

# is non-alignment dead?

## WHAT DO JOINT EXERCISES MEAN?

## NEW AGE

\* COMMUNIST PARTY WEEKLY \*

Vol. XI No. 30

July 28, 1963

25 p.

### GREAT PETITION NUMBER

Every word has evidently been carefully weighed in the Press Note issued by the Ministry of External Affairs, announcing the agreement with the US and British governments for joint air exercises. Unfortunately all the words in the world, balanced in any of a million permutations and combinations, cannot hide the sordid deal struck by the Government of India with the imperialist powers.

Public resentment at the first news of the joint air exercises has made itself felt and the Press Note announcing the exercises is obviously intended to meet some at least of the criticisms levelled against the exercises. The modifications in the original proposals are undoubtedly the result of the criticisms made by progressive forces inside our country, and by friends abroad.

THE declaration in the Press Note that "the defence of India, including air defence, is wholly and solely the responsibility of the Government of India", would, in normal circumstances, be enough to allay any fears of

the weakening of the policy of nonalignment by the backdoor.

Similarly the emphasis laid by all three governments—ours as well as those of the USA and Britain—on there being no "commitment" to "assist India, should it be attacked," is clearly intended to demonstrate that no "umbrella" has been agreed upon.

by

Romesh Chandra

The exercises are to be "under overall Indian Air Force aegis"; they are only meant "to help in testing the equipment and in enabling the Indian Air Force personnel to master its use" and to provide our squadrons with "valuable experience" regarding the latest techniques of air defence. The joint exercises will be of "short duration", we are further assured.

As for any more worries about nonalignment, the Press Note is at pains to point out that "the Government of India has sought assistance from all friendly countries" including the Soviet Union! As a matter of fact, says the Press Note as a tall-piece, "discussions with the USSR,

regarding assistance for strengthening our air defence that can be provided by that country, are going on."

All who have the interests of the country at heart, will welcome any step towards the genuine strengthening of our defence potential. Radar and all that goes with it are essential means of defence from aerial attack in today's world. That India is to be provided with radar is by itself a welcome development.

But here is the snag. The Press Note says "it will take 12 to 18 months before permanent radar units can be ready and be installed for

use". In the meanwhile, the US Government will provide mobile radar sets, which will remain its property to be installed on our territory, manned by US personnel.

On top of this, "high performance fighter aircraft" from the US and British air forces will "visit India" and "participate in joint training exercises" with our Air Force.

According to Renter, Washington officials say that "the number of U.S. military personnel involved in the agreement was estimated at several hundreds." New Delhi circles

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## ANXIETY IN MOSCOW

● FROM MASOOD ALI KHAN

MOSCOW, July 23: Concern has been expressed here over certain developments in India. The reported decision to hold joint manoeuvres of the Indian Air Force along with the Air Force squadrons of Great Britain and the USA, Australia, Canada and others; the Voice of America deal, etc., have caused anxiety among Soviet circles which is expressed in the press by the considerable attention that has been given to these developments.

*Praeda*, *Izvestia* and other papers and radio commentators reported these matters as indications of dangers to India's independent and nonaligned policies. *Praeda* on July 19 prominently reported the statement of the Central Secretariat of the CPI on the radio affair under two column headline: "Voice of America" should be silenced on Indian territory".

On July 20, *Izvestia* reported the same development. extensively quoted Indian press on comments criticising the deal with the Voice of America and gave a three column headline: "Against the Policy of Non-Alignment". And the same day *Praeda* gave the full text of the resolution of the Central Secretariat of the CPI on air exercises under a bold three-column headline: "Threat to the Sovereignty of India".

A radio commentary pointed out that India's political independence and economic progress had been achieved by following a policy of peace and

nonalignment in military blocs but now reactionary forces had become increasingly vocal against these basic principles and democratic forces in the country were realising that they had to defend India's independent stand.



—Courtesy: PATRIOT



Famous Malayalam Writer Thoppil Khasi being dragged to a police van at Trivandrum on July 21. See report on page 3.



# Under The Banner Of Emergency

The Habeas Corpus petitions, on behalf of the Communist detenus, passionately argued by leading lawyers before the various High Courts of the country, do not concern the fate of the Communist prisoners alone but of Indian democracy itself. The issues involved are basic, on which the healthy growth and even the existence of any decent democracy with ultimately depend.

These first principles are:

1 In the national emergency, what are the powers of the Parliament and of the Executive in relation to fundamental rights?

2 Can the fundamental rights given by the people of India unto themselves, and enshrined in the Indian Constitution, be violated with impunity?

After the achievement of independence, one took it for granted that a national government will do everything to help build new good traditions, that the judicial courts under independent and democratic India were real temples of justice, open to all Indian citizens.

The horror of horrors is that in the current series of cases, the government side has unblushingly insisted before the Supreme Court and the various High Courts that the doors of the judicial courts of the country are bolted and barred to the detenus!

In such a cloudy and dark national background, the judgement of the Allahabad High Court has come as a bolt from the blue for the minions of law misguiding the government, but for the millions it is a message of hope that has uplifted the spirit of all who are concerned with the future of Indian democracy.

Superlatives have lost their significance in present day Indian journalism and political life, but the judgement of Justice Jagdish Sahai and Justice Mahesh Chandra, is as big a vindication of the health of Indian democracy (right to personal freedom of Indian citizens) as was the liberation of Goa of Indian sovereignty (duty of Indian armed forces to clean up the last foreign enclaves on Indian soil).

## Three Vital Questions

There are three vital constitutional questions involved, in the present case of fundamental rights of Indian citizens under the emergency, and the learned Judges of the Allahabad High Court, have conscientiously and fearlessly given their authoritative answers to them all.

1 The first question was: Does Emergency mean that the Executive is the master of the situation, becomes the absolute despot, and the Courts are powerless to remedy the excesses of the Executive?

The learned Judges have no doubt that this was not the intention of the Founding Fathers.

2 The second question was: Whether during the Emergency, the Indian Parliament is entitled to violate fundamental rights?

The learned Judges are emphatic that the Founding Fathers never intended it to be so.

3 The third question was: Whether during the Emer-

gency all legal remedy was barred to the detenus, as the government side was loudly proclaiming on the floor of Parliament and before the courts of the country?

It is true that Section 359 of the Constitution permits the President to issue orders suspending the right to move courts for enforcement of fundamental rights specified in the order, but it does not take away rights conferred by statute made by Parliament nor does it suspend the duties of Courts to release persons illegally detained.

On this point, too, the learned Judges are emphatic:

"There is no mention of 'State' in Article 359, with the result that the legislatures of the country cannot take advantage of the President's order and pass laws which are void under the Constitution."

If the government suffered from bad legal advice, the Allahabad judgement should have settled the issue. It has been shown more than once that the Law Ministry is not manned by knowledgeable persons.

The disease from which the Indian ruling class suffers under the anti-democratic dope to which it has become addict, has gone very far. It is not a case of ignorance of law but lack of respect for the rule of law.

The Allahabad judgement is mandatory on the U.P. Government, but the Gupta Government released only four who had applied before the High Court and keeps the rest detained as before, illegally.

New Delhi advised Lucknow to release all, but Chief Minister Gupta ignored Central Home Minister Shastri. Under the Emergency, the Union Government has the right to instruct and direct the state governments. Emergency provisions were not used this way to undo a wrong, the Communists were involved!

Such an anti-democratic drama was not enacted only in U.P.

A very similar Habeas Corpus petition was also filed before the Mysore High Court. Because of the importance of the issues, the Chief Justice appointed a Full Bench. Arguments went on for three long days and the Advocate General smelt that the Bangalore Bench may also go the Allahabad way.

## Queer Logic

Next day the Mysore Government announced that it had ordered the release of the three petitioners plus two more, detenus who had not filed petition before the High Court. There were nine detenus in all, by what logic five were released and four others kept inside jail is anybody's guess.

All this happened after the State Advocate-General had stated before the Full Bench that only one detenu Govindan was "dan-

gerous" and others could be released. Now this dangerous Govindan is among the five ordered to be released, while the other four obviously not so dangerous in the Mysore Government's own esteem continue to remain in jail! This is the way of the insane and the indecent and not of the sane and the decent.

The case was on before a Full Bench and the Mysore Government arbitrarily intervened in its proceedings. What else is it except a gross expression of the Executive's lack of respect for the Judiciary, a danger signal for any democracy? It is worse still that it is not only the Mysore Government that was struck with this unholy fear.

by  
**P. C. Joshi**

Next week and thereafter similar petitions were pending before the High Courts Patna, Jodhpur, Calcutta, Hyderabad and Madras. The government rushed to seek adjournments in all cases on the ground that the matter was coming up before the Supreme Court. Obviously the government wanted to avoid the patent danger of multiplying more unfavourable verdicts like the Allahabad one against its view of law.

We, Indian Communists have taken particular care not to exploit the issue of the illegal detention of our comrades in a partisan manner against the government. It is on the other hand, the government that is exploiting the atmosphere and the powers of the national emergency against our Party and to keep our leaders and workers unjustly and arbitrarily detained.

When the Supreme Court rejected the first petition on the ground of admissibility, of mere procedure, and refused to go into the merits of the case, we requested our lawyers to seek the opinion of the top jurists of the country, including the former Attorney-General of the government of India.

The legal minions of the Union Government are propagating another myth, that the High Courts of the country are divided, just to weaken the explosive impact of the Allahabad High Court judgement. The truth is that in no High Court, where the issue has been debated the State counsel defended the stand that the DIA was NOT void when tested on the touchstone of Articles 14 and 22 (concerning fundamental rights) of the Constitution. All that they argued was that legal remedy was barred because of the Presidential Order and that no court was entitled to go into the validity of the law, the DIA.

Home Minister Shastri had stated before the last session of the Rajya Sabha that the government was advised by the Law Ministry that the right was ipso facto suspended when the remedy was suspended. His authorities were the unknown officials of the Law Ministry, and the vain Law Minister, but has not enough happened since then, and as outlined above, to prove that so far

## Our Confidence

We knew that they were non-Communists but we had faith in the expert knowledge, democratic conscience and moral integrity of the best of the jurists of our ancient land. Their opinion went against the government case. In normal times, it would have produced a first-rate political crisis but we did not seek to so exploit their opinion.

We approached the Prime Minister to have the matter reconsidered. He agreed, but nothing happened for months and months.

Drift at the highest level when the basic principles of democratic life were concerned is an expression of the moral coma that has struck the top Indian ruling circles, during the national emergency.

The cause of Indian democracy is not doomed just because New Delhi refuses to listen. The Jurists

had set the ball of Indian democracy rolling and nothing could stop it. Even the Rightwing Press spoke up. The Bar Association of India kept the holy fire burning. In their Bangalore Seminar, they unanimously came to the same conclusions as the jurists. The Government of India again ignored the organised collective opinion of the Indian Bar.

This undemocratic, unbecoming insensitiveness was not only towards the opinion of the national jurists and authoritative spokesmen of the Bar, but it went further, even the judicial verdict of the Allahabad High Court was not respected. The Union of India was a party in the case and it was the bounden moral constitutional duty of the Government of India not only to mandate the U.P. Government to release all the U.P. detenus, but itself order release all those held in detention under the DIA throughout the country.

In a good democracy, a judicial verdict has first to be implicitly accepted and implemented and then if the government did not agree with the findings of law of the Allahabad Judges, it had the right and the duty to go before the Supreme Court for the final verdict. It had no moral and legal right to treat the verdict of Allahabad High Court with scant respect in the vain hope that Supreme Court will reverse it.

More, the way the government had handled the issue before the Mysore and other High Courts only proves that the government has little faith in the judiciary, when it is afraid they may not serve its partisan interests!

Whether during the Emergency, the Executive has powers to violate fundamental rights and act contrary to laws made by the Parliament;

Whether during the Emergency the Courts are powerless to remedy the wrongs committed by Parliament and the Executive even though their actions are declared void under the constitution?

We are deliberately not making it an issue of Communist vs. the Congress, the Opposition vs. the Government. We, Indian Communists, know very well that we and all others will prosper if Indian democracy lives and grows. We are, therefore, all set to fight the battle of the inalienability of the Indian Constitution. We refuse to serve as the scarecrow for Indian reaction.

The Executive must not arbitrarily deprive any citizen of his personal liberty and when challenged must scrupulously justify its action under a valid law before the temples of justice. In the present case, the government not only treated with scant respect the opinion of the jurists and the conclusions of the Indian Bar, but refused to give effect to the verdict of the Allahabad High Court even inside U.P., leave aside the whole country.

Under our system of laws even murderers are given the benefit of doubt by the Courts but the Communists continue to be detained even when the invalidity of the detention law is no longer in doubt. This undermines the very foundation of the rule of law in a democratic and free India that we founded.

If there is any grace anywhere in the vast chaos, that the Government of India is today, the Communist detenus must be released forthwith. Let the validity of the DIA be tested before the Supreme Court untrammelled by procedural obstacles. If it is ultimately left to the Supreme Court to order the releases, the face of

as the "experts" of the Law Ministry are concerned, their knowledge of law is doubtful and their respect for law nil! Moral integrity and political decency, under a democracy, demand that.

The Executive must place before the legislature proposals before the legislature of the land as are in consonance with the constitution of the country; the holy of holies in law.

The jurists' opinion had cast serious doubts about the constitutional validity of the DIA. The Allahabad High Court had settled these doubts in favour of the fundamental rights that are neither suspended nor abrogated during the emergency.

The government would have only heightened its prestige if it had voluntarily repealed the controversial provisions of the DIA. The least it owes to the country, in terms of the sanctity of the Constitution is to agree to seek the verdict of the Supreme Court on three key issues:

a During the Emergency, whether Parliament has powers to violate the fundamental rights as guaranteed in the Constitution and make laws inconsistent with these rights?

b Whether during the Emergency the Executive has powers to violate fundamental rights and act contrary to laws made by the Parliament;

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## Kerala Bus Fare Agitation

# Police Attack Satyagrahis KPAC Artistes Manhandled—

## ★ FIRST STUDENT MARTYR OF STRUGGLE ★

★ From S. Sharma

TRIVANDRUM: As people's support for the agitation against bus fare increase mounted and the state government's isolation increased, police in the state capital resorted to the use of brutal force against peaceful satyagrahis and arrested 46 of them on July 21.

IN front of the government secretariat, the police manhandled the leaders of the famous KPAC drama troupe who were proceeding towards the bus stand to offer satyagraha. Escorted by a procession of over one thousand people, the satyagrahis from the Kerala People's Arts Club, well-known actors and dramatists of Kerala, included Thoppil Bhasi, producer-playwright and K. S. George and Sulochana, popular stars of the Malayalam stage.

The police stopped the procession and asked them not to proceed on the road in front of the secretariat shouting slogans. The processionists assured the police officers that they will proceed as a silent procession. Leaders of the Communist Party T. C. Narayanan Nambiar MLA and C. Unni Raja sought the intervention of the Commissioner of police to permit the peaceful satyagrahis to proceed to the bus stand silently.

In the mean time, the police used force and beat up Thoppil Bhasi, Avanaazhi Sadiqan and Karayana Soman, manhandled the squatters and took them into the van.

The police used brutal force against Bhasi, tearing the flag from his hand and beating him till he became almost unconscious. Sulochana was about to be manhandled by the police and on request from her co-satyagrahis, she entered the police van.

The state secretariat of the Communist Party has condemned this unprovoked police action against peaceful satyagrahis and demanded stringent action against the police officers connected with the incident and release of the arrested.

The police are reported to be proceeding against the arrested under provisions of the Defence of India Act.

Similarly another batch of volunteers proceeding from Pap-

panamcode was also arrested and removed to the police station.

The processionists were dispersed by force and in the melee that ensued, the crowd was reported to have thrown stones at a running transport bus.

In response to the call of the citizens' committee elected in Trivandrum (see last week's New Age) to observe a protest day against bus fare increase on Sunday last, there were meetings and demonstrations in other centres of the state too.

Earlier, on July 17, the all party deputation elected at the Trivandrum meeting met the Chief Minister and submitted a memorandum seeking the cancellation of enhanced fares. Members of the deputation explained to the Chief Minister the difficulties caused by the fare increase and made it clear that the question was no longer a party question or prestige issue, but a problem affecting lakhs of ordinary people.

The Chief Minister was reported to have explained the standpoint of the government. At best, only the incongruities in the fares and the firing of staves could be revised. The government wanted to wait and watch before considering the question afresh.

The same day, the tragic incident of a student run over and killed by a private operator's bus in Ankamali caused tension to rise and brought the students' agitation throughout the state to a new pitch. The Ankamali incident was symbolic of the callousness with which the government, and under its protection private bus operators, have viewed the students' agitation for concessions in bus fares.

It is reported that on the morning of July 17, five students including Sebastian, a B.Sc. student, were waiting in Ankamali for a bus to take them to the Shree

Sankara College, Kaladi. At about 9.30 A.M. a private bus came and stopped at the stand. The student's asked the conductor to issue them tickets at concessional rates, generally agreed to by private bus operators, but the conductor refused.

In the meantime the students were standing in front of the bus and the driver is stated to have driven the bus straight into them. Sebastian fell down and was run over. Though he was removed to a local hospital, he succumbed to his injuries.

Hearing the news, students of neighbouring schools and colleges came in their hundreds to the hospital and leaders of all students' organisations and political parties placed wreaths on the body.

The body was then carried in a silent procession to the house of Sebastian's father, a lower primary school teacher. T. K. Ramakrishnan, Communist MLA, students' leaders and other political parties' representatives joined the procession.

## STATEWIDE PROTESTS

The President of the Congress affiliated Kerala Students' Union, Vaular Ravi has called upon students all over the state to protest against this dastardly crime committed against one of them. He has demanded that the government take stern action against private bus operators who refuse to grant concessions to students.

The Ankamali incident touched off a series of student demonstrations and strikes in different parts of the state. On July 18 college and high school students in Ernakulam district stayed away from their classes, went round in processions and demanded an open enquiry into the incident. There have been similar strikes and demonstrations of students in other places also.

The increasing mass support and strength of the agitation against bus fare increase has prompted even Congress dailies to caution the government against continued intransigence.

Prominent dailies like MALAYALA MANORAMA and MATHRUBHUMI (Congress), KERALA KAUMUDI (Independent) and Father Vadakkan's THOZHILALI

## NO-CONFIDENCE IN GOVERNMENT

### THE REASONS

THE COMMUNIST GROUP in the Lok Sabha, along with some Independents, have tabled a no-confidence motion for discussion in the Lok Sabha on August 13, 1963. The following failures of the government's declared policies have been listed in the motion:

★ VIOLATION of our country's basic policy of non-alignment and endangering our friendly relations specially with Afro-Asian and Socialist countries, by entering into agreements permitting the broadcasting of Voice of America and stationing the propaganda agency of a foreign power, namely the U.S.A., on Indian soil.

★ TAKING STEPS to virtually accept an umbrella, which militates against the country's sovereignty and its policy of non-alignment, through joint air manoeuvres of foreign powers.

★ IMPOSING unbearable hardships on millions of families by allowing prices of essential commodities to rise, and real wages to fall, by allowing speculation in the food market, hoarding and blackmarketing in these commodities, specially in sugar, rice, etc.

★ IMPOSING crushing burdens of taxation on the lower income groups in the form of Compulsory Deposit Scheme, surcharge on income-tax and land revenues, taxes on kerosene and essential commodities, etc.

★ FAILURE to nationalise banks, foreign oil companies and export-import trade to raise resources for defence and development, through such measures rather than through taxes on the poor people.

★ FAILURE to prevent gold smuggling and to unearth the illegal gold hoards and, instead, rendering lakhs of goldsmiths unemployed.

★ FAILURE to prevent the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few monopolists, contrary to the declared intentions of the Five-Year Plans.

They are also approaching other progressive Leftist Parties and independents in the Lok Sabha to support the motion which, according to them, is essential in order to bring these failures before the people, seek reversal of these policies through the Lok Sabha and also to check the shift to the Right.

have repeated their requests to Congress have repeatedly demanded cancellation of the increased fares. In some places Congressmen also have voiced their apprehension at the fare increase and its consequences.

## Despotism Or Democracy?

★ FROM PACING PAGE

the Government of India will only become blacker!

It will be the greatest legal democratic battle of post-independence India when the case of Communist detenus comes up for hearing before the Supreme Court. The issue of personal liberty will be debated on the highest pedestal.

The Communist detenus have approached the dozen of the Indian Bar M. C. Setalod, N. C. Chatterji, Vishwanath Shastri, M. K. Nambiar, Sanjoo Prasad, A. N. Mulla, Ekkirajulu Naidu, A. S. R. Chari and others.

Grand old P. R. Das was requested to champion the cause of liberty without fees. He is so ill that transfusion of blood is going on. He regretted his inability and indeed it is the misfortune of the country that he would not be able to appear.

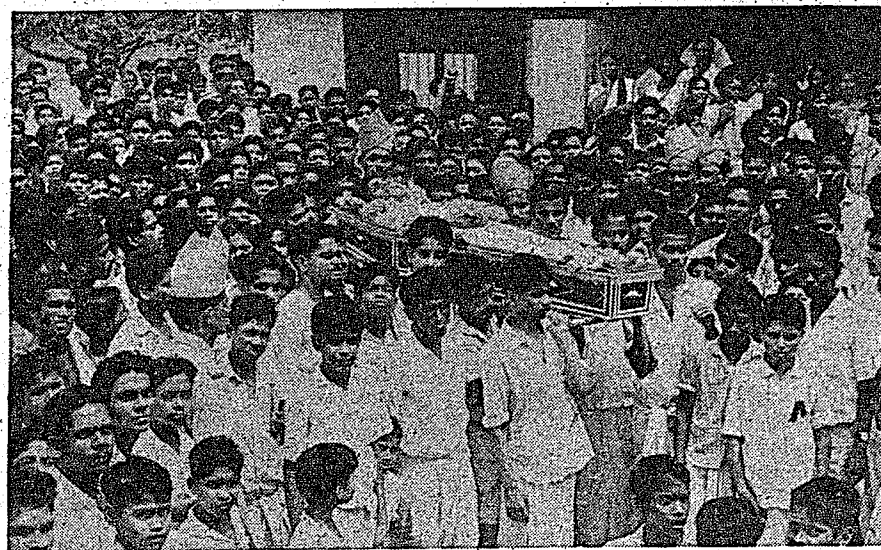
These greatest of India's lawyers would be appearing for the

clients who cannot pay their fees. This noble and selfless example recalls the memory of the Meerut Conspiracy Case, under the British, when the Communist prisoners were defended by lawyers no less than Pandit Motilal Nehru, Dr. K. N. Katju, M. C. Chagla, Diwan Chamanlal, and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. He donned his barrister's gown to express the solidarity for the cause of freedom of the country and the freedom of the individual.

Before the principled assault, in defence of the Indian Constitution and the fundamental rights of Indian citizens, even the Government of India will not be allowed to act the stone deaf. It cannot keep for long the Indian people blind-folded to its arbitrary power-mad, anti-democratic crime. That day will soon come and that will be a great day for Indian democracy.

(July 23)

# DESPOTISM OR DEMOCRACY?



Funeral procession of Sabastian at Ankamaly



# NO CONFIDENCE

editorial

THE COMING SESSION of Parliament is expected to be a stormy one. The notice of a motion of no-confidence in the government given by the Communist Group in the Lok Sabha, with the support of some independents, is an indication of the grave issues facing the country.

It is not every day that the leading Opposition Party in Parliament moves a motion of no-confidence. It does so at this stage for no other reason than that the river of discontent of the working masses of this country has burst its banks, and the flood demands to be heard by the Parliament of India.

The Communist Party places at the head of its list of accusations against the Government of India, the shameful contract entered into with the *Voice of America* and the sordid joint air exercises agreement. It does so consciously and with a clear understanding. These disgraceful surrenders to imperialist pressures and blackmail, these retreats from nonalignment, constitute the greatest danger to India's independence and sovereignty.

By placing these issues in the forefront, the Communist Party demarcates itself sharply from the parties of Right reaction and their dubious allies, who seek to cash in on the people's discontent in a totally unprincipled manner.

The most vigorous champions of the VOA agreement and the joint exercises are the parties of Right reaction, and they will, therefore, oppose the Communist no-confidence motion tooth and nail.

The Right in Parliament, fresh from its by-election victories, is busy preparing its own no-confidence motions against the government. These motions, while paying lip-service to the popular resentment against high prices and anti-people taxes, are in reality aimed at the basic policies of nonalignment, planned development, etc. The progressive forces can have nothing to do with the Rightist conspiracies and with their no-confidence motions, however skilfully drafted they may be.

The other issues taken up in the Communist Party's no-confidence motion cover more or less the points of the Great Petition, on which already several lakhs of signatures have been obtained.

Here again the stand of the Communist Party and the progressive independents supporting the motion, is totally different from that of the Right. The key issue of nationalisation of banks, oil, import and export trade, etc. is vital for the curbing of the imperialists and monopolists and their power inside our country. The desperate opposition of the Rightist forces, inside and outside the government, to the Great Petition, arises primarily because they see in the demand for nationalisation the sharpest and most effective, immediate attack on their profits and their power.

The no-confidence motion introduced in Parliament by the Communist Party seeks to draw urgent attention to the most vital questions which affect the lives of our entire people and the future of our Motherland.

The Communist chargesheet against the government is one, which will have the support of millions in this country. The vast mass of democratic-minded Congressmen and Congress voters, who are aghast at the onward march of reaction will find themselves in complete sympathy with the various counts on which the Communist no-confidence motion indicts the government.

The no-confidence motion inside Parliament must be backed by the united mass movement of the people outside Parliament, in the factories and fields.

The voice of India must prevail over the voice of the imperialists and the monopolists and reactionaries.

(July 24)

Notes of the Week

★ By ROMESH CHANDRA

# P.M., Taxes & China

PRIME MINISTER NEHRU, speaking in Hyderabad at a meeting of the women's wing of the Pradesh Congress, is reported to have expressed his displeasure with the anti-tax movement. The newspaper reports of the speech are not complete, and may be somewhat inaccurate. But the essence of what the Prime Minister is quoted as saying, makes dismal reading.

ACCORDING to the *TIMES OF INDIA* News Service, the head of our government said that "China's design was to disrupt India's economic progress... The Chinese would succeed in their aim if the new taxes, meant for defence and development, had not been imposed... The opposition parties, by their planned agitation, would be helping the Chinese in achieving their nefarious aims..."

The speech evidently lumped all the opposition parties together. But in Hyderabad, the main campaign the people know is the campaign for the Great Petition which the Communist Party has initiated.

One would expect a democratic Prime Minister of any country to answer the criticisms made of government policies, by facing them as they are and not by raising bogeys and dismissing all criticism by saying it helps the enemy.

Our Prime Minister knows full well that the Communist Party has repeatedly made it clear that it fully supports all efforts to raise resources for defence and development. The Party is demanding that these resources should be secured by taxing those who can afford to pay. The concrete proposals for nationalisation of banks, oil, export and import trade, are meant to provide more than enough resources for all the defence and development needs, as outlined by the government itself.

But the Party is firmly opposed to the laying of additional burdens on the poor. And this opposition is based not only on devotion to the defence of the interests of the masses, but equally out of the realisation that a discontented rear is disastrous for any defence efforts.

The Prime Minister knows all this well enough. And yet he does not care to explain why the concrete proposals for alternative resources put forward by the Communist Party cannot be accepted, why banks etc. cannot be nationalised, why the monopolists and the rich cannot be made to pay more.

Instead of facing the criticisms as they are, the Prime Minister, to our regret, misleads the public by insinuating that the movement against anti-people taxes seeks to lessen defence and development expenditure and thus assists the Chinese in their desperate aims.

It is obvious that the government has no answers to the people's criticism. That is why it resorts to the base attempt to slander the popular movement as "helping the Chinese".

## VOA Scandal

THE frenzied reconsideration, which is said to be taking place in regard to the VOA deal, reveals a calamitous state of affairs inside what goes by the name of the Government of India.

How does it happen that the highest in the land allowed the contract to be signed, in devilish secrecy, by an ICS official—when it is clear to everyone today that

the implications of the contract are so all-embracing that nothing short of a Cabinet decision could really authorise its acceptance.

How is it that a mere Deputy Minister continues to insist on defending the contract, when the Prime Minister himself has declared that it is being reconsidered?

There are all sorts of obvious stories in the air about the manner in which certain go-getting yes-men of the imperialists virtually browbeat the powers-that-be into accepting the agreement. And now, the same gentlemen are working breathlessly to prevent the "reconsideration" promised by the Prime Minister.

Washington is very angry, say the US correspondents of the monopoly press. *HINDUSTAN TIMES*' man in Washington puts it quite clearly:

"US officials are reported to have explained that any move to alter the agreement can have serious repercussions in this country... The Kennedy Administration's efforts to push economic and military aid proposals through Congress could be greatly embarrassed."

To put it in blunt words: No VOA, less "aid"! The US black-matters are so obolous!

It is essential not to relax the battle against the VOA, not to be complacent, because "reconsideration" is promised, not to be taken in by the well-briefed correspondents' tales.

## OUR CONDOLENCES

News has just reached *NEW AGE* of the sad death in Calcutta on July 24 of Dr. N. K. Basu, father of Communist leader Jyoti Basu, at present detained under the DIR.

Our sincere condolences to Comrade Jyoti Basu and all members of the bereaved family.

## LAUNCH A CAMPAIGN FOR MORE READERS OF NEW AGE

This is a special number of *NEW AGE*, intended to provide material on the campaign for the Great Petition and on other vital issues facing the country.

THIS is a number, which, like all other issues of the *NEW AGE*, is dedicated to the working masses of our country.

The voice of the Communist Party of India, of the fighting mass movements of our country, must reach more and more readers.

In order to do this, we are appealing today to all branches and committees of the Communist Party, to all trade unions, kisan sabhas, youth, women's, students' bodies, to all other democratic organisations, cultural and social—to join in helping to organise a sales drive for *NEW AGE*.

Please help the local agent to increase the circulation in your city or district. We hope that each agent will send us increased orders in the coming weeks (and, of course, make regular settlements of our bills, so that we are not forced to stop supplies!).

As a special case, we are reducing the subscription rates for those who enrol themselves during the next three months:

Rs. 10 instead of Rs. 12 for annual subscription.

Rs. 5 instead of Rs. 6 for half-yearly subscription.

We hope that every committee of the Party, every active mass organisation, as well as all individuals who want to receive the *NEW AGE* regularly, will take advantage of the offer and enrol themselves now.

—EDITOR

The latest news is that the US government is proposing some "variations" in the terms of the deal: it is suggesting different wave-lengths for All India Radio and VOA broadcasts from the new high power transmitter; or "reciprocal screening facilities" for Indian and American broadcasts.

All these suggestions are no more than fig leaves. Whatever wave-lengths the Yankees may use, it will be from our soil that they will put out their filth. As for "screening", you cannot turn black into white or the devil into an angel—and the VOA cold-war drive cannot be "screened" into respectability.

The *Voice of America* must not be broadcast from Indian soil. Any agreement which provides for such broadcasts, under any cover, must be repudiated at once.

## Easy Virtue

IT is interesting to note that *Washington Post* gleefully reports that the Pakistan press has "depicted India as an international lady of easy virtue prepared to pay the necessary price of unlimited arms aid."

The Pakistan press has its own reasons for maligning our country. But the "arguments" put out by the garrulous Shannath and other defenders of the VOA deal, like Masani, Asoka Mehta and the *Birla-Goenka* newspaper chain, are simply rich cream for the Sino-Pak slander cats to fatten on.

We cannot afford to pay for the transmitter, it is argued, and hence we must sell our time in accordance with the conditions laid down by the owners of the transmitter. It does sound a little like *CHRISTINE KEELER* going into defence of her trade...

(July 24)

## INTUC Supports CDS

Many other political parties, groups and organisations protested against the high prices. Some protested against the taxes also. But it was strange to find that some organisations like the INTUC supported the CDS, on the basis of the philosophical moral that the workers must learn to save, that the social habits of the nation must change!

When those, who protested against the new taxes, were asked as to how to raise the money required for defence and development, some of them had no answer.

When we were asked the same question, we pointed out the sources from which the necessary money could be raised. The Communist Party made constructive proposals.

NOT that production has suffered an absolute fall compared to previous levels. Nor is the economy as a whole in crisis as it is generally understood. Factories are springing up, capital investments are increasing.

The November war and the emergency did not disrupt the country's economy, by claiming any large chunk of its products for war purposes. The conflict was too small and short-lived to inflict that damage.

Why then the high taxes, the rise in prices, the scarcity, the hoarding and all that misery against which everyone is protesting?

The dominant reason is that taking advantage of the emergency, the big monopolists, the parasitic interests, aided by the ruling circles and their wrong policies, which are mainly directed against the common man, have launched an all-out offensive against the toiling people—the workers, peasants, middle classes, to concentrate still further the wealth and power of the country in their own hands.

In order to defend themselves from the offensive of the taxes, prices and profiteers, the people began to move into action. The Communist Party and trade unions of the AITUC decided to launch a movement of the Great Petition and March to Parliament, to protest against the high taxes, prices, surcharges.

The compulsory deposit scheme attracted particular attention. The scheme was meant to force people to save money and loan it to the government. It assumed that despite rising prices and taxes, people with low income, ordinary workers earning Rs. 125 a month, land revenue paying peasants, low income-tax payers, had enough margin to save.

Our Party and the trade unions came to the conclusion that this was a wrong assumption, that this demand was unjust and must be opposed. It is our opinion that today a man earning Rs. 500 and less is not in a position to save. And the man earning above Rs. 500 and below Rs. 1000 is also in difficulty.

There are about 304 banks in the country. Of these 14 are foreign exchange banks. Rest are Indian.

But of all this number, some five or six banks control the largest block of money and garner the largest profits. The "Big Five" are well known in the financial world in India. 26 banks in India control 85 per cent of the deposits.

The control of this huge money is concentrated in a few hands. In fact, the big monopolists in India have one bank each under their control. For example:

Birla group has the United Commercial Bank, Tata group has the Central Bank of India, Dalmia-Jain group has the Punjab National Bank, Khatau-Mafatal has Bank of India and Walchand Hirachand has Bank of Baroda.

And there are others also. But one may say these gentlemen do useful work. They collect depositors' money, pay them interest and with that money, they build industries, help trade and thus help the economy of the country, for which should they not get their rewards?

# WHY MUST BANKS BE NATIONALISED?

By S. A. DANGE

body raises such a silly question—and least of all can it be raised by the government.

The former Imperial Bank of India was nationalised and it has proved beneficial and also profitable to the government.

For even a minimum planning of investment, it is wrong to leave 1500 crores of rupees in the hands of these private profiteers.

When we raised these questions forcefully and put it in the Great Petition, the Finance Minister, in one of his speeches, asked: "Where can I get the money for compensation and why do it in the emergency?"

What is the compensation that will be required? How is it to be calculated?

We calculated it on the usual basis of taking the average highest market rate of shares for the last three years as quoted on the stock exchange.

The total compensation of 209 reporting banks on December 31, 1961, whose paid up capital was Rs. 29,18,43,000, came to Rs. 47,37,76,040.

As against their capital of 30 crores they would demand Rs. 47 crores. All right, give it to them, even though they are not very much morally entitled to it.

Since 1947, when India became independent and the Indian banks got all the state backing that they wanted, the banks distributed in the fourteen years, between 1947 and 1961, dividend to the tune of Rs. 34.53 crores, that is more than what they had brought in as paid up capital. Over and above this, if they want Rs. 47 crores, we are quite prepared to give it to them.

Enough Funds For Compensation

Then the finance minister raised the question as to where to get the money for this compensation?

For this also, there is provision. The banks have reserves of Rs. 24,21,76,000. On nationalisation, all these reserves go to the state. So these reserves of Rs. 4 crores will immediately meet half the compensation cash down.

Then there are "secret reserves" which the banks are allowed to keep with them and do not reveal. That "secret reserve" runs into several crores of rupees. Both open and secret reserves thus can pay all the compensation of Rs. 47 crores in one lot to these gentlemen. Pay it and let us get rid of them.

So, that answers the biggest question of the Finance Minister and his government and the other opponents of nationalisation.

Is nationalisation wrong in principle? Now in India no-

He wants all this for defence of the country and development. But why should the heavy hand of levies fall on the poor?

Bank nationalisation will put the use of Rs. 1500 crores in the hands of the state. Will they not yield at least five per cent net-revenue, even after paying the interest on deposits? Five per cent on Rs. 1500 crores should yield to the state Rs. 75 crores per year.

This is only the straight gain, apart from this there will be other savings to the state when it will have at its command the circulation and utilisation of this big block of Rs. 1500 crores.

Thus we maintain that bank nationalisation in terms of money also will yield more than Rs. 40 crores of the CDS, and Rs. 35 crores of the surcharges.

★ Take the banks and leave the poor man's pocket, his CDS and surcharges.

★ Do away with all the headaches and harassments of the workers, peasants and middle class earner.

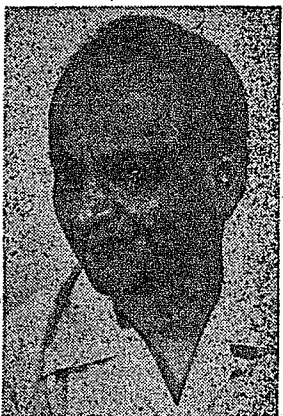
★ Catch the monopoly profiteers who have fattened enough on the Five Year Plans and the national wealth created by people's toil.

Why don't you do it, gentlemen of the ruling class, for the sake of the country, its defence and development? It is just in times of emergency, such steps are taken. All newly liberated nations, even without being socialist or communist, have to do it—if they want orderly development, if they

The government says that

★ ON PAGE 13

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# 21ST SESSION OF I.L.C.

## —What's The Outcome?

★ By S. A. Dange, General Secretary, AITUC

The Twenty-first Tripartite met in New Delhi on July 13. It sat only for one day and finished its work. What was the conclusion?

THE conclusion was a very brief one—that the Labour Minister would appoint a committee to look into the implementation of the Truce Resolution.

The conclusion was stated orally. So there is not even that much of a written resolution.

It has been the practice in the tripartite conferences that at the end of a conference, a committee nominated by all the three parties frames the decisions of the conference, which are then issued as agreed conclusions.

There was no such committee and no such communication this time. A one-line conclusion, orally stated by the Chairman, was enough. Why was it so? Because the government, the employers and the INTUC failed to get what they wanted from the conference.

These three wanted to get two things done: One, reiteration of the Truce Resolution; and two, support to the Compulsory Deposit Scheme. They failed in both. Reason of their failure was not only the opposition of the AITUC. The government, employers and the INTUC had taken it for granted. But they were rather surprised to see the Hind Mazdoor Sabha (HMS) and the UTUC also taking almost the same positions.

The tactics of the employers and the INTUC to isolate the AITUC as the only dissident and then condemn it, did not succeed. In fact, the whole trade union wing except the INTUC, who had totally identified themselves with the employers in this Conference, opposed the CDS and the reiteration of the Truce Resolution as it is.

### Is Truce Reiterated?

Does not the conclusion to appoint a committee to look into the implementation of the Truce Resolution imply that it is reiterated? It does not. Because all the three TU organisations declared their reservations and departures from certain parts of the resolution.

The AITUC particularly made a categorical declaration that it is not prepared to reiterate the Resolution, as it is and refused to support the CDS and surcharges.

The Truce Resolution was adopted in the conditions of October-November 1962, when an invasion on our country was taking place. The conditions of hot war do not exist now, though the state of emergency is not terminated by government.

Even then the AITUC, foreseeing that government and the employers would try to prolong the application and the obligations of the Resolution had put forward its amendments and its reservations at the time of the November meeting itself.

In the present situation, while the AITUC accepts the

obligations from the needs of defence and development in general, they must not be of the character of the period of invasion and actual war but of comparative peace-time and which are usually valid and necessary for any developing country.

The need for defence and development in present conditions do not call for a blanket ban on strikes, as has been put in the November Truce Resolution. The AITUC does not accept that clause any more, as conditions do not warrant its continuation any more.

Both the employers and the government have failed to observe one of the most vital conditions of the Truce Resolution—that the price-line would be held and would not lead to a fall in the real wages of the workers.

But in actual practice, both the employers and the government not only failed to hold the price line; they, in fact, helped to raise prices and depress the real wages.

Government did it by imposing taxes on essential commodities, by permitting speculation, by failing to ensure supplies and enforce emergency on the big hoarders and suppliers of food-grains, sugar, etc.

The employers did it as part of the exploiting class, participating and aiding in that process. So, when the basic condition of the Truce was violated and continues to be so violated, there can be no talk of reiterating that resolution.

So the AITUC made it clear that in view of the worsening conditions of the wages of the workers, there was discontent, and strikes were bound to take place. The AITUC would not desert the workers in their struggle to protect their interests. It would lead them.

Hence it did not want to hypocritically reiterate the resolution, as it is, in the Conference and then break it in actual practice.

The HMS and UTUC more or less said the same thing.

The trade unions had observed the Resolution in all its fullness. The greatest failures were of the employers and the government on all the essential points of the resolution. The materials placed before the conference amply bore out this conclusion.

### Workers' Contribution

Next to the strike, the second most important item of the Truce Resolution was voluntary contribution to the Defence Fund and savings.

The workers had fulfilled their duty in this too. But the employers had not. With rising prices and taxes, the workers' capacity to save had vanished, if at all it was there before.

The free hand which the government had given to the speculators, the hoarders and

monopolists showed that the emergency had ceased to exist for everyone except the workers. Hence, in sheer self-defence, they stopped giving free Sunday or overtime work.

The contributions to the National Defence Fund had ceased to be a voluntary patriotic duty but was being converted into a compulsory blackmail in the name of the country, by the employers and government officials.

### CDS Opposed

The workers resented this imposition and its new form—the CDS and surcharges.

The government, the employers and the INTUC tried to make out that the CDS is already implied in the Truce Resolution and those who oppose it are violating an undertaking. This argument was suggested in the opening address of the chairman.

This statement called for a strong protest from the AITUC, the HMS and the UTUC. At the end of the argument, the Chairman had to accept that the acceptance of the CDS does not follow from the acceptance of the Truce Resolution. It took a whole day's argument to

come to an obvious conclusion. The Truce Resolution spoke of voluntary contribution while the CDS is a compulsion by law.

We stood by our refusal to accept the CDS and, of course, we were told that as it is a law, we should be ready to face the consequences of not complying with the law! Well, the workers and the trade union movement are always mindful of that position. In fact, to struggle against unjust compulsions is the very criterion of trade union existence. Otherwise, it would not be capitalism and we would not be trade unions.

While monopolists in food, sugar, cloth, etc., are running away with ill-gotten profits, we are saddled with falling wages and scarcity to be crowned with compulsion to save in the name of national defence! What alternative is left to the worker, except to struggle against this injustice?

Therefore, the AITUC made it clear to the conference that it would not reiterate the Resolution as it is and specially with regard to the blanket ban on strikes. At the same time, we would observe due restraint in the matter of strikes and utilise all other methods of settling our grievances where possible. Secondly, we had no capacity to save and hence we would have to refuse to accept the CDS.

Thus, on both these questions, the government, the employers and the INTUC could not get the conference to an agreed conclusion. They failed because the major part of the TU

movement as represented in the conference by the AITUC, HMS and UTUC, knowing the condition and mood of the workers, refused to toe the line of the government and the employers.

Hence, at the end of the Conference, there was that brief formula—a committee to look into the implementation of the Resolution.

That was the net outcome of the 21st Tripartite—the failure of the employers and the government to fulfil obligations to the nation and the people was seen. The workers' fulfilment of their duty was also seen. The attempt to exploit the workers and the national emergency, to utilise the need for defence and development, for the benefit of a handful of monopolists by securing the workers' consent to the Truce Resolution as it is, was foiled.

### Hopeful Byproduct

There was one hopeful by-product of the conference. The state sector representatives agreed to give arbitration in their disputes with the workers. Let us wait and see which of them does it in practice.

The trade unions did not merely denounce. They showed the alternative path of nationalisation of the big monopoly interests, and of the democratic control to fulfil the needs of the country and the people. To achieve this, the trade unions and workers must unite.

## BANK EMPLOYEES' CONCERN OVER AWARD EXTENSION

★ By Prabhat Kar, M.P., General Secretary, AIBEA

The Bank employees of the country are surprised to note that the government has extended the life of the Desai Award for a further period of one year.

It is common knowledge that since the publication of the Desai Award, the bank employees drew the attention of the Government and the Bankers about certain serious anomalies, inadequacies and contradictions on the face of the said award. They vehemently resented the calculation of Provident Fund and gratuity on 80/76% of the pay, curtailment of their various existing rights and privileges, defective and faulty pay-scales, ridiculously low rate of increment for the subordinate staff and continuation of area IV.

The All India Bank Employees Association (AIBEA) approached the Bankers for certain adjustments within the framework of the Desai Award. This was refused by the Bankers taking advantage of National Emergency; knowing that the employees naturally would not take recourse to any agitational path.

The life of Desai Award was normally to expire by the end of July 1963. The AIBEA approached the government with the suggestion that it should not extend the period of operation of the award; rather should convene a tripartite conference with a view to arriving at an amicable settlement on the issues over which the employees were so much agitated. It is strange

government, without any cogent reason has declared the Banking Industry as Public Utility Service under the Industrial Disputes Act, definitely with a view to curbing the Trade Union activities of the Bankmen. The employees are rightly much agitated against such moves of the government.

The AIBEA will no doubt continue its efforts for a settlement. It warns the Bankers not to take advantage of the technical position but to realise that only the contentment of the employees can be a guarantee for industrial peace.

A deputation of the AIBEA met the Labour Minister Gulzari Lal Nanda yesterday and lodged its strong protest against such moves of the government. After discussions the Labour Minister promised that the government would sound the Bankers to resolve the matters through bipartite talks and not to take advantage of the technical position. The government would also be prepared, if need be, to convene a tripartite conference over the issues and to find out a solution for the same.

The AIBEA has called upon all its base units to take up the matter effectively with their respective Bank managements for settlement of the issues raised and prepare themselves organisationally to seek redress of their grievances.

Our peasants enthusiastically sent their brave sons and hard grown food to defend our borders against Chinese invasion. They generously contributed to the National Defence Fund and strove their might and main to raise agricultural production.

The same peasants feel frustrated and discontented today. Their patriotic fervour was the pride of every Indian patriot. Their frustration and discontent is our deepest worry, because national defence and development cannot be conceived with frustrated and discontented peasants who constitute more than four-fifths of our population.

THEIR patriotic response to the national call for defence and development has brought them, in return, bureaucratic oppression in the form of forced realisation of the National Defence Fund, high prices and scarcity of such essential commodities as rice, kerosene, sugar, etc., crushing tax-burdens especially surcharges on their land revenue and the compulsory deposit scheme, and, above all, stagnation in agricultural production. As a result, their long-cherished hope of development, national self-sufficiency in food and rural prosperity is slowly but steadily being buried in the deepening pit of growing indebtedness.

Nothing has failed the cause of national defence and national development more than Patil's Ministry of Food and Agriculture. It is universally accepted that the agricultural upsurge is essential for the success of our cause of defence and development. But it is this agricultural upsurge which has been most cynically nipped in the bud by Patil.

Sixteen years of our national independence and twelve years of national planning have not enabled India to achieve even self-sufficiency in food. The facts of the failure to achieve the targets of the development programme at the end of the Second Plan are too stubborn for Patil to take shelter behind natural factors.

Agriculture occupies a pivotal role in the Indian economy for development as well as defence. A high rate of agricultural production is essential, not only to feed the nation and her mills and factories, but also to build up exports for earning much needed foreign exchange.

### Target Cannot Be Reached

But these expectations are belied by the disappointing achievements during the first two Five Year Plans. Even this unsatisfactory increase almost stopped during the first two years of the Third Plan. "The agricultural crops in 1962-63 as a whole are not likely to surpass the peak level of agricultural production attained in 1960-61," is the estimate of the National Council of Applied Economic Research.

A 3.6 per cent growth-rate during the two Plan periods and almost stagnation during the first two years of the Third Plan cannot hold out any prospect of realising even the modest target of a six per cent growth rate in agriculture during the Third Plan.

This increase of 3.64 per cent during the last twelve years of planning is more or less offset by an increase of about 25 per cent in the population during the same period. Thus our agricultural need and the condition of agricultural producers stand more or less where they were when the first Five Year Plan was launched. This is the dismal record of our Food and Agriculture Ministry, despite its expenditure of about Rs. 2000 crores. Needless to say S. K.

Patil stands condemned by his own record.

Very often the failure of the Food and Agriculture Ministry is ascribed to adverse natural factors—floods and droughts. It is a sad commentary on a decade of economic planning that the country is

still dependent on the vagaries of nature. The very purpose of planning is defeated if conditions are not created to control the whims of nature.

### Adding Insult To Injury

As if to add insult to injury, Finance Minister Morarji Desai has imposed savings without surplus, which goes by the name of Compulsory Deposit Scheme (CDS). This, CDS, in the background of stagnation in agricultural production, scarcity and high prices of essential commodities, 12.5 per cent to 50 per cent increase in land revenue (surcharges), increase in irrigation rates, betterment levy and new tax burdens of about Rs. 10 per head levied by the central and state budgets of the year, is nothing but forcing the peasants to sink deeper and deeper into indebtedness. No wonder informed peasants have come to call it Jabaria karz (forced loan).

According to the CDS, every peasant paying an annual revenue of Rs. 5 and more will have to pay an amount

equal to 50 per cent of their revenue paid in 1959-60 as CDS. The CDS money will be realised along with the land revenue. In case a peasant fails to pay the CDS money, he will be proceeded against in the same way as in the case of land revenue arrears.

Total land revenue in 1959-60 was Rs. 85.15 crores. If we deduct Rs. 10 crores as the land revenue of those peasants who pay less than Rs. 5 as land revenue, then the total land revenue comes to Rs. 85.15 crores. Thus the total yield of CDS from the peasants is likely to come to about Rs. 42.50 crores.

It is well known that the overwhelming majority of the Indian peasants own only uneconomic holdings. They need and deserve relief from rent burden. But Morarjibhai, breaking the past Congress pledge of rent-reduction, has virtually enhanced the rent by 50 per cent in the form of CDS. And this enhancement has come over and above 12.5 to 50 per cent land surcharges in various states levied by state governments.

One of the crying needs of Indian agriculture is adequate credit and relief from the crushing burden of indebted-

ness. The Indian peasant is born in debt, lives in debt and dies leaving a debt to his heirs. According to the Rural Credit Survey Report of the Reserve Bank of India, the annual requirement for agricultural credit is Rs. 750 crores. No up-to-date figures of rural indebtedness are available. But according to the Central Banking Enquiry Committee Report, it was Rs. 900 crores upto 1930. In the year 1950 it was Rs. 1913.8 crores according to the National Income Committee's report. There is no basis to believe that it has undergone any appreciable decline during the last twelve years. It may be assumed that rural indebtedness stands at a staggering figure of about Rs. 1500 crores now.

The government justifies the CDS, land revenue surcharges and other tax burdens on the common people on the ground of economic development and national defence. Peasants have given ample proof of their concern and contributions to the cause of independent economic development and national defence.

They are for the mobilisation of sufficient resources to meet these requirements. But they cannot submit to the government policy of mobilising the resources, which leads to growing economic and social inequality and perpetuates peasants' misery and agricultural stagnation.

In the last general elections, the Congress had pledged that "Taxation should be so devised as to aim at lessening disparities of income and increasing the resources available for development." Morarjibhai has betrayed this pledge to the people. He has embarked upon a taxation policy, which has actually increased disparities of income.

True to the Congress pledge, Morarjibhai should have nationalised banks and foreign trade. True to the Congress pledge, Morarjibhai should have stopped paying privy purses to the princes. True to the Congress pledge, the state governments should have suspended payment of compensation to the landlords. Out of over Rs. 500 crores of total compensation payable to erstwhile zamindars, about 50 per cent have already been paid.

The peasants censure Morarjibhai for robbing the poor to pay the rich, in the name of defence and development. What else is the meaning of CDS for the

# PEASANTS CENSURE MORARJI & PATIL

★ By Yogindra Sharma

USA. It seems PL 480 has become Patil's alternative to institutional changes and technological development in our agriculture. Patil's path is the path of national stagnation, humiliation and degradation.

According to the Washington correspondent of the Hindu, Patil has suggested to American farmers to grow more rice in order to get a better deal. He is more concerned with ensuring a better deal to American farmers than Indian peasants.

### Adding Insult To Injury

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It is well known that the overwhelming majority of the Indian peasants own only uneconomic holdings. They need and deserve relief from rent burden. But Morarjibhai, breaking the past Congress pledge of rent-reduction, has virtually enhanced the rent by 50 per cent in the form of CDS. And this enhancement has come over and above 12.5 to 50 per cent land surcharges in various states levied by state governments.

One of the crying needs of Indian agriculture is adequate credit and relief from the crushing burden of indebted-

ness. The Indian peasant is born in debt, lives in debt and dies leaving a debt to his heirs. According to the Rural Credit Survey Report of the Reserve Bank of India, the annual requirement for agricultural credit is Rs. 750 crores. No up-to-date figures of rural indebtedness are available. But according to the Central Banking Enquiry Committee Report, it was Rs. 900 crores upto 1930. In the year 1950 it was Rs. 1913.8 crores according to the National Income Committee's report. There is no basis to believe that it has undergone any appreciable decline during the last twelve years. It may be assumed that rural indebtedness stands at a staggering figure of about Rs. 1500 crores now.

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In the last general elections, the Congress had pledged that "Taxation should be so devised as to aim at lessening disparities of income and increasing the resources available for development." Morarjibhai has betrayed this pledge to the people. He has embarked upon a taxation policy, which has actually increased disparities of income.

True to the Congress pledge, Morarjibhai should have nationalised banks and foreign trade. True to the Congress pledge, Morarjibhai should have stopped paying privy purses to the princes. True to the Congress pledge, the state governments should have suspended payment of compensation to the landlords. Out of over Rs. 500 crores of total compensation payable to erstwhile zamindars, about 50 per cent have already been paid.

The peasants censure Morarjibhai for robbing the poor to pay the rich, in the name of defence and development. What else is the meaning of CDS for the

poor peasants; but compensation to the landlords and privy purses to the princes?

Let the Patils and Morarjis remember what Pandit Nehru had once said in "White Paper India":

"Leaders and individuals may come and go; they may get tried and slacken off; they may compromise and betray; but the exploited and suffering masses must carry on the struggle, for their drill sergeant is hunger."

The exploited and suffering peasant masses are being driven by their drill-sergeant, hunger, to join the movement of the Great Petition to Parliament and March to Delhi. Millions are affixing their signature to the petition. Thousands are preparing to march to Delhi to present their petition to the Parliament.

They demand: reduce prices and taxes which hit the common people; cancel CDS; nationalise banks, oil and foreign trade; stop corruption; end emergency.

These are not party demands. They are people's demands in the interests of national defence and national development. Let not the Patils and Morarjis sacrifice these national interests at the altar of "the preservation of class prejudices" and the vested interests of pampered groups (White Paper India—Jawaharlal Nehru).

Let those Congressmen and other democratic elements who are against "the preservation of class prejudices and the vested interests of pampered groups" come forward to oppose the CDS and support the people's movement of the Great Petition and March to the Parliament.

### Vinoba's Voice

There is many a Congressman who is opposed to the CDS, but who is afraid to speak out his mind. To such Congressmen, Acharya Vinoba Bhave has appealed:

Congress says its ideal is socialism but it wants to achieve it by peaceful and democratic method. If this is a new idea, then does it mean they should keep their lips sealed even when they do not like so much high prices of rice and burden of the compulsory deposit on the lower class? What sort of democracy is this? (Bhoodan Yagna, July 19, 1963).

Let all lovers of democracy, development and defence raise their united powerful voice to compel Morarjibhai to withdraw the CDS. Withdrawal of the CDS will go a long way to remove peasants' frustration and discontent. Withdrawal of the CDS will inspire the peasants for increasing agricultural production which is universally recognised as essential for national development and national defence. (July 23)



# Why Nationalisation of Export-Import Trade?

★ by A Special Correspondent

The slogan of nationalisation of key sectors of our economic life in the context of the needs of defence and development is winning new popular support. At the same time, there are as many detractors and 'learned' critics, from Swatantra free enterprisers to some INTUC labour leaders, to whom the slogan of nationalisation is like a red rag to a bull.

THIS is, of course, not surprising. Certainly the capitalist vested interests and their commission agents in the labour field will have everything to lose, if the country embarks on the bold programme of nationalisation.

But for all serious students of the country's economy, nationalisation is not at all an end in itself, a kind of, doctrinaire aggrandisement or a weapon solely to hurt certain sections politically or economically.

For instance, nationalisation of import-export trade is not demanded merely to strike at a few 'established' import-export houses (many of them foreign-owned), merely for the fun of it. Or to appropriate their share of the trading profits for the national exchequer, though this is an important consideration from the point of view of budgetary resources.

The regression in the export of many of our 'traditional' export-items in our 'traditional' markets of the West, the wide fluctuations in the prices with which the foreign monopolies depress the value of our export trade, have led all thinking sections in our country to give greater stress on the diversification of our foreign trade.

With the needs of development in its foreign exchange component assuming larger dimensions with every passing year, the need to buy our machinery and capital goods requirements through increased exports is a dire national necessity.

It is well-known that developing countries like ours suffer from chronic balance of payments difficulties in the course of industrialisation. The export income does not match their import needs. State trading offers an instrument for carrying out such a policy.

The process of foreign exchange rationing and cutting down non-essential items of imports involves setting up of small import quotas for consumption items. This results, on the one hand, in fragmentation of the import licences which tend to inflate the unit cost of imports, and on the other, increases the "unearned income" of certain sections of the community.

## Absence of Channels

Similarly, on the export front, one of the main stumbling blocks in pushing up exports is the absence of established trading channels for newer export commodities and the reluctance of the trading community to risk its capital in market exploration. These difficulties could be avoided and perhaps turned to advantage, if such imports and exports are canalised through a State-run organisation and the profits in the

sale of commodities utilised for nursing infant export industries.

In commodities bought and sold in bulk, as experience shows, a state-run organisation should be of immense value in executing orders, maintaining uniform and stable prices and in securing the best prices from the importing countries. Further, such advantages are obtained particularly in regard to our trade with the socialist economies which operate through state trading agencies of their own.

The total value of foreign trade of India, as is well known, is of the order of Rs. 1,600-1,700 crores per annum. Out of this figure the value of imports is around Rs. 1,000 crores and the rest consists of exports. The share of the existing State Trading Corporation (STC) in the overall trade of the country comes to hardly five to six per cent.

Bulk of the imports is made through the agency of actual users which, on an average, amount to Rs. 250-300 crores per annum. The share of established importers, even now, in spite of the rigorous restrictions comes to about Rs. 80 crores or so per year. The rest is accounted for by imports of foodgrains and other items on government account. In the field of export STC's share in 1961-62 was only Rs. 35 crores; the rest of the exports are made by the private trade.

## Price Stabilisation

Before the STC came into picture, the ruling prices of various imported products particularly consumer goods were fluctuating violently and there was a speculative tendency in the whole trade. In order to stabilise the prices and ensure an equitable distribution of imported products, the STC was established by the government in 1956.

The aim of the STC was also to organise exports of commodities which required a special handling. It is claimed that the STC was able to plan and execute effectively a guaranteed programme of procurement and distribution, securing advantage to the country and the consumers by way of reducing costs, saving of foreign exchange and proper timing of imports.

For example, prior to the inception of the STC, caustic soda and soda ash were imported at £38 and £23 per ton respectively. As a result of the STC's taking over, import prices in succeeding years for these commodities were brought down to £16 and £12 per ton. The supplies of these two essential items were made by the STC to all users including the 'dobbies' at most reasonable

prices which were fixed by government.

Similarly, in the case of fertilisers, the STC brought down the cost of Chilean nitrate from £21 per ton in 1957 to £17 per ton in 1963 with consequential advantage to the consumers as reflected by the selling price of Rs. 290 per ton in 1962 against the price of Rs. 345 per ton in 1957.

In the case of muriate of potash, the wholesale selling price was brought down by Rs. 34 per ton in this period. Camphor and mercury are the other examples of successful stabilisation of domestic prices. It may be recalled that the profit in these two commodities was ranging from 100 to 500 per cent.

The agency of the established importers has so far been kept alive and they always clamour for larger import quotas as if it is their hereditary right. Even now, in a wide field of imported products, they make huge profits in the trade.

The wholesale prices of essential imported items are not available. However, it is common knowledge that most of the imports made by them are sold at huge margins.

## Abolition of Importers

Now the question arises what useful function these established importers play? Why have they been deliberately kept alive when they charge fantastic prices from the consumers? A time has now come when the agency of established importers has to be completely abolished.

There are several reasons for taking over the import trade from the established importers. In order to ensure an equitable distribution at reasonable prices of imported products, it is not only desirable but also essential to ask the STC to take over imports in rest of the items also.

To these must be added another important objective, viz., to use import trade as a means of adding to the revenues of the State. There are items like fertilisers, steel, foodgrains and a host of others in respect of which government is under definite commitment to keep the population adequately supplied.

The present system of import control has many defects and allows considerable scope for speculative trade. Bulk buying is one way of keeping down import costs.

During the War the U.K. made considerable use of bulk buying methods and a substantial proportion of her food and raw material requirements was obtained under bulk purchases. Bulk purchases or centralised buying may yield a two-fold benefit. It may either influence world prices in certain cases or may at least result in some savings in the cost of procurement.

Centralised buying, for example, eliminates middleman's commission and secures to the country discounts usually available on bulk purchases. Further, when the developing countries like India have to incur a huge loss in the export trade, the import trade should be used as cushion to promote exports.

In the case of actual users, a

precondition of the licence is that the imported commodity will undergo a manufacturing process at the factory premises. However, there is a trafficking in licences and the commodities imported by actual users are freely sold in the markets.

In order to stop this abuse there is a reason to canalise even these imports through the agency of the STC.

In order to check under-invoicing or over-invoicing of imports there is further reason to entrust the whole import trade to a state-run organisation. Burma and UAR have already nationalised their import trade with a specific purpose of utilising profits made therein for purposes of exports.

Another question that deserves consideration is whether the export trade also needs to be nationalised.

In order to strengthen our bargaining position in export items which have a 'growth angle' such as iron ore, steel castings, oil cakes and a host of other items, a centralised organisation will be definitely in a better position to secure a higher price.

It may be noted that while in foreign countries there is a tendency to make cartels of 'end users' so as to strengthen their bargaining position, in India there are hundreds and thousands of exporters in the same line.

For example, before the STC came in the picture there were 830 exporters of iron ore and 260 of manganese ore. Whenever there was an order from abroad, there was a competition among these exporters among themselves and the per unit price obtained for exports was much lower than what is obtained now.

India has to get a foothold in the overseas markets by undertaking a vigorous campaign for Indian goods. The private industry is not in a position to do this job since it requires a large investment without immediate return. A State-run organisation working on a big scale can certainly take up this job. The foreign importer would be able to have confidence and faith in the solvency of the State Corporation.

Moreover the institution of state trading in any commodity will have the incidental advantage of securing a more effective enforcement of grading and standardisation in that commodity.

## STC As Model

The State Trading Corporation may be developed as a model enterprise adopting the modern methods of business, administration, market research etc. and five or six 'Commodity Corporations' can be set up to deal with imports of raw materials; consumer goods, capital goods, metals (ferrous as well as nonferrous) and foodgrains and fertilisers.

The same corporations can also handle the export trade of the items which need bulk handling and where losses are immense. These corporations can also embark upon the work of stockpiling of goods when the prices are lower and could sell, when prices are high. In this way, a better per unit price could be obtained for our exported products.

It is not, however, only the

mechanism of exporting goods which would be improved manifold if the export trade is nationalised.

The high profits made through exports, very often by foreign-owned concerns who still have a big share in certain industries, should make it equally necessary to take it over.

Jute and tea industries provide the two most important export items to India, and in both of them foreign interests—particularly British—continue to hold a considerable share. Since profits they make can be repatriated the continuance of these industries and their exports in their hands means a drain on the country's meagre foreign exchange resources.

But then this is a point in favour of the nationalisation of these industries as a whole, which is, of course, only a logical step to take.

## Profits Must Go to Exchequer

But pending that, at least the profits accruing through exports should be made to pass into the State exchequer. Tea and jute are our principal export goods and in 1961-62, we exported Rs. 121.41 crores worth of tea and Rs. 140.49 crores worth of jute.

It will thus be seen that for the orderly development of our trade, as an essential adjunct of national economic planning, it is necessary that the State should take over the import-export trade.

Apart from the substantial revenues accruing from trading profits, such a step would eliminate at one stroke the evils of under-invoicing and over-invoicing and also check the smuggling operations on which the black markets thrive.

It would fetch for our export commodities, i.e., for the actual producers of our goods in the farms and factories, an equitable price and then, alone, we can stand up to the imperialist blackmail of unfair trade practices and tariff walls as in the European Common Market countries.

And, by the planned expansion of our trade, we could soon move into conditions of favourable balance of trade, of stability and self-reliance and thus further strengthen our national independence.

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Managerial Office  
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JULY 28, 1963

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NEW AGE

# Control Of Foreign Oil Monopoly

● BY A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

The development of oil industry in the state sector in our country is of very recent origin. Till the beginning of the Second Plan, almost all our requirements of oil used to be met through imports. Indigenous production was limited to the Assam Oil Company, a British-owned concern, which processed small quantities of oil available at Dighoi. Its output met hardly about 5 per cent of the requirement of the country.

THE entire requirement of the country was met by six oil distributing companies, namely, Burmah Shell, Standard Vacuum (now ESSO), Caltex, Burma Oil Co., Western India Oil Distributing Co., and the Indo-Burma Petroleum Co. However, the first three controlled the main bulk of supply and they were also allowed to establish oil refineries with capacity to the extent of about 5.1 million tonnes of crude oil.

These concerns floated new companies for this purpose as distinct from the distributing companies. Stanvac and Burmah-Shell refineries were located in Bombay and came on stream in 1954 and 1955 respectively. The Caltex refinery was established at Visakhapatnam and went into operation in 1957.

## Concessions Granted

As no crude oil supplies were available at that time indigenous these three refining companies were given an assurance which bestowed upon them the freedom to make their own arrangements for import of crude oil for their refineries from a source of supply of their choice with the guarantee that foreign exchange either sterling or dollars will be provided as required. More than Rs. 400 crores in foreign exchange were provided for this purpose.

2 Apart from that they were also assured that the prices of refined petroleum products at their refineries would be based on import parity i.e., the refining companies would be permitted to establish the prices of refined products at any level not higher than that at which they could sell or make available for sale equivalent imported products subject to consultation with the government before they alter the prices of any products.

3 They were also assured duty protection for ten years from the commencement of fullscale production or until December 31, 1965 whichever is earlier. However, the economics of operation of the refineries changed the situation and the oil companies surrendered this protection on quite a few categories of refined products.

However, the dominance or absolute monopoly of these oil companies in the sphere of oil in the country was threatened when we decided that proper exploration of our oil resources as also establishment of refining capacity in the public sector should be immediately taken into hand.

The results of this decision have thoroughly been vindicated inasmuch that in the next four years we will have four refineries in the public sector, one each at Baruni (Bihar), Numatt (Assam), Koyali (Gujarat) and Cochin (Kerala).

The combined capacity of these four refineries by 1960 would be much higher than that of the three refineries in the private sector (7.2 million tonnes), at approximately 8 million tonnes which will increase to 9.5 million tonnes later within a year or so.

## Oil Companies' Sore Point

Much of the ire of the oil lobby in the country was inflamed due to the unequivocal statement of the former Oil Minister Malaviya that the expansion of oil industry would be limited to the public sector. Though the oil companies in the private sector claim that they can expand their capacity upto 9 million tonnes, it is clear that if such expansion is allowed, sectoral imbalance particularly in regard to distribution, would be created and would add heavy pressure to our already hardpressed transport capacity.

It must also be remembered that under the original agreements the refineries in the private sector were allowed to establish a capacity of only 5.1 million tonnes whereas their present declared capacity is

7.2 million tonnes. How this increase took place unless there has been a contravention of the original agreement, is difficult to understand.

The grip of the foreign oil concerns on our economy is extremely strong; they have a crushing hold on one of the most important necessities of life—kerosene, which the teeming millions of our country are in need of, besides petrol etc.

Their investments in our country have grown from Rs. 77 crores in 1953 to Rs. 118.17 crores in 1958. During the last seven years they have exported Rs. 40 crores as their profits only and no one can possibly vouch that another sum of Rs. 30 crores has not been similarly exported on account of depreciation.

The Burmah Shell, ESSO and Caltex had a total investment of Rs. 57 crores in 1962 in our country. But between 1955 and 1961, they remitted abroad Rs. 83.19 crores as profits, depreciation, accruals and operational requirements. Any body can see that if this rate of exploitation is allowed, what can be its intensity in time to come.

According to one calculation, if these companies are allowed to expand further, the export of their profits may shoot up well around Rs. 200 crores in the next two or three years.

Oil monopoly the world over dictates fantastic prices. The crude oil per barrel in Texas oil fields costs \$2 whereas it costs only twenty US cents in Kuwait and yet the prices are the same throughout the world, calculated on the basis of the high cost of production at the Texas fields.

Our country can save about Rs. 35 per tonne of oil if only we set up our own refinery and do not allow the foreign companies to process oil for us.

These are not the only sins which can be laid at the doors of the private sector oil companies. The report of the Oil Price Enquiry Committee clearly indicates that at many places, these companies have been adopting diabolical methods and fleecing the country to fill their coffers.

The standard established practice of obtaining discounts on crude oil purchases was not availed of by these companies, or if availed of were not reflected in their cost until 1960, when the Soviet Union came forward with a highly competitive offer to supply crude oil. Only then did these three oil companies start showing discounts at 8 per cent.

## Soviet Help

The fact that this was timed with the Soviet offer was claimed to be a coincidence but one cannot fail to understand that it was potential competition which influenced the suppliers of these oil companies in allowing discount at current rates on crude oil supplies. Of course, the offer of the Soviet Union was rejected by the oil companies on account of freedom allowed to them under the refineries agreement to choose their own source of supply of crude oil.

A similar position has also

been obtaining with regard to imports of refined products by the distributing oil companies who do not show any discounts on their products which again has been more or less a standard practice in international markets.

The Oil Price Enquiry Committee Report clearly states that "the oil companies should recognise the advent of a new set of circumstances in a long term commitment of the nature of their Refinery Agreements and not insist on import of crude oil from sources of their choice only, so long as the profitability of the refinery is not affected, and at least, they should press on their suppliers for equivalent discount, as available to India on a long term continuous basis on imports of the same quality of crude oil from sources other than traditional".

## Manipulation In Prices

In terms of prices too, it has been established that the oil companies have been making a lot of manipulations in the cost structure. In the years 1957 and 1958, the percentage of profit on capital employed for Burmah Shell, Stanvac and Caltex were 15.75 and 19.27; 21.40 and 23.43; and 8.7 and 7.87 respectively.

The percentage of profits on capital employed was much higher in the case of other distributing companies amounting to as much as 71 per cent for Indo-Burma Petroleum Co., Ltd. in 1956, 81.41 per cent for Burma Oil Co. in 1958 and 79.54 per cent for Western India Oil Distributing Co. in 1959.

Apart from this, when the discounts on posted prices of crude oil became available they should have been reflected in a more or less equal measure in the pricing of end products. But this was not so and the benefit thereof was absorbed by the refineries and their consigners.

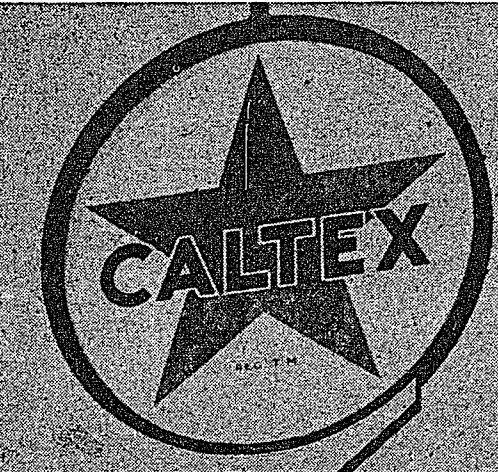


It is abundantly clear that the oil companies in the private sector have always their personal gains as prime motive and have functioned at cross purposes with national interests. The politics attached to oil power has always been dirty.

The case of Ceylon is readily available to hand. When the Ceylonese government decided to nationalise the oil industry, the American government stopped all aid to her. In Indonesia too, the efforts of the government to nationalise oil industry are meeting very stiff resistance from oil companies.

Oil has been the monopoly of the West for a considerable time and they find it hard to believe that chinks have started appearing in their overall dominance. However, national interests demand that for economic growth and security, it is very vital to have the entire oil industry in the public sector.

It is time that the Government of India follows the example of Ceylon, UAR, and Indonesia and takes over the oil companies immediately.

FOREIGN OIL

NATIONALISE

JULY 28, 1963

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# MASSIVE CAMPAIGN TAKING SHAPE

## GREAT RESPONSE TO PETITION CAMPAIGN

★ From V. Hanumantha Rao

What happens when Party Comrades go out in squads to meet people and collect signatures on the Great Petition to Parliament? What do the people say about this movement launched by the Communist Party and what sort of questions are asked? New Age's Hyderabad correspondent V. Hanumantha Rao interviewed the comrades working in the office of the Provincial Committee of the Party who had been on the job of collecting signatures after their office hours. Here is what they told our correspondent:

It was Friday evening. After a day's work at the office, five of us started on the job of collecting signatures on the Great Petition to Parliament.

We were not sure of ourselves when we started. Not having any experience of direct work among the masses, we were wondering how to go about with this job. "If we ask someone to sign, don't know what he will say. Perhaps, he will make fun of us or start putting questions"—such were the doubts that assailed us. En route to Chikkadpalli, a busy Andhra locality in Hyderabad, we sat down on a bridge and tried to gather our wits.

At last, we made a dash into Chikkadpalli area. We divided into two batches. The first batch went into a tailor's shop. The manager looked at us, found no cloth packets in our hands but instead, some papers. Perhaps, he thought some fellows had come to collect Defence Fund. As we started explaining the purpose of our visit, his face brightened; in any case, he looked relieved when he found that we had not come for taking money.

We asked only for signatures on the Great Petition. He had no questions to ask. He not only signed himself, but called all the tailors working under him, himself explained the purpose and got all of them to sign the petition. He did not stop there. He called a couple of his neighbours and they also signed.

The other batch had walked into a pan shop. Its owner, coming to understand the purpose, also signed without any effort. He called a stone-

cers as well. They only feared to give their addresses along with their signatures. Otherwise, it was a smooth job with them. For everyone was feeling the pinch of the prices, the CDS on their fixed incomes.

The comparatively illiterate people were more vigorous. You ask us to sign ten times, we will sign; but only see that prices come down, they said. There were some people who expressed doubts about the effectiveness of a signature campaign. All the same, they too signed.

It was such experience that encouraged us to go round for the second day, for the third day. We will go on as and when we find time and we ourselves could collect thousands of signatures by the time the Great Petition is submitted to Parliament.

breaker, who was working next to his pan shop. Then, he accompanied the batch to a few shops of vegetable sellers and others. All of them readily put down their signatures.

With this first experience, we broke off from our earlier shyness and inhibitions. We were encouraged and enthusiastic.

Shop after shop we should go and collect signatures—this is what we decided. We thought we could collect signatures upto the end of Chikkadpalli upto Charminar Cross-roads, before we go back home. But we could not proceed even twenty yards. Such was the rush of people, such was the tremendous response, such was the readiness with which people signed on the petition, that we had to fight for breath.

It was a revealing experience. In our three days work we collected 825 signatures and there was just one person who refused to sign the Great Petition on the ground that it contained a suggestion for nationalisation of banks while a couple of Jan Sangh followers who agreed with the content of our petition, did not sign on "political grounds."

We were elated to see Maharashtrians, Cartarese, Tamilians, Muslims, Andhras, all signing the petition in their respective languages. In fact, some of them enquired whether they could sign since they belonged to some other state. We set their doubts at rest and said that it was a Great Petition to Parliament.

A large number of signatures we collected were from NGOs and well-placed offi-

## VIJAYAWADA COLLECTS 10,000 SIGNATURES

THE Vijayawada City Council of the CPI decided to collect 50,000 signatures on the Great Petition to Parliament, and also to send a squad to participate in the demonstration before Parliament.

On July 7, as many as twenty five squads consisting of more than 300 Party Members, trade union militants, and Party sympathisers simultaneously launched the signature campaign which was inaugurated by the Secretary, City Party Council T. POTHARAJU, MLA at Samarangam Chowk.

On that day itself 10,000 signatures were collected.

During the ten days the campaign forged ahead and to this day, 35,000 signatures have been collected in the town. Trade Unions under the auspices of city Trade Union Council are taking part actively in the campaign. It was agreed that each trade union should send at least one representative to Delhi to join the Demonstration.

The campaign is proceeding. At the present rate, the original target of 50,000 will be over fulfilled. There is hope of exceeding the target well before the campaign closes.

## 50,000 SIGNATURES IN A SINGLE DAY

★ From S. Sharma

TRIVANDRUM: The most inspiring example of the success accompanying the Great Petition campaign of the Communist Party in Kerala is reported from Cannanore in the north of the state. The campaign started in the whole of Cannanore district on July 14 when 500 squads were pressed into the work of signature collection on a mass scale—the day's results, half a lakh names on the Petition.

It was a good start for a great campaign in every sense of the term. And its success was no doubt due to the amount of careful preparations by the Party committees in the district preceding the inauguration of the campaign. Meetings of mandal committees and branch general bodies of Party members and sympathisers, distribution of quotas for each squad, arming them with the necessary material for a political campaign and assigning responsibility to leaders in the mandal committees—all these had ensured the effective mobilisation of the entire Party in the district for the campaign.

Short pamphlets on the Government of India's taxation policy and hundi boxes for collecting funds for the Party along with signatures on the Petition had been distributed to all the squads by the District Council of the Party.

On July 14 the 500 squads moved out and worked the whole day going from house to house explaining the purpose of the campaign and getting thousands of signatures on the Great Petition. All leading comrades of the Council including A. V. KUNHAMBU, K. P. GOPALAN, K. P. R. GOPALAN, AZHIKODAN RAGHAVAN and KANDALOT KUNHAMBU, led different

squads in different areas. In Cannanore Mandal alone 150 squads worked from morning till dusk and the signatures collected totalled about 15,000.

Squad leaders told your correspondent that everywhere they had the inspiring experience of people from all walks of life acclaiming the main slogans raised by the Party in the Great Petition. Among those who signed were persons belonging to all political parties, such as Congressmen, Muslim Leaguers and members of PSP.

Squads who met members of Congress Committees reported that certain questions were raised by them for clarification. One such question was whether nationalisation of oil industry will not antagonise USA in today's situation and whether such steps will not lead to internal disorder. Comrades patiently answered these questions and doubts raised and at the end of the day they exchanged their experiences and armed themselves better for the next day's job.

Over 60 per cent of Party membership and a large number of sympathisers are partici-

## 12 Thousand Workers Refuse Pay Packets

HYDERABAD: Twelve thousand workers led by AITUC-affiliated union in Singareni collieries, Kothagudem refused to take their weekly pay-packets on the pay day last week-end, as a mark of protest against the Compulsory Deposit Scheme.

THE front yard of the pay office, which used to be a beehive of activity with thousands of workers thronging the corridors of the office, and vendors doing a brisk sale, had a deserted look that day.

Permanent employees who draw their salaries in the first week of August are also expected to follow suit.

Earlier, 800 workers of Hemalatha Textiles in Guntur

district similarly refused to accept their pay on the usual pay day to protest against CDS.

Eight thousand workers of the State-owned Road Transport have been directed by their union to take a similar step to express their opposition to CDS. The protest movement against CDS has gained wide support among other sections of workers too in the state.

Participating in this Great Petition campaign. Leading comrades reach the areas early enough, get together one squad and begin the work with a street corner meeting. Leaflets and pamphlets get sold out and many people have contributed to the fund.

The inauguration of collection of signatures in the Matayi Mandal for instance, was conducted at a meeting convened under the joint auspices of the Communist Party, the Kisan Sabha and trade unions of plywood workers, the workers, textile workers, beedi and handloom workers. Seven squads consisting of 42 comrades covered 18 blocks in the Pappiniseri village. They worked from 11 A.M. to 7 P.M. and covered 400 houses and collected 1,104 signatures. They also collected Rs. 25 in annas and naye paise.

The campaign is continuing in the entire district and the District Council is confident of overfulfilling their target.

The Joint meeting of the Kozhikode District Council of the Party and secretaries of the Mandal Committees has worked out detailed plans for collection of signatures on the Great Petition. The meeting appealed to all trade union organisations, Kisan Sabha units, youth and student bodies and all democrats to cooperate with the Communist Party in this national campaign.

The All Kerala Federation of Toddy Tappers has in a meeting of their Executive warmly welcomed the initiative of the AITUC in the matter of organising the signature campaign on the Great Petition and appealed to all its constituent units to take up the campaign jointly with other local organisations.

On July 14 afternoon, Quilon town witnessed the bigger

demonstration of recent times organised by the Communist Party to receive the five jathas that were covering the entire district for over a week to campaign against unjust tax burdens.

These jathas (as had been reported earlier) led by leading communists like Pandalam P. R. Madhavan Pillai, P. Raveendran MIA, Bhargavan MIA, P. O. Spencer and G. Karthikayan had during the 10 days of their intensive padayatra popularised the main slogans in the Great Petition. They had prepared ground for the squads of the Communist Party to go house to house and collect signatures on the Great Petition.

## Fifty Thousand Demonstrated

The streams of processions from all parts of the town and from all the centres of trade union and Party activity converged at a central point wherefrom the main procession, over 50,000 strong, started under the leadership of P. T. FUNNOOSE. Hundreds of women cashew workers, weavers, goldsmiths, agricultural workers and labourers all carrying huge placards and Red banners marched through the streets of Quilon raising slogans touching bus fare increase and demanding nationalisation of banking and oil industry.

K. Damodaran, member of the Central Executive of the CPI and P. T. Punnoose addressed the gathering.

Reports received at the headquarters of the Kerala State Council of the Communist Party indicate that all other districts too are getting ready for a massive campaign to collect lakhs of signatures on the Great Petition.

## Rajnandgaon Demonstration

RAJNANDGAON: The local Committee of the Communist Party brought out a huge demonstration demanding fair price grain shops, withdrawal of new taxes and Compulsory Deposit Scheme.

THE procession led by Municipal Councillor Baliga, and trade union leader Mahadeo submitted to the SDO a memorandum signed by more than 3000 persons demanding fair price shops. In view of soaring prices of low quality rice. The SDO

assured that immediate action on this would be taken.

The Communist Party was first to draw attention to the increasing rice prices over a month ago and this procession with a signed memorandum was, in fact, a reminder.



## ASSAM: ONE LAKH SIGNATURES

★ From Suren Bhatta

GAUHATI: The campaign of the Great Petition to Parliament is gathering momentum in Assam too. There is a great deal of enthusiasm and support from the masses and it has stirred the party organisation in this state.

THE Assam state council of the CPI which met at Gauhati from July 10 to 12 had reviewed the situation in the state with regard to the effects of the new taxation measures and the CDS.

The council proclaimed its unanimous support to the Great Petition Campaign launched by the Party and decided to collect one lakh signatures on the Petition and send a 50 strong contingent to join the demonstration in front of Parliament.

Reports received at the state Party headquarters from different units indicate an encouraging start of the campaign so much so that some thousands of signatures have already been collected. The council has decided to hold mass meetings throughout the state to popularise the demands in the Petition and to bring home to the people the urgency of the struggle for

getting these demands fulfilled.

Propaganda by Party squads has been adopted, for mass collection of signatures on the Petition in public places, office gates, factories, schools, colleges and courts etc.

Reports from industrial centres like Tinsukia, Ledo Margherita etc. are quite heartening. Great enthusiasm, has been evident amongst industrial workers and employees.

Reports from Shillong the capital of the state also indicate good response to the campaign. The Unions of the Ministerial employees have protested against the CDS, and have demanded its withdrawal. The employees of banks, insurance, Post and Telegraph, Railways, tea, oil and coal industries have also been gradually realising the inevitable impact and pres-

sure of the taxes and CDS and increasingly ventilating their opposition to these government measures.

Immediately after the council meeting, planned tour of districts and meeting local units have been undertaken by the state Party leaders. PHANI BORA, secretary of the state council has been touring the districts to help the organisation of the campaign. Several party workers' meetings and mass rallies have already been addressed by him during these few days, at different places.

Arabinda Ghosh, now in Cachar district to guide the campaign on the Great Petition reports tremendous support and enthusiasm amongst the Party ranks and people for the Petition. The Cachar district is the worst hit area in the state by an acute food crisis wherefrom reports of starvation deaths have also been received, during the last few months.

In the recent period, a large number of mass meetings have been held in the district on the issues of food, tax, etc. some of which have been addressed by state Party leaders.

## PATNA KISAN CONFERENCE PLANS CAMPAIGN

★ From Ramavtar Shastri

The Patna district Kisan conference resolved to collect thirty thousand signatures on the Great Petition. The conference further resolved to intensify the campaign against rising prices, high taxes, Compulsory Deposit Scheme, corruption etc. It was also decided to hold as many village meetings as possible to mobilise the peasant masses against the anti-peasant policies of the government.

THE eighth session of the district Kisan Sabha was held at Dinapur on July 13 and 14, presided over by Ramavtar Shastri. About forty delegates and visitors from all over the district attended the conference. The delegates discussed the problems facing the peasant masses and came to the conclusion that only an organised movement can force the government to retrace its wrong steps.

Addressing the conference, Deonandan Prasad, President, Bihar State Kisan Sabha stressed the need of a strong and broad based Kisan Sabha which can give a successful fight against the anti-kisan policies of the Congress Raj.

The conference passed a number of resolutions demanding:

arrested under the Defence of India Rules;

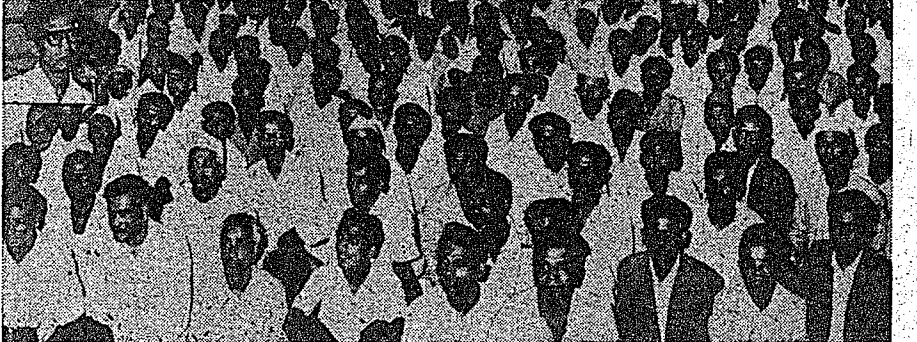
\*Judicial enquiry into the Barauni firing and withdrawal of all pending cases and release of labour leader Chandra Sekhar Singh MLA and others;

\*Fixation of sugar cane prices at Rupees 2 per mound and clearance of the dues of rupees twelve lakhs by the South Bihar Sugar Mill, Bihta, and 40 thousand rupees by the Mohini Sugar Mill, Warisaliganj (Gaya).

The conference resolved to hold Bihar State Kisan conference at Nambathpur in the month of October next. To make the conference a success, the district conference decided to organise seven thana kisan sabhas in the district and enrol five thousand Kisan Sabha members.

For the new year, the conference elected Ramanand as president, Hira Lal Singh, vice president, Ram Sajan Singh, secretary, Shrinarain Singh, asst. secretary and Ramavtar Shastri, treasurer.

After the delegates session, a procession was taken out which paraded the town shouting slogans demanding nationalisation of banks etc.



S. G. Sardesai addressing a meeting of goldsmiths in Bombay on July 15.

Photo: Sharad Pawar

## Madhya Pradesh

## Durg Dist. To Collect 30,000 Signatures

SUDHIR MUKHERJEE, Secretary of Chhatisgarh region Committee of the Communist Party, addressing a press conference blamed the government for its bankrupt policies. He complained that when the crop failure was admitted by the government last year, the export of rice to the other states should have been stopped; but the export continued—resulting in rise of prices to the tune of 30 to 60 per cent at different places in Chhatisgarh.

tastic that at the recent zonal conference of MP, Gujrat, and Maharashtra Food Ministers, MP Minister Dhubay should have agreed to continue the export without any change, when the government has failed to meet the near famine situation in the rice-growing area of Chhatisgarh.

Durg District Council of the CPI has started a vigorous campaign to collect more than 30,000 signatures on the Great Petition to Parliament.

In his opinion it was fan-



# THE BURDEN ON COMMON PEOPLE

★ By Dr. Raj Bahadur Gour

The campaign for the Great Petition to Parliament initiated by the Communist Party has received widespread support among the people of our country.

ALL sections of our people who are hit by the mounting attack on their living standards by rising prices of commodities, heavy taxation measures, surcharges on income tax, compulsory deposits etc., are giving their massive support to the campaign.

The government policies, implemented with a view to finding resources for defence and development of the country, have been heavily tilted against the common people and hence resentment is growing by leaps and bounds.

It is in this context a perusal of the prices and taxes which the common people have to bear will have to be made.

## Prices

The general index of wholesale prices had been continuously rising during the past several years. The general index of wholesale prices stood at 102.7 in 1956 (1952-53=100). In a continuously rising curve it reached 127.2 in 1962. Following the new budget, the prices started mounting at a very fast rate. In February 1963 the index stood at 126.5, in March it went up to 127.1, in April 129.7, in May 132.1 and in June it touched the peak of 133.7.

The consumer-price index (1949=100) stood at 126 in 1961. This represented a rise of 9 points over 1959. It averaged 130 in 1962 and then began further ascending in 1963. It was 131 in April 1963 and 132 in

May. The indices of subsequent months are yet not available but from the trends it can be safely concluded that there have been sharp increases in the consumer price index.

The working class produced more than what they did last year. The index of industrial production (based on 200 industries) indicated that while the index of production was only 148.2 in July 1962, it had gone up to 164.4 in January 1963.

While the workers produced more, the benefit of higher production and greater productivity did not go either to the toilers themselves or to the community. The gains out of higher production only enriched the employers further.

## Profits

The index of industrial profits (1955=100) shows that the gross profits including depreciation of selected private limited companies which stood at 119.5 in 1959 shot up to 200.2 in 1960. This means that within a period of four years, their profits almost doubled. The profit index for all industries was 169.1 in 1960 with 1955=100. The figures for 1961, 1962 and the first six months of 1963 are not yet available but as the trend shows, it is certain that their profits have multiplied further.

## Wages

The index of real earnings of factory workers fell from 128.6 in 1960 to 127.5 in 1961

with 1947=100. During the period of emergency, wage demands were withheld and hence it can be assumed that the index of money earnings was stationary, and therefore the rising index of consumer prices must have offset the real wages of workers.

## Taxes

Then take the question of taxes. During the last decade, the central and state taxes have risen tremendously. And bulk of the rise is in the case of indirect taxes such as excise duties, sales tax etc., which though indirect, affect the consumers very much directly.

The following table shows the total tax revenue position in crores of rupees:

	1950-51		1961-62	
	Centre	States	Centre	States
Total tax revenue	357.0	281.05	768.0	611.85
Direct Taxes	130.0	132.45	206.0	242.91
Indirect taxes	227.0	148.00	562.0	368.65

This shows that indirect taxation by 1961-62 had risen by Rs. 335 crores in the case of Central government and by Rs. 220 crores in the case of state governments.

Excise duty on kerosene oil shot up from Rs. 26 lakhs in 1951-52 to Rs. 14.34 crores in 1962-63. Revenues from duties on sugar have gone up from Rs. 8.43 crores in 1951-52 to Rs. 46.10 crores in 1962-63.

Duty on matches has gone up from Rs. 8.69 crores in 1951-52 to Rs. 18.60 crores in 1962-63. Cotton textiles yielded Rs. 16.36 crores in 1951-52 and estimated to have gone up to Rs. 44.55 crores in 1962-63. Duty on tea yielded Rs. 4.31 crores in 1951-52

and is estimated to have gone up to Rs. 11.55 crores in 1962-63. Revenues from excise duties have gone up from Rs. 85.78 crores in 1951-52 to the staggering figure of Rs. 545.40 crores, in 1962-63. The estimated 10.6 per cent of the total revenue of the Central government in 1956 came down to 10 per cent in 1962. The corporation tax came down to 5.8 per cent in 1962 compared to 8.7 in 1956. This shows that the

"Please Don't Raise Prices"



—Courtesy: Shankar's Weekly

mates for 1963-64 are Rs. 575.43 crores.

This is the shocking picture of fall in the purchasing power of poor man's rupee.

On the other hand, the very same decade witnessed tax concessions to capitalists by way of

richer classes have been getting concessions during this period while common people suffered more.

While the living standards of the common people had thus been subjected to great strain, the new budget put in additional burden. The excise duties have gone up by another Rs. 30 crores on the essential commodities in the recent budget proposals.

The Directive Principle of State Policy in our Constitution lays down "that the ownership and control of the material resources of the community are so distributed as best to subserve the common good."

Compare this directive approach government's policy in practice and it will be clear that the distribution of taxation measures was to the detriment of the common people and only "subverted" their economy.

## KOLAR TO COLLECT 50,000 SIGNATURES

The Kolar District Committee of the Communist Party of India, at its meeting held on July 15 decided to collect 50,000 signatures on the Great Petition. Accordingly, quotas are being fixed by the taluk units of the Party and measures have been undertaken for the distribution of copies of the Petition in Kannada, Tamil, English and Urdu and also literature on the campaign.

QUOTAS of signatures have been fixed for the following taluks: Gagepalli 15,000; Chintamani 20,000; Kolar 10,000; Kolar Gold Fields 10,000; Mulbagal 10,000; Chikabalur 5,000; Malur 2,000; Gowridanur 2,000; Chitlaghatta 2,000; Bangarapet 1000.

The Committee also decided to send 12 volunteers to join the March to Delhi. The entire Party machinery in the district has been geared up for fulfilling the quota.

The Bagepalli Taluk Committee of the Communist Party of India is making preparations to send 40 Volunteers in a Bus to join the March to Delhi.

The Kolar Gold Fields Committee has already started the campaign and collected more than 4000 signature and Rs. 30. M. Aruchappa, T. S. Mani, A. Kannan, N. Sinduraj, M. C. Adleshnan are leading the squads organised for collecting signatures. H. S. Rama Rao, secretary of the District Committee expressed confidence that the campaign will be crowned with success.

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CPI Central Office  
Asaf Ali Road, New Delhi.

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## MADHYA PRADESH

# PETITION CAMPAIGN IN FULL SWING

The Madhya Pradesh State Council of the Communist Party of India at its last meeting decided to collect five lakh signatures on the Great Petition and also to send 3000 demonstrators to Delhi. The response to the call of the Party in this respect has been very heartening in this state.

VARIOUS Party units have started vigorous campaign to achieve the target fixed by the state council. At Indore alone 30 thousand signatures have been collected so far. The Indore comrades are holding street corner meetings to explain the objective of the Great Petition.

## Ujjain

Ujjain has already contributed five thousand signatures. Khandkar, State Party Secretary, addressed a meeting of three hundred leading citizens at Ujjain. Also street corner meetings are being held at Ujjain to mobilise public opinion.

Homi Daji M.P. addressed a one thousand strong citizens' meeting at Ratlam held under the auspices of the Students Union. The town has already collected

three thousand signatures out of the total quota of 25 thousand. The Communist Party had also organised a big rally which was addressed by Homi Daji and Surendra Kumar, Secretary of Ratlam unit of the CPI.

## Vidisha

Vidisha Kisan Sabha convened a meeting of the leading citizens of surrounding villages. The meeting, which was attended by Panchas, Surpanchas, chairman of the multi-purpose society, Kendra Panchayats, members of the block committees, mandal members, formed a 31-member committee under the convenorship of VINAYAK VAIDYA. The committee decided to collect signatures on a separate form to protest against the 40 per cent increase in land revenue. It was also

decided to collect 20 thousand signatures on the Great Petition.

A meeting was also held at Vidisha which was addressed by Shaktiraj Khan M.L.A. The Kannod Municipal committee consisting of non-communist independents held a reception in honour of Homi Daji M.P. who was on a campaign tour. The Kannod Communist Party organised a public meeting on the same day and announced collection of five thousand signatures.

## Gwalior

At Gwalior, the Kisan leaders of Gwalior, Bhand and Morena districts met and decided to collect 60 thousand signatures on the Great Petition. They also decided to send 400 persons to participate in the Delhi demonstration.

The signature campaign is also in full swing in Jabbalpur and Chhatisgarh region. At Shahdol, Ramprasad Singh, a non-communist M.L.A. is among the signatories on the Great Petition.

Our country is again faced with what is called a "sugar crisis". The Government of India has imposed Sugar Control Order. The state of Uttar Pradesh which produces nearly 60 per cent of the entire sugar of the country has been put under partial rationing.

WHILE the official and capitalist circles admit the price rise in sugar only to the extent of 31% in comparison to that of the year 1952-53, it is no secret that sugar is being sold privately at Rs. 175.00 per quintal and Rs. 2.00 per Kg.

THE ECONOMIC TIMES correspondent from Lucknow reported on June 21 that "sugar which was available before the control was imposed at little higher than the controlled price of Rs. 1.15 nP. per Kg. is now being sold at almost double the price."

This has been followed by an abnormal rise in prices of gur and khandisari. In Lucknow such of the unfortunates who could not buy sugar in the open market even on 'black rates' were compelled to buy Khandisari, which is being sold at a price as high as Rs. 184.00 per quintal.

June 17 report from Muzaffarnagar market says: "The prices for the wet quality were from Rs. 131.28 to Rs. 139.32 per quintal while those of dry non-crystal and crystal varieties ranged between Rs. 155.39 to 174.15 and 160.75 to Rs. 176.83 respectively. These prices were higher by Rs. 49.50 to Rs. 80.25 per quintal than the prices which ruled during the corresponding period of the last year."

## Fleeing Unchecked

This unprecedented fleeing of the consumer goes on unchecked. Having touched the high mark of 29.8 lakh tons in the year 1960-61, the industry produced 26.7 lakh tons in the year 1961-62 when the Government of India imposed a 10 per cent cut in production.

For the year 1962-63 the estimated production has been over 23 lakh tons and the country had the carryover of the stocks to the tune of 11.8 lakh tons. Even conceding that the exports of sugar may touch a new high of 5 lakh tons due to bright export market, we are left with a surplus of over 3 lakh tons when the consumption within the country is estimated to be to the tune of 26 lakh tons.

The figures as narrated above do not in any way suggest the conditions of scarcity and only go to show that the industry in the hands of private industrialists is prospering on the untold sufferings of the con-

sumers, cane-growers and workers who produce the sugar.

Sugar industrialists also claim patriotism when they say that the industry has turned into a foreign exchange-earner. Our exports till very recently have been heavily subsidised. It will be interesting to note that the country earned foreign exchange of about Rs. 15 crores and spent in subsidising the exports about the same amount in the year 1962-63.

But now when the sugar prices have been soaring high in so-called 'free' world market the prospects of earning foreign exchange are brighter. That is how the COMMERCE of June 1, 1963 reads the situation:

"The distinct firmness of the world free market for sugar at present no doubt provides an excellent opportunity for Indian Sugar exports, in that India can sell sugar abroad not only without any subsidy for covering losses but with a handsome profit. As against the London

Sweet are the uses of adversity



—Courtesy: Shankar's Weekly

quotation of Rs. 1,300 per ton the Indian export price comes to about Rs. 750 (after the full remission of excise duty of Rs. 291.25 and cane-cess of Rs. 51.72) or a profit of Rs. 570 per ton. Even after paying excise duty and cane-cess the profit earned by exporting one ton of sugar comes to Rs. 227."

So that this "excellent opportunity" may be fully availed of, the sugar tycoons demand that the "domestic consumption" be discouraged. How that has to be achieved is suggested below:

"A proper domestic price policy will be another important consideration. It has

duce to khandisari producers who pay competitive prices for the sugarcane and emerge as powerful rivals to these exploiters of the growers."

It should be noted here that even a modest advocacy for increase in the cane-price has been "deplored" by the spokesmen of big business. They demand heavy duty on khandisari or even invoking of emergency measures to prevent it from competing and severely exploiting the cane-producing peasantry.

Profits in the sugar industry have continued rising despite the protestations of the president of Indian Sugar Mills Association.

The cane-producing peasantry should move forward to realise its long-standing demand of enhancement of prices of the sugarcane. Rs. 2.00 per maund is the irreducible minimum demand of the peasantry and this is within the realisable limits.

The cost of cane-production has been rising year by year. The peasantry has been subjected to various types of taxations in the recent years in the name of development schemes whose full benefits have not reached them.

But this movement of peasantry and the workers has to rally broader masses of people who as consumers are being fleeced and cheated by sugar tycoons for their unlimited greed. The demand for a fair price of sugar, reduction in the present controlled price should become the rallying centre of this popular movement.

Can the prevailing controlled sugar prices be curtailed? Does the Tariff Commission's recommendations in this regard favour the consumer? Can the peasantry be given an increase in sugarcane prices?

According to the calculation of the Sugar Wage Board the incidence of increase in the labour cost in the production of one maund of sugar is only 4 naye

# SUGAR CRISIS—Who is Responsible?

★ by Ram Asrey

been obvious for some time that domestic consumption is increasing fast. In the circumstances it exports ought to be treated on a necessary basis of priority the Government must be prepared to face the fact that internal prices of sugar should not be deliberately kept at a level where consumption is encouraged beyond a maximum of 2.4 million tonnes." (EASTERN ECONOMIST, May 31, '63.)

## Profits Rising

Industry-wise, cotton textiles, engineering and chemicals recorded significant increase in profits before tax. Profits in cotton textiles rose by a larger magnitude (Rs. 16.8 crores) than in 1959 (Rs. 12.4 crores). In engineering the rise in profits was of the order of Rs. 6.1 crores, as compared with 4.9 crores in 1959. Likewise, profits in sugar and silk and woolen textiles rose by smaller amounts in 1960 than in 1959.

Despite some increase in the production cost due to rise in prices of raw material the profitability rate in the sugar industry far from declining has risen slightly even when the Reserve Bank Studies do not disclose sugar industry's 'black' profits.

The workers whose labour adds to the profits of the industrialists are not in any way better-off. The Wage Board recommendations persuaded to act in a manner that goes to help the peasantry on the one hand and bring relief to the workers of their hard won right to bonus.

Even the clear-cut decisions of the Wage Board regarding payments of workers according to their skills have been challenged by the employers in many of the U.P. mills giving rise to prolonged conciliation proceedings and consequent litigation.

The workers in the mills, millions of cane producing peasants, engaged in supply of the sugarcane and the entire people as consumers have to combine and rise against the unprecedented loot of the sugar industrialists so that such a vital industry of the nation built through the toil of the working people is put to the best advantage of the Indian people and the resources of the nation from such sources are utilised for the developmental needs of the country.

The cane-producing peasantry should move forward to realise its long-standing demand of enhancement of prices of the sugarcane. Rs. 2.00 per maund is the irreducible minimum demand of the peasantry and this is within the realisable limits.

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THE RESERVE BANK OF INDIA BULLETIN studies in the matter are quite revealing. In June 1962 issue it is said:

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paise per year. Looking to the open and 'black' profits of the industry this incidence is nothing. Even this incidence will progressively decrease with the increase in recovery percentage and duration of the crushing season.

## Profits Rising

Granting the modest increase of cane price to Rs. 2.00 per maund with a given recovery of 10 per cent in sucrose content the price of sugar-cane in a maund of produced sugar would come to Rs. 20. Adding to this the excise duty and cess which comes to Rs. 14.65, and the manufacturing expenses including labour costs, managing agency commission, etc., the total cost of production per maund would not go in any case beyond Rs. 40.00 per maund.

Allowing reasonable profits to the industry, if it promises to behave in future, the country very well can achieve the target of production fixed for this year, i.e., 35 million tonnes from which enough could be 'diverted' to exports.

The government which at present is showing too much concern for resources needing development and defence has got to be persuaded to act in a manner that goes to help the peasantry on the one hand and bring relief to the consumer on the other.

If the industry refuses to abide by the popular wishes, then it should be made clear that the Nation is prepared to take over the charge of the industry and in this measure they shall have the support of the entire working people and well-meaning patriotic population of the country. In the ultimate measure, this course alone assures well-being of the peasantry and the entire people of the country.

## Why Must Banks Be Nationalised?

FROM PAGE 5

want, not the financial sharks but the people to prosper, if they want not foreign capital but our own industrial wealth to grow.

All the arguments of economics, politics, philosophy, morals and the needs of the nation and the people are on the side of nationalisation. In the archives of the Planning Commission itself, you will find that well known economists have suggested that for proper development of our backward economy, banking must be nationalised, must be in the state sector.

Hence we demand; take over the banks and leave the poor man's purse.

Thus it can be seen that our proposals, which are supported by many thinking people, are positive and constructive. When we ask the poor man to be freed from these taxes, levies, we give an alternative source of money which rightly belongs to the nation, for defence and development.

LET THE GREAT PETITIONERS AND THE MARCHERS SIGN AND MARCH WITH THE CONVICTION THAT THEIRS IS THE CORRECT ROAD.



# SIGN THE GREAT PETITION

## CALCUTTA'S RESPONSE TO PETITION MOVEMENT

★ From AJAY DAS GUPTA

CALCUTTA July 21: The Great Petition campaign is gaining momentum in West Bengal. On July 21, the statewide collection of signatures to the Great Petition began. This day was declared as the formal inauguration day of the signature campaign by the Provincial Organisation Committee.

REPORTS from Calcutta and suburbs till night of July 21 show that fifteen thousand signatures have been collected on the Petition. Reports from the industrial belt and the districts are awaited.

In Calcutta on the day from the early morning squads of Communist Party members, sympathis-

ed and led the campaign. Collection of signatures continued in some places till night, when it had to be stopped due to rain. Street corner meetings were held simultaneously at many spots to explain the contents of the Petition.

The response from the public has been overwhelming. All sections of the people—factory workers, day labourers, rickshaw pullers, office clerks, shop keepers, businessmen, and housewives—all signed the Petition. Signatures were given in Bengali, Hindi, Urdu, English, Oriya, Tamil, Telugu, Curmukhi and other scripts and by thumb impressions too.

At the northern industrial suburb of Dum Dum, at four centres more than four thousand signatures were collected during the day. Workers from Weissman, E.M.C., Jessop and other factories formed the bulk of the collectors.

### Doctors And Professors Join

At Dhakuria more than one thousand signatures were collected within three hours, which included professors, doctors and many other prominent citizens.

Nearly eight hundred signatures were collected at the Shyambazar crossing. And at many other spots such as Abirkola, Sreemani market, Baitakhkhana, Patwarban, College Square, Tiljala, Gariahat crossing, Rashbehari, Hazra Park, Jagabazar etc., on an average 500 signatures were collected.

On July 20 more than sixty students led by the acting general secretary of the provincial Student Federation launched signa-

during the day collected more than two thousand and five hundred signatures. Signature collection is going on inside the classes. The students will continue to collect signatures for a full month and they hope to raise twenty-five to thirty thousand signatures, a student leader told me.

Collection inside the factories and at gates is going on. BPTUC has printed a poster calling upon the workers to sign the Petition.

### Delhi

## 40,000 SIGNATURES ALREADY COLLECTED

JULY 23: The Delhi Provincial Council of the Communist Party meeting here on July 21, decided to step up the campaign in connection with the "Great Petition."

MORE than 200 squads will carry the campaign to every nook and corner of Delhi: over 300 meetings are to be held in mohallas and a number of big meetings and rallies and processions are to be organised in various parts of the city. Intensive poster-ing and painting of slogans on walls and roads will be another feature of the campaign.

The campaign launched by S. A. Dange, Chairman of the Party, in a big General Body meeting of the Party held towards the end of last month has been taken up enthusiastically by Party units.

Already nearly 40,000 signatures have been collected on the Great Petition. Comrades are confident that

After the day's rounds when I met many of the comrades who took part in the campaign, I saw that they were exhausted but happy. Many of them told me frankly that they had grave doubts whether they would be able to properly approach the people and whether the people would respond to the call of the Party. But as the day progressed their doubts were dispelled by the response of the people.

Delhi's quota of two-lakh signatures will be fulfilled by the end of the campaign period—end of August.

Along with signature campaign, meetings are being held and cash is being collected in collection boxes.

The trade unions have taken up the campaign in right earnest. At a broad-based meeting of representatives of trade unions (affiliated to All-India Trade Union Congress as well as independent), it was decided to organise a big trade union convention on August 2 against high prices, high taxes, CDS and for nationalisation of banks, oil, etc. The trade unions have decided to collect signatures and to join in the March to Parliament.

orientation of the government's policy. The opposition demanded severe punishment for the food thieves, and immediate introduction of state trading in foodgrains, particularly in view of the chronic deficit in the state. They called for a complete change in the food policy of the state government. The Communist Party called for the formation of an all-Parties Food Committee and immediate holding of an all-parties food convention to chalk out the food policy.

Chief Minister P. C. SEN, who also holds the food portfolio since the time he became a minister, in reply had to admit that there was a deficit to the tune of 22 lakh tons, though at the beginning of year he asserted that there was not more than 5 lakh tons deficit.

He termed the demand for rice at Rs. 22 per maund as a day dream and said that he could not deprive the villagers of their food to feed the towns and cities.

In complete disregard of the hard facts and reality he claimed that the food is lying with farmers. He had to admit that people are in distress, yet he refused to make any change in the food policy. He said that he could make minor adjustments in consultation with the opposition, which at this critical time would have no effect on the situation.

The no-confidence motions that were moved, were of course, de-

feated because of the large majority of the Congress.

### Prices Highest

Meanwhile the price of rice in West Bengal has reached the highest level, recorded in the past several years and is 25 nP per kilo higher than the price in 1961.

According to official figures the price of rice in June this year was 80 nP per kilo as compared to 64 nP in June 1962. Figures for earlier years are: June 1958 67 nP, June 1959 65 nP, June 1960 68 nP, June 1961—55 nP.

The district-wise analysis of the figures reveals some significant features. The price is highest in Burdwan and Birbhum (82 nP). Purulia has the lowest price—72 nP, while in Calcutta it is 80 nP.

Strangely enough it is Burdwan and Birbhum which are among the largest producers of rice while in Purulia there has been a serious shortfall in production. The district-wise price chart thus clearly reveals that it is not production alone that is responsible for the sharp rise in prices—traders obviously have a hand in it, too. But as yet government has not used measures under the DIR to control racketeering in foodgrains.

# CPI SUPPORTS OPEN LETTER OF CPSU

## Statement of the Central Secretariat

COMMUNISTS all over the world are studying the Open Letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU to all members of their Party. This document, though addressed primarily to the Soviet Union's Communists, is of profound significance for the entire international Communist movement.

In striking contrast with the abusive and slanderous tone of the June 14 letter of the leadership of the Communist Party of China, the Open Letter is a principled document, which argues in a comradely manner against the serious errors and mistakes of the CPC leadership.

The Open Letter has been published at a moment when the splitting activities of the dogmatist leadership of the CPC have reached their zenith, both in the international Communist movement and in individual Communist Parties. It was the grave danger of these activities for all mankind's struggle for peace and socialism, which compelled the CPSU to publish its Open Letter.

### Vicious Propaganda Of CPC

The CPSU, together with other fraternal Parties, had repeatedly appealed to the leadership of the CPC to put a stop to polemics, at least till the present talks between representatives of the Soviet and Chinese Parties had taken place. The CPC leadership, disdaining these appeals, has carried out a non-stop campaign of vicious propaganda, through its press and radio and all other means, vilifying the CPSU and several other fraternal Parties. Millions of copies of publications, filled with lying accusations of the worst possible kind against brother Communists have been distributed by the Chinese leadership in all languages, all over the world.

The June 14 letter of the CPC, published and widely distributed on the eve of the Sino-Soviet talks in Moscow, was clearly intended to worsen relations and sabotage the talks in advance. When the CPSU refused to be provoked into issuing its reply, and expressed its desire to avoid polemics, the Chinese leaders accused the CPSU of "suppressing" the June 14 letter, and carried out a number of anti-Soviet actions of a more and more disruptive nature, even after the talks began in Moscow on July 5.

The CPSU had no alternative but to publish the June 14 letter of the CPC leadership, together with its Open Letter to members of the Soviet Party.

### CPSU Position Endorsed

The Central Secretariat of the Communist Party of India fully endorses the position taken by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in the Open Letter on the main issues of differences between the international Communist movement on the one side and the leadership of the CPC on the other.

The Communist Party of India has repeat-

edly expressed its views on the urgent ideological questions. It has made these views clear to brother Communists in the international meetings of representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties in 1957 and 1960. At the meetings of the National Council of the Communist Party of India in August 1962 and February 1963, these views were once again reaffirmed and carried forward. The Communist Party of India in its letter to fraternal Parties of November 1962 specially warned against the grave consequences of the wrong and dangerous policies of the CPC leadership.

### We Stand For Peace

On the most important questions which affect the vital interests of our peoples—the questions of war and peace, of the role and development of the world socialist system, of the struggle against the "personality cult", of the strategy and tactics of the world working class movement and the national liberation struggle—the position of the Communist Party of India is wholly with that of the international Communist movement and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and it is wholly against the erroneous views of the leadership of the CPC.

The Indian people are, above all, devoted to peace and fully support the world Communist movement's devotion to peaceful co-existence and its tireless struggle for general and complete disarmament, for a world from which war weapons have been banished.

All Afro-Asian and Latin American peoples know well the unparalleled contribution made by the Soviet Union to the struggle for national independence, against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. The Soviet Union's determined action in support of the peoples battling for national independence has been a decisive factor in halting imperialism, again and again.

The Indian people in particular are well aware of the invaluable assistance given by the Soviet Union in the liberation of Goa, Daman and Diu. It was the firm action of the Soviet Union in the Security Council which blocked the resolution of the US-British imperialists and their allies, seeking to stop the march of Indian troops into Goa.

### Slanders Can't Hide Facts

All the lies and slanders of the CPC leadership against the Soviet Union in regard to the national independence struggle will never wipe out from the memory and the day-to-day experience of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, that the Soviet Union and its government and the Communist Party are the strongest and best champions of the worldwide movement for national independence.

Indian Communists severely condemn the attempts made by the CPC leadership to import racial and regional sentiments in order

to divide the international movement for peace and socialism and build up hate against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries of Europe.

The CPC leadership repeatedly asserts that it stands fully with the Afro-Asian countries. But its practice is altogether different. Today, six of these very Afro-Asian countries, with a view to relaxing tension and promoting Afro-Asian solidarity, have put forward proposals for the creation of a climate for negotiations for a peaceful settlement of the India-China border dispute. The CPC leadership refuses to accept these proposals and spurns the efforts of the six Afro-Asian Governments, thus only helping the sinister conspiracies of the imperialists and the worst reactionaries.

### CPC Weakens Movement

The Communist Party of India, from its own experience, knows only too well how the wrong and adventurist understanding of the CPC leadership leads to the weakening of the Communist movement and results in the strengthening of the imperialists and the reactionaries.

The Communist Party of India has been the subject of special attack and malicious slander by the CPC leadership. The Peking People's Daily article titled "Mirror for Revisionists", containing totally unprecedented filthy abuse against a brother Party, was distributed in millions of copies by the CPC leadership in all continents.

Our Party has already replied to the utterly false charges in this dogmatic document, through the article "Neither Revisionism Nor Dogmatism is Our Guide" issued by its Chairman, Comrade S. A. Dange.

### CPSU Helps Unity

The Open Letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU rightly points out the tremendous damage being done by the CPC leadership, by its sponsorship and support of disruptive and splitting activities in the Communist Parties of several countries.

The clear-cut stand taken by the CPSU on all the major issues of dispute and against the attempts to split the international Communist movement, will assuredly assist all Communists everywhere in their struggle for the unity of the international Communist movement and for the unity of individual Communist Parties in each country.

The Communist Party of India joins the CPSU in its appeal to the CPC leadership to put an end to their disruptive and splitting activities and to reciprocate the efforts of the CPSU and other fraternal Parties; for a solution of the existing differences through mutual, comradely discussions.

The Communist Party of India is pledged to throw its entire weight into the worldwide efforts for Communist unity. It is confident that these efforts will succeed. (July 20)



Collection of signatures at Shyambazar crossing, Calcutta. Photo: Satya Sen

## FOOD SITUATION IS WORSENING

CALCUTTA: The desperate food situation in the province and people's urge to change the food policy of the government found eloquent expression during the week.

THE unity of the Communist and non-Communist left parties in tabling no-confidence motion against the government on the food problem is the result of the people's urge to find redress for the unbearable situation. This united move marked a significant development in the province's politics since the emergency.

The State Legislative Assembly opened on July 15 and battle for food that was going on outside found its echo inside the Assembly. In fact during the whole week through adjournment motions, questions, walk outs and above all through hunger-strike by MLAs inside the Assembly Hall, the assembly was dominated by the food issue. The opposition

made persistent and vehement demand for change in the government's pro-vested interest food policy but the government continued to cling adamantly to its policy.

The Communist Party and the four left parties' combine (FB, RSP, RCP and BPI) were holding meetings all over the state and leading mass deputations to government officials on the issue of food.

Week preceding the opening of the Assembly eight leaders of the four parties staged a three-day hunger-strike. Then as the Assembly opened the MLAs belonging to these parties began a three-day hunger-

strike inside the Assembly House. Communist MLAs also joined the hunger strike.

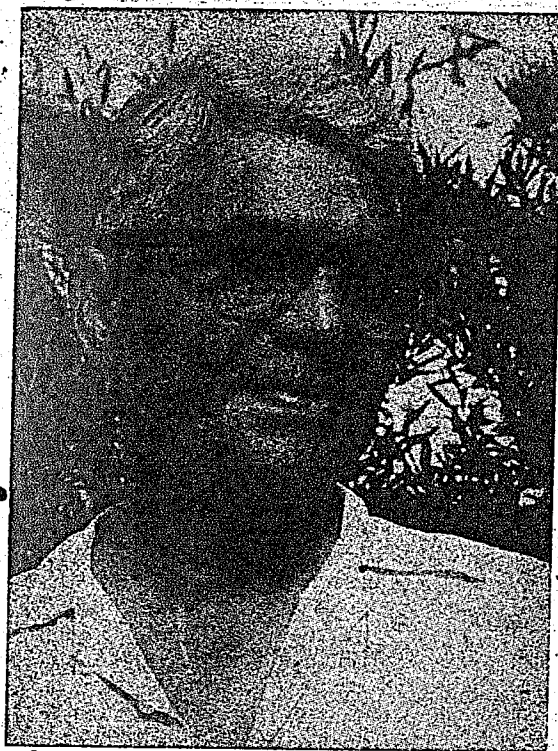
The Corporation councillors passed a unanimous resolution on food situation and some opposition councillors staged hunger-strike inside the Corporation building. Persistent efforts of the opposition forced the government to a discussion of the food situation earlier than scheduled.

During the three-day debate, the opposition severely criticised the food policy of the state government and showed that it was against the policy of the Planning Commission. Union Food Minister PATIL and Finance Minister MORARJI DESAI also came in for severe criticism and it was said that the state government followed these reactionary ministers at the Centre.

Innumerable facts and incidents were cited to show the projected, big trader and banker

# JOIN THE MARCH TO DELHI





REVIEW OF DR. ASHRAF'S BOOK

On Indian Muslim Politics

HINDUSTANI MUSLIM SIYASAT PAR EK NAZAR (A Critique of Indian Muslim Politics) by Dr. Mohammed Ashraf: 152 pages: Price Rs. 2.50 nP Published by Nai Roshni Prakashan, New Delhi.

THE late Dr. Mohammed Ashraf, who died last year—June 1962, in Berlin, wrote this small monograph in 1960, just before his departure for the German Democratic Republic.

Dr. Ashraf was undoubtedly one of the most eminent historians of medieval Indian history in our country. But he was much more than that: a redoubtable fighter for Indian freedom, an organiser and leader of peasants in Western U.P. and Mewar in Rajasthan, an outstanding Marxist intellectual—he combined in his personality the ardour of an active Communist revolutionary, the profundity and erudition of a scholar and the

with scientific precision and historical facts, all the revisionist, communal, anti-democratic and anti-progressive reactionary ideas, theories and beliefs, which were being sedulously spread among the Indian Muslims either by the imperialists and their agents in India or by the Muslim feudalists or bourgeois elements.

The book under review, which can truly be called the testament of Dr. Ashraf, is divided into nine chapters. Ashraf begins with giving the ideological background of the Great Rebellion of 1857 in which Indian Muslims participated, and sacrificed themselves in great numbers.

by Sajjad Zaheer

eloquence and passion of a great tribune of the people.

Marxist Knowledge

Coming from a Muslim peasant family of Western U.P. Dr. Ashraf was educated at Muslim University, Aligarh and at Jamia Millia Islamia, Delhi, before he went for his research at the Oriental School of Studies of the London University. He made a special study, not only of the ideological trends and movements among the Indian Muslims, during the last hundred years or so; he really went to the root of the matter and studied the sociological, religious and cultural beliefs of Muslims in general, and using his Marxist, vision and method, sought to discover the basic social and historical causes, which led Indian Muslims in particular political directions.

As such Dr. Ashraf fought with all his heart and soul against reactionary communal trends among the Muslims of India and used all his great learning and knowledge of Muslim history in refuting

Ashraf shows that while the common Muslim soldiers and officers had democratic aspirations and inclinations, the leadership of the Rebellion as a whole, was in the hands of feudal elements whose aim was nothing else but the restoration of the decrepit Mughal Empire.

Basically Feudal

In the next chapter, Ashraf deals with the movement for new Western learning among the Muslims of North India led by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, which at the same time, had as its aim the keeping of Muslims away from the united national movement against British imperialism. At the same time the anti-imperialist trends among the Muslims, ideologically led by Maulana Obaidullah Sindhi, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and the Maulanas of Deoband came into existence; but these too suffered from a pan-Islamic bias and religious revivalism and were also basically feudal in their outlook.

In the third chapter, Dr.

Ashraf deals with the situation arising in our country after the First World War, and the Great October Socialist Revolution: the great wave of national liberation which arose in our country and in other countries of Asia, specially Turkey, Iran, Egypt and Afghanistan. This had a deep impact on Indian Muslims and as a result arose the united national movement—the non-cooperation and the Khilafat movements—led by Mahatma Gandhi, the Ali Brothers, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Dr. M. A. Ansari and the Ulema of Deoband. Ashraf analyses the basically bourgeois character of this movement and traces the growth of Hindu and Muslim communalism which swept the country after the stopping of the non-cooperation and Khilafat movements.

Working Class

But it was precisely during this period that the revolutionary working class movement also arose in our country, great strikes were organised in Bombay, Ahmedabad, Kanpur, Calcutta, etc., the Communist Party of India was founded, and Muslim workers in large numbers were drawn in these struggles fighting shoulder to shoulder with their non-Muslim Hindu brethren. An independent proletarian line and policy emerged inside the Indian liberation movement.

In the next—fourth—chapter, Dr. Ashraf indicates the growth of Muslim bourgeois class in India (Ispahani in Bengal, formation of a Muslim Chamber of Commerce); the failures of Indian Congress bourgeois leadership to lead the national movement in a democratic revolutionary direction, which in its turn, gave grist to the mill of Muslim communalism, leading to the demand for partition of the country and of Pakistan.

At the same time, the Second World War had ended; one hundred million people in Eastern Europe had overthrown capitalism and raised the Red Flag; a wave of national liberation struggles was sweeping over Asia and Africa; the Soviet Union had emerged as a mighty world power.

It was under these circumstances and pressures that the British imperialists finally thought fit to quit India, but not without partitioning it and creating in Pakistan a firm base for imperialism.

Ashraf raises the question here whether the partition could be avoided and he answers it in his characteristic way: Such a leadership, unfortunately, did not exist in our country at that time. Lenin and the Bolsheviks, Ashraf says faced

a much more difficult situation in 1917, than we did in 1946-47. Yet they succeeded in defeating the imperialists' game, and building a powerful socialist state.

In the next three chapters, perhaps the most brilliantly written in this small book, Ashraf deals with the fraud and the hoax of the slogan of the Islamic way of life and government raised alike in Pakistan and by the Jamat-e-Islami and certain other revivalist elements in India even today.

In a few pages of sharp irony and sarcasm, Ashraf exposes the situation in Pakistan, which claiming to be a "Muslim" State, has sold the country to foreign imperialists, where the peasants, by and large, still groan under the yoke of feudalism, where democratic liberties are non-existent, where Shia-Sunni-Ahmadi riots and conflicts are rife, and where the bulk of the Pakistani people living in East Pakistan complain bitterly against the political and economic tyranny of the handful of ruling class belonging to Western Pakistan.

Reactionary Outlook

As to the Jamat-e-Islami and similar other Muslim ideologues, who ask the Indian Muslims to work for the establishment in India of a social and political system based on the tenets of the Quran, Ashraf demolishes their entire thesis by tracing historically the social systems which prevailed under the Muslims right from the beginning of Islam in the 7th century in Arabia, the Omayyids and the Abbaside Khilafats and the Muslim Sultnates and the Mughal Empire in India, and shows how in essence, under the ideological cover of Islam, these were exploiting feudal societies perhaps appropriate for the times in which they existed but which have no validity in modern times.

All those, therefore, who raise the slogan of the establishment of an Islamic society, whether in India or Egypt (as the Muslim Brotherhood did) or in Indonesia have not only nothing to do with the reality of the modern world, they do so solely with the purpose of keeping the Muslim masses away from the democratic and socialist movements of their countries, thus serving local reaction and international imperialism.

Bright Future

In the final and ninth chapter of the book, Ashraf indicates that howsoever strong the hold of revivalist reactionaries among the Muslims of India might be, their glorious future is indicated by those working class leaders of the Muslim proletariat in Calcutta, Bombay, Kanpur and Ahmedabad etc. who have embraced socialism as an ideology and who, as an integral part of the democratic Indian people, lead the Muslim masses to fight the battles for democracy and socialism with the rest of their Indian countrymen.

The future, Ashraf concludes, is with these working class movements and their progressive intellectuals.

Let us hope that Dr. Ashraf's brilliant book would be widely read by all Urdu-knowing persons and that it would be translated into English and other Indian languages for a wider publicity.

(July 15)

NOW AVAILABLE QUESTIONS OF IDEOLOGY IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

No. 8

\* Statement of CPSU Central Committee on the CPC Central Committee Letter of 14 June 1963

\* A Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement (CPC Central Committee letter of 14 June 1963) 50 nP.

PEOPLE'S PUBLISHING HOUSE Rani Jhansi Road, New Delhi 1.

JOINT EXERCISES . . .

\* FROM FRONT PAGE

are reticent, but some say the total number of US personnel may run into a few thousands.

The plain fact has to be faced. For 12 to 18 months (the period admitted by the Press Note), at least, we shall have a very large number of US soldiers, operating US military equipment on Indian soil. And from time to time, during this period, we shall have US and British supersonic aircraft flying in the air above us, based on Indian airports.

The question which all Indians who value non-alignment will ask is this: Why is it necessary for these rights over our soil, our territory, our air to be given to the US and British imperialists solely for the purpose of training our IAF personnel in the use of radar and communications equipment?

Training could easily be obtained in this equipment on the territories of the USA and Britain, where plenty of the finest radar and tele-communications equipment is already installed, and training would be far more effective and thorough, than with "temporary", "mobile" equipment of the second-rate kind which, we can be sure, will be "spared" by the imperialists for India.

Again, another question needs to be asked seriously by all who love this land of ours: Will the radar and communications equipment we are supposed to receive after 12 to 18 months be really effective for our air defence, without modern supersonic aircraft in our possession?

Where Are

The Planes?

Radar will help to give us advance information regarding a possible air attack. But the point our military missions have been stressing all along is this: We must have supersonic aircraft to be able to take proper advantage of such advance information.

There is complete refusal on the part of the imperialist powers to sell us the supersonic aircraft for which we have repeatedly asked. Instead, we are offered radar to give ourselves the satisfaction of knowing earlier than otherwise of possible air attacks, and we are also offered the doubtful joy of "practising along side" the supersonic squadrons of the mighty USA and Britain!

It is argued by some that with US radar at our service, we can later use our own supersonic and subsonic jets, which we can manufacture with Soviet help. The Soviet Union has already generously agreed to help us build the MIG factory. And all patriots will hope for greater and greater Indo-Soviet cooperation in all fields.

But surely the stationing of US personnel on our soil and joint exercises with US and British supersonic jets, will not greatly encourage our friends anywhere to provide us as readily as before with their military blueprints and know-how.

There is thus every reason for popular misgivings about this strange joint air exercise agreement, which in the name of strengthening our defences, actually provides foreign powers with virtual bases on our

soil to operate their equipment and their aircraft, and thus creates a barrier of doubts and suspicions between India and her true friends in other lands.

Sections of opinion, by no means "anti-West" in any sense of the term, have pointed out that the air exercises are a means by which to create what was earlier referred to as the "slot" system of defence. . . the radar material and communications system which is to be established along the northern frontier will be the "slot" into which Western air power can be fitted as and when necessary." (Times of India editorial, July 24)

Despite all assurances, despite the modifications in the original plans, the joint air defence exercises appear to lead to the umbrella in one form or the other. Whatever the ostensible purposes outlined in the agreement, whatever the safeguards, it is difficult to come to any other conclusion. Radar without supersonic aircraft in our possession means the beginning of dependence on somebody else's supersonic squadrons coming to our aid. What else is the umbrella? What is this but contravention of our nonalignment policy?

All the carefully balanced words in the Press Note cannot explain away the presence of foreign troops on our soil, or the permission to top-class foreign war planes to fly in the air above us. And in the eyes of all who stand for national independence, such military facilities granted to an imperialist power are always taken to mean a sacrifice of sovereignty, a turn away from nonalignment.

There is still another aspect which also requires the deepest consideration. The permission to US personnel, by the hundred or thousand, to man sensitive radar and telecommunications apparatus on the borders, means in effect throwing open our entire defence arrangements to the US government.

In the context of the close links which exist between the US Pentagon and the military bosses of Pakistan, and of the continuous aggressive threats against India by Pakistan—surely it is clear even to the worst Yankeeophile, that this opening out of our defence arrangements to the USA would be full of peril for us.

It would be fatal for progressive opinion at this stage to relax in a complacent belief that, since on the face of it the terms of the agreement do not apparently reverse the policy of nonalignment, there is no need for popular ac-

WHISPERING GALLERY—By Vijayan

THE THIRD-RATERS

NEHRU was in a temper at last week's Congress Working Committee meeting. The term working committee is indeed a misnomer. The appropriate name should be dodging committee. Because it dodged every problem that came up for discussion.

"We have become third rate politicians," Nehru is reported to have exploded in anger when it was suggested by Chavan and Patil that the committee should still all the problems were solved.

Nehru had no patience to deal with the problems created by third raters. He has been all the time wondering as to how SETH RAMAKRISHNA DALMIA managed to get out of jail and park himself in air-conditioned comfort of a Delhi hospital.

Nehru took off for Hyderabad where he gave vent to his feeling of revulsion. He said our public life had descended to "disgraceful levels."

Who are these third raters? Who have degraded public life? You know it Panditji much more than anybody else in this country does. But you don't speak up. But we will speak up for you even though we know fully well that you frown upon such frank speaking.

This week we will speak about the third raters, about those who have descended to disgraceful levels. Let us start with U.P.

When C. B. Gupta's leadership in the State was somewhat threatened by the dissidents, he gave a Profumo twist to the whole politics. He alleged that one of his Ministers (by no means a young dashing fellow) was having an affair with a bevy of women.

Why, in Delhi during and after the Working Committee meeting his followers were going about showing to all and sundry even a protest letter sent by officials of a Division

suggesting that the same Minister had "misbehaved" with the wife of an official at a function.

The whole thing is sordid business. Most of what is known about this whole episode is unprintable. Disgrace abounding! The Indian ruling class will soon stand comparison with the British Tories.

The whole thing is stinking, but worse is that Nehru is running away from it all. If he remains to tackle it?

LET us go to the second third rater. We have seen all the time wondering as to how SETH RAMAKRISHNA DALMIA managed to get out of jail and park himself in air-conditioned comfort of a Delhi hospital.

The other day we really unravelled the mystery. You remember way back in 1957 a crank of a snaysi opposed a top national leader in the general elections and got defeated.

Many religious-minded women are beholden to this bogus spiritualist. Immediately after Dalmia was sent to jail for cheating, this saffron-robed chappie was staying for 21 days in a ministerial bungalow in Delhi giving devotional lectures to the women folk.

Besides giving lectures on spiritualism the Swami also spoke kind words about the incarcerated Sethji. Ultimately it was the women folk who prevailed upon the Minister to liberate the cheat from the jail.

Not only we from outside are disgusted but a vast majority of honest Congressmen too are. But poor chaps, they get no chance to speak up.

Yes Panditji, public life has descended to "disgraceful levels." But please don't fly away in the arriving F-104.

NOW about the third rater. In the month of June the New Delhi residence of a VIP was

burgled. The thief got away with some cash.

The police went to investigate and they came away with the conclusion that the burglar was an absolute idiot. Many valuable things were left untouched. Among them were 18 transistors.

If only Nehru is interested, he can get the whole report from his own police. And mind you, this VIP whose house was burgled is a top Congressman who constantly suffers from indigestion from an extra helping of PL-480 wheat.

HERE comes the fourth third rater. A deputy minister's "mother" buys a posh bungalow in Defence Colony. Price paid: Rs. 95,000. Monthly rent that the bungalow fetches is about Rs. 1,200. Panditji, can anybody get such a house in such an affluent locality that dirt cheap?

The bungalow costs at least Rs. 14 lakhs, if not more. For what consideration was it sold that cheap?

WE could go on like this. By themselves these are all small things, petty things as the Prime Minister is fond of saying. But these petty things add up to an ugly sum. They speak volumes about the utter degeneration of a section of the ruling class.

Not only we from outside are disgusted but a vast majority of honest Congressmen too are. But poor chaps, they get no chance to speak up.

Yes Panditji, public life has descended to "disgraceful levels." But please don't fly away in the arriving F-104.

against the joint air exercises and VOA agreements, which both constitute heavy blows at our basic policies. (July 24)

YELLOW

The frantic attempts of a section of Indian press, its reactionary patrons, and leaders of Rightwing parties to justify the disgraceful AIR-VOA deal is really worth noting.

BUT the trouble is that vis-a-vis the most valid arguments against the deal, there is hardly any substance in what the patrons say. Some newspapers like the HINDUSTAN STANDARD of Calcutta thought that the silence of disrepute was better part of valour, particularly when "mass-circulated AMERICAN REPORTER is printed from its press. But others of that gentry lauded the deal.

Naturally in trying to justify an act of no justification, a lot of contradictory arguments have been put forward with the basic theme: compliments

for USA. Of course, the Chinese attack has been, as usual, posed as the prime mover of the deal.

Swatantra leader MINOO MASANI emphatically told pressmen at Rajkot on July 20 that there was nothing wrong with the VOA deal. He then added his main bit: "If it is against the policy of nonalignment, so much the worse for nonalignment." So that's it.

Notwithstanding the fact that the VOA transmitter will not be the "property" of our country even after five years of "service" to USA and that the transmissions can begin from that transmitter only after two years, Jan Sangh mouth-piece ORGANISER is all ga ga over the deal.

It says (July 22) that the agreement "is good for us" because the Communist press is against it. There could not be a bigger sell-out of conscience,

if they had any, via such blind anti-Communism. ORGANISER terms the agreement as "a purchase" and heaps praises on Nehru government for this deal and reposes complete confidence in it. Never before did it do anything of the kind. So the question comes—Why?

Taking its own logic, one may say that since Jan Sangh is praising the deal so much, it is all the more right to assume that the deal can only serve best the interests of USA and her cold war experts with whom Jan Sangh fraternises! But let's not go in for such cheap arguments.

Just press journal, the HINDUSTAN TIMES tries to defend the deal through a very ingenious argument. It says that if American C.130 planes can be used by our air force, why can't the Voice of America transmitter be used by AIR? After all, it's the same thing—America's gracious help to India for combating Chinese

menace! The INDIAN EXPRESS argues that India's nonalignment is for a limited purpose only. "...we are nonaligned as between Washington and Moscow, and certainly not vis-a-vis Peking." and that "consideration of course includes our obligations to our friends and allies, but those obligations have inevitably to take second place to our security."

The veneer of arguments in favour of the deal is so thin that it wears off just by mere touch; it does not require a s u n - t e s t of nonalignment standards. The VOA deal is not the doing of unbridled idiots—the very hush-hush about it shows how deeply involved the officers and ministers of Indian government are in this US-inspired agreement. The pat on their back by the Indian Right only confirms the reading.

S. M.



SINCE JULY 26, 1953

# Cuba's Rapid March On Socialist Road

It is only ten years since the daring assault on Moncada Barracks and what strides has the Cuban revolution taken in this one short decade, what mighty impact it has already had on the world situation!

"FOR us Latin Americans," writes the Bolivian Antonio Arce, Chairman of Latin American Youth Congress, in a typical tribute on the tenth anniversary of the 26th July attempt, "the course taken by Cuba is a ray of light which illumines our own future. Millions of people all over the continent are telling the imperialists 'Enough'. This is why we can say that the forces supporting the Cuban revolution are inexhaustible."

The audacious attack on Moncada began a new era in the history of Cuba and of Latin America. July 26, 1953 saw the beginning of the armed fight against the Batista tyranny and its Yankee upholders which kept on spreading till it finally demolished the tyrant's regime and proclaimed the victory of the revolution on January 1, 1959. The programme of Moncada started being fulfilled.

The Yankee imperialists soon realised the difference between the "revolutions" engineered by them in various Latin American countries and this authentic revolution which firmly took the socialist road. They started squealing about the "threat" to the USA and to the whole Western hemisphere represented by the Cuban revolution.

None of their nefarious schemes and well-prepared assaults on the Cuban revolution has, however, proved of any avail. The changed correlation of forces in the world, the staunchness of the Cuban people led by the United Party of Socialist Revolution which Fidel Castro and his companions have forged on the firm basis of Marxism-Leninism have foiled U.S. imperialism's plans.

## Threat Of War Met

The threat of a thermo-nuclear war posed by U.S. last October over Cuba was successfully met. In the words of the joint Soviet-Cuban Statement issued in Moscow on May 23, 1953 at the conclusion of Premier Fidel Castro's visit to the Soviet Union, "Revolutionary Cuba carried

high the banner of freedom and independence in the grim days of October 1962 when, having prepared a new armed intervention against the Cuban people, the United States strained by its aggressive actions the situation in the Caribbean Sea area to the limit, as a result of which an international crisis emerged and the world was on the brink of a world nuclear-missile war.

"At this tense moment, the leaders of the Revolutionary Government of the Cuban Republic, led by Fidel Castro and the entire Cuban people displayed unbending determination to uphold the gains of their revolution, the honour and freedom of Cuba. True to their heroic traditions, the Cuban people rose to defend its fatherland, ready to fight against the foreign interventionists to the last man.

## Firm And Sober

"The firm stand of the Soviet Union and the other Socialist countries in the cause of defending revolutionary Cuba, the restraint and sober evaluation of the situation that took shape, displayed by responsible statesmen of the Soviet Union and Cuba, the support to Cuba from all peace-loving states, averted the thermo-nuclear war. The direct danger of an armed attack on Cuba was eliminated. Today revolutionary Cuba is an example of unbending courage and staunchness in the struggle for independence, for the right to create a new life without exploiters."

The same joint statement has further declared:

"The Soviet Union has rendered and is rendering effective aid to Cuba in strengthening her defence potentiality. At the request of the Cuban government the Soviet Union helped Cuba in creating a strong army, well trained and equipped with modern military materiel, capable of administering a rebuff to any attempts of encroachment on the sovereignty and freedom of the Cuban State.

"In the course of talks

between Comrades N. S. Khrushchov and Fidel Castro it was confirmed by the Soviet side that if an attack was made on Cuba in violation of the commitments undertaken by the United States President not to invade Cuba, the Soviet Union will fulfil its international duty to the fraternal Cuban people and will render it the necessary aid for the defence of the freedom and independence of the Cuban Republic with all the means at its disposal."

## Solid Unity With CPSU

Today the CPSU and the PURS (United Party of Socialist Revolution of Cuba) stand firmly united in their assessment of the trend of international developments. In the words of the Soviet-Cuban joint statement:

"The CPSU and PURS, in accordance with the Statement of the Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of 1960 maintain that in the conditions of the division of the world into two systems the only correct and reasonable principle of international relations is the principle of peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems, a principle put forth by V. I. Lenin and further developed in the 1957 Moscow Declaration and Peace Manifesto, in the resolution of the 20th and 21st Congresses of the CPSU and the documents of other Communist and Workers' Parties.

"Conditions of peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems in the contemporary historical epoch are in line with the task of the national-liberation anti-imperialist struggle of peoples, complete national liberation of former dependent and colonial countries, including the achievements of their economic independence."

The personal tribute paid to the leadership of N. S. Khrushchov by Fidel Castro, the leader of the Cuban revolution in all stages since the Moncada assault, is the tribute of one revolutionary to another. Fidel, reporting to the Cuban people on his visit to the Soviet Union insisted that he felt it was his "duty" to give his assessment of



Fidel Castro welcomed on his release in 1955 after undergoing imprisonment for leading assault on Moncada Barracks.

Khrushchov. He said, "I have reached them on the basis of my considerable contacts with people, my knowledge of political leaders and political spokesmen."

## Fidel's Tribute To Khrushchov

Fidel spoke of Khrushchov's "exceptional humanness", his "great and exceptional simplicity", of Khrushchov's great "experience as a revolutionary and political leader in whom profound knowledge of theory is excellently combined with a great feeling of practical experience."

"It can be said," reported Fidel, "to my mind, that the sentiments of all Soviet people are expressed in their universal optimism and great love for Comrade Khrushchov."

He further declared:

"Soviet economy is developing at a fantastically rapid rate. And one can make the following assessment: after many meetings Comrade Khrushchov gave the impression of being a man of great honesty, remarkable honesty, a man who, besides, devotes great attention to problems connected with the domestic situation of the working people in the USSR, with international problems, with foreign policy and with the international Communist movement.

"I can say this because I saw Comrade Khrushchov in a state of really great concern when he was quite alarmed by the problems which concern the questions of unity of the socialist camp. I could assess this position during all the discussions, and this position constantly boils down to a great interest, a great desire to meet one half-way in the course of a discussion and to eliminate the differences existing in the socialist camp."

Speaking of the mode of functioning of Soviet leadership, Castro said: "They really have a spirit of collective discussion there, and nevertheless under the condition of this spirit of collective discussion and collective leadership one can distinctly feel Comrade Khrushchov's prestige in the body of collective leadership which is clearly manifest."

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Of Khrushchov's great concern for peace, Castro said:

"He attaches the highest importance to the fight for peace and is anxious to preclude the possibility of nuclear war. He knows perfectly well what havoc a nuclear war will wreak. But he also sees what dangers hinge on the arms race, on the imperialists' aggressive policy, and so he knows, at the same time, that it is important to be armed, to have all the necessary equipment, to keep the armed forces of the Soviet Union at the maximum of combat readiness in the event of war."

## Integral Part Of World Revolution

Today the Cuban revolution has become an integral part of world revolution and Socialist Cuba an integral part of the Socialist camp. Therein lies another factor which makes the Cuban revolution invincible. Voicing the confidence of Cuban revolutionaries in the future, Fidel Castro in his report to his people on June 4 said:

"We, Cuban revolutionaries, feel confident, feel that we are firmly standing on our feet. Remarkable prospects lie ahead of us. We already know how the imperialists persist in their intrigues and machinations and how their machinations collapse. Nevertheless, we state, ensuring from principle, considerations—taking into account that a peace policy is a principled policy—that we are prepared to conduct negotiations, we are prepared to normalise our relations."

Indian Exhibition In Moscow

# Khrushchov Lauds India's Progress

★ From Masood Ali Khan

MOSCOW, JULY 22: The Indian National Exhibition which was inaugurated in Moscow on July 20 continues to draw a huge crowd and it is already clear that the exhibition is going to be a big success.

ON July 21 when the exhibition was opened to the general public, 4,000 people per hour passed the entrance gates and the huge pavilion was a mass of moving humanity. "Wonderful", "excellent", "very beautiful", "very interesting" were the comments that I heard all around.

Many were surprised to see that India produces such a variety of goods of excellent quality. People congratulated the Indian organisers for the beautiful display and for the progress India has made since independence.

The fact that the Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchov, Anastas Mikoyan and other Soviet leaders attended the opening ceremony and spent three hours at the exhibition shows the importance the Soviet Union attaches to its friendly ties with India. Every help and full cooperation has been extended by the Soviet representatives in the lay-out, designing and setting up of the Indian exhibition and the Indian side is highly appreciative of this friendly assistance.

The enthusiastic and joint labour of hundreds of Soviet and Indian artists, workers and designers has achieved a beautiful display, planned and executed in excellent good taste with a wealth and variety of design which avoids monotony and provides a continuously changing pattern pleasing to the eye.

Through a wide staircase and through white arches that remind one of Delhi's Red Fort, one comes up to the first floor among a riot of colour and glitter produced by the tastefully displayed cottons, silks, brocades and the beauty of the arts and crafts of India. Here the effect of high and low hanging lamps has been excellently used. A lifelike model of the cashew-nut tree with its red fruits and brown nuts attached to them among green leaves is of interest because here too people like "Indian nuts".

We come back to the ground floor and here witness an array of machines and heavy engineering products, machine tools and transport equipment, India's industrial progress and the development of her steel industry is vividly depicted including the important part played by the Soviet Union in India's industrialisation. The Soviet Premier, after seeing the Exhibition, declared that it was excellent and wonderful. He patted a young Indian journalist on the head and declared that the organisers, the Government of India and Prime Minister Nehru should be congratulated. He said that the exhibition would be a contribution to friendship and mutual understanding.

Khrushchov who was in excellent spirits was garlanded along with Mikoyan and Furtseva, Minister of Culture. A Kashmiri shawl, which can be pulled through a ring, Indian tea and other objects were presented to the Soviet leader. Khrushchov recalled his visit to Kashmir, praised the beautiful things and said that he knew of no other country which produced such exquisite

handicrafts as India. At a grand reception given by the Indian Ambassador, the Soviet leader drank to the health of the Indian representatives present and to the health of Prime Minister Nehru.

Khrushchov and Mikoyan were seen enjoying the tandoori chicken, holding it in their hands. Khrushchov also said that he cannot stop eating cashew nuts; he likes them so much. Only due to doctor's advice, he must show moderation. Talking of the exhibition to Manubhai Shah, Khrushchov said that he did not know that India produced such a variety of goods.

Earlier speaking at the impressive opening ceremony from a dais under an Indian style canopy in national colours Khrushchov declared that the Soviet Union highly appreciated friendly relations and co-operation with India on many international issues. In India the Soviet Union competed in building steel plants with West Germany and Britain and built Bhilai earlier and better. He referred to it proudly as "our Bhilai".

Manubhai Shah, speaking earlier, extended hearty and affectionate greetings on behalf of the Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru and the government and people of India to the Soviet Premier, government and people of the Soviet Union. During the last ten years under the leadership of Premier Khrushchov a revolution had taken place in all walks of life in the Soviet Union, he said.

He quoted figures to show

India's advance since independence and thanked the Soviet Union for the large number of industrial and technological projects being set up with Soviet collaboration. "It was a result of your advice and of Mr. Mikoyan that many of the heavy machine-building plants have been initiated and are being established in India with Soviet help and cooperation."

He referred to the rapid rise in Indo-Soviet trade and said that more than 50 per cent of the manufactured goods of new Indian industries have been included in the trade agreement. Manubhai Shah also welcomed Khrushchov's suggestion that certain industrial projects be established in India with joint collaboration to manufacture and supply goods and products required by Soviet economy. Similarly the Soviet Union could produce machinery and products according to Indian specifications, he said.

Ambassador T. N. Kaul in his speech declared, "Prosperity like peace, is indivisible in the modern world. Mankind shares a common destiny and imbalances in the standard of living of various people are bound to produce dissensions and upheavals. We are, therefore, most grateful to all friendly countries and in particular to the great Soviet Union for the help and co-operation they have extended in various fields."

The exhibition which has about a million articles has been also arranged with a view to expanding Indian exports to the Soviet Union. Every day two hours are reserved for Soviet trading organisations and their response has been encouraging. Trade representatives from other socialist countries are also being invited to the Indian exhibition.

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## Advance Since Independence

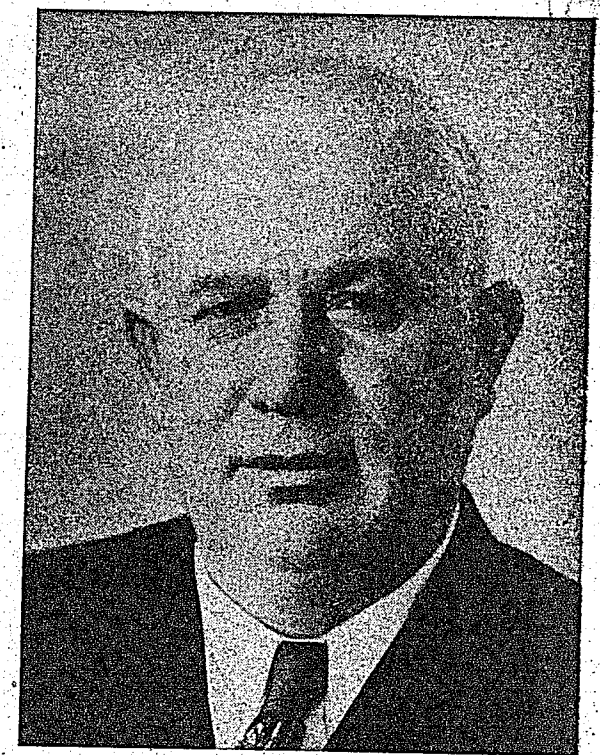
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# AFTER SINO-SOVIET TALKS: COMECON MEETING OPENS

MOSCOW: Talks between the delegations of the CPSU and CPC have been adjourned and the Chinese delegation has left for home.

THE official communique declares, "in the course of the meeting, both sides set forth their views and positions on a number of important questions of present world developments, international Communist movement and Soviet-Chinese relations. "At the suggestion of the CPC delegation it was agreed to make an intermission in the work of the delegations and to resume it sometime later. The place and time of continuing the meeting will be agreed upon additionally through consultations between the CPSU and CPC Central Committees."

The communique has been published in Pravda today. The paper also publishes in full a long statement of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia about the recent Open letter of the CPSU Central Committee. The statement emphatically denounces

ous adventurism" causing splits. It accuses the Chinese of having inflicted great damage to the national economy of socialist countries, including Czechoslovakia.

An important meeting of the top Party leaders and Prime Ministers of COMECON countries begins in Moscow on July 24 where, apart from economic matters, the differences with China are also expected to come up for discussion.

Tsedenbal of Mongolia is here. Rumanian delegation led by Gheorghiu-Dej has left for Moscow and Walter Ulbricht and Wladislaw Gomulka are to arrive soon. The state visit of the Hungarian delegation led by Janos Kadar, which ended today, has been a great demonstration of solidarity with the Soviet Union. A delegation of the Indonesian Party is also here led by D. N. Aidit. So it seems important consultations will go on in Moscow after the Chinese departure.





# THE MIRACLE-MAKERS

## 60 Years Of Lenin's Party

There is a film now drawing large crowds wherever it is shown, title **The Russian Miracle**. Made in the German Democratic Republic by **Annelie and Andrew Thorndike**, it tells through real photographs and documents the story of the transformation of the Soviet Union from the backwardness, servitude and poverty of the past to the glory of today's space conquests and the joyous building of Communism.

tribute to the creative work of the great Party of Lenin.

The Indian people remember with affectionate gratitude the fraternal assistance given to our national independence struggle by the Soviet Union and its Communist Party in all the years

**WHAT** made the miracle possible? Premier **Khrushchov**, speaking in Berlin on July 2 said:

"Only socialism is capable of a real miracle of creation. The firm foundation for its successes is a planned economy which is steadily going forward, an economy organised on socialist principles, and new socialist relations."

But who created the conditions for socialism in the Soviet Union?

On December 11, 1900, Lenin wrote in the editorial of the first issue of *Iskra* of the necessity for the formation of a Marxist party in Russia. "Without such a party" wrote Lenin, "the proletariat would be incapable of rising to the level of conscious class struggle, the working class movement would be doomed to impotence and the working-class would never succeed in discharging its great historic mission of emancipating itself and all the working people of Russia from political and economic slavery."

(History of the CPSU)

"An enemy fortress towers before us, in all its strength", wrote Lenin, "It is raining shot and shell upon us and mowing down our best fighters. We must capture this fortress, and we shall do so if we unite all the forces of the awakening proletariat and of the Russian revolutionaries into one party, that will attract all that is alive and honest in Russia."

### Party Of A New Type

On July 30, 1903—sixty years ago—the Second Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party met in Brussels in a co-operative flour storehouse. There were 43 delegates, representing 26 organisations with 51 votes between them.

At the Congress, Lenin led the majority of delegates (the *Iskra* commanded 33 votes) in struggle against rightist, leftist and nationalist trends. It was from this Congress that Lenin's followers were called Bolsheviks (from the Russian word meaning majority). And from then on the word Bolshevik became synonymous with a person of a special mould, a consistent Marxist revolutionary completely devoted to the cause of the working class, to the cause of Communism.

For the first time in history, a party arose of a new type, irreconcilable in its attitude towards opportunism and revolutionary with regard to the bourgeoisie, a party standing for social revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Lenin has said:

"As a trend of political thought and as a political party, Bolshevism has existed since 1903."



Lenin at Moscow Red Square, May 25, 1919

Sixty years old on July 30, the CPSU today celebrates its birthday, with the fraternal good wishes of hundreds of millions in all lands. The international Communist movement has become in these years the powerful vanguard of the workers of the world. The achievements of the socialist world are a standing

from the October Revolution to the achievement of our independence in 1947.

In the years since independence, selfless assistance given by the Soviet Union in the building of our independent economy has been of decisive help to our country. Bhilai, Suratgarh, Neyveli—and the



March 1919. Lenin in the Comintern Congress, Moscow.

dozens of other major projects are symbols of Indo-Soviet cooperation, of the policy of friendship with India pursued by the CPSU.

The Soviet Union's policy of peaceful co-existence, of the pursuit of peace and disarmament, has endeared the cause of socialism to millions in our land. The tireless support given by the Soviet Union to the struggle for national independence has brought the land of socialism near to the hearts of Indians in every part of the country.

The architect of the policies carried out by the Soviet Union is the CPSU.

The imperialists have tried all these sixty years to destroy the Party of Lenin, to destroy its achievements. They failed miserably.

The international Communist movement stands solidly with the great CPSU. No dogmatist splitters and adventurers, however powerful they may imagine themselves to be, will ever succeed in destroying the unbreakable links which bind the international Communist movement round its vanguard, the CPSU.

The Indian Communists rejoice in the magnificent achievements of the sixty years of the Party of Lenin, of the Party of the Builders of Communism, of the Party of the Miracle-Makers.

Glory to the Party of Lenin, the CPSU, led by its Leninist Central Committee, headed by Comrade N. S. Khrushchov.

Long live the unity of the International Communist Movement!

## CAPITAL TALK

★ BY DIARIST

### Joint Exercises—Inside Story

After more than six long months of haggling and backstair pressures, the modified Air Umbrella has at last been announced.

**B**UT New Delhi authorities are very touchy about the whole deal. They go out of their way to assure everybody that the arrangements as they have finally emerged have nothing to do with the Air Umbrella.

It is now learnt that after the Prime Minister's open declaration in February that the Air Umbrella would be unacceptable, the pro-West lobby in government worked upon a new plan. After long-distance consultations, London and Washington decided on a new approach. It appears that this, too, was worked out when President KENNEDY met MACMILLAN last month.

By this new approach, the question of Western aircraft being permitted free access to Indian sky was discreetly played down. The emphasis shifted on the immediate need of setting a radar network which is necessary to intercept any possible Chinese air threat.

At one stage the Prime Minister's objection to the Air Umbrella was sought to be mollified by proposing that the US and UK jet fighters might be permitted to come on the plea of "familiarisation" and some of the press correspondents tried to sell the idea.

But it was found that this too would provoke strong opposition inside the country. Besides, there has always been a constant anxiety that even the revised version of the Air Um-

rella might produce adverse reactions abroad.

The Western authorities, on the other hand, were in a desperate hurry to get the deal through when they came to know of the BOOTHALINGAM mission going to Moscow. In fact, what scared them really was the knowledge that the Soviet government's list of defence equipments offered to New Delhi is an impressive one, and that too at very attractive terms.

It is interesting that they announced this version of air defence arrangements just on the eve of the departure of the Boothalingam Mission for Moscow.

But this version of the Air Umbrella, too, was unacceptable in New Delhi. It is understood important consultations preceded and followed the Cabinet's examination of the Western proposals. The main point on which modification has been brought about is on the question of duration of the Air Exercises. New Delhi's contention has been that the Western Air Exercises in the Indian sky should be brought down to the minimum, and the entire activity should be confined to the setting up and testing of the radar installations and the training of Indian personnel for their manning.

The Pentagon's position, on the other hand, is that these Air Exercises must take place periodically at

regular intervals. UK's DUNCAN SANDYS has already envisaged repeat performance of these Air Exercises.

So far, New Delhi has held that there can be no commitment in advance about periodic exercises. The first exercise to be held in autumn will show how things stand, and only after it has reviewed the terms of the requirements of training in radar network that the question of Indian Air Exercises with Western participation can be taken up.

Meanwhile, New Delhi was anxious that the announcement of this arrangement with the West should come only after the Boothalingam Mission had finished its work. However, in view of the impatience of the West, it was announced before that but only after the Boothalingam Mission had taken pains to explain to the Soviet authorities that the arrangements did not by any means involve the handing over of our air defence to the West. Some of the Afro-Asian powers, particularly of the Colombo group, have also been told that this new arrangement in the West is not a commitment for entering the US Air arms network as envisaged in the SEATO or the NATO.

It is learnt that TTK played an important role in the protracted negotiations. He was anxious that there must be some arrangement with the West so far as our air defence is concerned because, according to Western experts, this alone could act as an effective deterrent to any Chinese move.

Besides, TTK is believed to be of the opinion that such an arrangement would ensure large-scale defence aid from USA, which will be convinced that we have no inhibitions in working out a regular arrangement with the West.

Despite all the high-powered explanation trying to show the innocuousness of the arrangement, what has emerged is that there is no chance of getting any supersonic jet fighters for the IAF from the West. The only other source from which it is now expected is the Soviet Union. Simultaneously, the stress is being laid on the manufacture of our own jet fighters. The MIG project will thus be speeded up, and significantly, Air Vice-Marshal HARJINDER SINGH has announced the expansion programme of the Kanpur base.

There are many other items on which differences with the West might come up when the new arrangement is worked out. For instance, what exactly would be the position of the US and British air personnel even during their temporary stay here? Will they be under the IAF command? The reference that the exercises would be "under the aegis" of the IAF is beautifully vague for one can very well be under an aegis but not necessarily under its command and discipline.

Taken as a whole, the impression is fairly strong here that though the new arrangement is an improvement upon the Air Umbrella project, at the same time, it does open the door very definitely for dangerous intrusions by Western air forces into our sky. The need for vigilance thus is heightened, as New Delhi observers view the situation.