fire and thunder and gave gratuitous guidance to our armed forces—while standing quite comfortably in the shade of the roofs of public halls in the capital—with nothing more dangerous facing them than the microphone of a loud speaker system.

Now once again, with the Chinese test explosion of an atom bomb, the fancy-dress "generals" of the Right are foaming at the mouth—and brave words are their principal stock-in-trade.

"INDIA MUST HAVE ITS OWN ATOM BOMB," is the latest slogan of these warriors. The current issue of the Jan Sangh mouthpiece ORGANISER has a whole editorial titled "SHANTI AND SHAKTI" which concludes with the lunatic words:

"We must have an atomic bomb of our own to match the nuclear power of China. Only such a balance of power could persuade China not to attack India again". And this is the "argument": "If India were less ambiguous in its thinking it had the chance to be the first to make an A-bomb."

In that case, it would have been an Indian feather in the Afro-Asian cap.

"The atomic bomb is something which everybody understands. But a policy hopelessly caught in the coils of ahimsa and satyagraha could not understand the meaning of atomic bombs. And so here we are, dishonoured and disheartened, with none to do us courtesy."

Fortunately for the Indian people, they know the atomaniacs well enough. Despite possessing the know-how and skill, India has consistently refused to make an atom bomb. This has been a concrete demonstration of India's adherence to peace. And it is this, which has continued to be a shield giving the greatest protection to India's sovereignty and integrity—protection which the possession of a handful of atom bombs can never give.

The Jan Sanghis have their counterparts in most countries of the world—reactionary enemies of the best interests of their peoples, who are loudest in talking of war and armaments, in preaching chauvinism of the worst kind.

Their objectives are always the same: the class objectives of the most reactionary exploiters of the toiling people, anxious to divert the attention of the masses away from their urgent and immediate struggles for a better life, to dangerous and fanatical adventures—all in the name of "national interest".

MORARJI'S SOCIALISM

A FRIEND from Gujarat has sent me an interesting story about the re-entry into the Congress of the PSP leader Ishwarlal Desai. Evidently, this re-entry was turned into a sort of ceremony, with Morarji Desai acting as the high priest.

Ishwarlal Desai evidently "explained" his entry into the Congress at this stage, by referring to the Bhubaneswar resolution on "democratic socialism".

Morarjibhai in his speech at the re-entry ceremony at Pardi on October 4 scoffed at the whole idea, and said:

"Ishwarlal says that he and his friends have rejoined the Congress, because the Congress declared it was for 'Democratic Socialism' at Bhubaneswar. The truth is that Congress adopted socialism at the Karachi session in 1931. Gandhiji introduced that socialism as a stepping stone to Sarvodaya".

Live and learn. Morarjibhai is obviously an old and devoted believer in "socialism"—not of the Bhubaneswar variety, but of the pure 1931 breed. And as Chief Minister in Bombay and later Finance Minister in New Delhi, he implemented his "socialism", with all his organisational genius, police firings, compul-

HOW TO WIN FRIENDS...

THE manner in which the External Affairs Ministry officials appear to have messed up the arrangements for the one-day stop-over in Bombay of the President of Mali last week, needs a thorough enquiry.

The President of Mali with a large party was to pass through Bombay on October 17, on his way to Vietnam. Nobody was at the airport to receive him or his party. Only when they were on their way to their hotel from the airport, did a low-level welcome group arrive.

Why? Who bungled? Why has no explanation been put out?

When so much is being talked about winning friends in Africa, such criminal mistakes must not be permitted.

It is argued in Bombay that information from New Delhi came late. Is that a fact? If so, why?

The visit of the President of Mali could and should have been used—however brief it was—to demonstrate our friendship and solidarity. All we did demonstrate was our inefficiency, to say the least.

—Romesh Chandra (October 19)

sory deposits, gold control, and all! He has now moved on from socialism to 'sarvodaya'... and all in the name of Gandhiji!

NO WONDER THE INDIAN PEOPLE LOVE MORARJI SO DESPERATELY.

No doubt he is a government employee in the sense that the employer is the government. But this mere fact cannot determine his status and rights. He is denied full freedom of civic rights because he is governed by the Service Conduct Rules. He is denied full trade union rights on the same plea and now the proposal is there to bring him into the Joint Negotiating Machinery and this will further curtail his rights.

There seems to be a lurking fear in some quarters that if the railway workers cease to be classified as government servants, they will lose many rights and privileges such as free passes and PTOs, pension, etc. But this fear is misplaced. For instance, the Indian Airlines Corporation employee is not a government servant in that sense of the word. Yet he enjoys the privilege of free passes. As regards pension, there is no reason why industrial workers cannot get pensions specially when a section of them have been enjoying the right for years.

Today, the income from the railways is pooled into the general budget. Yet, railway is a commercial and profit-earning enterprise. Why should not the first two charges on its earnings be the well-being of the users and the employees—the two who contribute in their various ways to the prosperity and earnings of the railways and both of whom are the most neglected? Why should the railwaymen not get bonus, for instance?

However, this is quite a large question. Amid the slogans has rightly been given by the AIRF that there should be a separate Wage Board for railwaymen. Not only will this enable a more scientific appraisal of the nature of jobs

Khrushchov's Retirement

REASONS & REACTIONS

From Masood Ali Khan

MOSCOW: The news of Khrushchov's resignation and retirement "in view of his advanced age and the deterioration of his health" came as a surprise to the man in the street here. It was received with calm bewilderment, lack of excitement and a note of sadness. "The old man has gone on pension", was a typical comment I heard.

THE announcement was put out by TASS after midnight on Thursday, after a day of rumours among journalists, diplomats and observers that big changes in the Soviet leadership were imminent. The announcement informed the world of the meeting of the Central Committee which had been held in Moscow on Wednesday and where, it was stated, Khrushchov's request to be relieved of his duties of the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, Member of the Presidium of the Central Committee and the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR had been accepted.

It is recalled here that Khrushchov himself, on a number of occasions during the last year, mentioned that he was getting old and had hinted also in public that he might retire. I remember his statement to this effect addressing a youth meeting some 18 months ago.

And Gomulka declared in Warsaw on Saturday that he had not been surprised by the news. Khrushchov had told him one year ago that he was thinking of resigning. "The main thing is that Soviet policy will remain unchanged", Gomulka declared.

People here in conversation recall the leading role played by Khrushchov in the great transformations since the 20th Congress of the CPSU and the new confidence his leadership gave to the people. His role in the international arena, his fight for durable peace and relaxation of international tension on the basis of peaceful coexistence, international cooperation and disarmament, his understanding of the role of newly liberated countries and his contribution to the cause of anti-imperialism and people's liberation—all this has become a part of the history of the last decade.

But it has been indicated here that due to old age and concentration of too much responsibility, being at the most responsible and strenuous posts of the leader of the Party and Prime Minister, weariness, deterioration of memory, etc., had appeared in him and also in certain cases violations of the principle of collective leadership had taken place. Towards the later period rather over-confident personal decisions without adequate consultation and over-emphasis on personal diplomacy were to be observed. And certain propagandists had begun to show more and more a tendency towards personal flattery and glorification.

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CPI Central Secretariat Statement

The Central Secretariat of the Communist Party of India issued the following statement on October 17:

THE recent changes in the leadership of the government and the Communist Party in the Soviet Union have aroused considerable speculation among all sections of the people in this country. This is only natural for, the peoples of all lands who sincerely desire peace and national independence, look upon the Soviet government and the Soviet Communist Party as outstanding champions of the struggle against war and imperialism. Recent years, particularly since the 20th and 22nd Congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, have greatly enhanced the love and respect in which the Soviet Union, its government and people are held all over the world.

Therefore, while any changes in the leadership are entirely the internal affair of the Soviet people and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the anxiety which is today being expressed by peace-loving men and women everywhere at the resignation for reasons of health of Nikita Khrushchov is completely understandable.

The Communist Party of India warmly welcomes the clearcut and emphatic declaration made by the new leadership of the Soviet Union that the policy enunciated in the 20th and 22nd Congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will be continued and carried forward.

We are sure that the pursuance of the policy of peace, of support for the struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism, of friendly assistance without political strings to all developing countries, will be continued with as much and even greater vigour than before.

The Indian people also hope that Indo-Soviet friendship and cooperation will continue to grow with rapidity as it has been growing in the recent years.

Reactionary circles in the country seek to interpret the changes in the Soviet leadership as being a concession to the dogmatist, adventurist and chauvinist line of the Chinese government. From this, they wishfully conclude that there will be a setback in the development of Indo-Soviet relations.

It is to be hoped that the new Soviet

leaders who have all along been themselves in the forefront of the struggle for the implementation of the policies enunciated in the 20th and 22nd Congresses of the CPSU and against the Chinese leadership's dangerous line will, at the earliest opportunity, put an end to the wishful thinking of the reactionaries.

All Communists everywhere sincerely desire the strengthening of the unity of the international Communist movement. No Communist Party seeks the ex-communication from the Communist fraternity of any other Party. But the vast majority of Communist Parties, each of which is a fully independent Party acting on the basis of its own experience, believe that in order to ensure the unity of the world Communist movement, it is essential to carry on discussion in an objective and sober way on the issues of debate, while repudiating efforts made by Chinese leaders to force their policies on other Parties and also their splitting activities.

The perilous character of these policies has been sharply highlighted by the nuclear explosion test carried out by the Chinese government in its effort to develop its own nuclear weapons. Though this is justified as a defence against the atomic blackmail by US imperialists and its partners, the Chinese arguments fail to convince in view of the powerful atomic shield supplied by the Soviet Union to guarantee security to the comity of socialist countries and appears to be in pursuance of quite other and expansionist aims. This test has taken place in defiance of the appeals of peace-loving people all over the world which had been forcefully endorsed at the recent Cairo conference of nonaligned countries.

The Communist Party of India is confident that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will carry forward the remarkable work it has done in recent years in the implementation of the decisions of the 20th and the 22nd Congresses and of the common policies laid down by the world meetings of Communist and Workers' Parties held in 1957 and 1960. The rise in the prestige of the Soviet Union in this period, the tremendous achievements in various fields inside the country and the victories won, in cooperation with other forces, for peace and national independence—are proof of the correctness of these decisions and policies.

the changes could not in any way be interpreted as a victory for the Chinese leadership, that the Soviet stand on ideological questions and the unity of the international Communist movement had not changed at all. This was later confirmed by the PRAVDA editorial and also by the fact that PRAVDA the same day published resolutions of the French and Italian Parties strongly criticising the Chinese positions in detail. And the editorial also reaffirmed the CPSU position

in regard to the proposed world conference of Communist Parties and the Declaration and Statement of 1957 and 1960.

Actually, it is emphasised here that the policies of the CPSU against personality cult, for adherence to Leninist norms and further democratisation of life are to be carried out with even more vigour and consistency. The Soviet policies are opposite of the Chinese policies today and the Chinese opposition to the 20th and 22nd Congresses

is wellknown. In the Soviet Union the importance of these Congresses of the CPSU is being reaffirmed and re-emphasised.

Well-informed circles here believe that there are not going to be any changes of substance as far as Soviet policies are concerned but there may be changes of approach and method here and there, more flexibility may be displayed and more dignified tone in discussion

*ON FACING PAGE

OCTOBER 25, 1964

IMMUTABLE LENINIST GENERAL LINE OF THE CPSU

NEW AGE readers will be interested to read the full text given below of the editorial published in PRAVDA on October 17, which emphasises the continuation of the policies pursued during the last ten years, which have won for the Soviet Union ever greater love, affection and regard in all parts of the world.

THE Soviet people by their heroic labour are translating into reality mankind's age-old dream of the fairest society—communism. Our road is illumined by the light of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. This road has been determined by the general line, collectively worked out by the Party at its 20th, 21st and 22nd Congresses, in the Programme of the CPSU.

The general line of the Leninist Party is the immutable foundation of the successful building of communism in our country. Undeviatingly pursuing this line, the Party and the Soviet people are gaining victories in the accomplishment of the main economic task—the creation of the material-technical base of communism.

The successes in the creation of the material-technical base of communism cannot be divorced from the tremendous activity the Party is conducting in the Communist education of the working people. The growing Communist consciousness of the Soviet men and women, their boundless devotion to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, find a striking manifestation in the labour achievements of the Soviet people, in the mounting upsurge of socialist emulation, in the movement for Communist labour.

Now, when the country is ushering in the 47th anniversary of the Great October Revolution, the stream of joyous tidings is growing from day to day on the commissioning of new enterprises, the mastering of the manufacture of progressive items of production, the glorious labour exploits of our working class, the collective farm peasantry, state farm workers, specialists of all branches of the national economy.

KHRUSHCHOV'S RETIREMENT

* From Facing Page

and articles might be adopted.

Some feel here that if the Chinese leadership has by now realised the harm and errors of its ways and is willing to make a change and call a halt to splitting activities, here is a facing-up opportunity and a change. But there are no such indications of any change in Peking and the recent and deliberately-timed explosion of their atom bomb speaks loud enough to their policies of causing tensions, difficulties and of trying to put the Soviet Union in an embarrassing position at every opportunity.

Papers here published on Sunday the traditional slogans of the Central Committee on the occasion of the 47th anniversary of the October Revolution and they also confirmed the continuation of the general line of the CPSU.

There are identical greetings to 13 fraternal countries building socialism where Communists are in power, including China, Albania, and Yugoslavia. The slogan immediately following deals with India and reads: "Warm greetings to the Great Indian People! Let the Friendship and Cooperation between the Peoples of the Soviet Union and India grow and strengthen."

of economy, science and technology.

Consistently carrying through the policy of peace, fighting against the attempts of imperialist aggression, the Party and the government are creating the most favourable external conditions for Communist construction in our country and are promoting the successful struggle of all peoples for social and national liberation. The Soviet Union will continue to strengthen the friendship and cooperation with the young sovereign states of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The world socialist system, the community of equal and sovereign peoples, advancing along the road of socialism and communism, are the greatest achievement of the international revolutionary

Pravda

Editorial

movement. The CPSU and the entire Soviet people regard as their duty the development of fraternal relations with the socialist countries, extensive cooperation in all spheres of economic, socio-political and cultural life.

The CPSU carries high the great banner of international solidarity and this has earned it the profound respect, trust and authority among the Communists and the broad masses of the working people throughout the world.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is most persistently fighting for the consolidation of the unity and solidarity of the Communist ranks on the foundation of the principles of proletarian internationalism and the historic documents collectively worked out by the fraternal Parties—the Declaration of 1957 and the Statement of 1960.

Our Party, as hitherto, will pursue an active line for the convocation of an international meeting of all Communist Parties to discuss topical problems of the struggle for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism, for the consolidation of the unity of the Communist and labour movement on the immutable principles of proletarian internationalism.

The Communists and all Soviet people regard allegiance to Marxism-Leninism, Leninist irreconcilability to any forms of opportunism, the unity and fraternal cooperation between the countries of the socialist community, the rallying of the world Communist, labour and national liberation movement, as an earnest of new victories along the road of the peoples to the triumph of peace, democracy, national independence and socialism, to a happy future

of all mankind—communism.

The victories of our country in building a new society, the successes of its domestic and foreign policy, are a result of the heroic labour of the Soviet people, the tremendous organizing and educating activity of the Communist Party. In the leadership of the Leninist Party, armed with revolutionary theory, mastering the knowledge of the laws of social development, in its organizing and directing activity, the Soviet people see the unshakable strength of our order, the earnest of the successful implementation of the plans for building communism. The people have infinite faith in their Party, in its Leninist leadership. The Party profoundly believes in the mighty creative energies of the people, expresses their funda-

mental interests and regards service to them as the meaning of its entire activity.

The role and significance of the Communist Party as the leading and directing force of Soviet society is growing in the period of the full-scale construction of communism, when the scales of transformations in all spheres of social production and life are expanding tremendously. The responsibility of all its organisations for the successful accomplishment of the tasks of economic and cultural development is increasing. The strengthening of Party leadership in all spheres of economy and culture is the foundation of the success of our entire great cause.

The unbreakable ideological and organizational cohesion of our Party, its loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, its tremendous and many-faceted activity, which lends a well-organised, planned, scientifically based character to the entire work of building communism, give deep joy and inspiration to the Soviet people and our numerous friends abroad.

The monolithic unity of the Party, its unflinching loyalty to Lenin's behest, were demonstrated with new force by the plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the CPSU held on October 14.

In unifying and directing the creative activity of the masses towards one great goal the Party is guided by an accurate compass—the envigorating Marxist-Leninist theory. It deeply analyses the complex processes of the economic, political and cultural life and works out correct solutions on this basis. The Leninist Party is an enemy of subjectivism and drifting. Hare-brained scheming, im-

mature conclusions and hasty decisions and actions divorced from reality, bragging and phrase-mongering, commandism, unwillingness to take into account the achievement of science and practical experience are alien to it. Construction of communism is a live, creative undertaking which does not tolerate arm-chair methods, personal decisions and disregard for the practical experience of the masses.

The Party teaches its cadres, all Communists, to work in the Leninist way, to rely on the people always and in everything, to carry high the bright faith in the strength and wisdom of the people.

The life and activity of the Party are determined by the principles and standards which were worked out by V. I. Lenin, tested, confirmed and enriched by the historical experience of many decades. Collective leadership is one of the most important of these principles, a well-trieved weapon, the greatest political asset of our Party. The strength and invincibility of the Party leadership spring from its ability to organise and direct the efforts of the masses towards the solution of the main tasks, from the art to unite into a single whole the talents, knowledge and experience of millions.

It is only on the basis of the Leninist principle of collective leadership that it is possible to direct and develop the growing creative initiative of the Party and all people. It is only on the basis of this principle that it is possible to analyse the situation correctly, to evaluate the successes achieved soberly, objectively, without conceit, to see the shortcomings and eliminate them in time and completely.

The unwavering observance of the principle of collective leadership is the primary and indispensable condition for the compliance with the most important demand which V. I. Lenin presented to the Party workers: "By long, assiduous, diversified, many-faceted work of all thinking representatives of the given class the necessary knowledge, the necessary experience, and—besides knowledge and experience—the necessary political feeling must be worked out for quick and correct solution of complicated political questions."

In following its general course, the Party has irreconcilably and consistently opposed and continues to oppose the ideology and practice of the personality cult which is alien to Marxism-Leninism alien to the very nature of our socialist system. In its entire activity the Party is guided by the Leninist principles of the Party and state leadership.

For new successes of the Party and people in the realisation of the decisions of the 20th, 21st and 22nd Congresses, of the Programme of the CPSU!

For unwavering and consistent realisation of the unshakable Leninist general line of the CPSU!

NEW AGE

PAGE SEVEN

OCTOBER 25, 1964

Creative Marxism: Two International Seminars

In the main reports and keynote speeches delivered at the two seminars in Berlin and Moscow, as well as in the interventions of the different delegations, certain new ideas were advanced by both internationally reputed Communist leaders and Marxist scholars. It is essential that these new ideas be made as widely known as possible but equally important that they be approached critically and comprehensively understood.

ONE such new idea advanced related to the concept of proletarian hegemony. This idea was a further development and concretisation of the concept advanced by the 1980 Moscow Statement relating to the increasingly decisive role exerted by the world socialist system on the main trend of world developments, whose entire orientation is the transition from capitalism to socialism.

It has been repeatedly stressed in that document that the world socialist system was the greatest historic achievement of the international proletariat. In other words, the decisive influence exerted on world developments by the socialist camp is at the same time the main form in which the international working class acts upon the world scene. The decisive influence of the world socialist system, therefore, is a specific form of proletarian hegemony on a world scale.

This does not at all mean that the world socialist system can act as a substitute for the revolutionary movements in the different countries. All the participants in both the seminars were unanimous in their search for yet more effective forms of revolutionary action in those countries where the working people are not yet in power. The delegates from such countries, including India, gave graphic reports of the struggles that their parties are conducting and were justifiably proud of the contribution that these made to the general advance of the world revolutionary process.

Two Major Conclusions

At the same time, two major conclusions appeared to emerge from the concept of international proletarian hegemony. The first was the extremely important and close link between the socialist camp—its gains and its setbacks—and the struggles of the working people in the advanced capitalist countries as well as the movements in the colonial and post-colonial countries. Any attempt to divide and disrupt this link was, therefore, not only harmful but heinous.

The second conclusion, with an even bolder sweep, related to countries where the working class was as yet poorly developed, economically and politically. It has already been widely agreed that even such countries can, through the completion of the national democratic revolution, advance along the non-capitalist path of development, as a form of transition to socialism. This idea has been developed further, in the light of actual events, to point to the perspective of such development.

In many such countries the actual implementation of socialist transformation is taking place

and their peoples are already engaged in building the basis for a socialist system. Such would appear to be the situation in Algeria, Mali, Ghana, Guinea and steps in that direction seem to be taken by the UAR leaders as well. Yet in none of these countries can one say that the working class is in the leadership or that the dictatorship of the proletariat has been established. In such countries, upto now, the element of proletarian hegemony is provided by the world socialist system.

Thus, the transition to socialism in our new epoch takes on extremely diverse forms and has a variation with regard to class content as well. All this is possible only because of the existence and strength of the world socialist system.

Revolutionary Democratic Leadership

It is in this context that speakers at both the seminars advanced yet another new concept, which is particularly necessary for us in India to study. This pertains to what is called the revolutionary democratic leadership in a number of newly independent countries. Broadly speaking, the revolutionary democrats are political leaders from among the petty bourgeois intelligentsia, who have been led by the very logic of the anti-imperialist revolution to socialist, radical anti-capitalist positions.

These revolutionary democrats, often enough, have their own conception of socialism and a specific world outlook, which does not always coincide with the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. Yet, essentially their programmes and their actions are sufficiently clear cut in their anti-capitalist essence. It would be wrong, therefore, to dismiss such types of socialism as "reactionary demagoguery" or "petty-bourgeois utopias".

As a matter of fact, such revolutionary democrats have already begun doing, in a number of countries what the proletarian vanguard would have done if it had been sufficiently strong, organised and influential to seize power. Some speakers drew attention to Lenin's formula about "transitional" socialism as a bridge which the revolutionary democrats would cross before they fully accepted the entire method and system of Marxism-Leninism.

It was essential that the entire Communist movement took a fraternal and helpful approach towards these revolutionary democrats, assisting them in every way to implement their revolutionary programmes as well as to advance towards a fully integrated scientific outlook on the world and life. It was equally necessary to appreciate the specific form of the ideology of the

revolutionary democrats in different countries.

In this connection, the Algerian delegate at the Berlin Seminar drew attention to the fact that in Algeria and Mali, the governmental parties who stand for socialism reject the philosophy of dialectical materialism. Indeed, the Algerian Constitution proclaims Islam as the state religion. Explaining the specific role that Islam had played in the Algerian revolution, he stressed the point that such a proclamation had in no way hindered the advance of Algeria towards socialism.

Another new point of departure was the far more realistic and detailed examination of the position in the advanced capitalist countries, where state monopoly capitalism holds sway.

Speakers emphasised the fact that world developments today



G. Adhikari at the Seminar in Berlin.

could not be understood without grasping the implications of the sweeping scientific technological revolution, particularly in the fields of atomic energy, electronics and chemistry. This revolution was taking place in both the two world social systems, though under capitalist conditions its development was spasmodic and distorted. It would be quite wrong to believe that monopoly capitalism simply strangled any technological advance, though unfettered advance required socialism.

This revolution had an important impact on the very structure and functioning of monopoly capitalism today. There were more than enough facts to prove that the exploitative, and monopolistic character of capitalism remained and that a considerable degree of merging of the state with monopoly capitalism had taken place. Yet only to point to these undisputed facts was far from enough, the seminar participants felt.

Structural Changes

Attention, therefore, was focused on the structural changes that had taken place in the economy of the advanced capitalist countries—both in the industrial and agricultural spheres. Even more important was the enormous extension of the activity of the state, acting as a partial regulator and going so far as programming for certain vital sectors of the economy. The rapid technological advance had also eased the market problem for an expanding capitalist economy, apart from militarisation which also sucked in goods.

The growth in activity and change in function of the state was further analysed by some speakers in the context of the activities of the working class. It was quite absurd to simply wage economic struggles and indulge in abstract propaganda for socialism, waiting for the day of catastrophe. It was essential for the working class and its allies to energetically intervene in the whole process and through such political intervention to build up an anti-monopoly democratic alliance. The previously widely-disputed concept of structural reforms, advanced by the Italian Communists, seemed to be pretty much current coin at these seminars.

State And Revolution

Apart from such immediate tactical questions, there was some discussion of the Marxist-Leninist theory of the state and revolution. Nobody disputed the fact that the state was the organ of a particular class, and even of a section of it as in the case of state monopoly capitalism.

Yet it would no longer be correct to stress only the coercive aspect of the state—police, army, prisons etc.—which was a perfectly correct depiction of the state of affairs in the days when Lenin wrote his classic work on the state. Similarly, a new approach would have to be worked out with regard to the question of "smashing" the state apparatus of the monopoly capitalists.

In this struggle to effect structural reforms, and to effect the transition to socialism, great importance attaches to the unity of the working class, especially between different socialist trends within it—Communist, social democratic and Christian. Some of the characterisations of the social democrats—"social-fascists", "American agents" and the like—made by Stalin and the Comintern were sharply assailed. Penetrating but accurate and sophisticated criticism of the rightwing social-democratic leaders was made but the orientation was towards seeking points of agreement with the general mass of social-democrats, as well as with sections of the leadership at various levels.

It was pointed out that the task had been made somewhat easier by the fresh developments that had taken place in the socialist world, the new possibilities of peaceful transition to socialism that had arisen and the manner in which the problem of democracy had become a burning issue in the advanced capitalist countries.

It was further pointed out that experience had shown that both in order to realise the socialist revolution as well as in the building of socialism, it was not necessary that the working class should have only one Party nor was it absolutely essential that the Communists and Social-Democratic parties should merge as had been the case in the German Democratic Republic, Poland, Hungary and elsewhere. New political forms would inevitably emerge as the movement developed.

In view of all this, it was inevitable that some speakers would stress the importance of famous Seventh World Congress of the Communist International. The Indian delegation joined some others in stressing the importance for a critical examination of the fact that some twenty years

passed before the onward march of creative Marxism was resumed at the 20th CPSU Congress.

In this connection it was of great interest that at the Moscow Seminar, the Soviet speakers more than once referred to the fact that it was none else than Lenin himself who had warned the Communist International against adopting decisions and resolutions that were too "Russian" in character and to avoid being too overwhelmed by the fact and the experience of the October Revolution, even as he brought out with complete clarity some of the fundamental features of that Revolution which would illumine the path of the revolutionaries of other countries.

The discussion on the problems confronting the socialist camp also brought out quite a few new ideas, some of which were clearly controversial. Mention was made of the new methods of socialist planning and management with stress on material incentives and greater autonomy, which would be necessary to replace the system of "administering" the entire economy, which might have been suitable at an earlier stage.

Relations Between Socialist States

The relations between socialist countries came in for a great deal of critical examination. The fundamental unity and the need to struggle against nationalism was forcefully brought out. Yet, the objective basis for differences between the socialist countries and the likely disharmony between temporary and long-range interests were also dwelt upon.

There were obvious differences in the discussion on the problem of the international socialist division of labour, some speakers felt that this should not be narrowly understood to include only the present Comecon countries but should be extended to include other socialist countries, even if in the form of associate members as had recently been done in the case of Yugoslavia. Further, such division of labour should not be brought into an antagonistic relationship with the wider international network of economic connections.

Other speakers warned against autarchic tendencies which would arise as a result of the distortion of the basically correct proposition that each socialist country should rely mainly on its own internal resources and forces in going forward with socialist construction.

Time and again as the reports were being delivered and as the discussion proceeded, it was unavoidable that sharp but principled and dignified criticism was made of the dogmatic, adventurist and nationalist theories and policies of the leadership of the Communist Party of China. At the same time it was constantly pointed out that the method of excommunication was alien to the international Communist movement.

The creative elaboration of Marxism, opening the way for wide and effective political initiatives, together with a critical approach to the dogmatism of the past and its persistence today—not merely in the CPC leadership—marked the proceedings of both Seminars, so rich with implications for the theoretical work and practical action of the Communists of India.

(Concluded)

By **MOHIT SEN**

From Delhi the South African leaders, J. B. Marks and Y. M. Dadoo, arrived in Jaipur.

In Jaipur the South African delegation had a day's programme arranged by the Rajasthan branch of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Association. They addressed a press conference, met the leaders of the state government and political parties and addressed a public gathering. Jaipur promised Rs. 5,000 towards the South African Solidarity Fund.

In Srinagar the programme was organised by the National Conference. It included a press conference, meeting the office bearers and active workers of the National Conference and a public meeting. The National Conference promised to contribute Rs. 10,000.

In Kanpur the programme consisted of a largely attended public reception on behalf of the local branch of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Association under the chairmanship of Govind Sahai, General Secretary of the UPPC and President of the state branch of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Association. Later in the evening the Mayor of Kanpur gave a dinner in their honour which was attended by the leaders of political parties, social workers, legislators, members of Parliament and other prominent people.

The next morning the South African leaders laid wreaths at the memorial to Kanpur's immortal martyr Ganesh Shankar Vidyalhari when they also addressed the assembled public. Following a press conference there was a civic reception given by the Kanpur Municipal Corporation where a civic address was given to Dr. Y. M. Dadoo and both Dadoo and Marks addressed the assembly. The Corporation presented Rs. 5,000 to Dr. Dadoo for the Solidarity Fund.

In the afternoon they addressed the students of the Acharya Narendra Deo Mahapalika Girl's Degree College, and later the teachers and students of a boarding school. The Reserve Bank Employees Union held a packed meeting in the bank premises itself where nearly Rs. 300 was presented. The last function in Kanpur was under the auspices of the Indian Council of World Affairs under the Chairmanship of Arjun Arora, MP.

In Patna also the programme began with the laying of wreaths at the Shaheed Smarak and then a visit to the Sadakat Ashram. Later they visited the Bihar Legislative Assembly House and met the Irrigation Minister, M. P. Sinha, the Speaker, Dr. L. N. Sudhanshu and the Chief Minister Krishna Ballabh Sahai. They visited the Bihar Pradesh Congress Committee and addressed the office-bearers and Congress workers.

In the evening the South African leaders addressed a largely attended meeting of students and the city's intelligentsia presided over by the vice-Chancellor Dr. George Jacob. There was a dinner on behalf of the Bihar state National Integration Committee at the residence of Dr. P. N. Sinha, MLC. The All India Radio recorded an interview the next morning followed by a visit to the Magadh Mahila College when they addressed the students. Later they addressed a meeting of the Bihar state council of the CPI.

The Congress Assembly Party organised a meeting of MLAs and other prominent political workers of all parties at the MLAs Club. Later they addressed a meeting of the MLAs and the state leadership of the Samyukt Socialist Party. An amount of Rs. 2,000 was promised from Bihar by the Minister of Health and Jail, Abdul Qayyum Ansari who is also the President of the Bihar State Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity.

In Calcutta, a statement was issued welcoming the South African guests signed by Professor Sumit Kumar Chatterjee, Chairman of the Legislative Council, Speaker K. G. Basu,

Major of Calcutta Chittaranjan Chatterjee, the President of the Pradesh Congress Committee Ajoy Kumar Mukherjee, Justice Sankar Mitra, Tushar Kanit Ghosh, Editor, AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA, Asoke Kumar Sarkar, Editor, ANANDA BAZAR PATRIKA, Vivekananda Mukherji, Editor, BASUMATI, Triguna Sen, Rector, Jadavpur University, Bhanuani Sen, Secretary of the West Bengal Committee of the CPI, Professor Nirmal Bose, Director Satyajit Ray and many others.

They were received at the State Assembly House by the Speaker who was joined by the Chairman of the Council as well as by a number of ministers and leaders of various parties and groups. Later they addressed a gathering of nearly 100 Congress MLAs in the Assembly House, had a very successful press conference followed by visits to the offices of the ANANDA BAZAR PATRIKA and AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA when they had discussions with the senior members of the editorial staff.

Two trade union functions were held one by the Calcutta Dock and Port Workers' Union together with a number of other unions in the Khidirpur area and the other jointly by the West Bengal TUC and a large number of trade unions who presented a total collection of Rs. 1,058.

A students meeting was held in the Darbhanga Hall of Calcutta University presided over by the vice-Chancellor Bidhu Bhushan Mallik. The main public function under the auspices of the West Bengal branch of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Association was held under the Chairmanship of Ajoy Kumar Mukherjee who announced a further contribution of Rs. 5,000 from West Bengal.

They were also invited by Mira Dutta Gupta, Principal, Surendra Mohan College to address the girl students there, who mustered in large numbers and contributed Rs. 61 all in small coins. They were received by Chief Minister P. C. Sen who evinced a keen interest in the new stage of the South African people's struggle against apartheid and offered all material aid from West Bengal.

In Orissa their programme began by addressing the students of the Utkal University in Vani Vihar in Bhubaneswar presided over by the Vice-Chancellor. The next morning there was a meeting with the members of the Reception Committee attended by a large number of writers and other eminent men of letters, MLAs and leaders of political parties etc.

This was followed by a press conference. In the afternoon they were taken to Berhampur to address a public meeting when a purse of Rs. 500 was presented. The Berhampur reception committee arranged a dinner at the Ganjam club which was attended by most of the leading citizens and officials of the district.

The next day a reception was organised in Cuttack by the cultural journal SAMUKHYA which was attended by almost all the leading cultural figures in Orissa followed by the main public function. A purse of Rs. 500 was presented. B. C. Mohanty MLA, a former Minister and now president of the Orissa Olympic Association took a leading part in all the preparatory work.

The South African leaders also called on the Chief Minister and Biju Patnaik. The latter promised that irrespective of the collections

Impressions of S. African Leaders' Tour: II

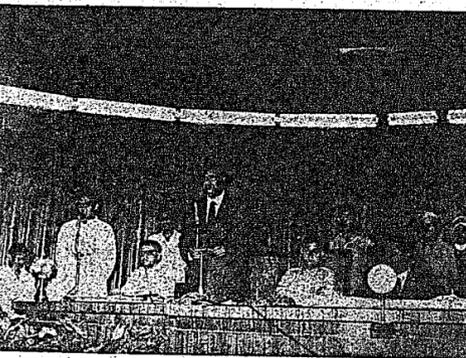
Countrywide Support For S. African Freedom Fighters

to the Solidarity Fund he will arrange to meet the entire expenses of running the office of the African National Congress in Delhi for one year.

In Assam a reception committee was formed with Sarat Chandra Sinha the President of the Pradesh Congress Committee. A public meeting presided over by Bishnu Ram Medhi was held in Gauhati. An address of welcome on behalf of the Municipal Board was read out.

Later a very broad meeting of representatives of political parties, trade unions, women, youth and student movements was held in the Congress Bhawan when it was decided to form a permanent Assam branch of the Solidarity Association and to make a suitable contribution from the state towards the Solidarity Fund. Since then the Assam branch has been duly constituted with Sarat Chandra Sinha as President.

In Madras the programme consisted of a very well attended press conference followed by a reception at the Kanya Kurukulam at Thondayarpet. Later there was a reception jointly organised by a number of trade unions at the office of the Harbour Workers' Union when a



J. B. Marks at the Kanpur Reception.

purse of Rs. 200 was presented. The main public function was held under the Chairmanship of R. Venkataraman, Minister of Industries.

In Madurai, they were guests of the Gandhi Smarak Niधि and the Director of the Nidhi, Arumachalam, presided over the main public function. A reception was held jointly by a number of trade unions in the office of the Life Insurance Employees Union. Later the Madurai Municipal Council presented a civic address to Dr. Dadoo.

In Coimbatore a public meeting was held under the chairmanship of C. P. Kandaswamy, Advocate when a purse of Rs. 546 was presented.

In Bangalore the programme began right from the airport itself when the workers of the Hindustan Aircraft Ltd., held a meeting and presented a purse of Rs. 240. It was said that for the 24,000 HAL workers the union had decided to contribute one paisa per worker. Later there was a meeting organised by the Vallabhbhai Patel Institute of Foreign Affairs presided over by the state Health Minister, followed by another reception organised by the citizens' reception committee.

The next morning the Mayor C. Narayan who was also the Chairman of the reception committee received the South African guests in the Corporation. In the afternoon Dr. Dadoo was taken

to address a public reception at Tumkur while Marks went to address the Bangalore Bar Association where nearly 200 lawyers were present.

to address a public reception at Tumkur while Marks went to address the Bangalore Bar Association where nearly 200 lawyers were present.

Purses were presented on behalf of the Bar Association as well as the Bangalore Legal Practitioners Cooperative. The main public function in the evening was presided over by the Mayor and the total collections were over Rs. 2,300.

In Hyderabad a citizens' reception committee was formed under the presidency of the Mayor M. R. Sham Rao and an appeal was issued signed by Ram Das Dake, Chairman, Corporation Standing Committee, Professor Haroon Khan Sherwani, K. V. Raghunath Reddy MP, Abid Ali Khan, Editor SIASAT, Dr. Dwarka Bat and others.

A public reception was given by the Mayor and afterwards there was a public meeting. The next day, a very broad trade union meeting was held, organised jointly by the TUC and the Hind Mazdoor Sabha and also participated by many workers from the INTUC.

The entire programme in Goa was organised by a reception committee which also included the

sent at the meeting. The South African leaders called on Chief Minister V. P. Naik who promised all support from Maharashtra in the running of the office of the ANC.

The Bombay Pradesh Congress Committee arranged a meeting in its office which was attended by nearly 150 of its active workers and all the office bearers. Bhagwanji Kehmli, President of the BPCC presided over the function

by Baren Ray

and Adam Adil, general Secretary, moved a vote of thanks. A press conference was organised by the Bombay Union of Journalists which was held in their office. A meeting organised jointly by a number of trade unions was presided over by K. N. Joglekar, president of the Maharashtra state TUC and a total amount of Rs. 1,233 was presented on behalf of a number of unions.

In Surat, which is also the ancestral home of Dr. Dadoo almost all the prominent people in town came to the public meeting which was presided over by the Mayor. Dr. Vallabhbhai Patel and Jashwant Chauhan MLA took a leading part in organising the entire programme in Surat.

Earlier the delegation visited Dr. Dadoo's ancestral village, Khulvad, where the entire village participated in the public reception. A large number of people from the village came to Surat for the public meeting in the evening. Also a press conference was held. The last centre in the itinerary was Nagpur where also a reception committee had been formed headed by the Mayor. A number of meetings were held including one of students of Political Science of the Nagpur University.

Another meeting was held jointly by the International Affairs Club and the Foreign Students Association. The next day Dr. Dadoo went to Pauna to meet Acharya Vinoba Bhave who gave his support to the movement against apartheid. Later in the evening was held the main public meeting which was presided over by the Mayor.

This is a brief report of a month's tour and a sustained campaign on the South African issue. The branches of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Association everywhere were revitalised or where they did not exist the basis has been laid for their coming into existence.

The broad reception committees everywhere has shown how on common anti-imperialist anti-colonial issues the possibilities exist of the broadest cooperation among all political forces for national campaigns.

The press coverage was throughout good and the All India Radio recorded almost all the main speeches which were included in the Radio Newscast programmes in the various regional stations.

Similar delegations from the Portuguese colonies and Southern Rhodesia will shortly be coming on similar lecture tours in the near future, perhaps early next year. It is hoped that by that time the Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity will have broad active functioning branches in every state to undertake the new tasks before the Indian Solidarity movement.

NATIONAL DEMOCRACY vs PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY, AND NON-CAPITALIST PATH OF DEVELOPMENT

The present debate on the draft Programme of our Party, in the main, centres around the issue of people's democracy versus national democracy and non-capitalist path. A lot of material has already been published on this besides the draft Programme of the National Council. There is the draft programme of the rival party: there are Comrade E.M.S.'s notes and comments on the two programmes, Comrade Bhupesh Gupta's notes; criticism by the rival party leaders of the National Council draft, etc. All this has created confusion rather than clarifying the issue under discussion.

THE confusion has arisen not only on the application of the concepts of national democracy and non-capitalist path, but on the understanding of the very concepts themselves. In this note, I will try to explain in clear terms what I understand of this controversy. For this, it would be helpful if the positions of the different viewpoints regarding the understanding of the concept and its application to conditions in India are stated in the beginning and my opinion is given afterwards, rather than starting straightaway with my opinion.

Below I will try to state the different viewpoints briefly.

Draft Of Rival Party

Regarding the concept of national democracy evolved by the world Communist conference in 1960, the position of the rival party is not very clear. Their understanding of the concepts of national democracy and non-capitalist path as enunciated in Moscow Statement of 1960 seems to be that these apply only to countries where capitalism has not developed at all, or is at a very rudimentary stage of development as in some of the African countries where pre-capitalist forms of economy predominate and the proletariat is practically non-existent.

In their draft programme, they talk of the possibility of "several economically backward and underdeveloped countries" taking "the path of non-capitalist development and going over to socialism by skipping over the stage of capitalism." (para 90)

In their critique of the draft Programme of the National Council, they say "national democracy was thought possible only in those countries where native capitalism had developed to a very limited extent." (para 2, page 30)

Whatever they might say, their phrases of "skipping over the stage of capitalism" and development of capitalism to a "very limited extent" lend support to the idea that they envisage the application of the concept of national democracy to only some very backward countries of Africa where almost tribal forms of economy prevail, and not to countries like the U.A.R., Iraq, Syria, Burma etc. where capitalism has developed to a significant extent, leave alone India. Regarding India, they say that "such a door is barred" for India and we have to strive for the "immediate objective, the establishment of people's democracy based on coalition of all genuine anti-feudal and anti-imperialist forces headed by the working class"

Their conception of national democracy is given at another place. While criticising Comrade E.M.S. Nambodiripad, Basavapunniah says: "we can-

not accept the definition given by him (i.e. EMS) regarding national democracy and non-capitalist path as applied to India. He says, in order to prevent the development of monopoly capitalism, all progressive forces in the country must unite. If we look from this angle, national democracy is applicable to India as a form of non-capitalist path."

"He has transformed the conception of 'non-capitalist path' into 'anti-monopoly path'. This is not such an important thing as it appears on the surface of it." (translated from Telugu)

From above, it is clear that they think that the path of national democracy and non-capitalist path do not apply to any under-developed country where any semblance of concentration of capital and big bourgeoisie has made its appearance.

Position Of EMS

Comrade EMS no doubt supports the idea that the concept of national democracy enunciated by the world Communist movement applies to India also. In this he is one with the National Council. But he has been changing his positions regarding the role of the working class and class alignment in the national democratic front under Indian conditions. In his latest critical note on both the draft programmes, he has landed himself into a much worse revisionist position than the position of the National Council which he criticises as revisionist.

In his document "Revisionism and Dogmatism" in the CPI he said: "The national democratic front is not directed against capitalism. It is directed against only imperialism and feudalism. Those who desire national development to take the capitalist path, therefore, have an equal place in the front with those who prefer the non-capitalist path." (page 99)

So, according to him, the capitalist class and the working class have "equal place" in the national democratic front, though this is not a static position and as the struggle for leadership goes on, the working class will gain full leadership ultimately.

In his "Note for the Programme of the CPI" he says: "The dialectical nature of the situation makes it obvious that national democracy is different from, comes into conflict with, bourgeois democracy.... At the same time, national democracy is not proletarian democracy, since the bourgeoisie occupies key places in it." (page 50)

In his latest critical note on both the draft programmes, he says: "I am convinced that the idea of national democracy as a form of non-capitalist path, envisaged in the Moscow Statement, applies to India. The two essential fac-

tors of that concept are (a) the democratic forces which bring the new state into existence are essentially national, i.e. no class stratum is excluded; only those individuals and groups who actually oppose the programme of national regeneration are excluded; (b) though thus excluding no class or stratum the front has a definite class content. It is based on worker-peasant alliance and is led by the working class"

At another place, in the same document, he makes his concept very clear, "no class or stratum is excluded" from the national democratic front. "Should the party of the proletariat consider the landlords and monopolists to be enemies of the revolutionary democratic movement in the same way in which imperialism and feudalism are; or would they be welcomed into the front provided they join the rest of the nation in the struggle for eliminating all remnants of feudalism and all traces of imperialist domination?"

One need not add that he answers in the affirmative.

From the above, it is clear that Comrade EMS changes his position regarding the role of the working class in the NDF from "equal place" and

cratic Front.... The present monopoly of political power by the national bourgeoisie will come to an end and the state power will be shared and wielded by all patriotic and democratic classes comprising the national democratic front. The working class will naturally be called upon, as the most revolutionary class of our time, to play an increasingly weighty and finally the decisive role."

Here he has made it clear that national democracy applies to India, and the working class to begin with will play an "increasingly weighty role", and not the role of exclusive leadership and "finally the decisive role." He has not evaded the issue.

In his critical note on the National Council draft, though he has reiterated this position, he has tried to evade the issue by saying that we must stick to the content without naming it. It is beyond one's comprehension why one should be afraid of calling it by the proper name if one agrees with the content.

He says, "I, of course, fully agree with the basic slogan of national democratic front and the formation of the government of such a front through militant mass movement.... My main difference with the

but in his view, the leadership of the working class is indispensable for this.... But in the present epoch opportunities have arisen when even without the leadership of the working class a state of national democracy (assuring we accept the slogan) can be created in India. And the non-capitalist path begun. Both external and internal factors are favourable for this. I cannot agree with Comrade EMS that the second stage of India's national liberation can be completed only under the leadership of the working class. This would appear to be a dogmatic hangover of the past. Anyhow the Statement (i.e. the Moscow Statement of 1960) does not support this understanding even in the case of India. Here Comrades EMS is plainly with the left draft."

Having said this in such a categorical way, he again warns us not to get bogged down into "an abstract debate on the description of the state just at this moment." This time, he makes a novel suggestion. He says "Neither the present state system, nor the present Constitution has exhausted its possibilities for the democratic movement.... Let us defend the gains of the democratic movement and the positive features of the Constitu-

the Party not to get bogged in the controversy about national democracy and allow "life" to decide the issue. Meanwhile, he asks us to defend the "gains of the democratic movement and the positive features of the Constitution" from the attack of the reactionary forces. In other words, he wants the Party to grope in the dark as it has been doing since long.

National Council's Clear Stand

Whether one may accept it or not, the position of the National Council is clear and consistent on the issue of national democracy.

"As the NDF becomes ever more broadbased, militant and powerful in the course of the rising tempo of the mass movement, it is able to isolate and defeat the forces of reaction, paralyse the rightwing inside the ruling Congress party and to enforce the decisive leftward shifts in government policies.... the victorious NDF is in a position to form its own government and create its own state, the state of national democracy...."

"This State of national democracy will be qualitatively different from the present

geopolis and the working class."

Comrade Bhupesh has accused the National Council draft of not even mentioning such an important issue as worker-peasant alliance. Perhaps in his eagerness to find revisionism in the draft, he might not have noticed it. I will quote the following extract from the draft for his benefit.

"On the working class in cities and urban areas rests the responsibility to assist the peasants and agricultural workers to build their mass organisations and to develop their struggles as a part of the national campaign. This will bring into being the worker-peasant alliance, which, together with the mobilisation of the middleclasses and intelligentsia will be the main driving force behind the NDF." (page 34)

In short, the position of the National Council is that the government of national democracy is formed at the crest of "broadbased, militant and powerful... rising tempo of mass movement." It's "main driving force" is the "worker-peasant alliance, together with the mobilisation of middleclasses and intelligentsia."

It is an "organ of struggle" to "break the power of monopoly group and utterly rout

in which imperialism is no longer the master of the destiny of mankind, "world socialist system is becoming the decisive factor in the development of society" the democratic revolutions can be successful even without the exclusive leadership of the working class. This is one of the main essential points of the concept of national democracy. Unless we fully grasp the nature and significance of the new epoch, we cannot understand the new concept of national democracy in all its implications.

Since the authors of the rival draft do not grasp the full significance of the new epoch, they only make a partial acceptance of the concept of national democracy, while their ideological leaders, the leadership of the CPC, have stopped even mentioning the word "national democracy" in their literature.

As has been explained earlier, they narrow down this concept to only very backward countries of Africa where capitalism has not developed at all or is still in a rudimentary stage of development and where the proletariat is practically non-existent. They do not see that countries like the UAR and Burma, where capitalism has developed to a significant extent, have taken

borated in the National Council draft. It is true that in India capitalism has developed to the point of the appearance

ask: Is there only one way, i.e. that of sharing of power with bourgeois leadership, and not of sharing of the leadership? Or is there also another

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of monopolies. But all the same it is far behind the advanced capitalist countries like Britain, West Germany, Italy or Japan. It is still an industrially backward country compared to them. It is an advanced country among the underdeveloped countries. Hence the main task yet for the national democratic forces is the elimination of imperialism and remnants of feudalism, while as regards monopolies it is "curbing their growth" and breaking their "economic power."

Under these conditions, it is wrong on the part of the authors of the left draft to take only the economic factor and excluded other factors like the correlation of class forces, the strength and organisation of the working class, etc., in determining the perspective of our movement as between national democracy and peoples democracy. Herein lies the main defect in their understanding.

We can come to correct conclusion only when we take all factors into consideration. The biggest example of this is the establishment of people's democracies after the Second World War in a number of countries with very divergent degrees of economic development, from the German Democratic Republic, which had fairly developed capitalism to North Vietnam which was a very backward country.

In India, political developments are taking shape, differentiation among bourgeoisie and the Congress Party, and the polarisation of class forces are taking place, not only under the impact of the mass movement within the country but also under the impact of the new epoch in which events are moving at such a rapid rate on a world scale that the working class is unable to cope with it. The Communist Party secured 10 per cent of the votes in the 1962 general elections when it was united, throughout the whole country. There are vast tracts of our land, specially the Hindi-speaking areas, where the Party is very weak.

According to the authors of the rival party draft, the situation has to wait until the working class becomes the major force capable of leading the democratic forces; if one has to speak in concrete terms, until it wins over the majority of people behind it. This is an absurd proposition in the conditions as are developing in India.

Even Comrade Basavapunniah who is one of the authors of the rival party draft, which barred the door for national democracy is forced to see this. In one of the articles he wrote in their Telugu organ, Janashakti, he accepted that such an eventuality might come thus: "Revisionist pundits might

way that of sharing of not only power but also leadership?... We have to advocate boldly and clearly the question of the leadership of the working class in the democratic front and fight consistently for it. This is the only thing that is consistent with the correlation of class forces in India today. If for any reason we fail to achieve this aim, if the working class and its party does not have that much strength to establish its leadership, if the relative strength of the working class and bourgeoisie is equal, under these conditions the question of sharing leadership with the bourgeoisie might pose itself as a practical problem. In such a situation the working class will not hesitate. It will not reject it. It will not commit such a foolish mistake. It will share leadership in the democratic front." (Janashakti, 5.8.64)

Comrade Basavapunniah is afraid that such a situation for sharing of leadership with the bourgeoisie might arise. He has to provide for such a contingency. He has no objection to sharing leadership with the bourgeoisie, for saying which he has called the National Council all sorts of names—shameless revisionists, tails of the bourgeoisie, betrayers of the working class and what not. Only, it is a temporary tactical manoeuvre. After having shared power with the bourgeoisie, the proletariat will fight to dislodge it from leadership and assume complete leadership.

Nobody has said that sharing of leadership, and for that matter, sharing power, with the bourgeoisie is a permanent thing. Everything is temporary and changing in life and politics. He need not teach this to the National Council. Under the same economic conditions, didn't the Russian revolution reach the socialist stage within a space of six months in 1917.

The question here is: what is the target that will help most the mobilisation and unification of democratic forces in India today—national democracy or people's democracy? Of course, Comrade Basavapunniah says, we must aim for sole leadership of the working class and accept sharing of leadership with the bourgeoisie if it comes.

This is the tactic of aiming the highest and getting nothing. This has been the bane throughout the history of our Party. We are not going to repeat it. This tactic is an obstruction in the way of mobilisation and unification of democratic forces. Hence, under the present conditions in India, the slogan of national democracy alone will help the Party to unite all the democratic forces.

ON THE DRAFT PROGRAMME OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

"key place" for the bourgeoisie, which is nothing but sharing not only power but also leadership with the working class to that of sole leadership for the working class. Having changed his position now, he accuses the National Council of utter revisionism on this score. Having arrived at this position, he is forced to say why he still clings to the idea of national democracy for India. In trying to do this, he lands himself into a mess of utter revisionism by providing place for monopoly capitalists and landlords, barring some individuals, in the national democratic front of his own brand.

In his document "Revisionism and Dogmatism" in the CPI he said: "The national democratic front is not directed against capitalism. It is directed against only imperialism and feudalism. Those who desire national development to take the capitalist path, therefore, have an equal place in the front with those who prefer the non-capitalist path." (page 99)

Bhupesh's Stand

Comrade Bhupesh Gupta has confused himself and confused others on this issue and finally landed himself in an opportunist position of wanting the postponement of discussion on the issue of national democracy and allowing the future course of events to decide.

In the document concerning the draft programme submitted to the National Council he wrote: "On the basis of such unity and united mass struggles our Party will work for bringing about the requisite shifts in the balance of forces so as to establish a government of National Demo-

draft does not lie on these slogans, not even on the slogan of national democracy as such, although I think there is no need in our specific conditions to advance this slogan" and if it is understood "as a product of militant mass movement in which the national bourgeoisie is dislodged from its exclusive control of the state and obliged to share power with the working class and other democratic forces, it all becomes then essentially a question of description and nomenclature. Some may prefer it; some may not. What we are really concerned with is the class content of revolutionary movement and class character of the state." (page 22)

At another place, in the same document, he clarifies the role of the working class thus: "for ushering in a state of national democracy or non-capitalist path, it is not only necessary that the balance of forces generally shifts in favour of democratic front, within the front itself it must also shift in favour of the working class (that does not necessarily mean the leadership of the working class)." (p. 28)

On the question of the role of the working class in relation to national democracy, Comrade Bhupesh Gupta is more categorical in his critical note on Comrade EMS's document. He says: "Comrade EMS stands for national democracy,

tion (they will now increasingly be subject to open or covert substitution).... In this context we naturally have to popularise the concrete programme of that government (of national democracy) including the tasks to be carried out in the sphere of the state."

"We can defer the decision as to the exact form and description of the state to a later date.... Once we are clear and firm on the fundamentals, we can leave this question of

By
C. RAJESWARA RAO
Member, Central Secretariat of the CPI

form to be decided by life itself. Nothing will have been lost by this." (p. 62)

The concept of national democracy was evolved by the international Communist movement in 1960. We had been postponing the application of this concept till now. Consequently our Party is forced to grope in darkness all these years without a perspective and a Programme. Having tried to give a perspective of national democracy in his draft at first, now Comrade Bhupesh, for some inexplicable reason, has asked

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

"National democracy also differs from the state of peo-

ple's democracy, which we had put forward as our central slogan in our programme of 1951. The class composition as well as the Programme, which were put forward in our 1951 document is about the same (not the same) as put forward for national democracy here. This difference consists in this that, in a people's democracy, the alliance of the patriotic classes is under the exclusive leadership of the working class. In the case of national democracy, the leadership of the alliance of patriotic classes is shared between the national, bour-

the feudal elements." It is "qualitatively different from the present state of bourgeois democracy." It also differs from the state of people's democracy which has to be "under exclusive leadership of the workingclass" in that, it shares not only power but also leadership with the bourgeoisie.

This line is in conformity with the understanding given in the Moscow Statement of 1960, according to which "In the present historical situation, favourable domestic and international conditions arise in many countries for the establishment of an independent national democracy.... which will discharge the urgent tasks of national rebirth facing the countries that have shaken off the colonial yoke" through a "determined struggle against imperialism and remnants of feudalism by the patriotic forces of the nation united in a single national democratic front."

The significant aspect in this concept of national democracy is the omission of the idea that the front of all the patriotic forces must be led by the working class, which had been one of the fundamental principles of Leninism, that in the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution, even the democratic revolution cannot be successful unless led by the working class.

But now in the new epoch

CHANGING STRUCTURE OF CAPITALISM TODAY

By Academician A. ARZUMANYAN

(The following is the first part of an extract from a chapter of Academician A. Arzumanyan's Report to the Seminar held in Moscow on the occasion of the Centenary of the First International. It deals with the changing structure of present-day capitalism, its transformation into state monopoly capitalism and the perspectives of its development.)

A scientific picture of contemporary imperialism cannot be drawn by utilising the criteria which bourgeois science and propaganda would like to impose on us. Nor can it be done on the basis of the criteria put forward by the reformists, revisionists and "left" opportunists.

A scientific picture of contemporary imperialism can be presented only on the basis of the deep analysis given by Marxist-Leninist science in the Programme of the CPSU and in the Declaration and Statement of the international meetings of the Communist and Workers' Parties.

INDEED, capitalism is now going through the advanced phase of the economic cycle. Moreover, the growth of industrial production in the capitalist world has been somewhat accelerated. At present industrial output is three times greater than before the war. While in the United States; Canada and Britain economic growth after the war continued at slow rates, in some countries—the Federal Republic of Germany, Japan, Italy and France—the expansion of production has been quite considerable over a relatively long period.

Generally speaking, for Marxists the growth of production in capitalist countries is not something unexpected. The Marxist-Leninist theory of reproduction and realisation of the social product provides a full explanation of this phenomenon.

It will be recalled that the disintegration of the natural economy and the development of capitalist relations brought about an expansion of the market. But Marxists have not associated the possibilities for the expansion of the market only with this. What is more, they have sharply criticised those who hold that when the colonial periphery is finally drawn into the orbit of capitalist relations, the accumulation of capital will cease and a period of stagnation and automatic crash of capitalism will follow. Marx proved the possibility of extended capitalist reproduction even in conditions of "pure" capitalism. The capitalist market expands in direct connection with the development of the division of labour, the growth of specialisation and cooperation in production and deep technological, structural and socio-economic changes in the life of society.

Growth of Production

When Lenin said that with the advent of the epoch of imperialism capitalism as a whole grew immeasurably faster than before, he had in view not only the wider colonial expansion by the imperialist states which led to the disintegration of the natural mode of production and expansion of the market, but also the deep technological and structural changes which marked the second half of the 19th century.

A certain analogy may be drawn between the changes which occurred at that time in technology and production with those of the pre-

sent, postwar, period when big changes are under way in the capitalist economy caused by the scientific and technical revolution and the structural shifts. The technical revolution has already essentially affected, and continues to affect the branch structure of the economy in the developed capitalist countries, the main spheres of material production—industry, agriculture and transport—and the non-productive sphere, and in many respects has facilitated the expansion of the capitalist market.

It must be said that the impact of the scientific and technical revolution on the development of capitalist reproduction has not fully spent itself.

Concrete Expressions

In what ways are these changes, which expanded the market and caused a certain acceleration of production growth, concretely expressed?

First of all in structural shifts of the economy, such as the appearance of a number of new, progressive branches of production, entirely new technology, new industries producing raw materials, new products, new sources of power, that is, such shifts which have brought about serious changes in the international division of labour, production specialisation and cooperation and a huge demand for fixed capital. In Western Europe and Japan all these changes have accelerated the growth of production because here it was necessary actually to create new entire industries on a completely new technical basis.

Moreover, modern science and technology have made it possible to transfer agriculture to machine-based production, which not only but also enabled these countries to cover their own food requirements and even to become large exporters of agricultural commodities.

The changes in production have also led to essential shifts in the pattern of consumption. Following the United States, a market for the mass consumption of goods manufactured by new industries has arisen and developed in Western Europe and Japan.

The substantial growth in labour productivity has enabled society to increase the nonproductive sphere and widen, at its expense, the bounds of consumption and production.

Suffice it to say that between 1948 and 1963 the number of people employed in branches of material production (except agriculture) in the United States increased by 1,883,000 while the number employed in trade services, finance and the civil service rose by 10,609,000.

We, Marxists, should most attentively examine the structural changes in the economy of contemporary capitalism because this is not only a technical and economic, but also a very serious political problem, the solution of which largely determines the conditions for the development of the revolutionary class struggle. Shifts in the branch structure of capitalist production, the emergence of new branches and the decline of old branches inevitably entail changes in the social composition of bourgeois society and a reassignment of the class and political forces.

Monopoly Domination

It should be noted that neither the structural shifts in the economy of capitalism nor the scientific and technical revolution now in the making nor mass renewal and expansion of fixed capital by themselves, singly, could ensure such an increase in capitalist production as has been witnessed in recent years. But in their sum total all these factors have turned into a force favourable for the economy of capitalism.

It may be said outright that had it not been for the further development of state monopoly regulation, and its transition to the stage of programming, the factors which promoted the present growth of production in a number of imperialist countries would not have played the part they did. State monopoly capitalism, however, expresses in a concentrated form not only the strength but also the weakness and vices of contemporary capitalism.

We approach the problem of state monopoly capitalism as Leninists. We see in it not a primitive scheme in which everything is reduced to the point that individual monopolies dictate their will to the state, but above all to the qualitatively new force which has arisen—the combined might of the bourgeois state and monopoly capital. This is not only an intricate mechanism for state regulation of the national economy but it also signifies a definite change in capitalism's production relations themselves, in the development of the basic class antagonism of bourgeois society.

State monopoly capitalism is both an economic and political force. Henceforward, the working class is confronted not only by individual employers and not only by individual monopolies supported by the state, but by monopoly capital which has passed into the stage of state monopoly capitalism.

A further state-monopoly evolution of the entire structure of capitalism is under way; its entire mechanism and its entire economic policy are being reorganised. The economic policy of the contemporary bourgeois state is a result not of spontaneous intertwining of the interests of individual monopolies which from time to time sporadically imposed their will on the state;

state, by its economic policy and practices.

In our day, many scientific and technological projects demand such resources for their implementation which only the collective capitalist as represented by the state is capable of allotting. These are nuclear research and the construction of atomic electric stations, the development of supersonic airlines, communication satellites, and so on and so forth. The production of A and H bombs, intercontinental missiles and other latest mass destruction weapons has also proved to be a prime stimulus to extending state intervention in the economy. The state also undertakes almost completely to finance the development of science for war purposes.

The contemporary imperialist state ensures not only the general conditions for the reproduction of capital on the scale of the entire national economy. It assumes definite functions in the development of branches and spheres of economic activity needed for the operation of private capitalist enterprises and their subordination to the common economic policy of monopoly capital.

State purchases and also state investments, which in the principal capitalist countries make up from 20 to 40 per cent of the total investment in fixed capital, create a definite sphere of a guaranteed, more or less stable, market. They naturally do not obviate, and cannot obviate, the market problem—this keener problem of capitalist reproduction. But they do provide a partial and temporary solution for the biggest monopolies. "Work for the state" is work for a definite or largely definite market. Now this market is absorbing up to one-fourth and even more of the end product of the principal capitalist countries.

Role of Taxation, Inflation

The role of taxes has been radically altered. Today they are not only a source for maintaining the state and military police machine. The taxation policy is extensively utilised as an instrument of the state for actively influencing the growth rates and branch structure of production, the investment policy and competitive position of the monopolies.

Thus, the depreciation rates were revised and the periods for writing off equipment were reduced in the United States in 1960, and also a law was promulgated granting tax privileges on investments in fixed capital. President Johnson stated that the tax reduction law, approved in February 1964, should give the corporations additional profits from \$5,000 to \$7,000 million and thereby extend their investment potentialities. New depreciation periods; on the average 20 per cent shorter than the previous ones, were introduced in Italy in 1963. New depreciation rates have been adopted in Japan.

Inflation is exerting no little influence as an instrument of state monopoly regulation. "Creeping" inflation has acquired a chronic character and become an inalienable attribute of state monopoly capitalism. Financing by the state which leads to budget deficits is a source of constantly growing profits of the monopolies. It is a deficit only for the working people whose real wages are shrinking as a result of the inflationary rise in prices. Inflation is thus turning into the most camouflaged form of state interference in relations between labour and capital. The state supposedly is helping the working class by compelling the monopolies to recognise a fixed minimum wage. In reality, however, this minimum is reduced to a fiction with the help of inflation...

"The state economy" has become a major arena of class battles in which two diametrically opposed tendencies are already in evidence: one is to turn it into an instrument for preserving and reinforcing the power of monopoly capital, and the other, to utilise the state sector in the general interests of the nation, for the good of the people, of the working masses. The working class is fighting for the second tendency. Contemporary capitalist reproduction is bolstered up by the

THREE WEEKS TO WORLD PEACE CONFERENCE

By OUR STAFF CORRESPONDENT

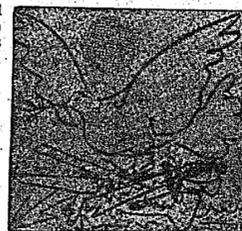
Preparations are now in full swing for the world Conference for Peace and International Cooperation, which opens in New Delhi on November 14. A large number of telegrams are coming in everyday, making enquiries and giving names of representatives of important organisations, who have agreed to attend the conference.

THE World Peace Council delegation is expected to include such famous leaders of the movement as Rev. James Endicott (Canada), Soualah (Algeria), Olga Poblete (Chile), Prof. Matkovsky (USSR), Jacques Madaule (France) and others.

A strong delegation is expected from the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organisation, probably headed by Youssef El-Sabai, its Secretary-General.

From several states, news has come of preparations for the holding of state conferences in support of the world conference. Andhra Pradesh is organising its conference on November 1, while West Bengal will hold its convention a few days later.

Of special interest are the initiatives being taken to hold



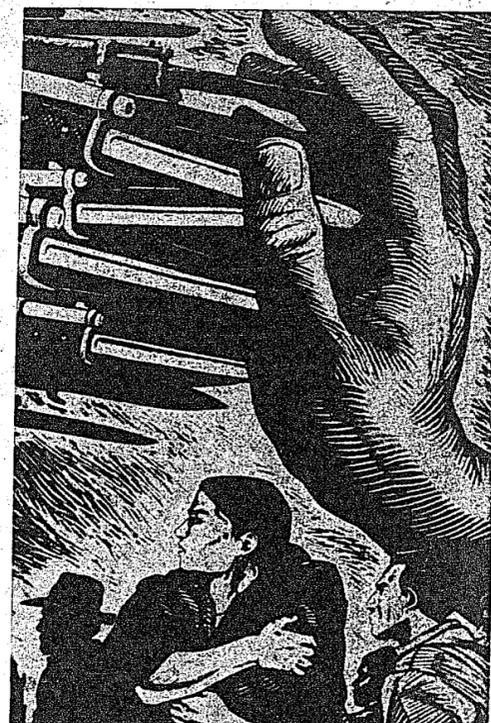
sectional meetings during the conference. A representative group of lawyers, headed by the former Attorney-General M. C. Setalvad, is sponsoring a lawyers' meeting during the conference, round the theme of "International Law and Boundary Disputes". The lawyers' meeting will also discuss other issues connected with the part which lawyers can

play in the struggle for peace.

A writers' committee headed by Giani Gurmukh Singh Musafir, M.P., is organising an international symposium of poets as well as a writers' meeting, at which various concrete proposals for work for peace as well as for cultural exchanges during International Cooperation Year (1965) will be discussed. There is also a suggestion that the meeting may propose the convening of a World Round Table of Writers to be held next year.

Trade unionists met on October 19 and decided to hold a special gathering, where the role of workers for peace may be discussed. Similar meetings of women and youth and students are also planned.

Dr. Tara Chand MP, has convened a meeting of educationists to discuss the possibility of organising a special gathering during the conference, at which the question of promotion of the cause of peace and friendship through the educational system may be discussed.



Chinese Atom Bomb Test Condemned

Dr. Tara Chand, MP, President of the Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity, issued the following statement on the explosion of Atom Bomb by China:

THE world has been shocked to receive the news that the People's Republic of China has exploded an Atom Bomb. This test has taken place at a time when the three of the four nuclear powers had agreed to suspend all tests except those held underground, when the way was opened for the relaxation of international tension, and when active attempts were being made to take further steps towards the achievement of disarmament and peace.

The action of the Chinese government is more regrettable because it has taken place immediately after the conference of the nonaligned countries which had made a special appeal against atomic tests and manufacture of nuclear weapons.

This defiance of the world opinion and disregard of the

wishes of the peoples of the world administers a rude setback to the cause of peace and disarmament and gives encouragement to the more industrialised Western powers to join the arms race and thus increase tension among nations.

This accession of force will increase further the apprehension of the countries bordering China, especially because the Chinese government vehemently rejects the principle of coexistence and settlement of disputes through peaceful means.

We appeal to the peace and freedom loving people all over the world, particularly in Asia and Africa, to raise their voice against this action of the Chinese People's Republic and intensify the struggle for complete abolition of nuclear tests and manufacture of nuclear arms and for world peace.

RECOGNITION OF RAILWAY UNIONS

* FROM PAGE FIVE

of railwaymen, a more correct categorisation and fixation of differentials, etc., it will make easier of realisation the correct definition of railwaymen as workers.

Railwaymen have to face many vital issues today. Unfortunately, there is disunity in their ranks. The traditional organisation is the AIRF. The INTUC has set up its own organisation—the NFIR. The Railway administration takes advantage of this division and unions affiliated to both are sometimes recognised by it. There are

however a few unions which are outside either the AIRF and NFIR. Despite their representative character, the Administration has not accorded recognition to them.

It would be in the fitness of things if recognition is granted in each zone only to one union, on the basis of secret ballot of all workers. This will help to bring about conditions in which the most popular union in each zone could be recognised and this will, to some extent, clear the way for a single national organisation of railwaymen.

Bridges Of Amity

Indo-Hungarian Cooperation

HUNGARIAN heavy-duty transformers, electric meters, cranes, garage equipment etc., have functioned very well in Indian industries. The Kashmir hydro-electric plants were completed with Hungarian power units. Indian sugar refineries have adopted a Hungarian method of making use of the byproducts of sugar refining, converting the waste into biogas.

Use of Hungarian products is on the increase in India. Cooperation between Hungarian enterprises and Indian factories and undertakings is also growing. Recently, the Indian Railways has placed orders for construction of 62 bridges with the Hungarian foreign trade department.

Apart from this, Hungary is exporting X-ray machines and irradiation apparatus to India. Several of these are being used in various hospitals.

Indian Biologists In Prague

A UNESCO international post-graduate

course was recently opened in Prague at the Institute of Microbiology of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences.

The long-term course in modern problems in biology is designated for graduates from emerging countries. This year's course will be attended by 13 biologists—seven from India, two each from Pakistan and UAR and one each from Chile and Cuba.

Polish Actress In India

BEATA Tyszkiewicz, a popular Polish film actress, is now in India to star in Alexander and Chanakya which will be coproduced by India and GDR. The talented actress made her public appearance in Delhi at a screening of the film Tonight A Town Will Die in which she has starred.

Indian Sailors Visit Odessa

A wreath-laying ceremony was held on October 17 at the Martyrs' Memorial in Odessa when sailors from the Indian cruiser MYSORE visited the place to pay tribute to the heroism of Soviet sailors.

A band from the cruiser played the national anthem of the Soviet Union while the Indian national anthem was played by a Soviet naval band. The Indian sailors marched through the city's central streets and were warmly cheered by local residents.

Later, Odessa's school children visited the MYSORE; they were the first guests to be entertained by the Indian sailors. The cruiser was visited by hundreds of boys and girls who presented the Indian sailors with flowers and souvenirs.

There were many other visitors also who came to meet the Indian sailors on board the cruiser.

DELHI CONSUMERS' PRICE RESISTANCE

A coffee parlour is doing brisk business for about a month now under a shamiana on the pavement of Janpath, one of the busiest shopping centres in the capital.

The municipal authorities who swoop down on pavement vendors have not pushed their enforcement machinery into action against this shop. Rather, they have promised accommodation for it in a nearby building.

The coffee parlour is situated right in the middle of the parking lot and occupies the half of a cycle stand area too. The traffic police has not bothered about it despite the fact that a traffic rules drive is currently on.

The four sides of the coffee parlour are open. The health authorities, normally very strict about fly-proof doors and windows for restaurants, have not taken it to task for keeping "an open house".

The slanted rays of the rising and setting sun fall on the coffee-sippers under the shamiana. The straight-backed chairs are anything but comfortable compared to the upholstered furniture in posh restaurants around Connaught Place. And yet, it is not easy to get a chair under the shamiana even at normally slack hours.

What is so special about this pavement shop that people wait to get a chair to sip a cup of coffee? Why is it immune to the ordinary rules of traffic and hygiene?

The answer is, it is a symbol: The symbol of the consumers' movement in the capital. Strung across the top of the shamiana is a banner proclaiming its identity: "Price Rise Resistance Movement: Indian Coffee House".

It all started a month back, September 18 to be exact. On that day an irate journalist got up in "The Coffee House" on Janpath to protest against

last straw was reached when it went up to 50 paise.

The moment the consumers moved into action, the workers rushed to help. The Coffee Workers Cooperative Society offered to cater to the needs of coffee lovers and sell coffee at 25 paise a cup (plus 2 paise sales tax) in place of the 50 paise (plus 3 paise sales tax) charged by the private owners.

The contractor of the cycle stand on Janpath also helped. He "donated" half of his space to the coffee lovers. A shamiana went up in that space and the consumer-run coffee parlour was on. The "Indian Coffee House" was formally inaugurated on September 26.

Simultaneously, a Price Rise Resistance Committee took shape round the coffee parlour. This committee planned to extend the field of consumer resistance to other fields. And thus was launched the

the arbitrary increase in the price of coffee imposed by the management. The price had been raised from 45 paise a cup to 50 paise (plus 3 paise sales tax).

After an ex tempore speech against the increase in the price of coffee, the journalist led a walkout from the shop. The consumer had come into his own. A movement was taking shape.

From that day, an organised boycott of "The Coffee House" began. Regular customers would gather in front of the restaurant and persuade those going in not to do so. The business of the restaurant fell to near-nothing.

"The Coffee House" itself has a story behind it. When the Coffee Board decided to stop running the coffee houses directly, under the directions

by
PAULY V. PARAKAL

of Morarji Desai, the then Minister for Commerce and Industry, it had handed over most of the establishments to workers' cooperatives.

But the coffee house in Delhi was an exception; it was not given to the workers' cooperative. This lucrative establishment was handed over to "four sisters", all wives of high-ranking government officials.

And then started the fleeing of consumers. The price of coffee went up steadily from 20 naye paise a cup to 25 naye Paise, 35 naye Paise and then 45 naye Paise. The

consumer resistance movement in the capital.

The movement had immediate and salutary effect. The old coffee house announced that it was going back to the old charges, that is 45 paise a cup. But that did not help it in getting any customers.

On September 26, the president of the Federation of Hotels and Restaurants Associations advised his followers not to raise the prices of eatables and drinks "arbitrarily".

The consumers' next struck in far away Vinay Nagar, against the milk vendors. There on October 2, angry housewives picketed dairies which had raised the price of milk.

The dairymen had raised the price of milk from one rupee a litre to Rs. 1.20, a litre and Rs. 1.25 a litre in some cases, from October 1. A few weeks back milk was selling in Delhi at only 85 paise a litre.

However, the movement in Vinay Nagar was not without incidents. The dairymen attacked the price rise resisters with lathis. Some policemen who were near the scene were alleged to have just looked on when the assault took place.

This provoked the residents of this government colony. In the evening a two thousand strong procession marched to the Vinay Nagar police station to protest against the police inaction. They expressed their firm determination to carry on the movement.

Then the price rise resistance movement changed positions on newspaper pages. From that of box item matter, it became major news, many times front page news.



The patrons and the Coffee-parlour.

The movement spread quickly to all parts of the city, with hundreds of housewives coming into action. Two women's organisations in the capital, the Progressive Women's Association and the Young Women's Welfare Association, took up the leadership of the housewives' movement.

The movement is now primarily directed against two sections of greedy traders: milk vendors and vegetable sellers. In any given area, the movement passes through two stages: first comes the boycott and second, the arrangements for alternate supply.

Difficulties Of Supply

But the second stage is not as smooth as it was in the case of The Coffee House. There is no organised machinery to take over the supply of milk or vegetables, as the Coffee Workers Cooperative could do to help the coffee-lovers.

Naturally, the progress of the movement has been slow. Still, resistance committees are being organised one by one in government colonies in New Delhi and in mohallas in the old city.

In the fair price vegetable shops opened by price rise resisters, potatoes are available at Re. 0.75 a kilo against Re. 1.00, pulses at Re. 0.95 a kilo against Rs. 1.20 normally charged by the shops.

How popular the fair price vegetable shops have become can be gauged from the fact that the sales in the Vinay Nagar vegetable shop jumped from Rs. 700 worth on the opening day to Rs. 1,700 worth on the fourth day, October 10.

Vegetables are at present purchased from the wholesale markets. The committees are thinking in terms of making direct purchases from the growers themselves in the near future.

On the milk front, the task has not been as easy as on the vegetable front. Here, the Delhi Milk Supply is already in a crisis and the quotas of regular consumers are being cut down. In some cases, however, the resisters have secured sup-

plies from the DMS and arranged distribution.

Some of the enterprising resisters in Shakti Nagar even went and purchased milk from nearby town of Ghaziabad. They sold milk at 85 paise a litre (purchase price was 80 paise) against the milk vendors' rate of Re. one and above.

The Progressive Women's Association meanwhile arranged a picketing of sweet shops in Chandni Chowk on the occasion of Dusserah. A call not to buy sweets this year for Dusserah and Diwali was also given, which was well-respon-

Even otherwise, it has been a less sweet Dusserah this year, and the prospects for Diwali are also similar. This is because of the scarcity of sugar and a decision by the halwais not to buy sugar in the blackmarket for fear of government action.

Official Apathy

From all this, it should not be concluded that the price resistance movement has been a smooth success. Far from it. In many places, the milk vendors and vegetable sellers indulged in rowdiness and in many cases the police failed to give adequate protection to the resisters.

Storage of vegetables has been another problem facing the resisters. Despite promises of giving space and accommodation for the new fair price shops coming up, no tangible steps have been taken by the authorities to implement these promises.

Government leaders including Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri were generous in their praise of the movement. But it seems their appreciation has not progressed to any definite action to encourage the price rise resisters.

Despite such discouraging factors, the movement is going forward. Without the help of political parties, without the guidance of scollared leaders, a great movement is taking shape in the capital. Who knows what is the future of this movement born on the pavement of a New Delhi street?

The historic city of Ahmedabad witnessed on October 14, a unique meeting of trade union and working class representatives. On the invitation of the Mahagujarat Sangram Samiti, the militant organisation of the Ahmedabad textile workers, which has smashed the traditional citadel of the INTUC, top representatives of various central TU organisations and national federations of workers met in a conference to discuss matters of immediate importance.

THE organisations represented were: AITUC, UTUC, Hind Mazdoor Panchayat, All-India Bank Employees' Association, Mahagujarat Sangram Samiti, All-India Newspaper Employees' Federation, All India Cement Workers' Federation, National Federation of Road Transport Workers and All-India LIC Field Workers' Federation. Indulal Yagnik MP., presided.

The INTUC was not present, and that is understandable because among the TU organisations, it has a tradition of keeping aloof from all efforts at unity even on the most pressing demands. But it was unfortunate that the HMS, whose stand on the issues to be discussed is similar to that of the militant TU movement, should have kept away.

The meeting discussed the problems of high prices, D.A., the situation arising out of government's modification of the Bonus Commission Report,

the proposal for part-payment of wages in kind. It also discussed the urgent question of united national action on these issues. A resolution to that effect was passed unanimously.

The resolution expresses the determination of the working



class to fight the manipulations of blackmarketers, hoarders and monopolists and those anti-people policies of the government which aid and abet the activities of the anti-social elements. If the government fails to take effective step along the six-point

Joint Meeting of T.U. Leaders at Ahmedabad

Prospects of A Country-wide Action

the charter of demands as formulated in the joint conference, then the working class will rise as one and through its united industrial action, force the government to concede its immediate demands which today are the demands not of the working class only but of all sections of our peoples who are being ground down by the daily rise in prices.

The meeting rejected the principles on which the government is proposing to frame the scheme for part-payment of wages in kind. The government's conception of the scheme is retrograde. It introduces an element of compulsion; it does not peg prices at a stable level and indications are available that it will be used to cut the cash DA. The meeting unanimously demanded that the

scheme should be broadly along the lines of the grain-shop schemes as they existed in railways.

This meeting constitutes a big landmark in the history of the TU movement in our country. For the first time, various central TU organisations and national federations, representing nearly two million industrial workers and white-collar employees have jointly formulated a common charter of immediate demands and have given the call for a joint nationwide action which is not confined to any industry or sector.

However, big sections of organised workers are yet outside the unity achieved. As noted earlier, the HMS was not present. The AIRF, which

is the oldest and most representative organisation of railwaymen was also absent. The federations of port and dock, defence and other Central Government employees were also not present.

The United Action Committee (Rashtriya Sangharsh Samiti) elected George Fernandes as the Convener and has decided to meet in Delhi tentatively on November 21-22. It is hoped that by that time, the organisations which could not be present in the Ahmedabad meeting will decide to join the Action Committee so that it becomes even more representative of the Indian working class.

S. A. Dange, Satish Loomba and S. Vasa represented the AITUC at the Ahmedabad conference.

While fixing the new pay scales, the Pay Revision Committee has invented some peculiar formulae which are unheard of in the history of wage fixation. It has totally ignored the wage principles adopted at the 15th Indian Labour Conference.

It was natural that employees have reacted violently to the recommendations of the pay body.

They have made it clear that the report was entirely unacceptable to them.

Enrolment of satyagrahis has already been started all over the state and a struggle fund is being raised. The Federation of Non-gazetted Employees has announced that their decision to offer satyagraha at the residence of the Chief Minister from November 27 is final.

BIHAR NGOS TO GO ON STATEWIDE SATYAGRAHA

From K. GOPALAN

PATNA: Mounting unrest among the nongazetted employees of Bihar reached a crucial stage with the decision of the Federation of Non-Gazetted Employees to launch a statewide satyagraha from November 27, if their demands were not conceded by the state government.

THE decision was announced by the general secretary of the federation at the end of a massive demonstration before the residence of the Chief Minister to press the demands.

Main demands of the NGO's are about immediate implementation of the recommendations of the Pay Revision Committee with their radical modifications on the principles of need-based irreducible wage and supply of essential commodities at subsidised rates.

The slogan of satyagraha has come after exhausting all other methods of peaceful agitation to impress upon the government to meet the legitimate demands. The NGOs have been agitating since last five years for higher wages and better service conditions.

The demands were put forward by the employees with the appointment of the Second Pay Commission for the Central Government employees. Then the NGOs were advised to wait for the recommendations of the Pay Commission and they were assured to be given the facilities recommended by the Commission. The agitation launched by the NGOs was then withdrawn and they waited patiently for the outcome of the Pay Commission. But the assurance was not fulfilled after the publication of the Pay Commission's report.

The NGOs were again forced to launch a campaign to press their demands. After a series of meetings and demonstrations all over the state they threatened to resort to direct action. The government which issued a counter-threat to crush the agitation, announced an interim relief of 10 per cent of the basic pay with a minimum of Rs. 10 and maxi-

mum of Rs. 30. Employees were not at all satisfied by the meagre amount.

Cochin Port Workers' Victory

From S. SHARMA

The workers employed in Cochin Port numbering about 4,000 by going into action for food at fair price have been able to secure significant victory on October 8.

THEY struck work for four days in response to call of the Joint Council of Action which the three unions, the Cochin Port Employees' Union (AITUC), the Cochin Port Workers' Union (Independent) and the Harbour Workers' Union (INTUC) had set up on October 4 and decided to present a memorandum to the Cochin Port Trust authorities.

They stated in the memo that all workers had to come for work from distant places starting early in the morning and returning late since the Port Trust had not provided either quarters or transport for them. They were finding it impossible to get rice from fair price shops or other shops in their residential localities during the past two months. The condition was unbearable and if they were to continue to work, the Port Trust had to undertake direct responsibility of providing rice at fair price for workers employed in the Port. Their demands were supply of 5 kilos of rice per head per week at controlled rates (58 Paise per kilo).

On October 5, the Chairman of Port Trust told the leaders of the Joint Council that it was not possible for the Port Trust authorities to undertake supply of rice to their workers and there was therefore no question of any subsidy which the Trust could guarantee.

Consequently the workers decided to go on strike from October 6. 3,500 of them employed in the different wings of Port—in the mechanical workshops, civil maintenance, cranes, shore labouring, pilotage and dredging

joined the strike and by evening it was complete. In the history of the Port Trust this was the first time that the entire working class went into action setting aside decade old interunion rivalries and differing loyalties. The strike was peaceful.

On October 7 about 1,200 workers employed in godowns of the private companies also struck in solidarity and for the same demand.

It was on the same day that S. A. Dange who arrived from Madras for his Kerala tour greeted the striking workers on this solidarity and appealed to them to go forward till they won their demands.

On October 8, the entire Port was condoned off by SAP and MSP. Twelve ships were waiting outside including two foodships. The authorities threatened the workers stating that they would call in the Navy to take over the Port Trust and move on to unloading. The union leaders retaliated by warning the Port Trust that in case Navy stepped in, they will call the stevedore workers on a strike to prevent unloading.

However the union leaders offered to unload the two foodships without prejudice to the issue in contest.

In the meantime the Port Trust authorities and District Collector offered a via media of supplying 3 kilos of rice per week at 74 Paise. The INTUC leaders accepted this and called off the strike but their workers refused to fall in.

The strike continued full and complete. On October 9, a deputy secretary of the Government of India rushed in and called a conference of leaders of trade unions and district officials and a settlement was arrived at.

As per the settlement, the Port Trust will supply 1.2 kilos of rice at subsidised rate (54 Paise per kilo) and 3.8 kilos at 74 Paise to all workers drawing below Rs. 150 per month. The rest will be given 5 kilos of rice at 74 Paise. The supply will be once a week. To tide over the difficulties caused by the scarcity of food of the past two months, workers would be given an advance of Rs. 50 to be deducted in 10 equal monthly instalments beginning from December.

The terms of settlement would be reviewed if and when the State Government introduced rationing.

NEW AGE
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Meet the Builders of Communism : II

NEW TRENDS IN SOVIET SOCIETY

A Decade Full of Developments

The sudden exit last week of Khrushchov from the leading positions in the Communist Party and government of the Soviet Union has been a big shock to the world and has given rise to many speculations in many quarters.

THE abruptness of the changes announced in Moscow, the absence of any tribute to the retired leader by his colleagues and the absence of any satisfactory explanation for these sudden changes have naturally added to the confusion and raised doubts and misgivings in the minds of communists and other friends of the Soviet Union in this country too. These will remain till the aura of secrecy surrounding these developments is lifted and all the facts become known. It has to be stated here that prior to the actual announcement of the resignation of Khrushchov, there were no indications of these developments in the Soviet press or pronouncements.

Meanwhile, attention has been focussed on the reassurance from the new leadership of the Soviet Party and government that the home and foreign policy line of the Soviet Union worked out since the 20th Congress of the CPSU would be continued. The policy of peaceful coexistence, the struggle against the cult of personality and the programme of building communism in the Soviet Union have been reiterated. These are welcome assurances for the world.

The period in which these policies took shape and progressed in the Soviet Union is popularly known as the "Khrushchov era". These years have seen big changes in the life of the Soviet people. While on the international front, the Soviet Union won new prestige and new friends, particularly among Afro-Asian nations and a period of active diplomacy for peace with successive gains came into being, internally there have been the years of the most rapid development of Soviet economy, rise in the cultural and living standards of the people and a relaxation

of restrictions which arose in the period of the personality cult. Even a casual acquaintance with the Soviet life today is enough to get an idea of these changes, their merits as well as any shortcomings. In the course of our extensive tour in the Soviet Union—about 20,000 kilometres—which took us to such places outside Moscow as Leningrad, Novosibirsk, Irkutsk, Bratsk,

lished in our paper. We generally receive replies from the concerned officials in not less than ten days. Criticism is not always liked by all people and sometimes attempts are made to explain away shortcomings. In such cases, we invite the attention of the trade unions and Party organs to these complaints and seek their intervention. As a result guilty officials have been punished and even put on trial". The same story is repeated in the case of a number of other newspapers, the offices of which we visited and met the journalists working in them. There are important departments for readers' letters in all the newspapers.

By
K. U. WARIER

Tashkent, Baku and Volgograd, we could notice many of these changes.

I have already briefly mentioned the rise in living standards of the people and particularly the progress made in solving the housing problem. Along with the rise in living standards and increased availability of consumer goods, the effects of liberalisation have softened the rigours of an earlier hard life and released a tremendous building-up of economic activity.

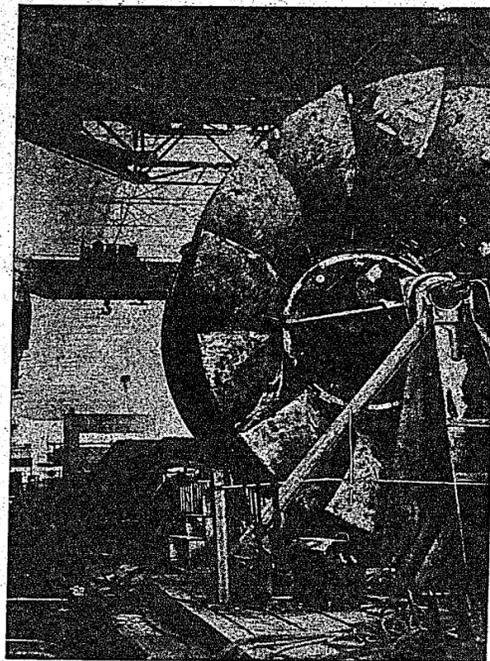
The Soviet press today is more critical of the administration than before. The number of readers' letters which they receive and publish in their columns run into thousands. For instance, *Leningradskaya Pravda* (circulation 500,000) receives approximately fifty thousand letters a year. These letters contain details about work and life of the people, the achievements scored in the execution of projects as well as criticism of bureaucratic officials in the plants, administrative organs etc. We were told:

"Readers' letters criticising very high officials are also pub-

Some have even a department where oral complaints from people are listened to by the staff and then the newspaper makes enquiries and tries to help redress their grievances.

The newspapers also devote a good part of their space to reporting the social, economic and cultural life of the people in their regions. Features and write-ups about fashions, consumer goods, sports, theatres, etc., are more popular. Educational and cultural activities are widely reported and commented upon. The emphasis is on creating new social values to cope with the task of communist construction.

The Soviet newspapers have



Assembly of turbine in the Leningrad Metallichesky Works named after 22nd Congress of CPSU.

The plant is now engaged in producing turbine of 508,000-kilowatt capacity for Krasnoyarsk power station, an unsurpassed world engineering record. Forty-six Indian engineers and technicians undergo training at this plant now, which has supplied turbines for Bhakra and our other power stations.

changed much in the last ten years. Formerly, we were told, they all looked alike; but today they are different. In the case of some the change is more striking. Even so one could still notice a surviving legacy of the old style uniformity in many cases. Soviet journalists themselves admit that there is scope for improvement in their newspapers. With the constantly rising cultural level of the people and their taste for better and more consumer goods, these newspapers will become more diversified in their character. Already many new periodicals and journals have come into

being in this period exclusively devoted to art, culture and social life of the people.

An interesting study of this change is afforded by *Izvestia*, the "modern newspaper". Five years ago it changed from a morning newspaper into an evening newspaper and changed its look and content to make it more interesting to the readers. And immediately it began to attract attention and became more popular. *Izvestia* gets 1,500 to 2,000 letters a day from its readers. Its circulation has shot up from

ON PAGE 17

ITALIAN PARTY TO TAKE PART IN PREPARATORY MEETING FOR WORLD MEET

THE Italian Communist Party announced on October 15 that it had decided to accept the proposals of the Soviet Communist Party to attend a meeting in Moscow on December 15 to prepare an international conference of Communist and Workers' Parties.

The announcement was made during a report made by Enrico Berlinguer on the problems of the international Communist movement to a meeting of the Central Committee of the Italian Communist Party in Rome.

He said that Italian Communists realised the gravity of the errors made by the Chinese leaders and the damage they have done to the development of the Communist movement.

"The positions of the Chinese leaders on questions of peaceful co-existence", he said, "are casting a shadow which

should be dispersed over the very ideas which are at the basis of socialism, and they may, in some cases they already have become obstacles in the way of the development of the process of the easing of international tensions".

The convocation of an international conference was also discussed at a meeting of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party in Paris the preceding weekend on the basis of a report given by Roland Leroy.

He said that French Communists wanted such a conference, not to excommunicate or exclude the Chinese Communist Party, which in any case the conference would have no right to do, nor to create a new centralised international organisation.

They wanted the conference to reaffirm the principles of the previous conference of 1957 and 1960, and to consolidate the

unity of the international Communist movement.

He said that the question of party autonomy was not involved for practice had shown that each party acted independently.

"What is in question", he said, "is the unity of the movement and its general line. No one can decide these questions alone."

"No party, however worthy of respect, powerful and capable, can substitute itself for the whole of the Communist movement... differences do exist, so common sense demands a discussion..."

A resolution adopting the report was passed by the Central Committee which said that preparations for the conference had entered a decisive stage.

Referring to the activities of the Chinese Communist leaders, it said they "departed from Marxist-Leninist theory and practice" and had adopted a policy of "nationalism and adventurism".

TRIVANDRUM: A call to the working people of Kerala to be in the forefront of the movement for people's food at fair prices and an inspiring exhortation to the Communist Party members to spearhead the broad democratic united front taking shape in the state to fight and dislodge the Congress from power in the 1965 poll formed the keynote of speeches by S. A. Dange, Chairman of CPI at the mass rallies and public meetings held during his recent successful visit to Kerala.

DANGE was visiting Kerala for the first time after the split in the Communist Party had come about. The big turnout at his public meetings, the large number of receptions accorded to him and the response to his call for unity of the working people naturally raised the prestige of the Party and gave renewed enthusiasm to Party members. The CPI Chairman's visit has given a new fillip to the popular movement on the issue of food and prices led by the democratic parties.

lected on the way in the scorching sun to hear him.

At Quilon a massive procession headed by 400 red volunteers paraded the streets before the meeting held to welcome the Party Chairman. The meeting was presided over by C. Achutha Menon, secretary of the Kerala state council of the Party. Dange was garlanded by Party organisations, trade unions, kisan sabhas and other mass organisations.

CPI's Programme

In his speech, Dange explained the programme of the Communist Party for a National Democratic Front, for the unity of the working class, peasantry, the middle classes and patriotic sections of the bourgeoisie to fight and remove the stranglehold of the big monopolists and feudal elements on the economy of the country and establish a government of National Democracy. The struggle of the working class for wage and bonus, for foodgrains at fair prices, the struggle for the nationalisation of banks and for state trading in food grains were all ways to achieve this popular democratic unity, he said.

All the way from Cochin to Quilon, spontaneous receptions were organised for the CPI Chairman at twelve centres including Alleppey, Punnaura, Haripad and Kavankulam and Dange had to address small and big crowds that had collec-

Referring to the situation in Kerala, Dange pointed out that the prospects of unity of all democratic forces in the state on the basis of an agreed minimum programme to fight the coming elections,

Dange's Visit to Kerala

ENTHUSIASTIC WELCOME FOR PARTY CHAIRMAN

From S. SHARMA

defeat the Congress and establish an alternate popular government in the state were bright. The Communist Party, were it united and not split, this would have been a certainty. Those who split the Party are responsible for the present situation and they only help the Congress by dividing and splitting the people's strength.

United Front

Nevertheless, the Communist Party would strive its utmost to build the unity of democratic forces in this election, the Party Chairman said. But it is of paramount consideration for the Party that the parties that come together in this process should be pledged to carry out a democratic programme and not just unite only to win somehow a majority in the Assembly.

Dange criticised the attitude of the "left communists" towards such organisations like the Muslim League with which they are ready to join forces in an election. The Communist Party can have no adjustment or alliance with the Muslim League, Jan Sangh or other communal and reactionary parties, he declared.

Later in his speeches at other centres also Dange reiterated the position of the Party as regards election all-

ances and urged the formation of an alliance of democratic parties on the basis of democratic principles and programme for a victory in the elections. In Calicut he addressed a meeting of 20,000.

League have compelled the splitters to come out with denials that they had ever thought of having such alliances.

A. K. Gopalan and E. M. S. Namboodiripad have both spoken out against the "rebel" Congressmen for the first time, though in the resolution of their executive last month they had stated that the "rebels" were still in a flux and one had to wait and watch before taking an attitude towards them.

The Party Chairman's visit has activated the Party members still more to strengthen the Party's base and activities among the working class and peasantry on the eve of the state conference and the Seventh Congress of the CPI.



Dange addressing a workers' meeting during his tour

SOVIET PEOPLE'S GREAT INTEREST IN INDIA

*FROM PAGE 16

16 lakhs to the present figure of 60 lakhs.

The acting dean of the faculty of journalism of one of the universities with whom we had a very lively and interesting talk on the subject, while pointing out that Soviet newspapers have changed much and become "brighter" in the last ten years could however give only two reasons for their lack of further progress in that direction—scarcity of newsprint and "national traditions".

Cultural Contacts

The Soviet Union's ever-expanding economic and cultural relations with other countries have been a marked feature of this decade. The number of foreign writers' books—old and new works—translated into Russian and other languages, foreign films, exhibitions and exchange of delegations all characterise this growth of cultural contacts with the outside world.

Indian films are popular with the Soviet people and have reached even as far as Siberia. In Baku there were posters on shop windows, and walls an-

nouncing an eight-volume edition of Tagore recently brought out in Azerbaijani language. A number of Urdu, Hindi and other writers in Indian languages have found their way into Russian homes.

"Convey our greetings to your people", "We wish you success in your work"—we were told at every place we visited. One of our pleasant experiences was a meeting with the local people in a street in Bratsk. Back from a visit to a construction site where a giant wood-processing plant is being built, we had stopped at a place near a row of workers' flats.

Street-Corner Meeting

In a few minutes time, a crowd of over two hundred people had collected around us. First came one person, then another and then more people. And there ensued a lively conversation in which while we questioned them about themselves, they in their turn bombarded us with questions about India. When it was time for us to move they bade us farewell with many expressions of friendship and fraternal feelings for the Indian people.

The growing cultural contacts between the Soviet Union and other countries could also be seen in the number of scholars and students who have come to study in the USSR from outside. There are many Indian students in Moscow, Leningrad and other places whom we met in our tour. In the Lumbumba University in Moscow, founded a few years ago there are a hundred students from India. We met them in the University and were invited to attend the Gandhi Jayanti celebrations they arranged on October 2.

In the Lumbumba University there are students from 82 countries studying side by side with Soviet students. There are about 700 students from Africa, about the same number from Asia, and about 850 from Latin America and about 400 from the countries of the Middle East.

The number of Indian students has not increased only because India has made less use of the opportunities afforded by this University. In this respect it must be stated that Ceylon and Indonesia, among the Asian countries, send more students to the Lumbumba University than India. There are three times more Indonesian students than Indian students there at present.

(To be continued)

T.U. LEADER IN CUSTODY: BETTER TREATMENT DEMANDED

THE Delhi Provincial Council of the Communist Party of India has demanded that Sadhu Singh, a trade union leader and Communist worker, who is detained under DIR in Tehar Central Jail, New Delhi, be arrested under "B" class. Why he is now being treated as a "C" class prisoner is beyond anybody's comprehension.

The Delhi Provincial Committee of AITUC and a number of trade unions in Delhi have protested to the Delhi Administration over his arrest and demanded his immediate release.

In a letter to the Deputy Commissioner, Delhi, M. Farooqi, secretary of the Delhi PC has urged that the Delhi Administration must reconsider the question of jail treatment of Sadhu Singh and immediately issue orders for better class treatment.

Sadhu Sing was re-arrested on September 5 under

DIR and detained in Tehar Central Jail, New Delhi. He is the general secretary of West Delhi Engineering Workers' Union and a Communist worker of the area. Earlier in the year he was arrested under DIR and placed in "B" class. Why he is now being treated as a "C" class prisoner is beyond anybody's comprehension.

The Delhi Provincial Committee of AITUC and a number of trade unions in Delhi have protested to the Delhi Administration over his arrest and demanded his immediate release.

The Delhi Committee of the AITUC in a memorandum to the Chief Commissioner has charged the Delhi Administration for the misuse of DIR against "legitimate trade union activity".

NEW AGE

PAGE SEVENTEEN

DISCUSSION PAMPHLET NO. 1

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SPACE TRIO RECEIVED IN MOSCOW

From Masood Ali Khan

MOSCOW, October 20. On Monday, the whole of Moscow turned out to give a grand welcome to Komarov, Feoktistov and Egorov, the three heroes who returned to the Soviet capital after their unprecedented flight on the spaceship Voskhod on October-12.

The entire 35 kilometre route from Vnukovo airport was lined with cheering crowds just as four years ago people of Moscow had gathered to greet Gagarin. Now representatives of earthly professions were eager to see their fellow engineer, scientist and doctor with the halo of cosmic heroes round them.

Earlier at the airport Leonid Brezhnev, Anastas Mikoyan, Alexei Kosygin and other Soviet leaders greeted and embraced the three spacemen. An artillery salute was fired and the Soviet anthem played. There were bouquets, showers of flowers and chants of melody, "Jolly good fellows", and hurrah.

At the Red Square, a mass meeting and demonstration of the people of Moscow was held at which the newly elected First Secretary of the Party, Leonid Brezhnev made his first public speech since taking over the leadership of the Party.

All Soviet people and the entire planet applauds the heroes, he said. For the first time, a multi-seater spaceship with a crew had gone up and completed the flight successfully and a doctor and a scientist had worked in outer-space.

"On this joyous day, the Soviet people express their admiration and appreciation to the scientists, engineers, designers, technicians and workers, all who by their knowledge and skill keep on developing our powerful rockets and spaceships," Brezhnev declared, amid cheers.

For the first time, the cosmonauts had worked in space without space-suits, wearing ordinary light suits as if they were at home. And it was remarkable that they had landed while in the ship as if they were in a conventional airplane.

Wonderful Merger

It was the wonderful merger of science and Communism, the unity of scientific thought and labour of the working-class which had made these successes possible.

"The general line of our Party worked out by its 20th, 21st and 22nd Congresses is a Leninist line. It was, is and will be the only immutable line in the entire home and foreign policy of the Communist Party and the Soviet State. The Party sees its supreme duty in serving the people, in strengthening the might of our socialist land, adding to its glory and prestige consistently and unwaveringly implementing the great ideas of Marxism-Leninism," Brezhnev added.

The prime task, he said, was to develop the productive forces, raise the welfare of the people and develop socialist democracy in every way. The Party looked confidently into the future, he said. "There was great work ahead. We shall march forward

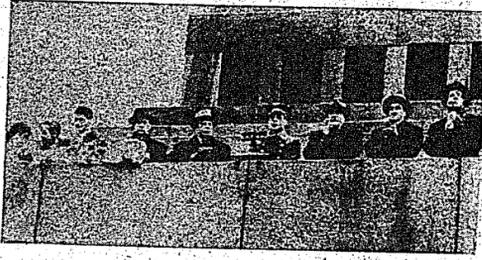
PAGE EIGHTEEN

The new Soviet Head of Government called for international cooperation in cosmos which must be settled by peaceful means through negotiations and Soviet Government will work for this. It wanted to develop mutual understanding and trust between states and economic and cultural cooperation on the basis of equality and mutual profit.

International Cooperation

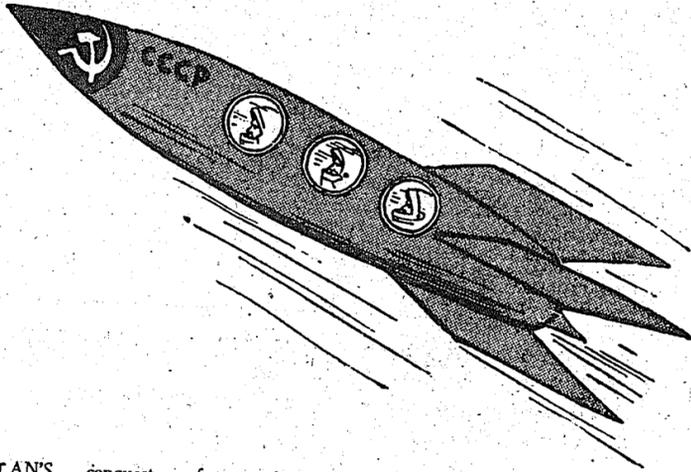
Without the development of the working people and their participation in economic and state questions, without all-round development of socialist democracy, the higher productivity of advanced capitalist countries could not be reached and bypassed, Kosygin said. The Soviet Union will continue to struggle for the complete liquidation of colonialism and for general disarmament, he declared.

Toasts were proposed to the health of scientists, engineers and cosmonauts.



The crew of the space ship Voskhod greeted at the Moscow Red Square. On the rostrum from (L to R) V. Nikolayeva-Tereshkova, K. Feoktistov, B. Yegorov, A. Kosygin, N. Podgorny, V. Komarov, L. Brezhnev, A. Mikoyan and M. Suslov

Towards Newer Horizons



MAN'S conquest of space is well under way; ever new achievements are being registered in the annals of his triumph over nature. His dream is becoming nearer and nearer to reality.

In this great quest for knowledge and mastery over the cosmos, the Soviet science is holding the premier position. From orbiting the first manmade object—Sputnik I, till date, it has moved from victory to victory, never once being relegated to the second position.

The latest in the series of its space triumph is the 24-hour journey into the farthest point ever visited by man in the cosmos by a new spaceship carrying a three-man crew.

When the new spaceship returned after its 24-hour trip, rumours were rife that something had gone wrong with its mechanism and it was brought back before the scheduled time. The Soviet scientists have refuted this assertion and there is no reason why any credence should be attached to such a canard.

What was new in this flight? This is a question that is being asked in many quarters. Apart from the technical details which

can only be fully grasped by scientists, there are some clear factors which indicate that this attempt was not a repetition of old methods with a bigger vehicle but that space technology has advanced really a long way.

First, the spaceship carried a three-man crew; a captain, a scientist and a doctor. The capacity of the rocket has been increased manifold. The spaceship is bigger and more sophisticated. The atmosphere inside the spaceship has been controlled to the same level as on the Earth. The spacemen travelled in it wearing ordinary suits and not space suits which meant that the cabin control has reached a perfect stage.

Soft Landing

For the first time, the spaceship landed on earth with the crew inside; the retro-rockets ensured that the speed of touchdown will be almost nil. In all previous flights, the spacemen ejected themselves from the spacecraft and landed by parachute.

The inclusion of a scientist and a doctor in the crew showed that it was possible for persons other than flight personnel to undertake space flights. This ven-

The hypocrisy of USA's rulers knows no bounds. They are feeling very sorry for the fate of the Chinese people who have had their meagre national resources diverted to the manufacture of atomic bombs rather than utilised for improvement of their very low living standards.

JOHNSON has described the explosion of China's first atomic device, deep in the heart of Asia, as a "sad and serious" fact.

It is undoubtedly so, but surely the US chief executive is the last person in the world who has any right to say so. Had it not been for the policy of blind-hatred and hostility towards People's China that the US has adopted right from the beginning, the present situation would never have arisen.

It is an indisputable fact that today next to the Chinese rulers, it is the rulers of the USA who feel particularly satisfied and happy about the explosion of People's China's baby bomb. Everyone knows how militarily insignificant in the total world context this little device is. Yet, it has come as a very timely and convenient weapon in USA's hands to divert people's attention from its own refusal to engage in meaningful negotiations for disarmament and banning of atomic weapons and making a concrete beginning on these.

AMERICAN REJOICING

The US welcomes the Chinese nuclear explosion further

because it has provided the US with an opportunity once again to offer its "protection" to countries like India, and to tighten its grip on those already tied in military alliance to it. First, Assistant Secretary Bundy and then President Johnson himself proclaimed this with great fanfare. Simultaneously their man in New Delhi, Chester Bowles, took the opportunity to plug home that US aggressive activities in the Far East and Southeast Asia were not aggressive at all and had nothing to do with the USA's plans for world domination. They were all meant to curb and contain Chinese expansionism!

NEW SUSTENANCE

Thus between the short-sight quest of the Chinese rulers for national glory and the US aggressive plans in Asia—provided new sustenance by the otherwise insignificant bang in Takla Makan—the countries of Asia are put in a very difficult position.

Obviously, the Chinese rulers' talk of "China's nuclear test" being "a major achievement of the Chinese people in the strengthening of their national defence," is

U.S. HYPOCRISY OVER CHINESE BOMB

By ZIAUL HAQ

worse than meaningless; it is a smokescreen to deceive the Chinese people and to work up still more the nationalist frenzy that has been roused among them over the last several years by means of all sorts of devices.

China's atomic bomb—even if China is able to develop it and perfect it in course of the next ten, fifteen years—will certainly constitute no defence against the vastly larger and superior atomic and thermo-nuclear arsenal of the enemy, that is US imperialism. It can hardly be expected to become a factor in countering the USA's nuclear blackmail. It can only be a weapon of blackmail against China's Asian neighbours.

It is the USA's game to exaggerate the significance of the Chinese A-bomb explosion for its own purposes of blackmailing and bullying Asian countries, particularly India. Attention has been drawn to this most important aspect, as

The people of Zambia will be free on October 24. NEW AGE greets the new member of independent Afro-Asian States.

far as India is concerned, by such a keen observer of the international scene, as N. J. Nanporia, the editor of the TIMES OF INDIA, in his Commentary last Monday. He says:

"The Chinese bomb will impel the United States—there are already indications that this is happening—further to emphasise the military aspect of its Asian policies and to establish the concept of retaliation as the only answer to the Chinese challenge. Can New Delhi afford to accept this in silence, to increase its dependence on US military aid and thereby participate, if unwittingly or reluctantly in a containment policy that cannot be reconciled with nonalignment or with the peace and stability of Southeast Asia?"

It is the height of duplicity and hypocrisy on the part of the USA to declare, as Dean Rusk has done again, that there can be no disarmament and no agreement to ban nuclear testing and nuclear weapons without China being a

party to it and insisting at the same time that China should be kept out of the UN and all international bodies. Again to quote the TIMES OF INDIA (Editorial, October 20):

"There can be no meaningful agreement on nuclear or even conventional disarmament without China's active participation in the requisite negotiations. Efforts to bring this about will be more to the point than mere denunciations of Chinese and for that matter French, nuclear ambitions. As to the psychological impact of the Chinese bomb on the countries of Asia and Africa, it will certainly be considerable. But it does not follow from this that China will be able to use the bomb to intimidate its neighbours....

"The need to put China into a more peaceful frame of mind therefore remains. It is difficult to see how this can even be attempted so long as the United States persists in its policy of keeping China out of international councils."

Greater Dependence On Foreign Aid

* FROM PAGE 3

monopolists for higher profits that is the root cause of the high prices?

Finally, about foreign assistance. The memo has estimated that the net foreign assistance will be about Rs. 2,500 crores for the entire Fourth Plan period.

This has given rise to grave apprehensions whether more and more reliance is being placed on foreign assistance. The Planning Commission had earlier suggested that the reliance on foreign assistance should be gradually reduced so as to be nil by the end of the Fifth Plan.

Such a scheme of things would have kept the quantum of foreign assistance at Rs. 200 crores only in the last year of the Fourth Plan against Rs. 425 crores in the last year of the Third Plan. With a total of Rs. 2,500 crores for the entire Fourth Plan period, the memo visualised a much higher amount of foreign assistance at the end of the Fourth Plan.

All told, if the Fourth Plan is to move in the same direction as the Third Plan, that is independent economic development of the country and assured minimum income and standards of living for the people, an entirely new approach is called for.

For Party Members Only

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By G. ADHIKARI

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SOVIET POLICY TOWARDS INDIA REMAINS UNCHANGED

From MASOOD ALI KHAN

MOSCOW: India's Ambassador to the Soviet Union, T.N. Kaul, interrupted his holiday in Europe and came back to Moscow in view of the changes in the leadership here. The Soviet government, it is understood, has assured Kaul that Soviet policy of friendship and cooperation with India will continue as hitherto and will not be altered by the changes in leadership. Nor the Soviet attitude towards the nonaligned countries is to be changed in any way.

On the contrary, the Soviet government seemed to be confident that relations with India and other developing nonaligned countries would develop further, improve and grow stronger. Business, as usual on all fronts, that is how the Indian side looks at things after consultation with top leaders. All agreements and arrangements arrived at remain in force and are to go through, as envisaged.

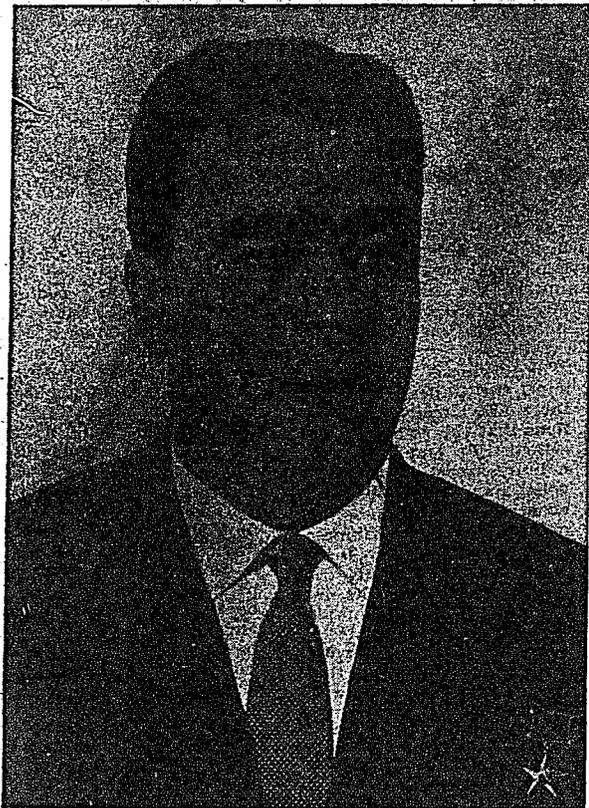
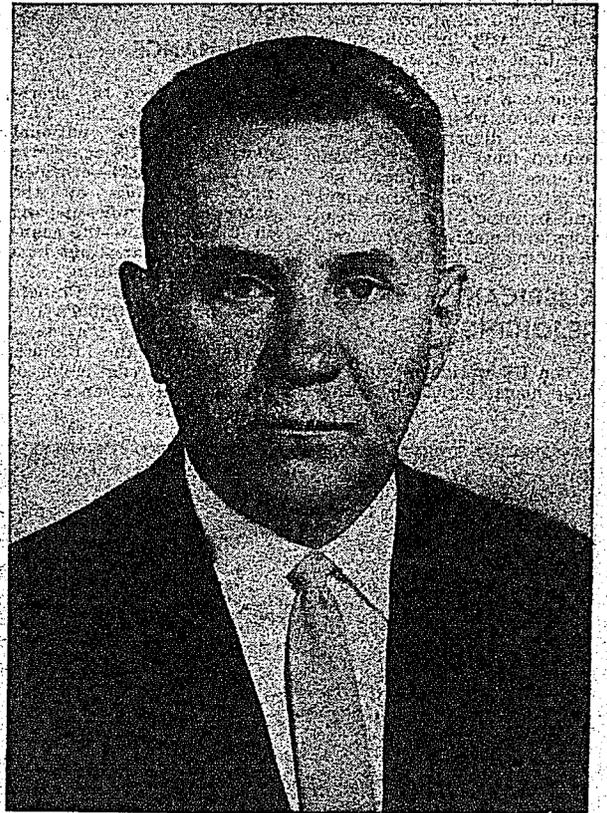
Kaul met Deputy Foreign Minister Lapin on Tuesday and at the Kremlin reception for the cosmonauts had an informal exchange of views with Brezhnev Kosygin and Gromyko. These assurances to India are in accordance with the other statements of the new leaders here which lay emphasis on a continuity of policy after Khrushchov's retirement.

Government circles have pointed out that both Brezhnev and Kosygin are friends of India and are familiar with her problems and are well-known in India. Soviet circles were appreciative of the warm, sincere and friendly message of Prime Minister Shastri to Kosygin who visited India in May 1964 and had talks with Indian leaders. It is recalled that the present Soviet Premier paid glowing tributes to Nehru and gave a positive assessment of his historical role at the public meeting held in Moscow to

Soviet aid to India is to continue in the same spirit as before. Discussions on Soviet aid for Bokaro which began some time ago are making satisfactory progress, the Indian side believes.

Thus, the Soviet policy of support for newly-independent countries and aid to strengthen their independence and sovereignty remains and is to be further developed.

Alexei Kosygin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers



Leonid Brezhnev, First Secretary of CPSU

PRAVDA GREET'S NEW AGE

PRAVDA published on October 20 a glowing tribute to NEW AGE, the central organ of the Communist Party of India under the heading "FIGHTING PAPER". The item mentioned the fact that the paper celebrates its 11th anniversary these days.

"All these days, the

weekly, marching in the vanguard of the Communist press of India, consistently defends the interests of the working-class and all working people of India. NEW AGE has deservedly earned the reputation of the militant organ of the Communists who are the leading detachment of the Indian working people."

Kerala

ELECTION MANIFESTO OF UNITED FRONT

From S. SHARMA

TRIVANDRUM, October 19: The Sub Committee set up by the left united front in Kerala to finalise the election-manifesto of the front has given final touches to the blue print of a programme of immediate relief to the common people of Kerala and circulated the same to the constituent parties for approval.

THE state executive committee of the Communist Party has endorsed the manifesto while the RSP and the "Left" communists, the KLP and the independents are expected to give their seal of approval in the course of a week. A plenary meeting of the United Front Committee is expected to meet shortly to adopt the same as its Manifesto and place it before the people.

The manifesto refers to the no-confidence motion that threw the Congress government out of power last month which had proved to be the most corrupt administration the people of Kerala had experienced. The

government had got isolated from the vast majority of the electorate by its antipeople policies. The united front was approaching the electorate and the people of the state with the pledge and promise to ensure a corruption-free administration, stable and striving to build a prosperous Kerala state.

The manifesto proclaims that its character, composition and approach will be based on the unity of left, democratic, secular forces of the state. Such a broad-based united front would fight the election on the basis of a minimum programme and if returned in a majority, guarantee a good and stable government

pledged to root out corruption, advance the general interests of the state and in particular afford urgent relief to the toiling sections of people.

The government of the united front pledges further to throw its entire weight in favour of effecting changes in the economic and taxation policies of the Union Government that have brought in during the Second and Third Plan periods a crisis of price rise and food scarcity and threatened the very economy of the country. These changes have been voiced by not only the organised trade union movements in the country, but all the left parties and all progressive minded individuals and a situation has been reached that these changes are brought in at the earliest.

Referring to the Fourth Five Year Plan and Kerala's share in it, the united front assures to mobilise the unity of all patriotic forces of the state to secure a

fair deal in the Fourth Plan for Kerala, recognising the fact that in the earlier Plans the state had been neglected. Simultaneously, the united front will strive to unite with other states to checkmate all efforts of the Union Government to reduce powers of the various states.

The manifesto categorically and unequivocally declares its wholehearted support to all steps that the Union Government will take to strengthen our country's defences designed to safeguard our freedom, sovereignty and integrity; to defeat aggression from any quarters; to resolve disputes with neighbouring countries through negotiations and in an honourable manner; to preserve our policy of nonalignment and strengthen our independence; to combat and remove communal conflicts and fissiparous trends that may raise their ugly heads.

The resources of the state are getting exhausted and the taxable avenues are growing less and the projects and further planned development cannot be undertaken in the state unless the central share and contribution to the state are increased. The united front will present a case for the state's share to the Finance Commission and the Union Government.

The united front will also strive to administer the state with the cooperation of all

parties and interests and in a spirit and approach above party and sectional considerations. With this object in view, consultative departmental committees with representatives of all parties in the legislators will be formed and their advice sought by the government in administering affairs of the different departments.

The 52-point manifesto deals with the food problem, agricultural production, industrial and labour problems, administrative reforms, education, social security, civil liberties and freedom of the press and anticorruption efforts. State Trading in food-grains, control of prices and distribution of a minimum at fair price to majority of population, popular food advisory committees to enforce these, are some of the points in the food policy.

Touching on the controversial agrarian problem, the manifesto pledges to seek to amend the present agrarian relations. Act in a way that rent and the rights of landlords to evict are reduced, and the interests of the small landholder are safeguarded. Further, the manifesto indicates that if need be, new legislation to meet regional needs will be brought in. The section on corruption pledges measures to include ministers, legislators, members of local bodies, etc. under the purview of anti-corruption laws.