

p. m. concludes
u. s. visit :

NO TO U.S.

MOVES

NEW AGE

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25 nP.

by P. C. JOSHI

The visit of the Prime Minister, of the biggest and most weighty uncommitted nation, to the U.S.A., the biggest imperialist power of the day, is an event any time. Its importance this time was highlighted because of the very tense international situation, and still more because Pandit Nehru's latest visit to Washington was preceded by an earlier visit to Moscow, following the Belgrade conference.

The U.S. atmosphere was hot enough because their NATO alliance was in disarray, while President's advisors had fallen out among themselves, with all their neat calculations having gone awry before the repeated demonstrations of the might and progress of the Socialist camp headed by the USSR, and the never-ending, death-defying, ever-more victorious upsurge of the peoples held so far in shackles of colonialism.

SUCH a tense atmosphere had been further heated up to melt the India's Prime Minister, and the shame of it is that this was mostly done through the Indian correspondents abroad of the monopoly - controlled news papers that pollute the atmosphere in our Capital city. For example, H. R. Vohra of the Times of India, Nov. 3, on the eve of the visit foretold that the Prime Minister will have to encounter "an atmosphere of sullen peevish criticism engendered by a feeling of injured innocence."

His Mission

However, the moment the Indian Prime Minister landed on U.S. soil he declared: "I have come to promote peace". This struck the right key and enabled him to fully exploit the various mass media of communication with the people, which he did with success.

This was also the right posture for non-aligned India to adopt, neither offensive nor defensive but persuasive. On being questioned by the U.S. newsmen he explained that the chief contribution of non-aligned countries like India was "to spread an atmosphere of friendliness and cooperation".

He was patient before the ignorant, courteous to the hostile critics, and to the deeply interested he explained the ideological and historical background of India's foreign policy with which we are so familiar in our own country.

While making the Indian Prime Minister an "honorary citizen" of Los Angeles the Mayor asked the audience to remember that India was geographically "close to sources of Communist power", and that the U.S. and its aligned friends provided a "protective umbrella" for non-aligned countries.

Pandit Nehru did not want his soft approach to be

understood, nor interpreted, this way and said: "A strong country does not lose strength if its approach is gentle. Strength ultimately does not reside in strong language... I think I am not wrong in saying that on the whole we do not suffer from any fear complex." (Hindustan Times, Nov. 15)

However, numerous words may flow and get widely printed about Indo-U.S. "common ideals", "common concern", etc., but when the U.S. protagonists themselves soberly sit down to review the results of the Indian Prime Minister's visit they come to the conclusion that the U.S. has failed to get India's cooperation in pursuing further its evil colonialist, aggressive imperialist policies.

The Hindustan Times, Nov. 10, published a summarised version from the reporters of British Reuter, American A.P. and French A.F.P. that the two statesmen "disagreed on three principal points", according to the "circles close to them". The three points were the policy to be pursued in the Indo-Chinese Peninsula, the problem of nuclear tests and future of the United Nations.

U. S. Has Not Gained

At home, the Surveyor, the columnist of the Times of India, (Nov. 13) wrote: "On the specific issues of nuclear testing, Congo, Laos, and Berlin nothing was achieved."

At the end all that was left for the U.S. President was to plead "it is possible for us to disagree in the framework of not charging each other with bad faith."

The Nehru-Kennedy joint communique is important not only for what it says, but also for its omissions. Together with the various press interviews, speeches and press comments it is possible to construct a fairly objective balance sheet embodying the concrete results of the Prime Minister's visit to the U.S.A. in

terms of advancing a peaceful principled solution of the burning controversies of the day.

Defence Minister Krishna Menon was and remains the

devil of the piece as the U.S. see India.

At first it was virtually a demand for the recall of Krishna Menon from United

by P. C. JOSHI

Nations. After he came back home for consultation the demand went up that he should not be allowed to go back to the U.S. The servile demand was raised not only through the influential Right-wing papers but, New Delhi circles report, it was also voiced without a blush, by the Rightist elements inside the

Cabinet and among the top officials.

They did not succeed because wiser and more responsible elements realised that though the apparent victim of this foul campaign was India's U.N. representative Krishna Menon, it was in fact the demand for a change in India's independent foreign policy to suit the U.S. needs and exigencies. The plot was scotched.

On the issue of nuclear tests by the Soviet Union, Prime Minister Nehru was more critical on U.S. soil than in India. It did not redound to Indian self-respect and was an obvious concession to U.S. clamour

* SEE BACK PAGE

From Our Goa Correspondent

in portuguese hell

THE Portuguese colonialists have lost their heads after Pandit Nehru's speech about armed intervention in Goa, followed by the African Seminar where all the African statesmen, from the various fighting fronts against colonialism, demanded urgent Indian action for the liberation of Goa.

The Daily Press has already reported the arrival of the first batch of 300 Legionaries. What needs to be made known is that they are French and German mercenaries, with experience of Algeria and Katanga.

I have met some of them, face to face, in the bus and elsewhere. They are real tough guys, and they act their role. Everyone of them swanks six grenades, automatic machine pistols, camouflaged suits and, of course, catches hold of any Goan girl and makes scenes.

These mercenaries have been drafted to fight the Goan commandos and are specially trained for the purpose. Another five hundred are due in a week's time, with still more to follow.

The Portuguese Command has asked for 400 horses from Pakistan. Two hundred have already arrived and the rest are on the way. From these Legionaries and others, a batch of two hundred has already been sent to Pakistan to learn horse-riding and get trained in what is called the Forest Ranger's job,

combing out the remote outlying hilly and forest regions, the hide-outs of the Goan guerrillas, where jeeps and other motor transport cannot reach.

The first contingent of five hundred Pak ex-army-men has also arrived (knowledgable circles here are of the view that they are army folks themselves and the prefix "ex" has been added only for international reason). This new Pakistan force is also meant for fighting the Goan patriots.

All the border posts have been made into three deep defence lines. Reinforcements have been doubled in every point. They have been issued transistors, small automatics and bazookas, the last for the first time in Goa and they are used for firing grenades and also the flame throwers.

To Daman has been rushed Light Battery, the next batch of Legionaries is also due to go to Daman. Mortars have also been sent.

They check round the clock all over Goa, with ferocious looking dogs and machine-gun mounted jeeps, also half-track armoured cars.

Every village headman, the Regedure, has been sternly made responsible for reporting twice a day about the goings-on in his own village, including who are in and who out of the village.

All the smugglers have been drafted for police information jobs!

We have lost all count of the arrests made, anybody

and everybody is liable to be arrested any time. They mercilessly beat up the arrested, keep them in for a few days, and then let them go to make room for the new ones brought in.

All the Treasuries have been withdrawn to the Central Bank at Panjim.

All explosives have been withdrawn even from the mine owners. They are only issued their daily quota.

All arms and ammunition shops have been sealed.

Despite all the above, the Goan patriots are not passive. On October 29, a heroic group of jailed patriots made their escape from Kusman prison, Quepem taluk. Five escaped, Dinanath Naik convicted for 12 years, Jaswant Desai convicted for eight years, both these were sentenced for burning the house of a police informer, Raghunath Mistry and Joseph Fernandes convicted for four and two years respectively, for stealing explosives and passing them on to the Goan guerrillas. The fifth man was Salvador Fernandes convicted for four years for a non-political offence but he became a friend in prison.

I cannot yet reveal any details. The escape came off like the magician's trick without firing a shot!

The Goans are thus neither idle nor acting the coward, but they all ask when is Prime Minister Nehru going to act? Will he remain a hero of empty words or act for Goan liberation and the unity of the Motherland?

RIGHTIST GANG

During the 1952 General Elections the main challenge to the Congress as the ruling party came from the Left. Again during the Second General Elections, 1957, the same alignment was revealed and in a strong and sharper form. The forces of the Right could not obviously sit with ease, watching the growing discontent against the Congress going Leftwards.

BETWEEN the second and the coming third General Elections the forces of the Right have become busy in more ways than one, they have not only thrown up a brand new Rightist Party, the Swatantra, but all the forces of the Right have become more boldly active.

The Jana Sangh Grand Council is in session this week and the Swatantra will hold its national convention next week. There is such close similarity between the two about their main slogan as to 'compel serious attention'.

Among the various sins of the Congress, big and small, perhaps the biggest is the ideological insolence and political impudence, which the weaknesses and failures of the fourteen years of Congress mis-rule have enabled to the organised forces of Right reaction to assume.

It is the simple case of accumulating sins having come home to the roost and the ill-begotten child claiming inheritance!

Jana sangh's designs

DELIVERING the presidential address at the four-day session of the Prathini Sabha (General Council) of the Jana Sangh, its President A. Rama Rao appealed for a "polarisation of political forces in the country and formation of parties with definite and distinct ideologies" (Times of India, November 13).

As we shall see later the Swatantra Party appeal is also the same.

What needs wide questioning and serious thinking is, how far the ideological mix-up that has been indulged in by the Congress, leadership has gone and how universal is the practical mess produced under its regime, that an arch reactionary party like the Jana Sangh is emboldened to talk in terms of ideological distinctiveness and purity.

The Jana Sangh has also become cleverer with experience. It no more talks of Hindu religious revivalism in its old, crude, outworn terms. It now sells its old wine in new bottles. The Jana Sangh President urged that "the basic concept of one country, one culture and one nation be strengthened if true national integration was to be achieved." (Hindustan Times, November 13)

What does the Jana Sangh mean by the above? After the latest U.P. communal riots the Union Home Minister, in his Bombay speech, had honestly posed the problem: "We have to decide whether the minorities are to exist or not."

The Jana Sangh President indignantly recalled these words of Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri and denounced them as "irresponsible". This is enough to make the Jana Sangh meaning of the national integration abundantly clear!

PAGE TWO

NOTES OF THE WEEK

This manifesto was published last week. It contained nothing new and striking as to appeal to Indian popular opinion.

What is noteworthy is the guarded—for obvious reasons—welcome given to it by the press of monopoly capital.

The Times of India in its November 4, editorial stated, "There is method in its reasoning."

The Hindustan Times, November 4, editorially approved "the stress laid in the manifesto on the need for a strong and vigilant opposition." It further opined, "the emergence of the Swatantra Party as a potential rival will not only, as the manifesto suggests, tone up the quality of Congress rule but should also have the indirect effect of inducing the Congress to tighten up its own organisation."

The Times of India and the Hindustan Times are mass consumption papers and hence their scribes dare not express greater enthusiasm for the Swatantra Party. Birlas' Eastern Economist, however, does not suffer from any such inhibition. Its readership is limited to the administrative, managerial and academic circles. It editorially hails the Swatantra manifesto as an "attractive theoretical document", "consistent piece of political presentation."

The conclusion drawn is no less crazy, "the current abuse of the party as 'reactionary' and 'big business-dominated' is certainly unfair in the light of the presentation here of the wide area of 'sharing of responsibility'. There is here no evidence of exploitation of the poor by the rich which is part of the stock-in-trade criticism by the Congress of this new party."

"This is a manifesto for an Opposition and not for a Government. That is as it should be since, in fact no reasonable person wishes the Congress to be displaced from the Government in this country at this stage."

"It is hoped that, for its prime function, which is to place a brake on the monolithic power of the Congress it will have significant success at the polls."

The fond hope of a section of Indian feudal and monopoly reaction, from the coming General Election, is that the Swatantra emerge as the main Parliamentary Opposition to the Congress, in place of the Communist Party, so that the pressure from the Right may go on mounting and this Party may achieve political respectability, the status of the main Parliamentary Opposition.

the fond hope

The Congress misrule in Orissa made the Ganatantra Parishad strong enough in Orissa, to compel a coalition. It needed a lot of bitter experience and plenty of popular pressure from below for the Coalition to be broken up and the Ganatantra Parishad trounced during the last Mid-term elections.

The Ganatantra has now merged with the Swatantra. It claims a membership of one lakh in the State, 37

members in the 150-member Orissa State Assembly and 10 members in the Parliament. The merger does bring new strength to the Swatantra Party.

There were differences inside the Ganatantra, one section felt that if it lost its regional personality as an exclusive Oriya Party its popular appeal will become less. The dominant group was moved by its reactionary ideological class affinity with the Swatantra.

The Times of India, November 12, has editorially characterised it as "a sensible merger", and that, "it should put fresh heart into the (Swatantra) Party's organisation on the eve of the General Election."

Evidence goes on accumulating that there is a sizable influential Swatantra lobby inside the Congress itself, and in strategic places. A few days back the press had announced that Rajasthan Revenue Minister Shri Damodar Lal Vyasa was to contest the Jaipur Lok Sabha seat against the Swatantra-star Maharani Gayatri Devi.

After a meeting with the Maharaja, the Congress Minister has expressed his unwillingness to contest against the Swatantra Maharani! (Statesman, November 13). The New Age readers will have to wait a week or two before we get the juicy details of this political scandal and reactionary gang-up.

the kerala alliance

THE ignoble triple alliance of Kerala has suffered a double shattering, the first has been shattering one, leading to the split of the Muslim League, the second is of the rocking type embodied in the continuing tension between the two remaining partners, the Congress and the PSP.

The PSP Chief Minister has been behaving as if he was not a Chief Minister by the grace of the Congress Party. His own party, on its own numerical strength, is a very junior partner in the Coalition.

The issues that divide the Ministers of the two parties are the Cabinet rules, proposed by the Congress to ensure proper functioning of a Cabinet based on Coalition, with the Congress as the major party. There has been no agreement upto date.

The PSP Chief Minister has publicly denounced the Kerala Congress leadership as the traditional splitters of all Ministries. It is his demagogic way to exploit the sentiment for political stability. This PSP political blackmail is proving effective. The KFCO Chief had to make a public statement that the Kerala Congress does not want to split the Coalition. (Hindustan Times, November 9). As this was not enough the Congress President Sanjeeva Reddy has also assured that the Alliance will continue (Times of India, November 13).

The Congress leadership nowhere, and least of all in Kerala, is known for humility and selflessness. It is

putting up with the scant respect shown to its Ministers by the PSP Chief Minister for the simple reason that it has neither the strength nor the confidence to face the Communists in the next General Elections all on its own!

What the more experienced Congress leadership dare not admit publicly, the PSP leader Asoka Menon has done. Back home on the seasonal trip to his favourite West, speaking in Trivandrum, he said, "as far as Kerala was concerned there was no escape from the Coalition. The political crisis in Kerala still continued, and so long as the threat of Communist tyranny continued to haunt Kerala, the democratic forces would not get divided." (Hindustan Times, November 7)

To keep the Communists out of power in Kerala, continues to remain the basis of the unprincipled Congress-PSP Alliance. The PSP claims to fight the coming elections so as to emerge as the main Parliamentary Opposition. The PSP leadership however is prepared to commit the same treachery as in Kerala, and again go into the Coalition with the Congress.

The U. P. PSP Chairman U. N. Sharma owned up this possibility wherever and whenever, "national crisis like threats from Reds presented themselves as was the case in Kerala." (Hindustan Times, November 11).

The Congress Alliance with the Muslim League in Kerala was cold blooded and unprincipled, forged to defeat the Communists at the polls. Its latest breach with the League was again pre-planned and calculated to be able to face the electorate in the States outside Kerala during the coming General Elections.

calculated move

In the situation now prevailing in Kerala and in view of the coming General Elections, if the Communist Party was as unprincipled as the Congress or the PSP, it would have, immediately started flirting with the League in Kerala.

The General Secretary of our Party, Comrade Ajoy Kumar Ghosh has however, welcomed the Muslim League break with the Congress and the PSP in Kerala and said "it was a good thing", "a setback to communalism" and declared that so far as our Party was concerned there was "no question whatsoever of wooing Muslim League." (Times of India, November 13).

If one looks closely at the pre-election political scene of our country the picture is clear enough. The Swatantra and the Jana Sangh are openly out to achieve a shift to the Right. The policies and tactics of the Congress and the PSP aid and encourage such a reactionary shift.

It is only the Communist Party that is far-seeing and firm enough to point out this danger and offer policies that will stop the rot towards the Right and ensure a march onward towards the Left, and a progressive prosperous future for our people.

—P. C. JOSHI

SET-BACKS IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR

The inauguration of the Industries Fair in the Capital this week, thrills the heart of every patriotic Indian, for the exhibits on show in it, provide a magnificent panorama of the significant successes which our national industry has attained during a decade of planned development. And yet, the picture, not at the Fair, but in plants and factories, is not one of an ever-increasing production.

IN fact, according to the very same Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, which has organised the Fair, it is one of ups and downs, with a lean year (in terms of rate of increase in production) very often intervening between successive boom-years.

The index number of industrial production (with 1951 as the base) had risen from 151.9 in 1959 to 170.3 last year, which showed an increased of 12.1 per cent. This, according to the Federation, is well above an increase of 8.2 per cent which our industries are expected to attain this year on the basis of the trends during the first five months.

What is more, the production of some of the industries during the first half of the current year was below the level attained in the same period in 1960, a fact which demonstrably proves that the setback in them has not been only relative, but also in absolute terms. The industries which fall in this category include motor cycles, aluminium, copper, lead, plywood, tea chests, cotton yarn and jute manufactures.

The output of motor cycles fell from 1,933 in the first half of 1960 to 1,871 in the same period of the current year and that of plywood tea chests from 58.3 million sq. ft. to 46.8 million sq. ft.

Production of base metals—aluminium, copper and lead—was lower at 3,748 tons, 4,075 tons and 1,763 tons in January-June 1961, compared to 9,055 tons, 4,373 tons and 1,838 tons respectively in the same period of last year. Production of cotton yarn and jute manufactures also declined to 754 million lbs. and 475,000 tons from 841 million lbs. and 536,00 tons respectively.

All these industries are owned and operated by the private sector, whose operations are governed not so much by national interests as by considerations of profit.

contrasting picture

Contrasting with them is the picture of the public sector industries which have been showing continuous progress. A few weeks back we brought a part of this progress to our readers' notice. This week we are giving some statistics to provide an idea of the progress which our defence industries have made.

The defence factories produced goods worth Rs. 25.14 crores in 1959-60 as against production worth Rs. 14.04 crores two years back. According to latest indications the target for this year, set at Rs. 29 crores, will be surpassed

India from encouraging the private investors at home and from abroad. If sanctioned as many as 96 schemes of collaboration during the second quarter of the current year alone.

The collaborators at the other end are a cosmopolitan lot. They include British and Americans; Italians, Germans, and French. The schemes to be undertaken also vary from sanitary-ware to crucibles needed for industries using metals.

And not in all cases have the foreign collaborators been given a minority share as is enjoined by the Government's own policy statement. In many cases, especially in respect of Indo-British schemes, the foreign investor has been given the lion's share.

Messrs. Fisons Limited, for example, will be participating to the extent of 70 per cent in the capital of a collaborative venture with Messrs. Bengers Laboratories Ltd., for manufacture and packing of Dextran BP and Iron Dextran (Pharmaceuticals). Horlicks Ltd., have provided 84 per cent of the Rs. 0.12 crores needed for a factory for the manufacture of powdered milk at Nabha in the Punjab.

lack of concern for priorities

It is not only the fact of majority participation by the foreign collaborators which is reprehensible, but also the types of schemes to be undertaken. Their choice very often betrays an utter lack of concern for priorities which is vital in planned development. Sanitary-ware and powdered milk have already been mentioned as two such schemes. Others in the line are cigarettes and tobacco-making machinery and glass syringes.

The British Government has

SWALLOWING FOREIGN BAIT

THE relatively poor performance of the private sector has not, however, deterred the Government of

FOOD MINISTER OUT TO SABOTAGE FOOD POLICY OF THE THIRD PLAN

Having scuttled the State trading in foodgrains, S. K. Patil, the Union Food Minister is out to sabotage the policy laid down in the Third Plan as to food prices.

A SHARP controversy is understood to have been touched off by the refusal of the Food Minister to fix floor prices for foodgrains. Since the estimates so far available show that the crop this year is very good, the Community Development Ministry as well as several State Governments have urged that a price support policy in the interest of safeguarding the peasant's interests should be immediately enforced.

Failure to do that, it is stressed, would amount to leaving the market into the hands of the speculators and the peasant would suffer.

The policy of fixing floor price has been accepted in the Third Plan report, wherein it is laid down that "the farmer should have the necessary incentive" and that "decisions regarding the prices at which the Government should buy and sell, should be taken sufficiently in advance of the sowing season".

prices were to decline too much.

However, the critics of the Food Minister hold that such a course in practice would not amount to doing anything. Since arrangements and machinery for State trading has been wound up, the traders would be able to corner stocks and play havoc with the price they will pay to the peasant before the Government would be able to intervene. Experts also hold that the floor price need not be higher than the prevailing market price and stress that only by the prior announcement of a supporting price and the State Governments' setting up centres for purchasing stocks at that rate, could the market be disciplined and speculation curbed.

It is expected that the entire question would be examined in the Planning Commission as well as in the Union Cabinet, and decision would be reached on it shortly. The proposal to set up a price fixation committee is also being revived in this connection.

He is also stated to have come out with the assertion that in the event of providing price support, the price fixed will have to be higher than the ruling price today. The maximum that Patil is, therefore, willing to do is to make a general declaration that the Government would step in to undertake purchases of foodgrains in the market if the

INSIDE OUR NEWS & ECONOMY NOTES

given to India last week a credit of Rs. 6.67 crores to pay for a broad range of imports from the United Kingdom. Simultaneously with it, it has been successful in obtaining Government of India's consent for as many as 64 collaboration deals between the British and Indian investors in the first half of the current year.

With it, therefore, the official aid is only a bait to soften the foreign investors. The tragedy, is that our officialdom too falls for this bait, and readily agrees to bless all types of collaboration deals which the British and others condescend to offer.

CONGRESS BRAND LAND REFORMS

THE Congress-brand land reforms are supposed to have ushered in a millennium for our rural poor, and yet, paradoxically the landless labourers, who form the bulk of the poor in villages, seem to have become poorer. And this not on the testimony of any Communist or Kisan Sabha worker, but of an Enquiry initiated by the Government itself.

Last year the All-India Report of this Enquiry was published, and although it suffered from very many con-

ceptual and other limitations, its findings were broadly accepted as portraying the lot of the agricultural labourers. This week the second volume of the Report of this Enquiry, relating to West Bengal, has been published, and it repeats the same sordid story. Below are given the main findings of this report:

● The estimated number of agricultural labour households in West Bengal went up by about 8.9 per cent, from 10,78,000 in 1950-51 to 11,63,100 in 1956-57. During this period, the percentage of landless agricultural labour households went up from 53.71 to 63.4.

● Casual adult male workers were employed on an average for wages for 232 days in 1950-51 and 227 days in 1956-57.

● The average daily wages of adult male casual workers decreased from 166 nP in 1950-51 to 143 nP during 1956-57. The average daily wage rate of adult women also fell from 104 nP in 1950-51 to 98 nP in 1956-57.

● About 69 per cent of agricultural labour households were indebted during 1956-57 as against 33 per cent in 1950-51. The average accumulated debt per household increased from Rs. 15 in 1950-51 to Rs. 39 in 1956-57. The average debt per indebted household also rose from Rs. 44 in 1950-51 to Rs. 56 in 1956-57.

—ESSEN
November 14, 1961.

MEDICAL AND HEALTH EMPLOYEES TO FORM A FEDERATION

THE All-India Medical and Health Employees' Conference convened in Calcutta on November 18 and 19, is the first move for joint action on the part of this section of our workers, on a national scale, to realise their pressing demands.

The Conference, it is expected, would lay the foundation for a Federation of Medical and Health Employees which would coordinate activities of employees in hospitals, medical institutions and health services throughout the country.

The conference is being planned by a Reception Committee headed by Dr. Benoy Bhattacharya, the noted chest specialist. The Reception Committee is providing free boarding and lodging to the delegates.

NOVEMBER-19, 1961

NEW AGE

PAGE THREE

NEW AGE

NOVEMBER 19, 1961

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

CULT OF PERSONALITY

QUESTION:

What exactly is meant by the expression "cult of personality" and why have the Soviet Communists called so strongly for struggle against it?

(B. S. Singh, Calcutta)

ANSWER:

THE concept "personality cult" can be examined from three angles. There is first the evaluation of Stalin. Second, we must consider the aspect of the role of leadership in the Communist movement. Finally, there is the question of methods of socialist construction to be gone into.

FIRST: The most authoritative evaluation of Stalin's role yet available is contained in the History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, published last year, by the Soviet Party's Central Committee.

The very fact that, following the 22nd CPSU Congress Stalin has been buried in the square of Revolutionaries (where stalwarts like Sverdlov, Dzerzhinsky, Kallin also lie) would demonstrate that this evaluation has now been accorded the stamp of a Congress decision.

Stalin's role in the construction of socialism, in the defence of Leninism and in the leadership of the CPSU over a very long period of time has not been denied. Indeed it has been asserted that he rendered valuable service to the Soviet Union and to the international Communist movement.

Stalin remains one of the great figures of the world proletarian revolution. Anybody who doubts this evaluation would do well to go through the pages of the above-mentioned History.

At the same time there has been decisive downgrading of the status accorded to Stalin during his lifetime. Apart from the enormous and utterly erroneous adulation being sharply criticised, it is now being stressed that all the great successes of the Soviet Union from 1924 to 1953 were wrongly attributed solely and exclusively to Stalin.

While he made a big contribution by his wise and energetic leadership, there were other more important forces at work—above all, the Party and a socialist people. These are factors that made the biggest impact, not Stalin's leadership—such is the evaluation today.

In addition there were serious mistakes committed by Stalin, grievously wrong practices indulged in for a long period and sheer crimes against thousands of innocent Communists and other Soviet people. These caused great damage to the advance of socialism in the Soviet Union and to the progress of the international Communist movement.

fic features of each country will have to be taken into consideration when applying these basic postulates.

In addition, however, there were features of the Soviet road to socialism which were the product of the unique combination of circumstances obtaining internationally and internally. Such features are by no means obligatory for the advance to socialism in all countries.

For example, the Soviet form of proletarian dictatorship, the high degree of centralisation, including certain necessary restrictions on democracy; the form of collectivisation of agriculture, including the nationalisation of land; the exclusive reliance on internal resources, without the possibility of aid from any other socialist countries (since none existed). These are among the more important features of Soviet Socialism which are its alone.

Moreover, there are features of Soviet history during the period of Stalin's leadership which not only did not aid the advance of socialism but hampered it—the methods of arbitrary rule without accountability to elected bodies; the stifling of criticism; the mass purges and trials; the branding of all mistakes or even oppositional views as enemy sabotage; the intolerance towards all dissent; the hypocrisy varnishing of reality.

These are precisely the features of Soviet history which have been under attack from the CPSU following the historic Twentieth Congress in 1956. These are precisely the features of the cult of personality which need to be removed thoroughly and completely from the theory and practice of all socialist countries and Communist Parties, wherever they may exist.

The removal of these obnoxious features is needed not only in the Soviet Union. As a matter of fact the CPSU has thoroughly eradicated these features from Soviet life by a most vigorous ideological campaign over a number of years and, by a series of institutional changes (industrial reorganisation, greater decentralisation, changes in State structure, etc.)

Marxism never denies the role of leaders or outstanding personalities but it does deny that they are the main causative factor in historical progress. More, Marxism clearly analyses the social conditions and the class forces which decisively mould a leader, his policies and the result of his actions. A leader is great to the extent to which he grasps these conditioning factors and works within their limitations and with their possibilities.

role of personalities in history

As a matter of fact, the role of leaders as evaluated by Marxism falls into the broader category of problems connected with the subjective factor in history.

Marxists have stressed the activity of the masses in historical progress but they have always given the priority to objective factors, the operation of economic laws in the first place. Thus, while Marxists are not historical determinists; they are historical materialists.

Third—methods of socialist construction. The basic programme and policies of socialist construction in the Soviet Union were laid down by Lenin. They have been further reviewed and summarised in the Statement adopted by the 81 Parties in Moscow, November 1960.

Such aspects of the history of Soviet growth as the dictatorship of the proletariat, the worker-peasant alliance, the leading role of the Communist Party, priority growth of heavy industry, co-operative agriculture and the like are not merely of historical importance.

They represent the indispensable experience which all countries will need if they are to successfully build socialism. Naturally, the different world setting and the spect-

Meet The Challenge

Editorial

foreign oil companies—Burmah-Shell, Stanvac and Galtes—to accept a crucial part of the Dámie Committee Report concerning the oil prices reduction is nothing short of an affront to the nation.

The Dámie Report has been accepted by the Government. The prices worked out from the findings of this Report have come into force from October 1. And now, nearly six weeks after that date, the foreign monopolies have chosen to "convey" their "inability" to abide by the Government decision.

That the oil sharks have the cheek to do so, is by no means surprising. For, the oil companies are known to have built up their own states within states, wherever and whenever they could do so. The international link-up of the oil monopolies is among the biggest and the most powerful in the world.

It is by no means surprising, therefore, that they have rejected precisely that demand of the Dámie Report, which has envisaged a reduction in the oil prices flowing from the discounts on the posted prices of refined petroleum products.

Indeed, till this present stage has reached, at every step the foreign monopolies have been protecting the interests of their international cartels at the expense of our country's interests.

To the Dámie Committee, they had refused to disclose even the names of their original producers or suppliers of oil. They have insisted on the import of crude oil from sources of their choice, even when oil at cheaper prices was available to the country. And, thanks to their cartel system and to substantial discounts available to them on f.o.b. postings, they resorted to underquoting when India turned to the Soviet Union for oil imports.

Our entire past experience shows that whenever our Government has forced them to bend a little, it has done so only by mustering the strength of the State sector in the oil industry.

What is surprising hence, is the existence of lurking illusions about the "good" intentions of these oil monopolies. The talk of talking them over to renounce their own interests for the sake of our country's interests. The illusions of winning them over to help willingly in the building of our own national oil industry, at the risk of losing their monopoly. Such talk and such illusions ought not to find any place in Government policy, if the Government does not want to face a similar affront from the oil monopolies, in the future.

What is needed, therefore, is a firm policy of the continuous expansion of the State sector and the corresponding dislodging of the oil sharks from the heights they have come to occupy in this vital branch of our national economy. Come what may, the Government must not fall in implementing its own decisions that are based on the Dámie Report.

(November 15, 1961)

Savage Sentence

resurgence of soviet democracy

THE farce of a trial has come to its tutored end. Lt. Col. Bhattacharya has been awarded the savage sentence of eight years rigorous imprisonment by the hand-picked Military Court of Ayub.

It would be more accurate to call this "judgment" the sentence by savages for savage ends. The whole world knows that Bhattacharya was wounded and kidnapped on Indian territory by Pakistanis who had illegally transported themselves on to our soil.

His plea that the Pakistani Court had no jurisdiction over him was dismissed out of hand.

The protest by the Indian Government that the trial was "against all international norms and laws", was brusquely shoved aside by the Pakistan military clique.

The entire trial was obviously meant as a provocation, intended as a calculated insult to our national honour and dignity by clapping the irons on a gallant officer.

Let holy anger and burning wrath, then, be our response to this outrage. Let the Government of India not content itself with a mere protest note and diplomatic disapproval. Let it shout out its indignation, demand Bhattacharya's immediate release and full compensation for all the suffering he has undergone. Let it warn Pakistan that dire consequences for it will follow any insult to our national honour.

(November 15, 1961)

—Mohit Sen

NEW AGE

NOVEMBER 19, 1961

from our kerala correspondent's diary

Plan Jatha's Great, Triumphant March

November, 10

By tomorrow the "Plan Jatha" led by E. M. S. Namboodiripad would have traversed the distance from Manjeruv in the Northern Tip of Kerala to Trivandrum, covering it by car in 11 days. As I wrote these lines the Jatha has already reached Alwaye.

E. M. S. Namboodiripad told us that his experience during the nine days was something unprecedented—the enthusiasm evinced among the urban and the rural poor all through and the middle classes, proved beyond any shadow of doubt that the cry for just share in the Third Plan has the backing of the entire people of Kerala.

The Jatha that left Manjeruv on November 1st had in 9 days, attended five hundred receptions and participated in as many as thirty mass meetings at various centres.

Kisan Sabhas, trade unions, youth and students, panchayats, reading rooms and other public organisations and individuals belonging to various political opinion had blessed them with sympathy.

Over three lakhs of people had attended these meetings and receptions and nearly Rs. 3000 were presented to E.M.S. in the form of coins and currency notes.

As the Jatha went from place to place by car, copies of memorandum to be presented to the Governor of Kerala on November 12 at Trivandrum, were made available to the public.

The Memorandum dealt with the case for Kerala's increased share in the Central Allotment. The central point stressed in the memorandum was that as in the earlier two Plans, so in the Third Plan as well Kerala was given a raw deal by Centre.

The all-India outlay in the two major heads of development came to Rs. 3150 crores and Kerala's just share should be Rs. 126 crores. But Kerala will not be getting even Rs. 50 crores, even if all that has been promised by the Centre was forthcoming.

So, the memorandum concluded, a serious situation has arisen where Centre had let down Kerala, and the State Government and ruling parties were bothered more about clinging to power and sharing the spoils, while the people were condemned to backwardness, unemployment and all round misery.

The Communist Party's efforts to bring round other parties had proved of no avail. The result was this campaign to mobilise the people and bring pressure on the Centre to revise its allotment and stand by Kerala.

In the various meetings and at press conferences held at important centres E. M. S. Namboodiripad met the charges levelled against the present campaign. It was said that this was an election stunt. E. M. S. Namboodiripad stated that he was sorry to hear responsible Congress lea-

ders say so but if this was an election stunt to gather votes he challenged Congress and PSP to at least compete work with CPI in this "stunt" so that an all out mobilisation for a just share in the Third Plan will result and that will open the eyes of the Centre.

C. K. Govindan Nair, the Congress President had pooh-poohed the Jatha and asked A. K. Gopalan to go to Delhi and not to Trivandrum. Gopalan, replying to C. K. Govindan Nair's criticism recalled the Hunger March of 1937 of which C. K. Govindan Nair was a participant and requested Shri Nair to join with him to go to Delhi to offer satyagraha for Kerala's case.

Exposing the role of the State Government and the ruling parties of the Congress and the PSP, E. M. S. Namboodiripad said that ever since the pre-Plan discussions

biggest ever demonstration

ties to make this demand irresistible rented the air. On the most conservative estimate, over fifteen thousand from all over the Trivandrum district participated in the procession with banner, flags and festoons and it was easily far bigger than both the Congress and the PSP procession put together.

M. K. Kumaran, M.P. presided. E. M. S. Namboodiripad told the one lakh crowd that he wished that this demon-

stration and rally for Kerala's Plan development was held under the united auspices of all the political parties here.

The Communist Party had striven for such unity but the Congress, PSP and others had refused to join. His experience however was that wherever the jatha went, Congressmen, Socialists, Muslims and people

from other political parties and stratas of society had blessed this venture of the Party and they were behind it, said E. M. S. He and A. K. Gopalan had spoken to seven lakhs of people in twelve days in over five hundred meetings, received over five thousand garlands in cash and coin. He appealed to the ruling parties to wake up and unite on the Plan issue at least at this hour.

The Government had rejected the opposition demand that the Third Plan of Kerala should be discussed by the Legislature. This was not acceded to on flimsy ground.

E. M. S. recalled how he, at the last moment when even the promised Heavy Electrical Plant was denied to our State, had asked for a special session of the Legislature to discuss the situation. But the Congress, PSP and their leaders and Ministers, concerned as they were with the sharing and fighting for the spoils of political power and with fighting against one another, refused to respond to any of these calls for unity.

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police summons —to discuss!

AS PER PHOTOSTAT COPY

Exact translation of the Order of the Vikas Adhikari Office of the Vikas Adhikari (panchayat Samiti) Tijara.

D: 7.10.61

Camp Khijuribas
1. Shri Bhoorsingh
2. Saroopchand;
Khijuribas.

You are hereby informed that both of you should present yourself in the Office of the Panchayat Samiti on 14.10.61; and discuss with me in the office about the Development works. If you do not come, then you would be summoned to come through the police.

Sd.....
7.10.61
Vikas Adhikari,
Panchayat Samiti,
Tijara.

HERE is a photostat copy of an order issued by a Vikas Adhikari in the Tijara Panchayat Samiti of Rajasthan.

The Vikas Adhikari in this order summons people to his office to discuss with him something about development activity.

But the order does not end there. It ends with the threat that in case the persons fail to appear they would be summoned through the police. When did this Vikas Adhikari become the repository of such powers, it is for the Rajasthan Government to explain.

It is known however, that summons through the police are issued only in case a person is suspected of having committed some crime and it is only a magistrate who can write in this strain even in case of a person supposed to have been involved in some crime.

Here are two persons who are threatened by this Vikas Adhikari who has no magisterial powers, that for the "crime" of their failure to appear in his office to discuss matters of development, they would be summoned by the police.

Arbitrary assumption of powers, utter disregard and contempt for the citizen of this land and, last but not the least, a thoroughly distorted and obnoxious concept of securing of development, is the summing up of this order of this Vikas Adhikari.

Much is being made of "cooperation" in the name of the so called decentralisation of Administration in this State, and lot of talk of the new atmosphere in which people themselves feel the urge to take part in development is being indulged in.

It would be rather a job for the leaders of the State Congress and the State Government of Rajasthan to explain how under such a system are bred and born Vikas Adhikaris like the one of Tijara who thinks and acts as if he is the Nawab of that area.

Such is the actual state of affairs, even under the much boasted Democratic Decentralisation.

—H. K. VYAS

The way in which the League had been treated by the Congress first, and later by the PSP, was so insulting and shabby—the ignominy of giving up membership of Speakership for them, the calum-

* SEE PAGE 13

PAGE FOUR

NEW AGE

NOVEMBER 19, 1961

PAGE FIVE

ASSAM CONGRESS

From Madhusudan Bhattacharya

A number of District Congress Committees of Assam have protested against the recommendations made by the Pradesh Election Committee (PEC), for the nomination of Congress candidates for the general elections.

THE PEC recommended to the High Command 117 names for 95 out of a total of 105 Assembly seats. It had to recommend more than one name for a number of seats as the two opposing groups—the Ministerialists and the anti-Ministerialists—could not come to any agreement.

The main complaints of the District Congress Committee, which are that the recommendations of the DCC's were ignored by the PEC without any valid reason and that the PEC's recommendation did not take into account the "interests of the Congress organisation". They also complain that many people who cannot claim any commendable record of service to the organisation have been recommended by the PEC.

This protest by the District Congress Committees, according to observers, heralds another round of factional fight in the Assam Congress.

The fact, according to informed observers, is that

ference of the Congress, has aroused considerable interest in political circles here.

The Silchar DCC in its resolution has requested the High Command to reconsider the recommendations of the PEC with regard to Cachar district constituencies. It has also urged upon the Working Committee to revise the decision of suspension of three Congress leaders of Cachar—all the three suspended leaders were Presidents of the three DCCs of that district—for their participation in the language movement and later for resigning their Assembly seats in protest against the police firing at Silchar in

It may be recalled that a stalwart of the anti-Ministry group inside the Assam Pradesh Congress Committee moved a resolution demanding that no disciplinary action should be taken against these members as they took that step "in the interests of the Congress organisation itself".

The Ministerial group, however, won the battle on this score. The High Command could not possibly comply with the demand of the anti-Ministerial group on this issue for its wider implications.

This was the first time that a section of the ruling

an alliance with the communalists of the minority community. Congress President Reddy is reported to have expressed the view that the suspension decision did not debar the suspended Congress leaders of Cachar from being nominated for or from contesting the general elections; it only debarred them from holding any elective post inside the Congress. But the PEC did not recommend the name of any of the suspended leaders, though they had been recommended by a section of the Congress organisation of Cachar district. The anti-Ministerial group in the PEC also could not support them because of the suspen-

woos communalism

are at its mercy. Even after the elections, in which undoubtedly the Congress will obtain the majority, both groups will continue to be dependent on the High Command so that there will never be any danger of a "revolt".

Of all the DCC's in revolt, the protest resolution of the Silchar DCC, released to the press almost simultaneously with the beginning of the West Bengal Political Con-

ference of the Congress, has aroused considerable interest in political circles here.

which 11 persons, including a girl, were killed and about 100 persons injured. This step was taken by the three suspended leaders, it has been maintained by the leadership, without any reference to the leadership and hence was a violation of party discipline. All these DCC Presidents have been suspended for one year, which debars them from holding any elective post for that period.

party itself has publicly voiced protest against police firing. Were the High Command to connive at this public condemnation, it would encourage Congressmen elsewhere in the country to follow suit and that would mean the worst censure of the ruling group.

However, at the time of the West Bengal Political Conference of the Congress, some of the leaders of the West Bengal Congress, including the Chief Minister, Dr. Roy, reportedly pleaded in favour of the suspended Congress leaders in Cachar. This, according to political observers here, confirmed the widely held view that the anti-Ministerial group in the Assam Congress has been receiving support from a powerful group of Congressmen in West Bengal. This support, it is believed, is on account of the strong communal bias of the anti-Ministerial group in the Assam Congress.

The Ministerial group has

enter-jana sangh ...

Meanwhile, some Jana Sangh leaders are reported to have been brought from outside the State. These leaders, it is learnt, started to prepare for an innocuous "Yajna", which, however, in reality meant a grand rally of all the communal elements among the majority community. Mostly Hindi speaking, these leaders conducted their communal campaign inside tea gardens also, while trying at the same time to pave the ground for building an organisation of the Jana Sangh.

Innocent Muslims, who had been brought out with silly slogans by the Ministerial group on the assurance that the tea labourers also would join them, now began to get completely isolated. The tea garden labourers also began to swing towards Hindu consolidation. Meanwhile the recommendations of the Assam Congress PEC were out and the INTUC group of Cachar did not receive the treatment it expected. Their sitting MP, D. N. Tewari, was recommended bracketed with another nominee. All these factors together brought about a change in the alignment of forces in the Cachar Congress.

That is the reason why, according to competent observers, the INTUC group now

sion order passed on them by the High Command.

Should the High Command really nominate some of these suspended leaders, it would mean a victory for the anti-Ministerial group.

The most significant aspect of the meeting of the Silchar DCC, in which the above mentioned resolution was passed, is that it indicated a re-alignment of Congress forces in that district. The meeting was presided over by Ram Prasad Choubey, M.L.A., a leader of the of the INTUC of the district.

The INTUC group in the Cachar Congress had earlier joined hands with the Ministerial group and it was alleged that the INTUC group and the Ministerial group were responsible for the communal disturbance in that district which resulted in the tragic events of Hallakandi in June last when there was a communal flare-up leading to the unfortunate death of about a score of people.

seems to be willing to espouse the cause of the suspended Congress leaders of Cachar. Meanwhile, the Jana Sangh leaders, seized upon the All-garth incidents and, as usual with them, giving it a colour and exaggerated version began to intensify their communal campaign. It is also learnt that the Jana Sangh has been contemplating to put up a candidate against a Communist candidate in Cachar.

Reports from some other districts of Assam also indicate that the Jana Sangh has of late stepped up its campaign and has been trying to evolve a platform of its own. In this campaign, it is said, they are helped by the lukewarm attitude of a section of the Congressmen who are themselves, perhaps, not arch communal, but would not mind a bit of communal campaign if it could hit the Ministerial group. But there is a section inside the Assam Congress which, it is said, has been actively assisting the communal campaign of the Jana Sanghs.

Sober elements apprehend that even if there is no communal flare up before the elections, it may burst out after or even during the election campaign itself, unless all secular forces assert themselves now.

EXPOSURES

★ by O. P. MEHROTRA ★
corruption rampant

WHEN Ministers and even the Chief Minister are charged of corrupt practices how can the administration go without it. The Adult Report for 1956-57, presented to the Punjab Vidhan Sabha on December 23, 1958, highlighted:

- 1. Irrecoverable over payments to contractors to the tune of over Rs. 2 lakhs and spending over Rs. 48,000 on the purchase of conveyor belts which were never used.
- 2. Shortages of over Rs. 48,000 resulting from the pilferage of stores in one of the irrigation projects. The report regretted that instead of proceeding against the officer concerned the Government reinstated him after temporary suspension.
- 3. Dealing with Bhakra Nangal project, the report pointed out that the expenditure on over 1000 works, exceeded the allocation by over Rs. 3 crores. Besides construction materials valued at over Rs. 1.5 crores were apparently purchased in excess of the requirements.

The Public Accounts Committee in another report submitted to the Punjab Vidhan Sabha on March 17, 1959 disclosed a sensational case of

"pre-planned fraud" on the Bank of Patiala, a Government-owned institution, involving a loss of Rs. 7.7 lakhs. The Committee passed severe strictures on the Bank authorities and criticised them for not initiating criminal proceedings against a defaulting bullion firm.

"This is a case of gross favouritism shown to the

firm in question and a scandalous abuse of public money in disregard of the banking and business procedure and the bank's position as a trustee of the public money" the report said.

The Committee also detailed how the food grain supply scheme intended to be run on a "no-profit no-loss" basis, sometimes ago, resulted in a loss of Rs. 18.84 lakhs. It was all due to delay in the disposal of the stocks for which the Food Department was not able to give satisfactory reply to the Committee.

The Public Accounts Committee in its report for the year 1958-59 said that the mismanagement and lack of planning in the departments of Education, Agriculture and

Electricity had resulted in lapse of grants and waste of public funds.

Discussing the fertilisers scheme of the Agricultural Department the report pointed out that in a scheme involving crores of rupees there was no proper planning nor were definite instructions issued in regard to the manner in which the accounts were to be maintained.

The Government purchased fertilisers worth Rs. 7 crores during the last seven years of which the cash sales amounted to about Rs. 4 crores and the sales on credit to Rs. 3.8 crores. Credit sales of about Rs. 50,000 had not been registered with the revenue authorities, the report said.

According to the Report the Public Accounts Committee learnt from the audit that a loss of Rs. 77 lakhs had been incurred on the scheme for land reclamation and mechanical cultivation.

The Committee severely criticised the Education Department for its failure to utilise the funds provided for beneficent purposes.

police raj

WHILE agitation against betterment levy was on in the Punjab, Kairon's Police had the temerity to attempt the violation of the privileges of the Punjab Vidhan Sabha.

On February 19, 1959 a police officer attempted to serve a warrant of arrest on a Communist member, Jagir Singh, while he was sitting in the house. The Times of India giving the account of the Assembly scene said on February 20:

"The police officer from Malerkotla in Sangrur district appeared in the corridors of the Vidhan Sabha and sent in two messages, one after another, asking the member to come out immediately. Jagir Singh responded to the police official's request and was served with a warrant of arrest.

"The Communist member then rushed inside the chamber and handed over the warrant to the Speaker, Mr. Gur-

dial Singh Dhillon, who agitatedly directed the Secretary of the Vidhan Sabha to turn the police officer out of the premises of the Vidhan Sabha.

"The Speaker announced that he had no option but to refer the incident to the Privileges Committee of the House.

"Mr. Pratap Singh Kairon, Chief Minister intervening pleaded that the police officer was apparently ignorant about the procedure of law. The Speaker was heard to remark: Ignorance of law is no excuse."

In District Ludhiana on March 18, armed policemen started forcible realisation of the fines imposed on anti-betterment levy satyagrahis of Sherpur kaian and removed house-hold articles, ornaments and cattle of scores of villagers."

The Times of India of March 19, 1959 reported: Policemen were summoned from other districts to assist the local force. The village had been under police encirclement for the last three days.

"Some women of the village alleged today that apart from attacking the property of the anti-betterment levy satyagrahis, the police had taken away ornaments and clothes of even the newly married girls!

"The police, it was stated, in some cases did not even allow women to bring fodder for their cattle. They also alleged that their menfolk had been mercilessly beaten up by the police."

"Fear was writ large on the faces of children and women. Some women of the village narrated their tale of woe to a party of newsmen which visited the village."

This was followed by firing in village, Narur, near Phagwara in which four men and a woman were killed and many others injured.

The Times of India of March 24, gave the story under the headline "Narur village looks like Armed Camp". About 200 policemen had been posted near the village.

"The police firing, the villagers said, continued for about half an hour. According to them 200 rounds were fired. The newsmen saw bullet marks as much as 300 yards away from the place of the firing. Some cattle also died of bullet wounds."

kairon's record

ON April 9, 1957 when Sardar Pratap Singh Kairon was sworn in as the Chief Minister of the Punjab he had promised to provide an efficient, clean and impartial administration for the State. How far did he succeed?

On May 19, 1958 the Congress High Command came out with a public statement in which, although, Kairon himself was exonerated of the charge of corruption it held him "constructively responsible" for certain "improprieties" by members of his family or others associated with him.

According to this there were in all 25 charges. They could be divided into three categories:

1. Charges insinuating corruption;
2. Charges alleging misuse of power in the interest of the family or friends;
3. Charges alleging corruption in the administration.

According to the Congress High Command none of the charges in the category one were substantiated.

In the category three some of the charges were the subject matter of pending proceedings in courts and so nothing was said about them too.

But the charges in the category two could not be dismissed.

Here the High Command had had to accept: "In the second category are charges relating to some action taken in the interest of the family or others connected with him (Kairon)."

"In the main these relate to bypassing of normal administrative machinery ordering the withdrawal of a case and the non-suspension of a public servant arrested by the customs authorities for smuggling."

So, the High Command directed the Punjab Chief Minister to face a confidence vote in the Party. Unfortunately for the people Kairon survived this onslaught.

words and ... deeds

THE Punjab Chief Minister Pratap Singh Kairon always speaks about the peasants and their problems. How serious his Government has been towards the national pledge—land to the tillers—is clear from the following report:

"Senior Congress legislatures joined hands with the opposition in condemning the Punjab Security of Land Tenures Bill as a retrograde step. Prithvi Singh Azad (Congress) regretted that the Government had failed to redeem the Party's election pledge. It was not living upto the Congress ideal of land to the tillers.

He was happy when the Government promulgated an ordinance two months ago to afford some relief to the peasants but now, as a Congressman, he was ashamed that the salient features of the ordinance had been dropped.

He accused the Ministry of playing joke on the people of the State by raising the slogan of lands to the tillers and, at the same time helping the big landlords.

He thought it would have been much better if the Government had admitted failure in the matter of Agrarian Reforms." (Times of India, September 28, 1958).

public service commission bypassed

The Punjab Public Service Commission criticised the growing tendency on the part of the State Government to exclude posts from its purview, a course which, if maintained, was justified only in exceptional cases.

This, the report for the year ending 1958 said "defeats the very purpose of setting up a Statutory body for recruitment to the State services and would have the effect of nullifying the main provisions as well as the spirit of the Constitution.

The report said: "The posts which have been excluded from the purview of the Commission this year are mostly not such as could or should have been taken out of the purview of the Commission under the accepted policy and purpose for which the exclusion of posts has been made in the Constitution.

"This provision can also certainly not be invoked for the purpose of taking out a particular percentage of particular kind of posts as has been done in the case of block development officers. The report specifically

referred to the recruitment of chairmen for the improvement trusts of Amritsar and Jullundur for which the requisition was sent to the Commission but withdrawn when the posts had been advertised.

taxes rise

Taxes under the Congress rulers in Punjab have been rising to ever new heights. Tax revenue of the State Government (excluding irrigation charges) has risen from Rs. 20.70 crores in 1956-57 to Rs. 35.70 crores in 1960-61—an increase of Rs. 15 crores in a five-year period.

In the very first year of Kairon's rule the Punjab Government decided to take immediate steps to meet the current revenue deficit of about Rs. 2 crores.

In the 1959-60 Budget 9 per cent increase in the taxes on road transport fares and freight and 6 nPs in the tax on motor spirit was made. This brought an additional revenue of Rs. 72 lakhs.

The Punjab budget for 1961-62 provided for enhancement of the rates of general sales tax and entertainment levy. These measures were supposed to yield additional revenue of Rs. 120 lakhs and Rs. 11 lakhs respectively.

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MORE ON CULT-AND DAMAGE CAUSED

SHVERNIK SPEAKS

A vast amount of work was done after the 20th Congress to reestablish and promote the Leninist standards of Party life, to abolish the consequences of the personality cult, and to strengthen socialist legality.

In this period the Committee of Party Control and local Party bodies re-considered wrong expulsions from the Party of a large number of Communists, including people prominent in the Party and the state, who had been tried in the past on unfounded political charges.

A thorough inquiry into the materials and circumstances attending the violations of Party principles and Soviet legality, confirmed once again the correctness of the conclusions that the 20th Congress had drawn to the effect that the Stalin personality cult and its related violations of collective leadership, inner-Party democracy and socialist legality, had inflicted great damage upon us.

Life itself showed that criticism of the blunders and shortcomings engendered by personality cult, criticism that would be as trenchant and as unreserved as Lenin's criticism, was needed.

For that was the only way to burst the fetters cramping the Party's ideological life and the creative activities of the masses; that was the only way to create conditions for successful advancement.

The anti-Party cabal of doctrinaires and splitters, comprising Molotov, Kaganovich, Malenkov, Voroshilov, Bulganin, Pervukhin, Saburov, and Shepilov tried to lead the Party astray from this road. These men put up every resistance to realization of the Party's general line which the 20th Congress had charted.

In the work the Committee of Party Control did to rehabilitate unwarrantedly convicted Communists, we constantly encountered the dire consequences of the high-handed and lawless actions taken personally by Malenkov, Kaganovich and Molotov.

We learned that in the period of the bloating of the personality cult, they took the initiative in creating an atmosphere of suspicion and mistrust. In their high office Malenkov, Kaganovich and Molotov flagrantly violated the Leninist standards of Party life and revolutionary legality.

It has now been established that to seize leading positions in the Party and state, Malenkov clubbed together with Yezhov and later Beria to engineer under guise of "vigilance" the wholesale framing of Party and government workers as enemies of the people, to which end he used the vilest means including intrigue, provocation and direct falsehood.

Out in Byelorussia in 1937, Malenkov and Yezhov trumped up a story claiming that there was a big anti-Soviet underground network in the Republic headed by local Party and government leaders. In this monstrous provocation Malenkov made short-shrift of Byelorussia's Party, government, trade union and YCL functionaries.

In his speech here Comrade

have Trotskyite - Japanese sabotage. Moreover, there is not a single sector on the railways where we would not have such saboteurs?"

Under Kaganovich arrests of workers of railway transport were made by lists. Without any grounds, there were arrested its deputies, nearly all the chiefs of lines, the heads of the political departments and other leading workers of transport. At present they have been rehabilitated, some of them posthumously.

In the possession of the Committee of Party Control there are 32 personal letters from Kaganovich to the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs asking for the arrest of 83 leading workers of transport.

Particularly to blame for the violation of socialist law is Molotov who, as Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, for a long time violated Soviet laws in the crudest fashion.

Thus, in 1937, when the internal situation in the country was marked by great successes in economic and cultural construction and strengthening of the moral and political unity of Soviet society, Molotov "theoretically" substantiated the necessity for increasing the struggle against so-called "enemies of the people" and participated personally in carrying out mass repressions.

At a Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee in February-March 1937 Molotov said: "The special danger of the present subversive-wrecking organizations is that these wreckers, saboteurs and spies pretend to be Communists, ardent supporters of the Soviet power."

Malignantly ridiculing those who tried to warn Stalin and Molotov against the creation of all kinds of imaginary plots, wrecking and spying centers, Molotov called upon the Party to rout "the enemies of the people," allegedly taking cover behind their Party cards.

Documents show that it was in Molotov's time that such a unlawful method as sentencing people by lists was introduced. Molotov knew well that this was a violation of the law. Exceeding his rights, however, he personally disposed of the destinies of arrested people.

Among those who were arrested with Molotov's sanction were many old Communists, prominent executives, well-known workers of science and the arts. They have been fully rehabilitated now.

Here is an example of Molotov's inhuman attitude to the fate of people. In 1937 one of the professors working in the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs appealed to Molotov, as Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars. He wrote that his father had been arrested, obviously by mistake, and asked Molotov to intervene on his father's behalf.

Instead of examining this human request, Molotov inscribed the following resolution: "To Yezhov. Is this professor still in the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs and not in the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs?" After that, the author of the letter was illegally arrested.

Here is another example of

Molotov's extreme cynicism. During his trip to the city of Prokoplevsk in 1934, the car, in which he was travelling, ran off the road into the gutter with its right-hand wheels. None of the passengers received any injuries.

This episode subsequently served as the grounds for a story about an "attempt" on the life of Molotov, and a group of absolutely innocent people was sentenced for this. Who knew better than Molotov himself that in reality no attempt had been made, yet he did not utter a word in the defence of innocent people. Such is the face of Molotov.

The restoration of the Leninist standards of Party life the predominance of the method of persuasion in educational work, the strength of the influence of the Party group, the growth in the consciousness of Party members ensure a situation in which the necessity to resort to the extreme measure of punishment, as expulsion from the Party is, falls off more and more often.

From year to year the number of expulsions from the Party is reduced. In the five years which have elapsed since the 20th Congress less than one half the number of people have been expelled from the Party than in the five year-period preceding that Congress.

Such defects as the substitution of personal decisions for collective, a prejudiced approach, unwarranted suspiciousness when examining personal cases, the discussion sometimes of personal cases in the absence of the individual concerned and without appropriate verification of the accusations levelled against Communists, which became established under the influence of the personality cult, have been removed from practice.

The method of examining the personal cases of Communists, envisaged in the Rules of the Party, has been wholly restored.

Along with this the Committee of Party Control restored in the Party the Communists expelled for invalid

reasons and mitigated measures of Party punishment, limiting itself to a reprimand and the pointing out of misdeeds that had been done.

In the period under review the Party Control Committee has considered more than 70,000 appeals of Communists against the decisions of local Party

bodies on expulsion from the Party or the imposition of penalties.

More than 15,000 people have been restored in the Party. They include a large number of Communists expelled from the Party in the past on the strength of unfounded political accusations.

SERDYUK SPEAKS

When at its 20th Congress the Party exposed the personality cult of Stalin, and it came out that during his life the carnage of people undesirable to him, of prominent Party and state leaders, was organized, the Central Committee still did not know the facts about Molotov's, Kaganovich's and Malenkov's participation in mass repressions.

I RECALL that Molotov was even appointed the Chairman of a commission for the investigation of the violations of the socialist law committed in the past. However, Molotov again did everything to conceal the truth from the Party.

There was certain logic in this, the logic of a criminal who cannot put to trial his own evil deeds. Indeed, how could Molotov take from the

archives the lists of innocent people arrested and shot for nothing, and report to the Central Committee that it was he who sanctioned these arrests and shootings?

This, comrades, is not a lie calumniating Molotov who has the impertinence of calling himself a Marxist-Leninist. There is an endless number of such accusatory documents, and each one of them can serve as a grim indictment. Here is one

of these documents. Yezhov wrote: "To Comrade Stalin. I am enclosing for your approval four lists of persons to be tried by the Military Collegium."

"1. List No. 1 (general);
"2. List No. 2 (former military personnel);
"3. List No. 3 (former NKVD staff);
"4. List No. 4 (wives of the enemies of the people)."

"I request your sanction for sentencing all these in the first degree."
"Yezhov."

It should be mentioned here that a first degree sentence is... capital punishment by shooting.

These lists were examined by Stalin and Molotov, and on each one of them you can see their resolution: "Approve," J. Stalin. "V. Molotov."

In his concluding speech Comrade N. S. Khrushchov spoke of the great importance of the investigation of all the circumstances of S. M. Kirov's murder, an event which was a signal for the beginning of mass repressions. The investigation of this case is still not completed, but even from the material already available some very important conclusions can be derived.

For instance, on the day of the murder (which at that time, naturally, had not been investigated yet) according to Stalin's instructions from Leningrad a law was adopted on expediting, simplifying and making final the investigation of political cases. After that a wave of arrests and political trials started immediately.

It looked as though they were waiting for this pretext so as to, by fooling the Party, resort to anti-Leninist and anti-Party methods of struggle for preserving their leading position in the Party and government.

These and many other things have to be studied in a most careful way, for this, as Comrade N. S. Khrushchov put it, is our duty to the Party and the people! This has to be done and it will be done!

I would like to draw your attention to the following point: How did it happen that the secretaries of many regional Party committees, known as honest people, loyal to the Party, were suddenly announced to be enemies of the people?

I will tell you how. On coming to Ivanovo once, Kaganovich immediately sent Stalin a telegram: "My first acquaintance (please note: first acquaintance) with the materials here shows that it is necessary to arrest immediately the Secretary of the Regional Committee Yezhov. It is also necessary to arrest the chief of the Regional Committee's propaganda Department Mikhailov."

After that there followed a second telegram: "A closer acquaintance with the local situation shows that the Right-wing Trotskyist wrecking activities have assumed here a wide scale in industry, agriculture, supply, trade, health service, public education, and in the Party political apparatus.

The apparatuses of the

regional establishments and of the Regional Party Committee are extremely polluted."

You see that Kaganovich could very easily come to a place, see what was going on, and calumniate and smash up the Party personnel of a whole region. It was not from a single region that Kaganovich and Malenkov sent such telegrams.

In many places they fanned

SHELEPIN SPEAKS

Some comrades may assume that the exposure of the anti-Party group was a simple and easy matter. No, comrades, this is not so. The struggle against the anti-Party group was trenchant, radical and difficult.

THIS was the struggle of the new against the old, the struggle of the advanced progressive trend in politics against the backward conservative and harmful views and methods of leadership, this was a truly Leninist struggle for the purity of our Party's general line.

The numerous documents available prove irrefutably that the participants of the anti-Party group are guilty of illegal mass reprisals against many Party, Government, YCL and Army executives and are directly and personally responsible for their destruction.

In addition to what has been said at our Congress I would like to tell the delegates about some facts.

In November 1937 Stalin, Molotov and Kaganovich sanctioned (their signatures to the relevant documents are extant) the trial by the Military Collegium of a large group of prominent Party, state and military executives. Most of the accused were shot.

The victims who were shot without any guilt and have been rehabilitated posthumously include prominent leaders of our Party and the state such as Comrade Postyshev, Kossior, Elkhov Rudzutak, Chubar, Krylenko, the People's Commissar of Justice, Unshlicht, Secretary of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR, Bubnov, People's Commissar for Education, and others.

Several cynical resolutions written by Stalin, Kaganovich, Molotov, Malenkov and Voroshilov on the letters and statements of the accused show up the brutal attitude towards the leaders under investigation.

For example, Yakir formerly in command of the military area, wrote to Stalin a letter in which he assured him of his innocence.

This is what he wrote: "... I am an honest fighter faithful to the Party, the state, the people, and that is what I was for many years. All my conscious life passed in the selfless honest work in the sight of the Party and its leaders... I am honest in each word of mine and I shall die with the words of love for you, the Party and the country, with infinite faith into the victory of communism."

Stalin wrote on this letter: "A scoundrel and a prostitute", Voroshilov added: "Perfectly accurate definition", Molotov affixed his signature, and Kaganovich

up a struggle with fake enemies of the people, sowing distrust and suspicion everywhere. Molotov, Kaganovich and Malenkov crudely trampled upon both the norms of Soviet law and the clauses of the Rules of the Party, so sacred to each Communist.

Then what connection do they have now with the Party, what grounds do they have for remaining in the ranks of our Leninist Party?

wrote: "Only one penalty, death, to the traitor, rotten boulder and... (a hooligan obscene word follows)."

On the eve of the execution Yakir wrote the following letter to Voroshilov: "K. Y. Voroshilov. For the sake of my many years of honest work in the Red Army I beg you to have my family looked after and assist her, helpless and absolutely innocent. I have sent the same request to N. I. Yezhov. Yakir, June 9, 1937."

Voroshilov wrote the following resolution on the letter from a man with whom he had worked for many years and who, he knew, more than once risked his life as he defended the Soviet power.

"I doubt the honesty of one who is dishonest in general K. Voroshilov, June 10, 1937."

It is a good thing that Comrade Voroshilov realised his errors in time.

In June 1937 one of the executives of the State Planning Commission of the USSR sent a letter to Stalin in which he indicated that G. I. Lomov (Oppokov, a member of the Bureau of the Soviet Control Commission under the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR, had allegedly been on friendly terms with Rykov and Bukharin.

Stalin wrote this resolution on the letter: "To Comrade Molotov. What's to be done?" Molotov wrote: "I am for an immediate arrest of this boulder Lomov. V. Molotov."

In a few days Lomov was arrested, accused of the allegiance to the Right Opportunist organisation and shot. He has been rehabilitated now.

Now, what is Lomov? He had been a member of the Party since 1903, was elected to the First Council of People's Commissioners as People's Commissar of Justice, then worked as Vice-Chairman of the Supreme Council of National Economy, Vice-Chairman of the State Planning Commission and was elected to the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks at the 6th, 7th, 14th, 15th and 16th Congresses of the Party.

Sometimes one cannot help wondering how these men can tread the earth calmly and sleep undisturbed? They must be haunted by nightmares, they should hear the sobbing and curses of the mothers, wives and children of their comrades who perished without guilt.

what is wrong with albania

KOZLOV SPEAKS

Comrades, in the Central Committee Report to the Congress and in his Concluding Speech yesterday, N. S. Khrushchov said that lately the leaders of the Albanian Party of Labour have, without any cause given by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its leadership, radically altered their political course and adopted the path of sharply worsening relations with our Party, with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

The actions of the leaders of the Albanian Party of Labour, primarily those of Mehmet Shehu and Enver Hoxha, show clearly what may result from recurrences of the cult of the individual, violations of the Leninist principles of Party leadership and the introduction of anti-democratic practices in the Party and the country.

The Albanian leaders have forgotten what the aid and support of the Soviet Union and of the other socialist countries has meant to Albania.

While continuing to pay lip-service to Soviet-Albanian friendship, they, are in effect, violating that friendship and persecuting the true friends of the Soviet Union.

In reality, however, they are reviving in their Party and their country all that was had in our country at the time of the cult of the individual and are maintaining their power by force and arbitrary methods.

The pernicious policy of the Albanian leadership may lead to Albania's detachment from the socialist camp and to the political isolation of the Albanian Party of Labour within in the ranks of the international Communist movement.

This anti-Leninist course may, at the same time, do grave damage to the building of socialism in Albania, which has cost her heroic

the fraternal Communist and Workers' parties is possible only on a principled Marxist-Leninist basis, and not through hushing up the pernicious policy of the Albanian leadership.

In this case, hushing up matters would be tantamount to encouraging people to continue their wrong, anti-Leninist actions. Our Party cannot adopt such an attitude.

POSPELOV SPEAKS

I would like to say a few words about the Albanian leaders. On behalf of the Central Committee Comrade Andropov and myself attended the 4th Congress of the Albanian Party of Labour. The Congress produced a painful impression on ourselves and the delegations of the fraternal Parties.

The Congress became a rowdy, noisy, obtrusive demonstration of the personality cult alien to Marxism-Leninism, a demonstration of the fantastic self-adaptation of the Albanian Party of Labour who had allegedly never made, nor would ever make any errors.

Yet all Marxist-Leninists should know Lenin's words on that score: "What refers to individuals applies, with corresponding allowances, to the policy and parties. Wise is not he who makes no mistakes. There are no such people, nor can there be. Wise is he who makes mistakes which are not very essential and who knows how to rectify them easily and quickly."

The Albanian leaders are sliding towards the most typical nationalism, trampling upon the principles of proletarian internationalism and friendship of the peoples, and departing from Leninism.

Patently, our Party did everything it could to facilitate for the Albanian leaders the return to the path of Party spirit and Party friendship with the CPSU.

Thus, during the last Congress of the Albanian Party of Labour, we came across several glaring facts of direct anti-Soviet attacks launched by promi-

We must state emphatically that genuine unity of

yet another indictment of congress

PUNJAB STATE COUNCIL (CPI) MANIFESTO

The Election Manifesto of Punjab State Council of Communist Party of India, just released, calls upon the electors to vote for unequivocal rejection of the anti-people policies of the Congress Government. These policies lead to growing unemployment, hardships and miseries for common people.

THE Manifesto calls upon the people of Punjab to support the Party's programme which reflects their own hopes and aspirations and charts the path to their progress and prosperity.

The Manifesto indicts the Congress for the betrayal of pledges of the national movement and for building a capitalist order by compromising with foreign monopoly capital and remnants of feudalism that block the path to rapid national advance.

Our rate of economic advance at 3 per cent per annum and per capita annual income at Rs. 330 are among the lowest in the world. The per capita availability of food and cloth continues at the pre-war level. While profits of big capitalists have increased four-fold, wages of industrial workers hover around 1939 level.

sordid tale of congress rule

The State administration, which continues to be wooden and soulless, has been further bureaucratized and made immensely top-heavy and costly. Whatever increase has taken place in the national income has been garnered by the upper class, while the common people have been fleeced by tax burdens and high prices.

The people who rose in struggle for a better life have had to face repression which has beaten all records of the British period. The Manifesto fully supports the strictures of Justice A. N. Mulla that Police is a most lawless group in the country.

The Manifesto accuses the State Government for failure to draw up and execute appropriate agrarian and industrial policies for full utilisation of land, water, forest, mineral and human resources of the State.

In agriculture it has relied on landlords and a narrow stratum of rich peasants, while 50 lakhs of agricultural workers and poor peasants continue to possess little or no land. Irrigation facilities have no doubt been extended, but the benefits thereof have been more or less nullified by menace of water-logging, inflicting an annual loss of Rs. 34 crores.

Small-scale and medium industries have registered some advance, but the State has been neglected in the matter of building up of heavy industry. By the end of the Second Plan only 4 lakh out of the two crore population are employed in industry.

The Manifesto points out that the evil of corruption far from mitigating has assumed tremendous proportions. The disease has become endemic in the State machinery and

concrete proposals put forward

The Manifesto advances concrete proposals for extension of democracy and reform of administration such as proportional representation in elections to Municipal Committees and end to bureaucratic interference, direct elections to Panchayat Samitis and Zilla Parishads, end to repressive laws, full separation of the Judiciary from the Executive, revision of Police Code and reorgan-

isation of the Police force on democratic basis, abolition of Vidhan Parishad and constitution of statutory standing committees of the Assembly for each Department. The Manifesto proposes concrete steps to improve the conditions of industrial and agricultural workers, low-paid Government employees, scheduled castes and other backward classes, and women.

It appeals for cooperation and unity of the Punjabi people for the solution of the question of language and linguistic reorganisation on scientific lines. The Manifesto advances concrete proposals for the mobilisation of resources

as well as of Haryana through special allocation of development funds.

without putting undue tax burdens on poor classes. It demands that an end be put to all waste and extravagance, postponement of non-productive schemes, reduction in expenditure on Police and administration, stopping of payment of allowances to Princes and reduction in high salaries of Ministers and high officials. It proposes that expenditure on Border Police be borne by the Central Government and recommendations of Betterment Levy Committee be implemented.

The Manifesto demands appointment of a special Tribunal to enquire into charges of corruption and irregularities brought up against the Chief Minister and other Ministers and officials.

In this, our 15th Anniversary year, with the nation in grave peril, we respectfully acknowledge the heavy responsibility that weighs upon our new Commander-in-Chief—a burden that is his alone. We are well aware that it is far easier to advise than to decide.

Nevertheless we would be remiss in our duty as Americans were we not to state, particularly at this time, our deeply held beliefs, our aims and objectives. We offer them here, together with our pledge of personal effort and sacrifice to achieve them, in this 1961 Statement of Policy of Air Force Association.

If the record of 40 years of oppression, aggression, deceit and duplicity had not already done so, events of the past several weeks have made it abundantly clear that the Soviet system—regardless of what form it may take at any given time in any given part of the world—is incompatible with the existence of freedom. The cloak of coexistence no longer conceals Soviet aims. Communist intent and Communist Power stand naked before the world.

We must face the Soviet system with the only force it understands and respects—even stronger power, accompanied by the avowed determination to use this power when and if needed. Mankind cannot exist indefinitely in a world that remains half-slave and half-free.

Preservation of the status quo is not adequate as a national goal. Freedom must bury Communism or be buried by Communism. Complete eradication of the Soviet system must be our national goal—our obligation to all free people—our promise of hope to all who are not free.

To attain the level of national power needed in this crusade, the energies and talents of the American people must be mobilised on new terms.

We, therefore, petition the President to declare a National Alert—a new and higher level of national effort. Such a declaration would establish a basis on which to build and maintain the power we need. It would make clear to the Soviets and to the world that we are determined to back our words with action, even at the risk of war—that we seek not merely to preserve our freedoms but to extend them. The overriding priority of

andhra newsletter

THE ordinance issued by the Union Government cutting down the production quotas of each sugar factory in the country has come as a shock to the lakhs of sugar-cane growers in the State.

This Ordinance, which comes into effect from first of this month, i.e. from the beginning of the ensuing crushing season, empowers government to fix production quotas for each individual factory. The cut will be ten per cent of the 1960-61 production.

A penal clause was provided to the effect that if any factory produces sugar in excess of the quota fixed for it, it will have to pay on such excess output, double the excise duty, i.e., Rs. 29.12 nP per Cwt.

Sugarcane growers, who have been promised and given all possible incentives—the ineffective implementation of these incentives is a different story—to increase sugarcane production were naturally taken aback, more so after the self-confident statement by Union Food Minister, S. K. Patil, after his return from America that the sugar problem was solved.

The incentives provided have been varied: rebate in excise duty for stepping up production, licensing of new units as well as expansion of present units, the introduction of price-linking formula which provides for payment of additional price to cane growers on a deferred basis.

As for the sugar factory owners, the fabulous profits they were earning was enough incentive to step up production.

What will be the position of the grower under this Ordinance? If ten per cent of the cane which the grower normally delivers at the factory is cut down, it will inevitably find its way into the Jaggery market, where jaggery prices have slumped to such uneconomic level and the producer is not able to meet even the cost of production.

A special feature of Andhra State is that jaggery manufacture is not popular in sugarcane growing areas and Khandasari units have not come up in sufficient number. These circumstances will put the sugar-cane growing peasant in a position in which he is left with no other alternative than to offer the cane to factories at much lower price than the declared minimum price for cane.

The consumer will not be benefited by any reduction of price, since the factory owners would never like to cut their rate of profit. On the other hand, in an artificially created scarcity situation, consumers might feel bitter in buying sugar.

Hence, it is neither the grower, nor the consumer, nor the industry, that will be benefited by this Ordinance.

In the long run, it is estimated, government would lose about 12 crores of rupees in excise duties.

Sri Y. V. Krishnarao, President, Andhra Pradesh Sugarcane Growers Association, in an interview, stated that some way should be found out to save the lakhs of sugarcane growers. Firstly, since the cane has been grown already for this crushing season, no cut should be effected at least for this season, i.e. 1961-62. Secondly, all possible steps should be taken to step up internal consumption of sugar, by cutting down central excise duty by fifty per cent which would bring down sugar price by about seven rupees per maund, by reducing the sugarcane cess from Rs. 5 to Rs. 3. Will the government revise its decision, at least for this season? —V. HANUMANATHA RAO

bungling with sugar

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IN U. S.

MERCHANTS OF DEATH...

There is in the United States a body called the U. S. Air Force Association, staffed largely by retired officers with the closest possible links with the Pentagon and White House. This Association adopted at its meeting (September 20-24, 1961) in Philadelphia an infamous document pleading for the immediate start of still more vigorous preparations by the U. S. for an atomic holocaust.

Bertrand Russell (New Statesman, November 3) called this "the most terrifying document I have ever read" which "amounts to a sentence of death on the human race. It represents the enormous economic power of the armament industry and the warlike ardour of generals and admirals—the aims, in short, of the armament lobby, one of the most powerful lobbies that largely determine the actions of Congress."

The flagrant manner in which merchants of death publicise their infamous views shows all too plainly the peril to our planet itself from the United States ruling class.

A total war and a perpetual arms race—is the call of this "1961 Policy Statement", the full text of which follows:

In this, our 15th Anniversary year, with the nation in grave peril, we respectfully acknowledge the heavy responsibility that weighs upon our new Commander-in-Chief—a burden that is his alone. We are well aware that it is far easier to advise than to decide.

Nevertheless we would be remiss in our duty as Americans were we not to state, particularly at this time, our deeply held beliefs, our aims and objectives. We offer them here, together with our pledge of personal effort and sacrifice to achieve them, in this 1961 Statement of Policy of Air Force Association.

If the record of 40 years of oppression, aggression, deceit and duplicity had not already done so, events of the past several weeks have made it abundantly clear that the Soviet system—regardless of what form it may take at any given time in any given part of the world—is incompatible with the existence of freedom. The cloak of coexistence no longer conceals Soviet aims. Communist intent and Communist Power stand naked before the world.

We must face the Soviet system with the only force it understands and respects—even stronger power, accompanied by the avowed determination to use this power when and if needed. Mankind cannot exist indefinitely in a world that remains half-slave and half-free.

Preservation of the status quo is not adequate as a national goal. Freedom must bury Communism or be buried by Communism. Complete eradication of the Soviet system must be our national goal—our obligation to all free people—our promise of hope to all who are not free.

To attain the level of national power needed in this crusade, the energies and talents of the American people must be mobilised on new terms.

We, therefore, petition the President to declare a National Alert—a new and higher level of national effort. Such a declaration would establish a basis on which to build and maintain the power we need. It would make clear to the Soviets and to the world that we are determined to back our words with action, even at the risk of war—that we seek not merely to preserve our freedoms but to extend them. The overriding priority of

control system to reduce the chances of war by error, and to ensure immediate, effective, and sustained employment of our forces;

Equipping our aerospace defence system to counter the full spectrum of the Soviet aerospace threat as evinced by Soviet progress in supersonic bombers, missiles and trained aerospace systems;

Increase of our ability to deter or promptly prevail in situations short of general war;

Accelerated research and development efforts to attain and maintain technological superiority in areas of our choice.

Currently, our national space programme gives priority to non-military applications. It fails to recognise the important contributions that space system must make to the extension of our military capability. This faulty emphasis must be reversed to utilise U. S. space technology as a prime factor in the international power equation. All phases of the national space programme must first be measured against the yardstick of national security needs. National policy must make it abundantly clear that the U. S. will not hesitate to employ its nuclear strength in response to Soviet aggression—whether that aggression takes the form of nuclear attack, non-nuclear attack, nuclear blackmail, aggression by Soviet satellite nations, infiltration or subversion—should the military situation dictate that the use of nuclear weapons is in the best interest of the U. S. National policy must prescribe that the choice between nuclear and non-nuclear weapons is neither moral nor political but is

essentially a military consideration.

If this principle is not recognised as national policy and firmly enunciated to the world, we are seriously compromising the effectiveness of our nuclear arsenal and thus increasing the danger of general conflict.

The national alert programme must also ensure the survival of the majority of the American people and the survival of viable Government machinery in the event of general war.

Needed measures include protection of individuals, military and civilian, against blast, heat and radiation—including fallout. They must provide for re-establishment of the national social and economic fabric following a general war.

The ability to fight, win and purposefully survive a general nuclear war provides the best, indeed the only, insurance against such an eventuality.

We must be willing and

able to risk war, and make sure that both our willingness and ability are firmly implanted in the minds of the Soviet leaders.

Only from such a position can we then apply economic, diplomatic, technological and other pressures against the Soviet.

To those who say that today such a position cannot be sustained, that deterrent capability cannot be achieved, that it deteriorates into a stalemate of bluff—to these arguments we reply:

Your stalemate philosophy of despair and defeat (sic). Its acceptance by the U. S. would in itself break the stalemate in a psychological sense—and in favour of the Soviets.

"World leadership would automatically revert to the loudest rocket-rattler. Initiative would pass to the aggressor."

The President has said: "We must never negotiate through fear. But we must never fear to negotiate". In turn we must never fear to refuse to negotiate that which is not negotiable. We must never compromise basic principles. We must never appease.

The stalemate philosophy ignores the realities of technological progress. The advent of nuclear weapons has changed the international power equation.

But technology can also wipe out equations and write new ones. It has done so in the past.

There is no reason to believe that nuclear weapons, no matter how they may increase in numbers and ferocity, mark the end of the line in military systems development.

New weapons, more selective in application and less destructive of life and property, may come into being. Their possession by one side and not the other could surely break a nuclear stale-

...cry war

1961 BONUS YEAR

PURCHASE A WITH-PROFITS POLICY NOW

THIRD VALUATION SOON

The third valuation of the Life Insurance Corporation will be made as at 31st December 1961. All the with-profits policies in force for full sum assured on the valuation date will be entitled to participate in profits disclosed as a result of that valuation.

The second valuation of the Corporation made as at 31st December 1959 disclosed a surplus large enough to support bonuses at the following rates on the with-profits policies issued by the Corporation:

WHOLE LIFE ASSURANCES: Rs. 16.00 per thousand sum assured per annum

ENDOWMENT ASSURANCES: Rs. 12.80 per thousand sum assured per annum

Important: Policies which are converted into reduced paid-up policies or lapsed on or before 31st December 1961 will not qualify for bonus.

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REMEMBER 1961 IS THE BONUS YEAR

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foreign exploitation in india

(We reproduce on this page extracts from The Big Loot, A Brief Study of Foreign Exploitation in India by Bhupesh Gupta.)

Even a cursory glance at these extracts would make it plain that in order to fully establish our economic independence, to plug a serious drain on our resources and to push forward rapidly, the foreign monopolies must be expelled from our national economy.

- Nationalisation of the industry and business owned or controlled by the foreign monopolies is a concrete, practical step that free India must take now.
- Even prior to this, drastic curbs must here and now be put on the profits of the foreign monopolists as well as on their remittances abroad. Huge capital reserves lying with them must be adequately tapped by the State and used for genuine nation-building purposes.
- Indianisation of the higher managerial and technical personnel in foreign-owned or foreign-controlled firms must be enforced by law.
- All undue concessions the foreign monopolists are now enjoying must be withdrawn, and Indian industry and business must be given all protection and assistance against unfair competition by foreign monopolies.
- No fresh penetration of foreign private capital must be allowed.
- These are measures which fall far short in boldness from those undertaken by such states as the United Arab Republic, Indonesia and Cuba. What these other non-aligned states have done, surely India can do.

IN the first place, the agreement on the sterling balances between the Government of India and the British Government was heavily weighted in the latter's favour. Sterling accumulations belonged to India, but the agreement put a ceiling on annual withdrawals by India and imposed a number of other unjust conditions.

It is the debtor who dictated terms of payment, and the creditor, namely, the Government of India, virtually signed on the dotted lines. Although the sterling balances were well over Rs. 800 crores, the First Five-Year Plan could think of withdrawing annually only Rs. 50 crores each year or Rs. 250 crores for the five-year period. Actual withdrawals were, however, only Rs. 122 crores during the entire First Plan period.

Moreover, the sterling balances so withdrawn were not utilised for economic development. For, much of it went to meet heavy deficits in the balance of payments arising from almost unrestrained imports and that, too, at high prices and on private account. Race horses, whisky, limousines, cosmetics and innumerable other luxury goods for the rich flowed into this country. In the last three years of the First Plan, India's deficits in the balance of payments totalled Rs. 318 crores.

The unequal trade pattern imposed upon our country by British imperialism and equally inequitable trade terms—on the one hand and the liberal import policy of the Congress Government on the other, were responsible for such reckless frittering away of India's valuable foreign exchange reserves and current export earnings. The First Plan had no plan whatsoever to make judicious use of the sterling balances.

But this is not all. A capital amount of Rs. 224 crores out of these balances was straight away earmarked and

kept in the so-called Account No. 2 known as "Blocked Account" for payment of pensions to the British officers and administrative personnel who had already returned home or would be retiring from the Indian Services.

Sterling Squandered

Every year several crores are spent for this purpose. Incidentally, among these pensioners were—and still are—the British civil, police and military officials including some of the butchers of the Jalianwallah massacre, who had personally taken part in killings and brutalities. Payment of pensions to these imperialist minions was one of the many ugly agreements which the Congress entered into with the British.

Thirdly, huge amounts were written off as prices for the so-called defence stores and other supplies including sheer junk the British had left in India after the war. The Nehru Government squandered a few hundred crores to buy these leftovers.

India's small sterling debts to Britain were promptly recovered out of our sterling balances and various other adjustments made in total disregard of India's interests.

In regard to these manipulations agreed to by the Congress Government, the Report of the Fourth Unofficial Commonwealth Conference, held at Ontario in September 1949, and at which the British delegation was led by no other than R. A. Butler, says:

"By May 1949, the reserves had declined almost 50 per cent to Rs. 877 crores as a result of the liquidation of some British assets, acquisition of the defence stores in India, purchases of supplies and financial adjustments arising from the attainment of independence."

So, the independence under the Congress rule did not bring about the utilisation of the sterling balances, as the AICC had once rightly demanded, to planned economic

development. The resources were either directly expropriated by British imperialists, on one pretext or another or used up to facilitate traditional business exploitation of our economy.

Essentially the same line was also pursued with regard to the sterling balances under the Second Plan. The draft of Rs. 558 crores on India's foreign exchange reserves, of which about Rs. 500 crores came from the sterling balances (as against Rs. 200 crores envisaged) would prove this. This development was inherent in India's economic de-

THE BIG LOOT

pendence on Britain and the West. Now the Third Plan expects nothing from this source. The sterling balance came down to Rs. 141 crores at the commencement of the present Plan.

As for petroleum, Government initially leaned heavily on the Burmah-Shell, Caltex and Standard Vacuum Oil Company. In 1951, the giant international exploiter, Stanvac, was invited for constructing oil refineries in India in addition to the assignments already given to Burmah-Shell.

The Government signed in December 1951, an agreement each with Stanvac and Burmah-Shell for setting up a modern refinery in Trombay. Another agreement was signed in March 1953 with Caltex for setting up a refinery at Visakhapatnam.

Oil Blackmail

These agreements were down right capitulation to the foreign monopolies. India's share in capital was fixed at 33-1/3 per cent of the total capital, without any voting rights and hence without any voice in control and management. Guarantees against nationalisation for 25 years and for tariff protection for ten years were also given.

It was further stipulated that these companies would not be asked to sell oil cheaper than world monopoly prices. Later even the Company Act was amended to exempt the American bosses of the Stanvac from its very reasonable and normal provisions. The Stanvac was given, as it were, some extra-territorial rights.

Over India's entire oil refinery capacity of about 6 million tons, the above mentioned three foreign oil companies established their monopoly. As was to be expected these companies took full advantage of these lavish concessions and kept on pressing for more.

Distribution of oil remained in the hands of these foreign monopolies which continued to fleece the consumer by charging exorbitantly high prices for kerosene and other petroleum products.

Some idea of this loot of the Indian consumer can be gained from the fact that while the c.i.f. value of one ton of kerosene is only Rs. 157, the retail price (exclusive of tariff and other duties) is as high as Rs. 403. This means that the consumer pays Rs. 8 for a tin of kerosene which actually costs only Rs. 2.50.

When under pressure of public opinion, strongly voiced by Communists in Parliament, the Government appointed a Cost Accountant to look into the price structure of oil products, the total expenditure of the service stations mysteriously went up by 500 per cent.

It is well known how at every step Burmah-Shell, Stanvac and Caltex have impudently resisted any suggestion for price reduction and used their monopolistic control to pressurise the Government into submission.

In these fourteen years of independence, the Congress Government has not been able to make an exact estimate of the tribute foreign exploiters draw each year from our country.

On the Government of India's latest computation the annual remittances abroad as profits, interests and dividends come to Rs. 30 crores. But then this is only a part of the total drain which by all accounts is well over Rs. 100 crores annually.

Let us take the freights: Big chunks of these payments go to the United Kingdom, the USA coming next. In the years 1954 to 1958, Britain's share was as follows: Rs. 21.98 crores in 1954, Rs. 25.02 crores in 1955, Rs. 35.04 crores in 1956, Rs. 39.45 crores in 1957 and Rs. 25.95 crores in 1958.

The share of the United States rose from Rs. 3.52 crores in 1954 to Rs. 21.23 crores in 1957 and Rs. 29.95 crores in 1958. This rise is largely due to foodgrains imports and the U.S. terms which lay down that at least 50 per cent of the imports under PL 480 has to be in U.S. bottoms.

If the Congress Govern-

ment had not grossly neglected our national shipbuilding, at least half of this Rs. 231 crores which India had to pay during the three years 1957, 1958 and 1958 (according to the information given in Lok Sabha) would have been saved to the nation.

India's deficits in trade balance on merchandise trade during 1950-51 and 1959-60 totalled Rs. 1,139 crores 72 lakhs, almost 10 per cent of her national income. A sizable part of these deficits in the Second Plan period was no doubt due to essential imports for the Plan; but it is only a part.

Adverse Trade

At the source of these lie, on the one hand, the unequal trade terms, falling prices of our export goods, imports of luxury and other non-essential commodities and, above all, diminishing possibilities for Indian exports in the capitalist Western countries.

It is noteworthy that our trade deficits in the dollar area were Rs. 38 crores in 1957, Rs. 76 crores in 1958 and Rs. 138 crores in 1959. The corresponding figures for the European Common Market area were Rs. 169 crores, Rs. 158 crores and Rs. 141 crores.

In 1960, India's adverse trade balance with European Common Market countries was of the order of Rs. 160 crores. West Germany is the dominant country in the European Economic Community.

Between 1950-61, India imported goods worth Rs. 537 crores from West Germany, but our exports to that country were only Rs. 92 crores. So, the rise of our trade with West Germany from about 0.5 per cent to about 9 per cent of our total trade in the recent period is characterised by this great imbalance and disparity.

India's chronic deficit in the balance of payments are a built-in feature of our trade relations with the Western countries.

ELECTION OBJECTIVES

In Andhra

As far as Parliament is concerned, the Party has decided to contest 20 seats, out of which 14 names have already been announced, two are to be announced shortly and the rest to be decided by the Secretariat.

In Bihar

The Bihar State Council of the Communist Party of India has set the following objectives for the general elections:

- To win the maximum number of seats so that the Communist Party emerges as the main opposition in the Assembly;
- To strengthen the forces of progressive opposition in the Assembly as well as in the Parliament;
- To weaken the monopoly of power of the Congress;
- To defeat the Swatantra and Jana Sangh parties;
- To propagate on a big scale the programme and policy of the Communist Party for achieving national democratic front for national reconstruction.

In the present situation in Bihar, the above-mentioned objectives are realisable. Only by fulfilling these aims can the anti-people's policies of the Congress Government be defeated and the forces of democracy and progress inside the State and the entire country united and strengthened.

The State Council has, therefore, urged upon all progressive sections and elements to adopt the policy of co-operation and unity and thus strengthen the forces of progressive opposition in the Assembly and the Parliament.

In order to realise these objectives, the Communist Party has decided to contest only those constituencies where the Party, due to its leadership of people's struggles, has acquired the leading position or a considerable following.

Even in such constituencies, wherever the Party is not strong enough to achieve victory on its own, it will work for the unity and cooperation of all progressive forces.

Indian Writers - For Afro-Asian Solidarity

THE First National Conference of Indian Writers for Afro-Asian Solidarity was held in Calcutta on November 4 and 5 under the auspices of the Indian Writers' Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity. The Conference underlined the great importance, in the context of the war danger, of solidarity among the writers and intelligentsia, and holding aloft the banner of world peace, national freedom and human values.

The Conference also emphasised the urgency of stepping up regular cultural exchanges and contacts among all countries of Asia and Africa for developing mutual understanding and consolidating Afro-Asian people's unity.

Seventy writer delegates from all parts of India, who had come to Calcutta on the occasion of the ten-day Tagore centenary Peace Festival, and 100 writers of West Bengal participated in the Conference. The Presidium consisted of Dr. Abdul Alim, Proboodh Sanyal, Monoj Basu and Srikey, the great Telugu poet.

Explaining the object of the Conference, eminent writer Dr. Mukul Raj Anand, General Secretary of the Indian Writers' Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity, said that the First Asian Writers' Conference in Delhi in 1956 and the First Afro-Asian Writers' Conference at Tashkent in 1958 initiated a new solidarity movement among the writers and intelligentsia of these two resurgent countries.

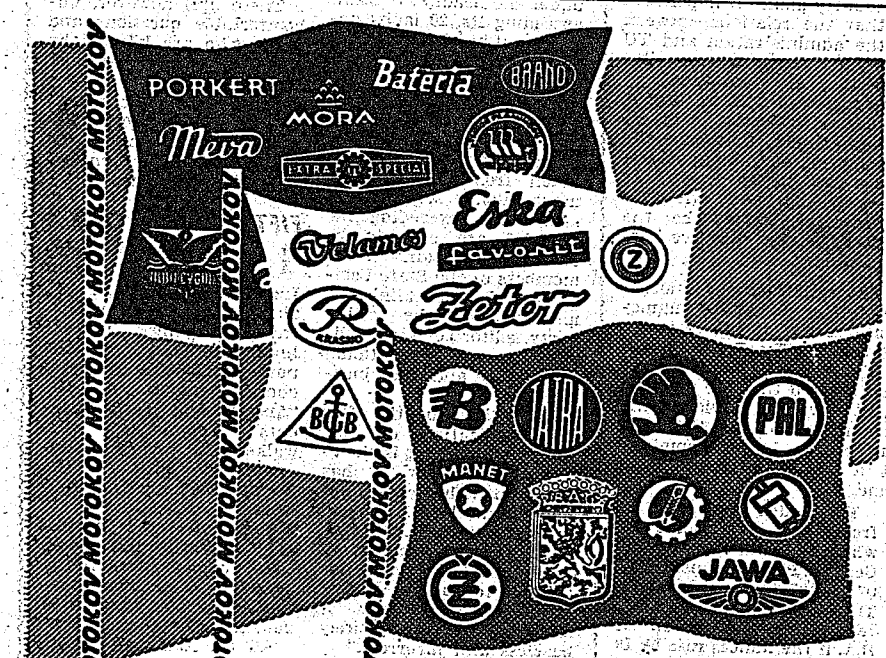
Greeting the Conference, Ushakov, representative of Soviet writers, said that writers had the power to rouse the masses against colonialism and for world peace and the policy of peaceful coexistence. He emphasised that for Indian writers Tagore was the greatest exponent of this noble ideal.

By another resolution, the Conference condoned the death of the famous Hindi poet, Nirala. It adopted the constitution of the Indian Writers' Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity. A National Council of 120 members was elected with Banaridas Chaturvedi, MP, and Dr. Mukul Raj Anand as the President and the General Secretary respectively, and Acharya P. K. Atre, Ghani Gurnakh Singh, Musafir, Yasraj, Sajjad Zaheer, Proboodh Kumar Sanyal and Srikey as Vice-Presidents.

The West Bengal Branch of the Committee was also set up with eminent and well-known writers. Such Branch Committees will be formed in all other States. The Conference also elected delegates to the Second Afro-Asian Writers' Conference, which will be held in Cairo from December 2 to 7.

* FROM PAGE 5
ny heaped on them by Congress during the Kuttippuram by-election and after—that it had created a serious situation for the League leadership inside their own organisation and among the Muslim masses.

The threat of disruption of All-India Muslim League which was evident at Madras was also a danger signal. The League leadership, with a view to salvage its 'losing' hold and come forward as the militant fighter for the Muslim interests has taken a calculated risk and chosen the path of Militant Communalism. Nationalist circles are naturally perturbed at this development though tactically, it is to the advantage of the Congress that they can now declare that they have nothing to do with the League and fight the League tooth and nail. The League resolution while criticising the PSP for forging an alliance with the Congress behind the back of the League has kept the door open for the PSP still to leave the Congress and choose the League. But a threat is contained in the decision to contest at Badagara—if the PSP chooses the Congress, then it will have the same fate that the Congress has at League's hands. Thus PSP's plight appears to be that of the person between the Devil and the Deep Sea. Thannu Pillai's reactions to the League decision and his charging the Congress with the sole responsibility for this development is significant. But the astute and power-seeking politicians that he is, he will use this as a stick to beat the Congress back to give up its insistence on the curb on the Chief Minister's powers that Congress seeks to impose in the shape of the new Business Rules coming up for discussion on November 13, 1961, and he will go with the Congress and continue as Chief Minister.



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All-India Defence Employees' Federation—Call For Unity

The All-India Defence Employees' Federation (AIDEF), an important constituent of the trade union movement of Central Government employees, held its biennial conference in Bombay from October 27 to 30. The AIDEF is the united organisation of the country's defence workers, the industrial and non-industrial personnel of Ordnance Factories and other defence establishments, engaged on civilian jobs.

THE AIDEF was the first to lose its recognition as a result of the last year's Central Government employees' strike. The Cabinet decision restoring recognition of the unions and federations of the Central Government employees was announced 24 hours before the AIDEF leaders were scheduled to launch hunger-strikes on September 15, this year.

However, even after the Cabinet decision, certain officials of the Defence Ministry sought to delay the restoration of recognition of the AIDEF on irrelevant technical grounds.

An INTUC outfit was said to be in existence as a rival to the AIDEF; the officials also took the stand that there was no formal letter of recognition issued earlier to the AIDEF; and that there was only an agreement between the AIDEF and the Defence Ministry on the constitution of a Standing Negotiating Machinery, signed in 1954.

INTUC Plan Failed

All these were, however, set at naught by the acceptance of the AIDEF's invitation by V. K. Krishna Menon, the Defence Minister, to inaugurate the conference. Besides the Union Defence Minister, Deputy Minister K. Baghuramiah was also present.

S. M. Banerjee, MP, presided. The report to the conference was made by S. M. Joshi, MLA, Central Secretary, AIDEF.

Defence Minister, V. K. Krishna Menon, in his inaugural speech, noted the improvement in industrial relations in the defence undertakings. The mandates lost due to industrial disputes had dropped from 9,772 in 1957 to 120 in 1961.

Krishna Menon spoke at length about the scheme of technical training initiated by the Defence Ministry, to meet the needs of growing industrialisation. The defence production undertakings are trying to achieve maximum self-sufficiency.

He did not approve of the last year's strike. Only those who were guilty of acts of violence were dismissed from service, he said. The Defence

Minister, however, added that these cases have not been closed and can be reviewed by the Ministry.

Krishna Menon criticised the "multiplicity of trade unions. He was also critical of the functioning of the Standing Negotiating Machinery which, he said, took no decisions.

The Defence Minister appealed to the defence workers to have a sense of dedication. S. M. Joshi, assured the Defence Minister that the AIDEF and the defence workers always kept national interest above everything else.

Referring to the victimisation of workers following the last year's strike, S. M. Joshi stated that the AIDEF was not pleading for review of cases of those involved in acts of violence.

He pointed out that workers have been victimised for remaining absent from duty for the simple reason that they were arrested by the police. He hoped that in the light of the Defence Minister's assurances, all the cases would be reviewed.

The demand for review of the cases of dismissed employees was also made in the speech of Rajni Patel, Bar-at-Law, who headed the Reception Committee for the AIDEF Conference.

The reason for the last year's strike was categorically stated in the General Secretary's report to the conference as the refusal of Government to negotiate with the employees' organisations.

The AIDEF had repeatedly tried to initiate negotiations. The Government, however, did not negotiate with the AIDEF before implementing or modifying or even working out the recommendations of the Central Pay Commission.

The AIDEF, therefore, had no other alternative except to decide on direct action, jointly with the AIRF, NFFTE and the Confederation of Central Government Employees. The report criticised the large-scale victimisation of workers following the strike and the vindictive attitude of some of the officers.

Workers' Faith In AIDEF

S. M. Joshi noted that the affiliated unions of the AIDEF had held their own, despite the loss of recognition and the difficult situation which arose after the strike. The defence workers demonstrated their abiding faith in the AIDEF and its affiliates and this was shown in elections to Works Committees and Production Committees.

The INTUC unions have not been able to achieve any success in their disruptive activities. S. M. Joshi asked for verification of the mem-

bership of the unions and federations in defence undertakings. This would expose the INTUC's hollow claims. An important resolution adopted by the Conference was on labour relations in defence undertakings. The resolution welcomed the restoration of recognition and stated:

"Restoration of recognition of unions means resumption of negotiations on matters of industrial and labour interests. . . . In the absence of a permanent negotiating machinery, forums have to be evolved to enable the unions and the Federation to settle labour problems at all levels with appropriate authorities."

Labour Relations In Defence Undertakings

The resolution noted that "the national interest of defence production in our country makes it imperative that the relations between the administration and TU organisations in this vital sector are governed by sound trade union principles of collective bargaining. Unions that have the following of the majority of workers, to be decided by secret ballot wherever necessary, should be the party to the collective bargaining."

The conference by another resolution demanded immediate review of the Dearness Allowance. The Prime Minister and the Labour Minister had assured that the Government would review the amount of D.A. if the consumer price indices remained at a higher level for some time.

The index has gone up from 115—the point at which D.A. was fixed by the Central Pay Commission—to 124-127 during this period. The Pay Commission had recommended a review of D.A. if the indices rose by 10 points during a 12-month period.

A resolution demanding the implementation of the remaining favourable recommendations of the Central Pay Commission was also adopted.

The Conference elected S. M. Banerjee, MP, as President and S. M. Joshi, MLA, as General Secretary. Deven Sen, Vireshwar Tyagi and Samiul Augustine were elected as Vice-Presidents; K. G. Sriwastava, K. M. Mathews and N. K. Mitra as Joint Secretaries; V. G. Kadam, V. Thambuswamy, Umalal and J. P. Mishra as Organising Secretaries and D. Lobo as Treasurer.

The conference keynote was unity—unity of the defence workers along with other employees of the Central Government services, in order to realise common demands. The AIDEF has maintained its unity. It has invited those few misguided persons who went over to the INTUC to return to its fold and uphold the unity of defence workers, serve the cause of the nation and the working class.

SCRAP-BOOK

CURRENT LIES AGAIN

THOSE who read Karaka's Current or even Hindustan Times for that matter might have noticed an advertisement—For News, Behind News, Read Current. What sort of stuff Karaka's tabloid provides?

Often we have exposed Current's lies. Its staff, it seems, has a knack for concoction. Week after week it produces some fables.

Generally these sensational stories are aimed either at discrediting Prime Minister Nehru's policies through Krishna Menon's person, or directly at bolstering up the right-wing lobby. (Incidentally Acharya-Kripalani is the Current's hero these days.)

But significantly, Current also manufactures such anti-Indian stuff which comes handy for India-haters of Pakistan and her Western allies. Kashmir administration is one of its targets.

For example, few weeks ago it had published a story under the headlines "Loans exceeding Rs. 20 lakhs unrecovered by Kashmir Government". It alleged:

"Many Kashmir National Conference members, including MLAs and Ministers are reported to have failed to repay large loans taken from the Government about seven years ago. Loans exceeding Rs. 20,69,943 are said to be outstanding against some members of the State Legislature, Cabinet Ministers, members of the ruling party, editors of some official organs of the National Conference and some businessmen."

About three months after the publication of this story, now Current is chewing its own stew. It has come out with a contradiction from K. D. Uppal, Information Officer (Fish Publicity), Government of Jammu & Kashmir. According to this contradiction, Current's story of August 16, was "entirely baseless and incorrect."

Sooner I followed the rest of the lines and noted that demonstrators represented eight students organisations, total number of demonstrators being—50! All the seriousness with which I had read the news evaporated when I further noticed that the demonstration was led by Daljit Sen Adel. Why? Simply, because I know this particular "student" (?)—Adel. He moves in the capital with more organisations than number of pockets he has in his dress.

He is leader of All Indian Students Congress (don't bother if that was dissolved in 1948 at Bangalore), Movement for Fearless Youth whose avowed aim is to defeat Nehru, Lal Bahadur, Krishna Menon, Jagjivan Ram (and who knows who else?) and host of other organisations and committees.

(Incidentally it is not at all important in this case to ask him why he never thought of organising such a demonstration earlier when USA and France were testing.

According to his talk with Current: "Some of the left-

wing members of the University Court at that time proposed the name of Mr. P. N. Sappu, M.P. . . . for the membership of the Executive Council". Why? Because, "some of them openly remarked at the meetings that they proposed Mr. Sappu's name at the eleventh hour only to make him lose and thus to establish that even a man of his calibre and services to the University could not be elected to the Executive Council due to rampant communalism."

More, "Ever since then we were expecting trouble of some nature or the other and we have had it", he said.

How simple is that? Left-wingers in the University join hands with communal forces, they propose Sappu's name to make him lose and trouble was expected.

Why did Noorullah not defeat the "Communist" game by electing P. N. Sappu? And secondly when they were expecting trouble why did they not give a warning to the nation?

These are, however, uncomfortable questions and those who are blinded by anti-Communism or else wish to hide their own deeds (!) will not reply. As far as tabloid Current is concerned, its authenticity has been exposed time and again.

FIFTY MINUS ONE

I NOTICED a photograph in the Times of India of November 10 about a students' demonstration against nuclear tests. Under it was the news about "peace marchers"—members of the "Anti-Nuclear Tests Students' Committee" who walked 12 miles to demonstrate against the Soviet Embassy in New Delhi.

Soon I followed the rest of the lines and noted that demonstrators represented eight students organisations, total number of demonstrators being—50!

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Rabindra Mela—India's Homage To Gurudev

From Ajoy Das Gupta



It was an unique and memorable moment when on the evening of November 11, Ustad Allauddin Khan and Prof. Satyen Bose came to the Rabindra Mela. The arena was packed, when they arrived together—the Maestro, the living embodiment of everything finest in Indian music, and the scientist, the friend of Einstein. It struck all the thousands present—the vastness of Rabindranath to whom both had come to pay homage.

THE Mela had succeeded, indeed. It had been able to present Rabindranath in his many sidedness, his immanency and in his synthesis and harmony.

Tagore lives through his songs—which have become the idiom of Bengal—and what a feast of it the people had enjoyed! Everyday, simultaneously on two, often three stages, Tagore's songs, dramas and dance dramas were being presented.

Scores of top artistes participated in solo songs. Sixteen of Calcutta's best Tagore music schools and troupes offered their best productions. Along with them were troupes from all other States. Rajasthan, Assam, Orissa with their folk music and dances have won the hearts of the Calcutta people.

Everybody was sceptical about making a dance drama out of short story Kabuli-wala. But the performance of the Sri Geetha Nritya Kala Mandir of Andhra was highly acclaimed by all.

The Bharatnatyam troupe from Tamilnad enchanted the audience whether from the big open air stage or on the improvised Mela stage. Bihar IPTA's Rakta Karabi in Hindi also came as a plea-

sant surprise to many, who have had seen Bohurup's much acclaimed Bengali production.

And there was inimitable Amar Sheik of Naya Tarana fame, who is ever popular with Calcutta audiences. The Kerala Kalamandalam's Chitrangada in Kathakali was a revelation.

And this feature of interpreting Gurudev through various art forms has made the Mela really all-national, where all the best in our cultural heritage comes together and fuses into a great symphony.

The performance of the troupe from Ceylon who presented B u h u n u and Kandy dances, the performance of the Cuban ballerina Alicia Alonso and her partner Rudolf Kodrigues and the celebrated Suk trio of Czechoslovakia revealed the universal appeal of Tagore, who wandered the world and captivated it.

Utterly magnificent and moving was the recording of Paul Robeson's voice. The thunder of his chant—Tagore's Africa—and the sonorous sincerity of his tribute will live in the memory as long as life itself. But the Rabindra Mela has

subject, S. A. Dange said: "Although the subject of my talk is Tagore and the Tollers I do not wish to restrict Rabindranath with that narrow title. May be that the sympathy of the poet towards the tollers will be the basis of my talks. Nevertheless, I do not wish to consider Tagore within a restricted field."

Describing the Tagore Peace Festival in picturesque terms, Dange said: "A remarkable situation prevails here. In this park of Calcutta, the whole of India has come together. They have come together to pay homage and respect to such a person, who despite being a Bengali belonged to the entire country and to the world. In fact, Tagore was the poet of real national integration. It is because of this that millions of people salute him."

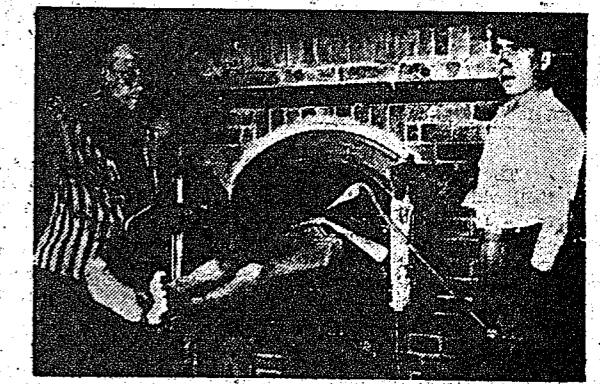
"Tagore's criticism of society was full of a deep humanism. He saw beauty embodied in the struggles amidst the conflict-ridden society. Struggle was beautiful to Tagore. Another type of beauty which Tagore saw was the beauty which was beyond the arena of conflicts. The expression of such beauty could be seen in his poem 'Urvashi'."

Dange finally added: "A person whose creation is so great, if the tolling people do not worship him, then whom else should they worship? We want that millions of people should worship this Tagore and be engrossed in festivities in the name of that great creator."

The film show in the Mela again revealed its international character—20 countries have sent films—features, shorts and documentaries. The Soviet documentary on Tagore's life was screened for the first time in India at this Mela.

The atmosphere of universality of the Mela reached its zenith when Ustad Allauddin Khan created a new Rag—Rabindra Rag as he called it—and on the stage of the Mela gave a brief demonstration. Here was a salute of genius to one who towered above all others.

NEVER AGAIN! —NAZI CRIMES



THE picture reproduced on this page, from "Exhibition for Humanism" organised in New Delhi by the Progressive Writers' Association, tell their own story.

Of Nazi crimes in Europe, volumes have been written. But they need being reminded again and again for, a good many of those who are responsible for these crimes, and are still living, are again in the saddle in West Germany.

The revival of German militarism and revanchism under the present Bonn regime is indeed not only a serious threat to world peace, but also a challenge to humanity.

Only recently a GDR weekly, WOCHENPOST had exposed the background of a senior military judge of the fascist Wehrmacht, Walter Wuenschmann, who is today working as Senior Government Counsellor in the West German Federal Disciplinary Prosecutor's Office in Frankfurt-on-the-Main.

It was he who was responsible for the shooting of some of the Indian prisoners of war, during the Second World War.

This crime against our compatriots was committed in 1943 in the Wehrmacht training camp at Koenigsbrueck near Dresden.

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BALANCE SHEET

besides being an expression of his own strong pacifist sentiments.

The Prime Minister, however, went on reiterating his stand for an immediate moratorium on all nuclear tests, whether by the USSR or the U.S.A. President Kennedy did not agree with Indian stand, despite the new U.N. resolution.

As regards the objective of a "treaty banning nuclear tests with necessary inspection and control", India has never objected to it nor has the USSR as a matter of fact. India has been pleading the obvious that the moratorium would be the best and most effective step towards the treaty. India and the USSR both link such a treaty with simultaneous negotiations for general and complete disarmament which the U.S.A. has been doggedly resisting so far. In the joint communique such general disarmament is also mentioned.

DISARMAMENT

New Delhi circles attach importance to the Prime Minister's observations in his U.N. address that there was "much in common between the U.S. and Soviet stand on disarmament." It is felt that informal discussions held by the Prime Minister in Washington now, and in Moscow earlier, may now help in getting more constructive and business-like discussions restarted on this burning problem.

The West has made a lot of noise about the "Berlin crisis", one of its own manufacture. Now great play is being made of the fact that Kennedy and Nehru have achieved accord on the subject. There is no evidence to show that India has changed its stand.

The joint communique

states Indian concurrence to only "the legitimate and necessary right of access to Berlin" and not to the U.S. commitment to underwrite the present set-up in West Berlin. The Indian and American stand points obviously remain different.

The legitimate right of access is already conceded by the USSR. During his U.S. stay the Prime Minister is reported to have pleaded for the Western recognition of the sovereignty of the German Democratic Republic, which is anathema to Bonn.

The regional problem discussed with the greatest concern was South East Asia. The Prime Minister reiterated the Indian stand point that the best thing in the interests of peace and of the area was to leave it to itself, which was not done, and let the International Control Commission discharge its function, which again was hindered.

In his television interview he denied any Russian "designs" in the area.

The Prime Minister does seem to have made a dent in the die-hard Pentagon and State Department position by his firm warning against the despatch of U.S. troops to South Vietnam. In return the U.S. expects a more flexible, that is more helpful to them, stand on the part of the International Control Commission which is headed by India.

This is the true significance of U.S. Ambassador Galbraith's repeated remarks that India should play a more leading role in South Vietnam. The joint communique, however, contains no such commitment. U.S. pressure in the past has been directed, with some success, on this very point and it is likely to be mounted again.

There is reference in the communique to Indo-Pak re-

lations. The newspaper Commentators have explained that it only implied a review of U.S. relations with these two countries while the Prime Minister expressed Indian concern at U.S. military aid to Pakistan. Unlike the Kennedy-Ayub communique there is no reference to Kashmir which is taken as evidence that U.S. could extract no concessions in the interests of Pakistan and their own.

The Prime Minister had to face several anti-Communist questions, so dear to U.S. newsmen. They were obviously designed to drive a wedge between India and the countries of the Socialist camp. He, however, repeated his view, "Russia today aims at and desires peace" and went further when he stated that the newly stepped up struggle against the Stalin cult "raises my hopes for world peace".

It was more than a broad hint to U.S. statesmen to stop their traditional anti-Soviet slander-mongering and get ready instead to start businesslike talks to ease the international tension.

Pandit Nehru, however, advanced theories that were peculiarly his own. For example, that the Soviet Union was going "conservative", while People's China remained "revolutionary".

The Prime Minister also badly tripped when, appearing in a television programme with Adlai Stevenson, he mouthed the traditional U.S. slander against the Socialist

countries of Eastern Europe, for the first time.

Asked why the right of self-determination should not "apply equally to the people of Eastern Europe who are under Soviet domination," he replied: "That would be an ideal thing". He did add that the two situations were different but only to run down the Eastern European countries in these words:

PLAYING ANTI-COMMUNISM

"This is not that type of colonialism. It is different. I dislike it also. It sometimes is worse from the human point of view than the other."

To put it mildly this is not knowing the friends from the foes, to put it bluntly this is repudiating India's own anti-colonialist past, only to muddy the course of its socialist future. Any new socialist country would inevitably be aligned with the great country where socialism was first born and for obvious reasons. To deny the sovereignty of Eastern European countries and characterise their socialist fraternal relations with the USSR as colonialism of a new type is sharing the U.S. imperialist, and purposefully slanderous, stand-point.

The Prime Minister will soon enough learn from living experience that the U.S. attitude towards India remains imperialist and dictatorial while that of the USSR and other Socialist countries

remains fraternal and helpful despite his insulting and untruthful words.

The U.S. demand for a change in Indian foreign policy has been reiterated after the conclusion of the Prime Minister's visit by the influential Washington Post in the following words:

"The position taken by the Indian Government at the United National General Assembly has been difficult for this country to understand, the presentation of that position has been more compounded of hostility than of neutrality." (Quoted in the Statesman, Nov. 13)

The Washington Correspondent of the Times of India (Nov. 12) cabled the following which was significantly headlined: "U.S. will Watch India Carefully".

"Neither India nor U.S. has given way on any basic difference of opinion between them on the issues that confronted the world.... Basically little has changed...."

"The result of the 'enhanced understanding' will not be impressive or lasting if India thinks that henceforth the U.S. will remain a 'friend' on any terms...."

"In the current mood of U.S. thinking it is thought that the U.S. too must claim some tribute for all its help to India."

Pandit Nehru's visit has certainly made the U.S. aware that under his leadership India cannot be expected to join hands with the U.S. in any of its blatantly aggressive moves.

One positive result of the Prime Minister's visit has been to assure the U.S. President that peaceful solutions of all outstanding problems are possible. America's rulers know it very well that there is no world statesman better equipped than Prime Minister Nehru to interpret the East to the West and vice-versa, act the bridge between the two, and win the vast uncommitted world to back any constructive solutions to ensure world peace.

It is not President Kennedy but Prime Minister Khrushchov who can and does move the world in the direction of peace. What he has said and done at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is only the beginning and not the end of his irresistible peace initiatives.

India needs to strengthen its eternal vigilance against the U.S. imperialist moves and look out for the new doves of peace that will come flying from Moscow and ensure that they do not get killed by the wildmen of Washington.

the indian industries fair

From Our Correspondent

The Second Indian Industries Fair (International), 1961, which was declared open by the Vice-President of India, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, in Delhi on November 14 is claimed to be the largest of its kind in this part of the world. Like the first one held in 1955, the present Fair too is organised by the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce & Industry in co-operation with the Government of India.

REFLECTING the growth of Indian industries and of India's trade relations with the rest of the world in the last six years, the present Fair is on a much larger scale than the first one. It covers an area of 180 acres of land as compared to the 72 acres of the 1955 Fair. The frontage of the Fair extends to six furlongs.

The participation too, this time, is on a much larger scale. Every sphere of Indian enterprise—public and private, large and small-scale—is represented. A large number of foreign countries, including almost all the major industrially developed countries, both of the capitalist and the socialist world, are participating, though the participation of those from the newly independent develop-

ing countries is not as extensive as one would have desired. Participating for the first time are countries like the People's Republic of Bulgaria, United Arab Republic and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

The range of products on display at the Fair is considerably wide. Some of the largest achievements of science and technique too are on view. Machinery of various types—from heavy fabricating plants to minuscule precision instruments—are being shown side by side with different handicrafts from many parts of the world in their beautiful designs and symphonies of colour.

The two million square feet and more of space occupied by the pavilions and stalls is almost equally shared by the domestic (private and public sector) enterprises and the

foreign participants. Some State Governments are also participating and in their pavilions many private sector establishments have a pride of place.

The considerable development achieved by the public sector enterprises in the different fields of industry finds reflection in the Fair, although the private sector enterprises, many of them foreign, have taken the opportunity to show off in a big way.

The participation of the socialist countries in the Fair shows both the tremendous advance registered by the socialist world in industrial and other fields since the first Fair of 1955 as well as the tremendous growth in their economic relations with India.

In the Soviet Pavilion, on display are Soviet oil-well drilling machines, exploratory drilling apparatus and models of drilling instruments. A lot of agricultural machinery is also on display—tractors of different types, harvester combines, tea and cotton plucking machines, etc. There are models of plants manufacturing heavy machinery and mining implements. Polygraphic equipment, metal-pressing equipment, medical apparatus,

optical instruments, different types of diesels, etc., are also on show. There are specialists at hand.

The Czechoslovak pavilion at the current Fair demonstrates the structural change that has occurred over the last six years in that country's exports to India. Equipment for complete plants, machinery, instruments and steel have been the major items during 1960 and 1961, covering 90 per cent of Indian imports from Czechoslovakia.

There are also interesting and instructive pavilions of other socialist countries, the German Democratic Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the Rumanian People's Republic, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the People's Republic of Hungary and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

India's industrial and agricultural fairs are increasingly becoming meeting grounds of world significance for all economic formations in the world. As stated by the Executive Director of the present Fair, Mr. G. L. Bansal: "The Indian Industries Fair will be a meeting place of traders and manufacturers from all parts of the world and, as such, will surely bring tangible results in the form of increased trade between nations. To the extent it is able to stimulate interest of foreign buyers in our commodities, it would directly help our export programme."

Com. BANKIM MUKHERJEE PASS AWAY

As we go to Press, we learnt with deep sorrow the news about the sad demise of Comrade Bankim Mukherjee, veteran trade union and kisan leader.

We dip the Red Flag in his honour.