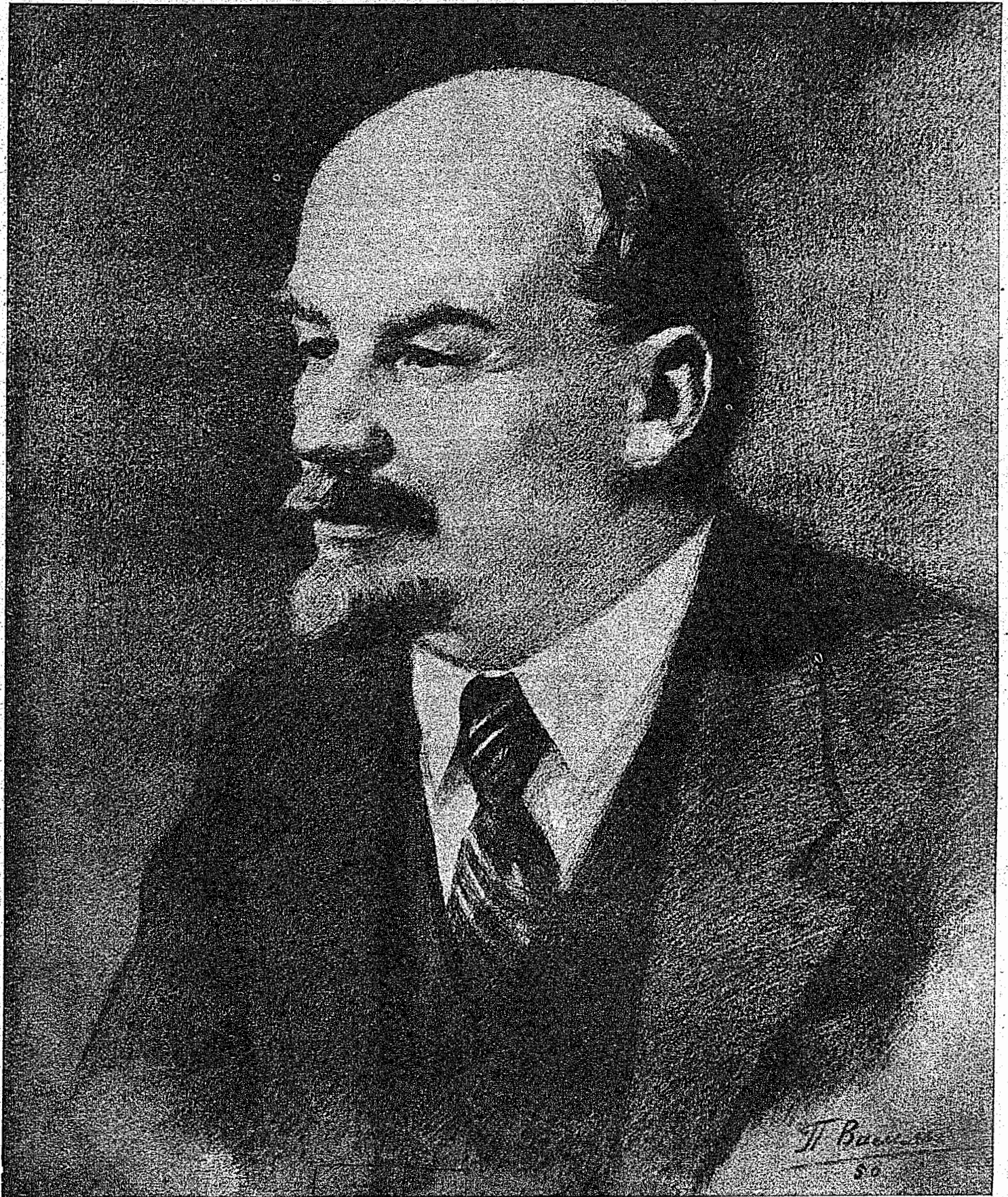


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**NEW**  
COMMUNIST PARTY WEEKLY  
**AGE**

# LENIN'S LIGHT OUR GUIDE

LENIN DAY NUMBER



Lenin kept his eye on the freedom movement in India at least from the very early years of the 20th century. While in emigration in which he spent many years, he read regularly the main English newspapers which supplied information on the political situation in India.

LENIN had contacts with the British labour movement and Social Democrats of the early 20th century and was well acquainted with their weekly Justice. This paper which followed the Marxist line, unlike most of the British press was sympathetic to the Indian national movement.

It was connected with such Indian radical nationalist papers like Jugantar and others, and used to get from them information on the developments in India. When in 1908 the British authorities banned a number of Indian papers, the circulation of Justice in India was also banned. "The little British Social Democratic weekly Justice has been banned in India by Liberal and 'radical' scoundrels like Morley," Lenin wrote in 1908.

So far no information is available about his personal contacts with Indians at that time. But it is known that Indian patriots were in contact with Russian political emigrants—social democrats in Paris near about 1906-07. This was pointed out by the member of the Russian Social

I. V. I. Lenin, Inflammable material in World Politics, On Britain, Op. cit., p. 100.

Democratic Labour Party, Bolshevik M. Pavlovich in his reminiscences. Compelled to emigrate from Russia in 1907 Lenin settled in Paris at the end of 1908.

In August 1907 he attended the International Socialist Congress in Stuttgart. In his article on the Stuttgart Congress he mentioned the presence of Indians there. These were well-known patriots, Madam E. R. Cama and Rana Sahab. Madam Cama delivered a bright speech urging support for the struggle for independence of India.

In particular she said: "Our people cannot send their delegates to you, because they are too poor. But I believe that the day will come when they will awake and follow the example of our comrades from Russia, to whom particularly we send our fraternal greetings."<sup>2</sup>

These words of an early

2. M. Pavlovich, *Revolutsionnye Sulety Vkn. India V borbe za nezavisimost.* (Revolutionary Silhouettes. In the books: India in fight for Independence) Moscow, 1925.

3. VII-E Congress Socialist International tenu a Stuttgart, Compte rendu analytique. Bruxelles, 1908, p. 325.

# LENIN ON INDIA

★ By E. N. KOMOROV

fighter for India's independence, applauded by the delegates of the International Socialist Congress, are one of the testimonies to the nearness of their ideals with Russian peoples, which even in those remote days was felt by Indian patriots.

To that period goes Lenin's famous article *Inflammable Material in World Politics*. In this article analysing the upsurge of the revolutionary struggle which in the early 20th century was spreading to various European and Asian countries, Lenin paid a considerable attention to the developments in India. The article was published on August 5, 1908 as an editorial in the Bolshevik newspaper, *Proletary (Proletarian)*, issued then from Geneva.

It appeared in less than a fortnight after the trial of Bal Gangadhar Tilak followed by a mighty strike and demonstrations in Bombay in protest against his conviction. These events at the time when the overwhelming tide of popular indignation fell upon British authority in the city of Bombay, were the climax of the upsurge of the

national liberation movement in India in 1905-08.

In his appraisal of the developments in India in 1905-08 Lenin singles out the incipient awakening of the masses to the conscious struggle for national liberation as a basic fact of decisive importance. A proof of this were the mass anti-colonial struggles, mass boycott of British goods in Bengal and some other places, demonstrations, many thousands-strong meetings, in which even peasants began taking part as was the case in Punjab in 1907, and above all strikes of factory and railway workers in a number of cities—Bombay, Calcutta, Rawalpindi, Tirunelveli, Tuticorin etc.

Though the labour movement in India was yet in its very beginning, these strikes, being part and parcel of the national upsurge, often were of political anti-imperialist character. The workers and Indian staff protested against the political reprisals by the British authorities, and race discrimination and supported the slogans of Swadeshi and Swaraj.

"In India, too, the proletariat has already developed to conscious political mass struggle and, that being the case, the Russian-style British regime in India is doomed," Lenin wrote in 1908.

He also emphasised that "the class conscious European worker already has comrades in Asia, and their number will grow by leaps and bounds."<sup>3</sup>

The awakening of the national consciousness of the peoples and the development of a mass national movement in India were greatly promoted by the activities of Bal Gangadhar Tilak and other followers of the radical or democratic trend—traditionally styled 'extremists', whom Tilak headed. Lenin called Tilak and his followers democrats and political leaders of the peoples.

## TILAK'S CONVICTION

In connection with Tilak's conviction in 1908 Lenin wrote:

"But popular India is beginning to stand up in defence of her writers and political leaders. The infamous sentence pronounced by the British jacks on the Indian democrat Tilak—he was sentenced to a long term exile; a question in the British House of Commons the other day revealed that the Indian juries had declared for acquittal and that verdict had been passed, by the vote of the British Jurors!—this reprisal against a democrat by the lackeys fo monebags evoked street demonstrations and a strike in Bombay."<sup>4</sup>

The democratism of Bal Gangadhar Tilak and his followers lies foremost in the fact that it was they who came out with a call for a resolute and mass struggle for national independence. In its essence, the social and political outlook of Tilak and his followers was a bourgeois democratic one.

4. V. I. Lenin, *Inflammable Material in World Politics*, Op. cit., p. 101.  
5. *Ibid.*, p. 101.  
6. *Ibid.*, p. 100-101.

They stood for independent Indian republic, which would be established through mass freedom struggle and would ensure the equality of rights to all her citizens. They pointed to the necessity of developing a national industry and abolishing economic dominance of foreign capital alongwith the achievement of political independence. It was they who organised such struggles as the powerful Bombay strike, who stood with the people and strove to assert democratic rights and human dignity of the masses.

In 1905-08 the mass movement for the national freedom in India was only in its beginning. Ahead lay a long and difficult road of struggle. Still already at that time Lenin prophetically stated that the awakening of Indian masses to conscious political struggle meant the beginning of the end of British rule in India.

Under the impact of the Great October Socialist Revolution and in the new condition of the general crisis of capitalism the freedom movement of the oppressed peoples in the East including India entered into a higher stage.

In 1919-1922 a new upsurge of the national-liberation movement took place in India, characterised first of all by wider participation of the common people—the proletariat and the peasantry—in the political struggle. The mass movement for national freedom began to spread gradually to the whole of the country.

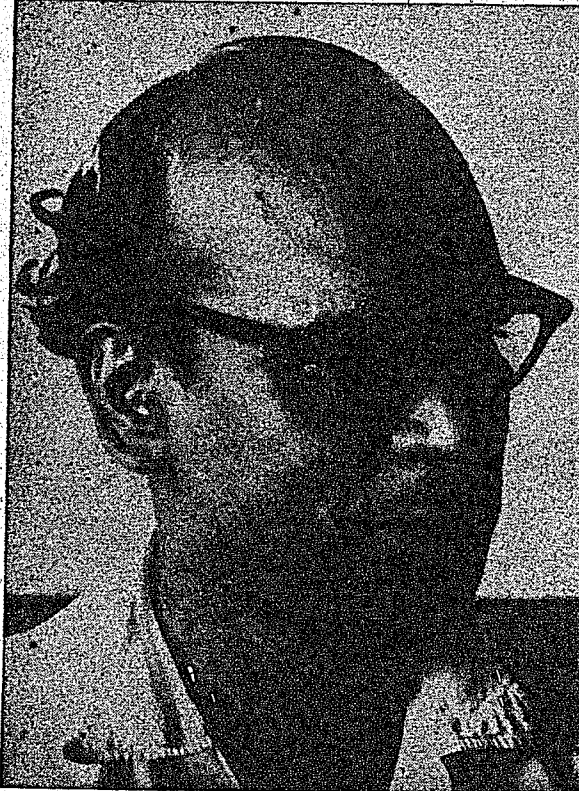
In 1920, in his reply to the Indians who sent their greetings to Lenin, he underlined "the awakening of the Indian worker and peasant", and hailed "progressive Indians who are waging a heroic fight for freedom." In 1921, V. I. Lenin pointed to the intensification of the freedom struggle of the Indian people as a result of the growth of the Indian working class and to the maturing of the crisis of colonial rule in India.

"... The maturing of revolution in India", he wrote, "is accelerated, on the one hand, by increase in the number of industrial and railway workers and, on the other, by mounting brutality of the British, who more and more frequently resort to wholesale massacre (Amritsar), public floggings, etc."<sup>5</sup>

In these years Lenin formulated his remarkable prediction of the collapse of the entire colonial system of imperialism. He made this prediction on the basis of an analysis of the profound changes which began to appear in the world after the Great October Socialist Revolution, when the overwhelming majority of mankind joined the struggle against imperialism, when following the Great October Revolution in Russia, the freedom struggle of the great peoples of China and India, as well as of other peoples, began to inflict crushing blows on imperialism.

The wise predictions of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin are coming true in our days. India has now thrown off the heavy yoke of colonial rule and has successfully embarked upon the road of independent national development. Together with other Asian peoples, the great Indian people have emerged into the broad arena of world history, as a powerful force contributing to world peace and progress.

9. V. I. Lenin, *Tactics of the Russian Communist Party*, *Ibid.* p. 288.



# THE TRIUMPH OF LENIN'S BANNER :

By Ajoy Ghosh

On April 22, 1870 was born Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, the founder of the great Bolshevik Party and the Soviet State. Lenin's ideas and Lenin's deeds, Lenin's leadership of the Russian and international working class movement, changed the whole course of human history, made the new, bright life a palpable reality for millions of people.

HIS teachings are today also the surest guide that mankind possesses in its way forward to a still more glowing future. It is but natural, therefore, that through the ages progressive humanity will celebrate with joy and gratitude the day of Lenin's birth.

concrete conditions was the living soul of Marxism. He said:

"We do not regard Marxist theory as something completed and inviolable; on the contrary, we are convinced that it has only laid the cornerstone of the science which socialists must further advance in all directions if they wish to keep pace with life."

Extracts from article in *NEW AGE (Weekly)*, April 22, 1956

Lenin devoted all the titanic force of his will and energy to the single cause of the liberation of the workers and peasants, of the people from the jaws of exploitation and misery. Lenin concentrated all the brilliance of his genius in creatively developing Marxism in the conditions of the new epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution.

Lenin summed up in masterly fashion the experience of the movement of the workers and of the people, the latest advances in science. It is no exaggeration to say that Lenin was the pathfinder for mankind.

Lenin not only chalked out the way forward. He provided the working class with an indispensable instrument—the revolutionary working class party of a new type. Under the leadership of Lenin, it was this party, the Party of Bolshevics, that inspired and guided the Russian masses to the victory of the October Revolution which has changed the world.

Lenin always pointed out the indispensable role of the Communist Party as the great organising and directing force of the people in winning power and in building socialism. Lenin worked out the principles of party leadership and rules of Party life and emphasised that collectivism is the supreme principle of party leadership.

## COLLECTIVE LEADERSHIP

Lenin called the Central Committee a collective of leaders, the guardian and interpreter of principles of the Party. He said, "the Central Committee watches over Party principles from one Congress to the next and interprets them."

Collective leadership follows from the very nature of the Party built upon the basis of democratic centralism, which combines the activity and initiative of Party members with iron discipline. Lenin said that the revolution would bring to the fore "the talent of a collective organiser without which the multi-millioned army of the proletarians cannot win victory."

Democratic centralism meant, Lenin explained, that "directly or through representatives all Party members without exception, conduct the business of the Party, what is more, all persons holding office, all leading bodies, all Party institutions are elected, must render account of their work and are liable to recall."

While conducting a relentless struggle against every revision of Marxism, Lenin always hit out against dogmatism, against making a fetish of the letter of Marxism, while negating its spirit. He reiterated that concrete study of

torical role in further organising the struggle of the world public against the war danger.

Lenin highly valued the force of the national liberation movements in Asia and other parts of the colonial world. He wrote:

"Everywhere in Asia a mighty democratic movement is growing, speeding and gaining strength. There, the bourgeoisie is still siding with the people. Hundreds of millions of people are awakening to life, liberty and light."

## AWAKENING EAST

Lenin's dream of the awakening of the East is now a challenging reality.

With unerring foresight Lenin saw into the future. In one of his very last articles he wrote:

"In the last analysis, the upshot of the struggle will be determined by the fact that Russia, India, China etc. account for the overwhelming majority of the population of the globe. And it is precisely this majority that, during the past few years has been drawn into the struggle for emancipation with extraordinary rapidity; so that in this respect there cannot be the slightest shadow of doubt what the final outcome of the world struggle will be. In this sense, the complete victory of socialism is fully and absolutely assured."

Today with growing Indo-Soviet friendship and cooperation in the task of preserving peace, building of our economy and defence of our freedom, these words of Lenin take on a prophetic ring. The unity of the Soviet Union, China and India is the best guarantee today that the ideas of peaceful co-existence will triumph and create the most favourable conditions for the further advance of socialism on a world scale.

Guided by Lenin's teachings, inspired by his lofty example, the Communist Party of India will strive to its utmost capacity to forge the broadest unity of all patriotic and democratic forces in the cause of peace, democracy and national advance. Uniting our people to defend peace, to end rapidly the hard heritage of colonialism, build our economy and ensure a happy, prosperous life, the Communists of India will carry Lenin's banner to triumph in our country as well.

Long Live Leninism!

(April 1956)

# LENIN'S BANNER

## Editorial

UNDER LENIN'S BANNER, the world Communist movement marches from triumph to triumph.

The mighty Soviet Union and all the socialist countries, creating new history for mankind, rapidly racing ahead of the capitalist countries—are concrete tributes to Lenin's genius.

The working class of the world unites ever more closely, along the path of battle carved out by Lenin.

His powerful words are echoed in every demonstration, every action for world peace, for peaceful coexistence, for disarmament—anywhere in any of the continents.

Lenin's ideas guide the fighters for national independence, for the complete liquidation of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Wherever the people fight for freedom, there stands Lenin.

The Communist Party of India is proud that it has the right to work and struggle under Lenin's Banner.

Lenin's light has been the torch for Indian Communists for the nearly forty years since the birth of the Party. It has been this torch which has lit their way in the service of the Indian working masses. It has been this torch which has helped to win for the Communist Party the love and confidence of the Indian people.

Not all the repression, slanders, physical attacks and political discrimination against the Communist Party have been able at any time to break its links with the Indian masses. Those links are unbreakable.

The Communist Party strives to be worthy of the title it holds of being Lenin's Party in India.

NEW AGE, inspired always by Lenin's teachings, pledges itself to work tirelessly for the triumph of socialism in India and all over the world, for the great cause of peace and the liberty of all peoples.

On Lenin Day, this year, NEW AGE dedicates itself above all to the struggle for the strengthening of the unity of the international Communist movement, and equally of the unity of the Communist Party of India.

In its endeavour to be true to Lenin's Banner, NEW AGE seeks the cooperation and help of all its readers, of all comrades and friends.

## Ajoy Ghosh Memorial Fund

THE Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India, at its meeting last week, decided to appeal to all members of the Party and to all friends and supporters, to restart the campaign for the collection of donations for the Ajoy Ghosh Memorial Fund.

Collections for the Fund had been temporarily suspended owing to the emergency.

Already reports are reaching the Party Centre of the mass drives for Party Funds organised in several States. Together with these Fund drives, collections for the Ajoy Ghosh Memorial Fund should also be made on as large a scale as possible.

The memory of Comrade Ajoy is cherished by our entire Party. In our everyday struggles for the working masses, let us ever seek fresh inspiration from Ajoy's life and work.

### CONTRIBUTE TO AJAY GHOSH MEMORIAL FUND.

All cheques, money orders etc. should be sent to S. V. Ghate, Ajoy Ghosh Memorial Fund, 7/4 Asaf Ali Road, New Delhi.



When we honour Lenin and recall our debt to him on the day of his birth, we are literally embarrassed by riches. What did he not do? What did he not think out? Why do we so often go astray when his works are there if we would only consult them with humility?

It is not only as a political emancipator of the toilers of the world unparalleled that Lenin will live. Nor only as the peerless theoretician of the revolutionary movement. He was all that. But much more. He was one of the greatest philosophers that the long story of the advance of human knowledge has to tell us of. It is to one aspect of this side of his genius that one would wish to draw attention.

**Materialism and Empirio-Criticism**, written in 1908 and remains a work of ideological and intellectual liberation. It took into its province the whole new advance in the natural sciences and gave it to the materialists, to the Marxists exactly when idealism thought to build upon the crashing of

by  
**Mohit Sen**

the mechanistic world-view of the majority of natural scientists.

The emphasis on materialism as the view of the objective existence of matter independent of consciousness and as its source, on practice as the connector and the verifier opened vistas not only for the political workers but for generations of natural scientists.

Yet it is on the utility of Lenin's philosophical works—and how hard he worked at it is evident from the books cited in *Materialism & Empirio-Criticism* and from his *Philosophical Notebooks* now available in English as volume 38 of his collected works—to the political mass movement that one would like to concentrate. And that, too, by confining oneself to the short manuscript *On the Question of Dialectics* written in 1915.

### Questions of Errors and Deviations

First, the question of errors and deviations and differences within the Communist movement. Lenin was well aware of the class roots of such errors. But he always went further and saw its epistemological roots—in the very process of the endeavour to know and to understand.

Nobody can deny that dogmatism and revisionism within the Communist movement are variants of philosophical idealism. Both give primacy to concepts and not to the movement of objective reality that concepts should mirror.

For example, revisionists may point to the new balance of international class forces and conclude that imperialism has changed its character. Cuba, South Viet Nam and the arms race, soon enough disprove them.

Dogmatists may point to Cuba, South Viet Nam and the arms race, emphasise that imperialism is still predatory and then, overlooking the new balance of international class forces, conclude that imperialists can behave and act just as they did in the past.

When such mistaken views, or some shades of such views,

crop up within the international Communist movement ideological struggle is essential. But from what angle? With what approach?

Here Lenin's analysis is an invaluable guide. He says "philosophical idealism is only nonsense from the standpoint of crude, simple, metaphysical materialism. From the standpoint of dialectical materialism on the other hand, philosophical idealism is a one-sided exaggerated, *uberschwengliches* (Dietzgen) development (inflation, distention) of one of the features, aspects, facets of knowledge into an absolute, divorced from matter, from nature, apotheosised...."

"Human knowledge is not (does not follow) a straight line, but a curve, which endlessly approximates a series of circles, a spiral... Rectilinearity and one-sidedness, woodenness and petrification, subjectivism and subjective blindness—voilà the epistemological roots of idealism." (Collected Works, Vol. 38, p. 363).

Thus, when Communists approach reality and frame theories there is always the possibility of onesidedness, of idealism, arising from the very process of cognition.

Hence, in criticism what one considers to be the mistaken views of a Communist or a Communist Party, it is completely wrong to see in the mistake the immediate and direct hand of the class enemy. Abuse and accusations are singularly out of place.

### CPSU Approach

The CPSU in its approach to the CPC has, with enormous self-restraint, firmly adhered to the view-point of Lenin in his analysis of the epistemological roots of idealism.

Discussion, "let time work", the emphasis on agreement on fundamentals and on the need to adhere to collectively elaborated views—this is the correct attitude and it is the attitude of the CPSU. Problems of cognition cannot be just polemised away, to say nothing of epithets like "timid as mice".

The CPC has not accepted Lenin's analysis of philosophical idealism but adopted that of "crude simple, metaphysical materialism". Hence, the treatment of the opinions of the overwhelming majority of the



tional, temporary, transitory, relative. The struggle of mutually exclusive opposites is absolute, just as development and motion are." (Ibid., p. 360).

In the Chinese ideological onslaught against the further development of the Leninist concept of peaceful coexistence, the thesis of the non-inevitability of world war and the possibility of peaceful transition to socialism, this passage from Lenin is frequently quoted.

The implication is that the "modern revisionists" (actually the adherents of the 81 Parties Statement) do not accept the temporary nature of the unity of opposites—imperialism and socialism—not the absolute na-

II, p. 21). Hence, the Chinese comrades argue, since imperialism and socialism existed in Lenin's day and continue to exist today, all talks of a new epoch and of a new strategic line, is merely a cover to deny the inevitable struggle against imperialism. Until imperialism is wiped out there can be no epoch since the same pair of opposites remain!

It is not at all clear how such conclusion could be drawn from Lenin's statement. Nowhere does Lenin state that a particular form of struggle between opposites is absolute as the struggle itself. Nowhere does Lenin state that the relative posi-

Hence, the new epoch, despite the persistence of the same two opposites locked in absolute struggle. Similarly, the form of struggle should not be made into an absolute. The form of the anti-imperialist revolution and the form of the socialist revolution need not be the same today as it was in Lenin's day, despite again, the persistence of the same opposites.

The only distinction the Chinese comrades, following Mao Tse-tung, draw in the matter of contradictions is that between antagonistic and non-antagonistic contradictions. Certainly such a distinction should be drawn and it was

drawn from Lenin's statement. Nowhere does Lenin state that a particular form of struggle between opposites is absolute as the struggle itself. Nowhere does Lenin state that the relative posi-

tion of opposites will not change until the point of leap or explosion. No Communist denies that until imperialism is removed from the historical stage the struggle against it is inevitable and absolute.

Equally no Communist should deny that in this struggle the relative position of the two opposites—imperialism and the broad anti-imperialist struggle—may and does undergo a qualitative change. Certainly the anti-imperialist forces today are in a qualitatively different position vis-a-vis imperialism than they were, say, in 1919.

\* ON PAGE 7

# Lenin and Dialectics

world Communist movement as nonsense and as machinations of enemy agents. It could, of course, also be the case that anger and vehemence conceals a certain lack of confidence.

Second, the question of contradiction. Lenin says "The splitting of a single whole and the cognition of its contradictory parts... is the essence (one of the "essentials"), one of the principal, characteristics or features of dialectics. (Ibid., p. 359).

He goes on to say "The unity (coincidence, identity, equal action) of opposites is condi-

ture of the struggle of opposites. They go further and propagate the view that until and unless a particular unity of opposites is replaced by a new pair of opposites, no quantitative change can be said to have taken place.

At this stage Mao Tse-tung is quoted: "What is the emergence of a new process? It is this: when the old unity and its constituent opposites yield place to a new unity and its constituent opposites, a new process emerges in place of the old. The old process is completed and the new one emerges" (Selected Works, Vol.

Lenin who drew it—as Mao acknowledges. But there is nothing in Lenin to show that this is the only distinction one should draw. Even with regard to antagonistic contradictions the form of the leap to a new unity can differ quite radically. The struggle of opposites, no less than their unity, is not a static thing but a process.

The Chinese comrades seem to overlook the very para following the one they are so fond of quoting in a vain effort

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India met in New Delhi from April 11 to 14. S. A. Dange, Chairman of the Party, presided.

THE Committee heard reports on the political developments in every State. State secretaries and other state leaders of the Party gave detailed accounts of the mass activity of the Party since the last meeting of the Party's National Council in February.

Hundreds of public rallies and meetings have been organised by the Party during this period practically in connection with the main mass campaigns decided upon by the February meeting of the National Council: in support of non-alignment and the Colombo proposals; against the anti-people taxation measures and in support of the alternative measures of taxation on those who can afford to pay; and demanding the release of Communist detainees.

### Congratulation To Party Members

The Central Executive Committee sent its congratulations to all Party members and supporters for the work done by them in his period, to win mass support for the Party's policies.

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India which ended its four-day session here on April 14, adopted the following resolutions:

to enrol new members into the Party, to sell Party journals and other literature and collect funds for the Party from the masses.

After a careful review of the present situation, the Central Executive Committee adopted the following resolutions: (1) On the deadlock over the Colombo proposals; (2) on the Budget proposals and alternative sources of funds for national development and national defence; (3) on emergency; (4) on release campaign; and (5) on the Dalmia-Jain concern. The texts of these resolutions are released to the press separately.

### Deputation To Prime Minister

The Committee elected a deputation consisting of S. A. Dange, Bhupesh Gupta, E. M. S. Namboodiripad, A. K. Gopalan and Romesh Chandra to meet the Prime Minister and the Finance and Planning Minister, to place before them the Party's views on the present Budget proposals.

The Committee endorsed the

# CPI Central Executive Meeting Concludes

resolution of the Central Secretariat of the Party in regard to the Party's stand in the current series of bye-elections.

The Committee heard reports on the latest developments in the struggle for the unity of the international Communist movement, and on the ideological and other differences which had been arising recently in the work of international mass organisations. The Committee decided to inform Party members of these developments.

The Committee considered that the publication of the article in the *People's Daily*, organ of the Communist Party of China, entitled "Mirror for Revisionists", constituted a violation of all accepted norms of inter-Party behaviour and was full of falsehoods, abuse and slander against the Communist Party of India.

It was decided to publish a detailed political commen-

tary prepared by the Party Chairman S. A. Dange on this article and on the position taken by the Chinese Communist Party in regard to the Indian political situation.

## Communique

### Organisational Decisions

- The Central Executive Committee unanimously elected Romesh Chandra as Editor of the Central Organ of the Party, the *New Age* weekly.
- The Committee decided to extend the closing date for the renewal and enrolment of Party members to July 1, 1953.
- The Committee decided to launch a special drive for Party Funds—and in particular, for the AJOY GHOSH MEMORIAL FUND—and for increased sale and distribution of the Party journals and literature, especially the *Central Organ New Age* (wpeky).
- The Committee decided to convene the next meeting of the National Council of the Party after about another two months to discuss the new political developments, the Party's campaigns and organisational matters.

## 30 CPI National Council Members, 8 Members Of Parliament And Several Hundred Others Detained Under Defence Of India Rules

# On Release Campaign

THE Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India welcomes the recent release of all those who were detained under the Defence of India Rules in the state of Kerala and Delhi. Some releases took place in a few other states as well.

But in other states, all or almost all of those who were originally detained are still behind the bars. Even in Madras, where more than half of those originally detained have been released, all the leading Communists, including the leader of the Communist group in the state Legislature, three members of Parliament and five members of the National Council of the CPI are still behind the bars.

### No Convincing Justification

The Central Executive Committee has carefully examined the arguments advanced by the Union Home Minister in Parliament and the Chief Ministers and Home Ministers in the various state Legislatures in defence of the continued detention of these lea-

ders of the Communist Party, the trade union and peasant movements.

It notes that, although more than 5 months have passed since the first batch of Communists were detained in Maharashtra, neither the central Government nor the State Governments have given any convincing justification for the step they took in arresting and detaining them. No specific charge has been levelled against any of them that they have resorted to any overt action which endangers the defence efforts of the Government.

Since the Government itself admits that they have no such charge against those who have been detained under the Defence of India Rules, their original action in detaining them was itself unjustifiable. It is all the more unjustifiable that, even after the much-talked of "review" of their cases the overwhelming majority of those detained have been found to be deserving continued detention. The Deputy Home Minister of Maharashtra openly declared in the Assembly that his Government is not going to make any such review. The Chief Minister of West Bengal too has taken the stand that there is no justification for any releases.

The Central Executive Committee cannot but draw the conclusion that the intention of the Government in adopting this perverse attitude is to put as many obstacles as possible in the

working of the Communist Party which happens to be the leading Opposition Party in three state Legislatures and in Parliament. The Government is thus misusing the emergency powers conferred on it by Parliament in order to disable the major Opposition Party.

This attack, however, is not directed against the Communist Party alone. It is directed against the trade union and peasant movements. It is directed against the legitimate struggles of the democratic masses and this is an attack on the entire democratic movement.

The holding of rallies and processions; posterings; and

distribution of pamphlets explaining the case against detention—and other forms of propaganda to popularise the demand for release.

The Central Secretariat is directed to prepare a memorandum and lead a deputation to the Prime Minister or near the "Release Campaign Day". Similar deputations should be organised by state Secretariats to Chief Ministers as well.

SEE CENTRE PAGES

## Lenin And Dialectics

\* FROM PAGE 4 to use Lenin to justify dogmatism and adventurism.

"N. B. The distinction between subjectivism (skepticism, sophistry, etc. and dialectics, incidentally, is that in (objective) dialectics the difference between the relative and the absolute is itself relative. For objective dialectics there is an absolute within the relative. For subjectivism and sophistry the relative is only relative and

## MAY DAY NUMBER

NEW AGE, April 28 issue will be a special May Day number. It will carry important articles, reports and other materials about the International Working Class Day.

### Book Your Orders Now

APRIL 21, 1953



# Nationalise TISCO & IISCO: Build Bokaro, U. S. Aid Or Not Says Steel Workers' Representative Dr. U. Misra

Speaking on the demands for grants for the Ministry of Steel and Heavy Industries, in the Lok Sabha on April 13, Dr. U. Misra, (Communist-Jamshedpur) demanded an unequivocal assurance from the Minister that American aid or no American aid, Bokaro steel plant would be set up and that it would not be in the private sector.

Dr. MISRA also said that the two private sector steel plants should be nationalised and added that in order to achieve our planned targets, suitable legislation should be made for an integrated steel production so that we can bring the monopolist steel factories into the public sector instead of giving them more and more concessions.

Supporting the government's policy as regards the orientation of the Plan towards building heavy industries, Dr. Misra deprecated the vacillation and wavering attitude of the government in the face of the pressure of the steel monopolies of our country and "some agencies outside including foreign governments."

Pointing out that despite completion of two Plans, our performance in regard to production of steel was "most discouraging" and that "our engineering industries are starving for steel," Dr. Misra said that leaving aside bigger countries like the USA and USSR, "a country like Japan which had a production of one million tons in 1948 has achieved now 22 million tons (in 1960)." He doubted as to whether we would achieve our Plan target of 10 million tons of steel.

He said that this target "cannot be reached without a firm policy" and that "The present policy of hesitation is contrary to our Industrial Policy Resolution. We are yielding more and more to pressure from the steel monopolists and also depending upon certain agencies and governments which are definitely opposed to our steel targets."

Referring to Clay Committee's report in which recommendations have been made that the USA should not give aid for those public sector projects in India which compete with the existing projects in the private sector, Dr. Misra said that "we have taken a decision to develop the public sector, and it is insulting that we should take aid from a country that dictates to us and expect: 'Is it in keeping with our self-respect to submit or yield to their pressure?'"

## American Efficiency

Ridiculing the American doubt about "the efficiency of our public sector," Dr. Misra said that "we had a test" of "American efficiency" in Jamshedpur. "The Kaiser Co., has built a two million-ton steel plant there which has not reached the target even now. It still gives trouble." He added that pressure that is being put on us is with a purpose. "The Western countries want to sell us steel, they do not want us to build our own plants."

Dr. Misra deplored that it is rumoured, "instead of our heavy industries being wholly in the public sector, government is going to give part of it to the private sector." He added that "in order to fulfil our commitments to the people of reaching socialist goal, we must be very firm, we must not concentrate more on the private sector but have the heavy industries wholly in the public sector."

against more steel being produced in our country and it has been so from the very beginning. Dr. Misra referred to the speeches of J.R.D. Tata, Biren Mukherjee etc., and commented that "either in the form of ominous advice or in the form of pressure for a higher retention price, they go on impeding our Plan."

He also referred to the view of Sir Julian Pote, President of the British Iron and Steel Federation that "low returns on capital was one of the main reasons which impeded increased foreign participation in India in the industrial projects" and emphasised that "the tone of the foreign agencies as well as our steel monopolists is the same."

Dr. Misra said that basically these steel monopolists are

## Kerala

# REACTIONS TO COMMUNIST OFFER

## Congress Evades And Surrenders To Communalism

TRIVANDRUM, April 15

Reactions to the Communist offer to Congress to come to an understanding between them so as to prevent the success of a PSP or a reactionary candidate in the three bye-elections are varied.

The PSP Chairman was indignant with the offer of the Communists and charged both the Congress and the Communist Party of India for having come to a "secret understanding." He imputed that even the total release of all Communist detenus was part of this conspiracy. He made it clear that the task of the PSP will be able to defeat the Communists first.

The official Congress response is not known. But the initial reaction to the resolution from C.M. Stephen, the vociferous Congress General Secretary was one of contempt.

He said that there is no question of Congress coming to any understanding with the Communist Party of India. The Congress has no objection to anyone who has faith in the national policies of non-alignment and socialist planning supporting the Congress.

The Pradesh Congress Chief was more cautious in his reaction. He told correspondents that he was willing to meet Communist spokesmen and discuss the offer.

But in practice Congress President who rushed from Delhi to Trivandrum, was busy all 24 hours in meeting N.S.S. leader Mannom, discussing with him the general situation, removing his misapprehensions in regard to certain administrative steps against highly placed officers taken by the Kerala Government etc.

As a result of all these talks, the Nair leader has shifted from his position of indifference, to active support to the official Congress Candidates in the two rural constituencies in Quilon and Kottayam Districts. Mannom is inaugurating the election campaign in these

two constituencies on April 21. The Congress, being only the third force has not put up its official candidate in Trivandrum II, the prestige seat of the PSP, but has decided to support a suitable Independent. The name of S. Govinda Pillai, a leading lawyer and a non-political independent, is being mentioned in this regard.

It is obvious that the Congress is not prepared as yet to support either the PSP candidate here or an independent sponsored by the PSP. The PSP is rightly anxious to have Trivandrum II for its own party candidate since this has been for decades the seat which returned Pattom Thanu Pillai.

The resultant position appears to be that the Communist Party will be left with no other alternative than to contest Trivandrum and the other two seats with its own candidates and propagate its political platform as against the PSP and the Congress candidates.

In a statement issued yesterday, Achutha Menon, Secretary of the Party has made it clear that if the Congress chose the path of yielding to communal reaction with the sole purpose of stabilising their shaking seats of power, they need expect only uncompromising opposition of them from the Communist Party. The deliberations at the Chief Ministers residence with the octogenarian Nair leader indicate the necessity for this timely warning.

The resultant picture is that while Congress is putting up its own official candidates in Vazhoor and Pathanamthitta, it is yet to decide as to which independent to support in Trivandrum. The PSP is putting up Thy-

Dr. Misra cited the enormous profit figures of private sector steel plants, particularly of TISCO and said that even then they made much fuss to implement the Wage Board's interim recommendations until the government conceded the retention price demanded by them.

Dr. Misra cited the expansion schemes of the IISCO and TISCO and added that although the entire expansion programme of TISCO was provided either by government loan or by government-guaranteed loan, these monopolists "are not willing to part unions are being discriminated."

## Corrupting Influence

He said that these profits are utilised by them for "strengthening themselves in a variety of industries and also in the political field of our country. In various ways they are corrupting and weakening the whole structure of our country, not only by donating to the political parties but by adopting corrupt methods like appointing our retired ICS and present IAS officers on four times their salary that they would normally get in the government service thereby tempting others also

★ From S. SHARMA

## ★ From S. SHARMA

announced the name of Pandaram P.R. Madhavan Pillai, Vice President of the Kerala Karshaka Sangham, for Pathanamthitta; and Anirudhan as the Party candidate for Trivandrum II while it has decided to sponsor an independent in Vazhoor.

Thus what is in store is triangular contests in all the three seats, unless at the last minute, shifts from the present congress position take place, and a triangular conflict is avoided in Trivandrum by Congress deciding to support the PSP independent here. That would open up the possibilities of the PSP independents in the other two seats giving only a mock fight to the Congress.

## WEST BENGAL BYE-ELECTIONS

# 22,000 VOTES FOR C.P.I.

★ From Ajoy Dasgupta

CALCUTTA: The defeat of the two Communist candidates in the bye-elections in West Bengal, particularly the loss of the Barjora seat, are sought to be painted by some as "total rejection" of the Communist Party by the people of West Bengal.

BUT amidst the chorus about the "end of the Communists" more realistic notes are also being heard even among the anti-Communist forces.

Hindustan Standard correspondent from New Delhi wrote just on the eve of the election, that the Congress expected to ensure that the security deposits of the Communist candidates would be forfeited, as otherwise the Communists would be able to say that "we have our place in the hearts of the people"; for they had to fight against heavy odds and with 700 of their leaders in jail, among whom were top leaders, and some of the most powerful speakers, best campaigners and ablest organisers of the Party.

But deposits were not forfeited. Though they were defeated, they secured about 22,000 or about 35 per cent of the votes secured by the Congress candidates.

Ananda Bazar Patrika, the arch anti-Communist daily, had to note this and sounded a warning against "complacency" about the Communist! In an editorial titled "Victory and Defeat", it wrote

who are placed in responsible posts in government and corrupting them."

He cited the case of dismissed workers of TISCO whose cases are hanging fire since 1958 and added that in this case "government is totally powerless." Dr. Misra said that "when these workers go to the public sector industries, they are refused jobs and they are told: 'you have been dismissed, and we have agreed to the request of the Tatas not to re-employ you.' These are technical people who are now unemployed whereas we are short of technical hands. Dr. Misra sharply criticised the "nagars" and "purams" such as Bampur and Jamshedpur and said that they have become "almost empires within our free India."

Dr. Misra urged that "these two monopoly units should be nationalised and government should take over control."

He demanded the setting up of a central pool for technically trained people for providing the projects with efficient technicians. He urged for the ending of contractor-employing system and pinpointing the shortcomings of the labour-management relations in the steel plants where AITUC unions are being discriminated.

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The Extraordinary Conference of the Punjab state unit of the CPI has been an event of great significance in the life of the Party in our state.

FOR five days and three nights, 469 delegates coming from all parts of the state, deliberated on their experiences of the past five and a half months of national emergency in order to chalk out a clear line of advance in the crucial months ahead. Some features stand out:

★ It was the most widely represented conference in the history of our Party; every fifteenth Party member was present with voting rights as against every fortieth (40th) in the previous conference that met at Nangal in October 1960. Among themselves the delegates comprised the entire district and area-level leadership of the Party which was elected on the eve of the Nangal conference. Hence it was not only the broadest but the fairest representation possible in the given circumstances.

★ It was a conference with the most exhaustive and prolonged debate in the history of our State unit: every fourth delegate spoke at one time or another and each speaker had the satisfaction of having had his fullest say. Thus it constituted a high water-mark of most democratic discussion on the issues involved.

★ It was a conference which gave a decisive and overwhelming verdict in favour of the line that supported the National Council stand during the period of emergency and arose out of it, after a high level debate which pooled the experience of the entire party.

There can be no two opinions about the fact that the Party emerged much clearer, much more united and much more enthused for the tasks ahead, after the free and frank discussions that took place during those days.

The Conference started with an impressive procession on April 5, in which about seven thousand workers and peasants drawn from Ludhiana and its surroundings and more than three thousand members and friends of the Party from the outlying districts marched. It was followed by a huge rally which was addressed by Dr. Z. A. Ahmad, member of the Central

Secretariat of the Party, and Avtar Singh Malhotra, Secretary of the State unit.

In the delegates' session on April 6, a presidium consisting of Teja Singh Swatantra, Satish Loomba, Ram Kishan Bharolian, Vimla Dang and Nazir Singh, was unanimously elected to conduct the proceedings of the conference. At the outset the conference paid homage to the memory of those sons of the soil, who laid down their lives while defending their country in NEFA and Ladakh.

Then, by a special resolution, the conference mourned the death of Arjan Singh Gargal, the former editor of the daily *Nawan Zamana*.



Avtar Singh Malhotra

Comrade Gargal was a founder member of the Communist Party in this State and had been associated with all the revolutionary anti-imperialist movements of the Punjab during the last four decades.

By another resolution the conference mourned the death of a number of Party comrades who had died since the last Party conference in Nangal.

The Conference was inaugurated by Dr. Z. A. Ahmad, in a clear and hard-hitting speech, explaining the Party's internal policies and the necessity for action to preserve the unity of the inter-

## Punjab

★ From Jagjit Singh Anand

# Extraordinary Party Conference

## NEW TASKS OUTLINED

national Communist movement.

The Conference took up the question of its agenda in its second session on April 6. Presenting a three-point agenda, Avtar Singh Malhotra said that the Extraordinary Conference would not review the work of the period since the Nangal Conference held in October 1960, but would confine itself to political and organisational development since the start of National Emergency last October.

While the adoption of the Political and Organisational Reports were the first two items on the agenda, the third was the taking of appropriate organisational decisions in the light of the above two reports in order to streamline the Party for the tasks ahead.

This led to an interesting three-hour debate, in which 29 comrades from all districts of the State participated. At the end of the debate the agenda was approved by an overwhelming majority.

The Conference then unanimously accepted the Secretariat's recommendations for the Credentials Committee and the Audit Commission.

Presenting the Political Report of the State Council, Avtar Singh Malhotra said that "everything has to be examined in the context of the National Emergency, because the country and the Party had passed through an unprecedented experience and the people have come to realise intensely the necessity of removing our grave weaknesses in the matter of defence, and the battle of policies is being fought in the country today on how best to overcome these weaknesses and strengthen national defence."

The Communist Party firmly opposes those who want to make

the country vulnerable to imperialist inroads on the pretext of getting military aid and fully backs Prime Minister Nehru's stand of building up an independent defence structure by increasing the tempo of planned development of our industrial base.

The resources have to be found inside the country and measures like nationalisation of banks and mining, restriction on capitalist profits, effecting strict economy in the administrative structure etc. have to be implemented before imposing fresh burden of taxes, which also should be placed on those who can afford to pay and no more on the poor."

## MAIN POLITICAL TASKS

Malhotra singled out three main political tasks for the Party in the coming period, placing above all, the task of defeating Right reaction by giving a proper rebuff to all its anti-national activities.

In this connection he specially mentioned their attempts to subvert the policy of non-alignment, oppose negotiations with China, even if it accepted the Colombo proposals.

The second task, he said, was to bring about a reorientation in the Government's policies in the direction of mobilising alternative financial resources through nationalisation etc. and recasting the taxation policies, extension of democracy and restriction of privileges and exploitation.

The third task, that of securing the release of our comrades in jail, whose continued detention only helps the reactionary forces, has also to be taken up vigorously as an integral part of the above two tasks.

In the end, Malhotra held that the entire Party has to be reorientated for the fulfilment of these tasks, ideologically and politically, and its influence extended more especially among women, youth and students. Such a Party alone can fight back the offensive of the reactionary and communal forces in the Punjab today and build a broad national front of all patriots and democrats.

The afternoon session opened with an inspiring message from the veteran revolutionary hero, Baba Sohan Singh Bhatna, who founded the great Chaddar Party more than fifty years ago, commending the efforts of the Party leadership in implementing the "truly patriotic and only correct line of the National Council."

By a significant amendment, the Conference decided that there should be no direct or indirect agreement or adjustment with the Swatantra Party, Jan Singh, Akali Party or any other Right reactionary or communal force in any future elections or bye-elections in the State.

Presenting the organisational report on April 9, Malhotra outlined the tasks of ideological and political re-equipment of the Party at all levels, making the entire party organisation more active and self-reliant, extending work among the basic masses (the working class and the rural poor), women, youth and students. The unevenness of the movement in the State, a heritage from the past was sharply brought out and it was decided to pay special attention to the backward areas of Hariana and Kangra. As concrete measures to over-

come the lag of the movement in these areas, it was decided to bring out a Hindi Weekly in the near future and to set up a special sub-committee to coordinate the work in the Hariana Districts.

The Conference also endorsed the decisions to bring out an ideological monthly journal from June. The Party accepted the dual tasks of fresh enrolment of all militants in the party and strict check up and weeding out of anti-party elements. Special emphasis was laid on enforcing strict moral standards and demanding monetary sacrifice and sustained mass activities from the Party membership.

The Conference not only endorsed the above mentioned tasks, contained in the organisational Report, but also kept them in view while electing the new Party leadership.

In the new State Council of 101 members, four women, (as against two in the previous Council), three youth leaders (as against one), 13 comrades from Hariana area (as against 7 till now), and three more tradeunionists were included. Three more MLAs were elected to this highest body and two Muslim comrades (Abdul Hal and Ruldu Khan from Gurgaon and Ferozapore, respectively) were also taken in the Council. Out of the 43 comrades under detention, 80 were elected to this leading body (as against 33 in the outgoing Council).

Thus an all-inclusive and united leadership, capable of carrying out the tasks ahead, emerged from this conference.

The 7-man Control Commission was unanimously elected. Tulsu Ram, an old tradeunionist and Party organiser who is the acting Party secretary of Amritsar district, is its chairman.

The new State Council in an on-the-spot meeting, unanimously elected Avtar Singh Malhotra as its Secretary and a 6-member secretariat and 25-member State Executive.

## NEW SECRETARIAT

The Secretariat includes besides Malhotra, the veteran revolutionary Teja Singh Swatantra, Chairman of the Chehra Municipal Committee, and leading trade unionists like Satpal Dang; General Secretary of the Punjab Trade Union Congress, Satish Loomba; Acting General Secretary of the Punjab Kisan Sabha, Darshan Singh Canadian; and Chief Editor of daily *Nawan Zamana* Jagjit Singh Anand.

The Executive includes the veteran Ghaddar hero Baba Gurmukh Singh and six leading comrades who are at present under detention, namely Sohan Singh, Josh, Harkishan Singh Surjeet, Master Hari Singh M.L.C., Dalip Singh Tapiala, and Dr. Bhag Singh Tapiala, Dr. Bhag Singh and Mota Singh Jubal.

Among the 10 new members of the State Executive are, besides Teja Singh Swatantra two working class comrades (the Punjab TUC President Baba Kartar Singh and Makhn Singh Bhatwani), an agricultural labourer (the only Muslim member Ralouder Khan), one representative of the women's movement (Vimla Dang), and one representative of the hilly regions (Pars Ram Kangra). These sections of the movement have found their place in this highest Committee for the first time in the history of the Party in the Punjab.



# Joint Action Against Anti-People Taxes

## Conference of CPI, USP and Independents in June

A significant development has taken place in Rajasthan. The discussions in the Assembly which followed the presentation of the budget, not only showed the serious resistance that the tax proposals of the State Government had to encounter from members of their own party but it also showed the strikingly similar position that the legislators of the Communist Party, the United Socialist Party and the Bloc of Independents known as the UDF took on this question.

While reactionary parties like the Swatantra Party and also in a subtle manner the Jan Sangh took the line that the present plan of the State is too ambitious and should be curtailed, the above parties demanded exactly the opposite. They asked for a bigger plan and took the state government to task for having truncated it in the name of a core and non-core.

Speakers from these parties suggested alternative sources for raising resources and demanded that the Government change its taxation policies.

These discussions in the Assembly laid the basis for a

joint meeting of the legislators of the United Socialist Party, the Communist Party and the United Democratic Front (total strength of these parties in the Assembly is about 30), where a joint statement was adopted. A decision has been taken to call a Political Conference in June in Jaipur and a nine-man convening committee has been set up for the purpose.

The Convening Committee is meeting on April 22 to finalise arrangements for the conference. It may be mentioned that the group of former PCC President Master Aditendra has also fully associated with this move. Following is the text of the joint statement.

## STATEMENT

The Budget session of the Rajasthan Legislative Assembly has just been adjourned. This session has been a session of constant struggle of the progressive parties and elements against the reactionary policies and conservative outlook of the Rajasthan Government in resorting to taxation of the common people to find more resources for defence, Plan and development in the background of Chinese aggression.

Broadly speaking, the state government had proposed initially taxation measures

amounting to nearly Rs. 5 crores mainly consisting of cess on land revenue amounting to Rs. 2.25 crores, sales tax on food grains and pulses amounting to Rs. 74 lakhs, increase in general sales tax on ordinary consumer goods and sales tax on sale of cows and buffaloes.

### All-Out Opposition

All the opposition parties in the Assembly and some other sections also vehemently opposed imposition of these taxes with a result that the government had to withdraw sales tax on cows and buffaloes as well as announce concessions in tax on land revenue. But in spite of this stiff opposition the government have imposed taxes amounting to Rs. 2.90 crores which will in reality amount to Rs. 3.25 crores.

Now finally the position is that peasants with holdings above 10 acres assessed to land revenue of more than Rs. 60 will have to pay a surcharge of 25 NP per rupee on land revenue. One per cent sales tax has been imposed upon bajra, jowar and maize while sales of other cereals and pulses have been taxed at 2%. Sales tax on consumer goods of ordinary use has been raised from 4% to 6%. The main burden of all these taxes will heavily fall on the working class, peasantry and lower middle classes who are already groaning under the heavy burden of taxes and rising prices.

The United Socialist Party, the Communist Party and the United Democratic Front, realising the necessity of more

resources for defence and development plans had put alternative proposals in the state Assembly which could bring more resources to the state Exchequer compared to the government proposals without hitting the poorer section of the people as the latter proposals would do.

These parties had suggested inter alia that in the background of emergency the privy purses of ex-rulers should be stopped—which factor could bring augmented aid from the centre worth Rs. 68 lakhs. Cash Payment of compensation to bigger Jagirdars be postponed which could save nearly Rs. 150 lakhs a year; urban lands and other immovable properties of the wealthier section should be taxed on their appreciated value; money-lenders and contractors be licensed; and road transport be nationalised expeditiously which could add crores of rupees to the state revenues.

In addition to these proposals, these parties had suggested economy in administration, cutting the size of the present ministry and saving Rs. 24 lakhs which are being paid to high officials as Special Pay. But the Rajasthan government turned a deaf ear to all these suggestions and refused to make any basic change in its anti-people policies.

### Retrograde Taxes

So the Rajasthan Government by its retrograde taxation measures had made the lot of the peasantry more miserable by adding a burden of Rs. 75 lakhs as surcharge on land revenue, has hit the poor man by taxing his bread, and increased the price index by raising rate of general sales tax.

The state government to-

gether with the central government have put a burden of Rs. 8 per capita in terms of new taxes whereas the Government claims an increase of only Rs. 3 in the per capita income. Therefore this policy of the government is basically against the interests of the common people.

The United Socialist Party, the Communist Party and the United Democratic Front had taken almost a similar stand in this session of the Assembly on the question of taxation and planning. These parties while opposing the increasing burden of taxation on the common people, also attacked the conservative and orthodox outlook of the government towards development plans inasmuch as the government is trying to solve its financial difficulties by pruning the plan and shifting the burden of added expenditure for development on the poorer sections of the community.

The United Socialist Party, the Communist Party and the United Democratic Front have emphatically stressed in the State Assembly that the plans have to fulfil a dual objective of defence and development in view of the Chinese aggression.

### Insufficient Plan

The Rs. 236 crore Third Five Year Plan of the State Government is already modest looking to the needs of development of the state and the government have acted against the interests of the people of the State by dividing the plan into 'core' and 'non-core' parts thus reducing the plan to Rs. 208 crores only as its 'core' portion.

Moreover looking to the way the State government is implementing this plan, there is serious apprehension that even this much of the plan target may not be fulfilled. All the above three parties severely criticized this reactionary attitude of the government towards the plan. In this connection the attitude of the USP, CPI and UDF has been different from that of other parties because all these three parties believe that planned development is the only way forward for under-developed countries.

These parties believe that Plan, development and defence should be given priority and if for this the state

has to resort to taxation it should be done in such a way that the burden of the taxes should fall upon those who can easily bear it.

### Put Burden On Rich

The Rajasthan government on the other hand is adopting quite a contrary policy. It has taken almost a similar stand in this session of the Assembly on the question of taxation and planning. These parties while opposing the increasing burden of taxation on the common people, also attacked the conservative and orthodox outlook of the government towards development plans inasmuch as the government is trying to solve its financial difficulties by pruning the plan and shifting the burden of added expenditure for development on the poorer sections of the community.

The USP, CPI and UDF have frontally attacked these reactionary policies of the government inside the Assembly as a result of which people have been able to get some relief.

But, we feel, that if a positive change has to be brought about in these retrograde policies, constant struggle has to be waged against them not only inside the Assembly but even outside it and strong public opinion has to be organised for the same.

With this aim in view, we have decided to convene a state-level Political Conference in the second week of June this year in Jaipur, to organise public opinion against the reactionary policies of the government of pruning the development plans on the one hand, and shifting the burden of development on the poorer section of the community on the other.

We want the important problems of our state to be widely and seriously discussed and a strong and organised public opinion to back the same. We invite all political parties, social workers and the people in general, who broadly agree with our views to participate in this Political Conference.

We hope, all progressive sections and public in general will co-operate with us in making this conference a success.

Murildhar Vyas, MLA (USP), Ram Kishan, MLA (USP), Manechand Surana, MLA (USP), Rama Nand Agarwal, MLA (CPI), Swami Kumaranand, MLA (CPI), Yogendra Nath Handa, MLA (CPI), Umrao Singh Dhabaria, MLA (UDF), Kedar Nath, MLA (UDF) and Balram Chowdhary, MLA (UDF), signed the statement on behalf of their parties.

## Welcome Drive Against Dacoits and Smugglers

Rajasthan's Home Department and the police have, during the last few weeks done some commendable work in their anti-smuggling and anti-dacoity operation in the district bordering on Pakistan.

It may be recalled that the activities and depredations of the notorious dacoit gang of Jagmal Singh and Tej Singh in all numbering about 30 and taking shelter in Pakistan has been the most important law and order problem in the State.

More than a dozen people had been killed and many abducted by the gang during the last three months alone. This gang had its links with the powerful smuggling groups which acted as its contact and intelligence men. Highly

placed persons including police officials were suspected to be involved in these. During the last six weeks the police has, it seems, proceeded with a real drive to cleanse these nests.

More than 50 important persons have been arrested. This includes Ram Ratan Kochar, a former AICC member and at present a member of the PCC from Bikaner, Anoopchand Kochar, a Municipal Councillor from Bikaner, Bhoji Ram, a Congress leader and Mun-

shiram, President of the Karnpur Panchayat Samiti and a prominent businessman of Sriganganagar. Besides, the fields of two smuggling gangs Sikarder and Gulam Kadir have also been arrested. Some of these people have been detained under D.I.R.

These measures tightened the noose round the dacoits and they became desperate. In a recent encounter the key man of this gang Tej Singh has been killed. Jagmal Singh is being pursued with vigour.

It is understood that some police officials, including some S.P.s are also going to be proceeded against for complicity in smuggling.

The bank employees under the leadership of All-India Bank Employees Association have been demanding nationalisation of banking industry as they felt that continuance of this industry in the hands of private sector will frustrate our planned economy.

If the banks continue in private sector, it is but natural that one or the other group of industrialists will dominate them and that group will take extra advantage out of it.

It is but natural that an industry run with only 1.9% of its working fund as the capital paid by the shareholders, cannot avoid the risk of being mismanaged as the shareholders, and more so the few directors representing them, have nothing much to stake in the business.

Under the circumstances the tendency has been to become irresponsible and selfish. This will be borne out by the fact that even after the year 1949, when following a number of bank failures the Banking Companies Act came into existence, there were bank failures and only in the recent period, two banks viz., the Palai Central Bank and Luxmi Bank went into liquidation due to 'fraudulent activities by their Directors.

The recent findings of Vician Bose Commission on the administration of Dalmia-Jain Companies have revealed that in all its activities, which were anti-national and anti-social, one or the other bank was involved. Same is the case in relation to Mundhra deals. Whether in respect of spurious scrips or violation of Exchange Control Regulations — one or the other bank was involved. If similar enquiries are conducted into the affairs of other industrial Houses, revelations will be no less startling.

### Positive Aspects

By regulating their advances in the right direction, banks can play an effective role to hold the price line, the need for which was never before so keenly felt in our country. In the sphere of agriculture, as well, vast improvements can take place if the banks play their due and desired role. In a country like India which needs rapid development in the fields of industry, agriculture, commerce etc., — everything that will contribute towards ushering in of a socialist pattern of society, the role of the banks has naturally come to be looked upon with keen interest by all those who are interested in a planned advancement of our country.

And today, in the context of the emergency, the need for mobilisation of all available resources for our defence and developments has assumed paramount importance and this can be achieved possibly only by nationalising the banks.

Certain facts about the character and composition of banks in India will be of great interest in this respect. There are about 304 banks in this country, 82 of them are in the scheduled list. Out of these 82, 14 are Foreign Exchange Banks. Of the 68 Indian Scheduled Banks, 11 are having working funds over Rs. 25 crores, 13 between 25 and 75 crores and the rest below 75 Crores.

The nationalised sector, i.e., the State Bank of India and its subsidiaries have a deposit of Rs. 661.09 crores with a paid-up capital of Rs. 10.58 crores. The top twelve private banks have deposits of Rs. 999.00 crores with a paid-up capital of Rs. 17.97 crores. The rest 269 Banks have deposits of Rs. 191 crores with a paid-up capital of Rs. 11.31 crores. The Foreign Exchange Banks have a deposit of Rs. 253 crores without any capital employed in India. The overall position is that 26 banks i.e., 8.6% of the banks in India control 85% of the bank deposits.

Out of the above deposits the

Bank of Baroda Ltd. — Walchand Hirachand Group. United Commercial Bank Ltd. — Birla Group. To cite few instances of Small Banks: Hindustan Commercial Bank Ltd. — J. K. Group. Hindustan Mercantile Bank Ltd. — Jala Group.

### Vicious Interlinking

The aforesaid industrialists control in turn a number of industries and almost the entire private sector is owned by a few industrial houses. They are thereby enjoying a position of monopoly in their business. The deposits of ordinary people are utilised by them at cheaper rates to feed their own industries without any consideration whatsoever to the country's interest.

With the vast resources of private banks at their disposal, these few industry houses have been able to keep away their competitors, and with their comparative advantage over others, they have been able to concentrate all means of production and their distribution, in their hands.

It has been often found that a single director of a bank, is a

Indian banks for the year 1961 was 7.35 crores against a share capital of 17.97 crores. It is significant to bear in mind that the net profits in a bank have been arrived at after making provision for taxation which is 50% of the actual profits, in other words the profits are about 15 crores.

Then again, unlike other industries, disclosed profits of the banks are arrived at after making provisions for "secret reserves", which account for substantial portion of the actual profits earned. The real profits of the banks are therefore substantially higher than those disclosed in the balance sheet.

The huge profits foreign banks earn in our country after making provision for taxation and secret reserves in the lines of Indian Banks are simply staggering. As for example, Chartered Bank with only 10 Offices in India have shown a net profit of Rs. 80 lakhs for the year 1962 in its Indian branches' balance sheet.

The net profits of 14 Exchange Banks in India for the year 1961, after making all provisions as above, are 2.67 Crores, and this has been earned without employing a single rupee as capital. No other industry offers such a scope for so high profits.

To earn this profit, the risk of

highest impetus. Present-day "profit motive" will be replaced by "service-motive". Establishment of banking units will be of great help to our agriculture and agriculturists.

Fourthly, manipulation of foreign exchange by unlawful remittances, under-invoicing and over-invoicing, repatriation of profit of foreign banks will be completely stopped.

Fifthly, Our export-import trade will get a great fillip.

Sixthly, Banks will be effective instruments to check tax evasion and spot out blackmoney.

Seventhly, Nationalisation will enable banks to invest their resources according to the needs and norms of country's development as set out by the Planning Commission. The growth of our country's economy, industry, commerce and business will thus be set in the right and healthy direction.

Eighthly, The existing trend of concentration of wealth in a few and fewer hands will be arrested and no longer will a few private profit sharks be able to keep the entire industry under their grip. Nationalisation of banks will thus be a great step towards achievement of a socialist society, to which our country is wedded.

Ninthly, It will secure standardisation of service, stability and confidence of the depositors leading to rapid growth of Bank deposits.

Tenthly, It will substantially slash down the existing top-heavy establishment in private banks. While the salary paid to the Governor of the Reserve Bank of India is only about Rs. 4,000 a month, the Chief Manager of Chartered Bank in India draws a monthly salary of Rs. 10,000 exclusive of other perquisites.

From the above, the conclusion is inevitable that for all-round progress of our economy, for greater interests of the nation, for the purposes of mobilisation of all available resources for defence and development, nationalisation of banks cannot wait any longer.

A plea has, however, been raised recently that there are no adequate funds to acquire ownership of private banks by the state.

The private banks have, as shown above, a total paid-up capital of about Rs. 30 crores commanding a deposit of 1428 crores, earning annual net profit (disclosed) of about 15 crores. Today, in the context of emergency the needs of the nation must have overriding priority and the question of paying cash compensation does not arise. In the manner, Zamindaries were taken over by the Government by payment of compensation in long-term bonds, private banks may also be similarly taken over.

It is necessary to bear in mind that the amount of compensation payable for a total paid-up capital of Rs. 30 crores will be most insignificant compared to the vast resources which will as a result pass on to the State.

Before we conclude, we wish to allay one apprehension that is sometimes raised by interested quarters that in the event of nationalisation, efficiency is likely to suffer. Banks are managed and run by its officers, clerks and subordinates — employees who are to-day serving private capital with profit-motive as its sole concern.

Employees in nationalised banks will have the proud privilege to serve the nation to work for the progress of the country and hence the employees will never fail to come forward to discharge whatever responsibilities will be entrusted to them.

### What Are the Gains?

The gains from bank nationalisation will be varied, manifold and immense, — immediate and future.

Firstly, all the profits of the banks, about 35 crores, will come as a revenue to the government. This amount, of course, excludes the various amounts set apart from the profits as "secret" provisions.

Secondly, by regulating bank's activities and minimising hoardings, consistent with the interest of the common masses, it will substantially help in stabilising the price line. Creation of artificial scarcity of consumer goods will be eliminated.

Thirdly, Rural banking will get

## A CASE FOR NATIONALISATION OF BANKS

try of which 957 branches are in rural areas. The Committee, appointed by the Government, headed by Prof. P. C. Mahalanobis, to probe into the distribution of national wealth at the end of the 2nd Five Year Plan, after painstaking research, based on income-tax returns, has come to the conclusion, as reported, that 1% of the country's households own as much as 75% of privately held stocks and even within this small minority the ownership is highly concentrated.

More than half the privately owned share capital in India, the Committee underlines, is owned by only 14,000 houses. In other words, it is only 1% of India's privileged class — which in turn is 1% of the total population — that really owns and controls the bulk of the nation's wealth.

Even that is not the end of the matter. The Committee conclusively shows that the "management control" of industries is increasingly more concentrated than "ownership control". With comparatively small shareholding, individuals or business houses are able to take complete charge of the policies and operations of the companies.

In the opinion of the Committee the liberal loans by banks and other financial institutions have fostered this trend towards concentration.

The ex-Governor of Reserve Bank of India, H.V.R. Iyenger also remarked: "One of the structural features of the Indian Banking is the concentration of power which in some cases is enormous in relation to the capital employed. From time to time, we come across cases in which a family or a group has got full controlling interest in a Bank."

Almost every industrial house in this country controls one or the other bank. Take the case of the biggest commercial banks: Central Bank of India Ltd., Bank of India Ltd. — Controlled by the Tata, Khatau, Mafatlal Groups. Punjab National Bank Ltd. — Dalmia-Jain Group.

The net profits of the 12 top

commercial director of many other industrial concerns and with his command over the bank, he has been able to turn the bank into the Power House for his industrial empire.

Paradoxically, while the development of our economy is inseparably interlinked with the development of small scale and cottage industries, the savings of the people are seldom made available to them.

In spite of the Reserve Bank of India directive, "Concentration of advance in the hands of few borrowers has increased by 47.7% in 1961 over 1960", and "the large advances to the directors, their relations and associates, and concerns in which any of them is interested" has also increased by 42.8% during the same period.

The role of the share capital in a banking company is most insignificant compared to other industries. The following table will help us to understand the position.

(Position of private commercial banks as on December 31, 1961)

Paid-up Capital	Deposits	Ratio of Deposits to Capital
29.28 crores	1428 crores	1 to 2 4.8%
(S.B.I. and its subsidiaries excluded)		

From the above one will not fail to note that with a share capital of Rs. 29 crores, private banks control deposits to the tune of Rs. 1428 crores. Of this 12 big Indian Banks with a paid-up capital of 17.97 crores command deposits of Rs. 969 crores. The ratio in this case comes to less than 2%. Then so far as exchange banks are concerned they have no share capital in India.

The earlier chapter has given us a glimpse about the insignificant role of paid-up capital, in this industry. Profits of the banks, unlike other industries, are not earned primarily by the share capital. It is the depositors' money secured at a lesser rate of interest and employed at higher rates of interest — and the difference between these rates contributes the main profits of the banks.

**NEW AGE**

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# ON THE BUDGET PROPOSALS AND ALTERNATIVE SOURCES OF FUNDS FOR NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND DEFENCE

THE Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India has considered the budget proposals of the Union and state Governments for the current year. The urgent needs of the Plan and economy in general and of defence in particular called for a positive orientation in our budgetary and economic policies. This orientation, however, is missing.

There cannot be two opinions that for our economic development, as well as for building up of the country's defence potential, additional resources are to be raised. The real point at issue is where and how to find the needed resources.

In the recent months, it has been amply demonstrated how our people are ready to make the greatest measure of sacrifice when called upon to do so in the interests of the nation. Indeed, it is the working people of our country, suffering from many a want, who contributed most of the national defence fund and otherwise to the cause of the nation's defence.

This, however, cannot be said of the millionaires, monopolists and other sections of the wealthy people. They have, on the contrary, sought to exploit the Emergency to gather benefits for themselves. It was expected that the present budgetary proposals will be so devised as to compel these rich people to make their due contributions towards the fulfilment of our national purposes.

Instead of raising adequate resources from the rich, and adopting other effective economic measures, such as nationalisation of banking, oil industry, etc., which has become an urgent necessity for the future of our economy as a whole, the current budget proposals place new economic burdens on the masses who are already over-taxed and struck by constantly rising prices.

## Lower Income Groups Hit

The greater part of the additional taxes and levies under the Central Budget is proposed to be raised through Union excise duties, compulsory deposit schemes, surcharge on income-tax of even those belonging to the lowest income brackets. Almost all the necessities of life in the country are already taxed. Yet additional levies are imposed even on such necessities of life as kerosene, tobacco, sugar, tea, matches, soap. Prices of postcards have also been increased.

While thus taxing the people, the budget proposals fall to effect any substantial economy in the heavy and even wasteful administrative expenditures.

The Union excise duties, the incidence of which heavily fall on the poorer sections of the community, have now gone up from Rs. 70 crores in 1951 to nearly Rs. 700 crores in the current year. In the states, sales-tax, surcharge on land revenue in respect of uneconomic holdings and such other levies as bus fare, school fees, entertainment taxes have been simultaneously increased.

These taxes and levies cons-

titute new attacks on the living standards of the masses; they work as a positive disincentive in the context of the planning and they inevitably lead to further rise in prices. The worst sufferers from these taxes and imposts are, of course, the workers, peasants, middle-class employees, professional classes, artisans and smaller men in business and trade. The budget proposals not only promise no holding of the price line but give fresh impetus to rise in prices.

Apart from adding to the suffering and hardships of the masses such inequitable and ill-conceived taxation measures go to widen the disparities in income and defeat other social objectives of the Plan.

## Compromising And Weak-Kneed

The Union Budget proposals are compromising and weak-kneed in regard to the monopolists and similar other vested interests. This has emboldened them to raise a hue and cry even against moderate levies such as super profits tax, which affect them. They are trying to make out that such taxes on them will ruin industry, hinder development and paralyse efficiency. Further, they are trying to delude the people by saying that they have alternative methods of raising resources, which do not hit the people. But their main so-called alternative suggestions are heavy imports of military equipments through Western military aid, scuttling of certain basic industries in the public sector and reduction in expenditures on social welfare.

Such proposals will patently increase the grip of the monopolists over our economy and undermine the country's independence.

This compromising policy is thus strengthening the same vested interests and the reactionary political forces like the Jan Sangh, Swatantra Party and diehard Rightists within the Congress itself which have in a very critical moment in our national life gone all out to attack the national policies like non-alignment and have attempted to oust Prime Minister Nehru. The mass discontent caused by the unjust economic burdens on the people is being fully exploited by the parties of Right reaction to push their nefarious ends.

The Central Executive Committee protests against these anti-people, undemocratic and harmful taxation measures and urges upon the authorities concerned to revise them, keeping in view interests of the masses and our economy. In this connection, the Committee particularly condemns the additional levies on kerosene, which was already selling at high price manipulated and dictated and

directed by foreign oil companies.

The Committee demands with all the emphasis at its command the immediate cancellation of the additional levies on kerosene which is a vital necessity for our peasants and other sections of our working people.

The Central Executive Committee is in favour of mobilising the resources of the former princes, monopolists and other wealthy people through an effective compulsory Deposit Scheme and otherwise. In fact, our Party has been, for years, urging upon such a method of raising resources.

But at the same time, the Committee is strongly of the view that the Compulsory Savings Scheme must not be enforced against the poorer sections of the people who find it extremely difficult even to balance their family budgets and many of whom have to live perpetually in debts.

Under the present Compulsory Deposit Scheme, millions of Government servants throughout the country, whose income will be deducted at the source, workers, employees, peasants and many other people will be badly and unjustly hit. Further, the enforcement of this scheme against them will mean both harassment and oppression.

The Central Executive demands that the Compulsory Savings Scheme be radically amended and modified in order, on the one hand, to exempt those sections of the people who are not really in a position to save, and, on the other, tap with greater vigour the accumulations and savings of the rich.

The Committee however, welcomes the Super profits tax, increase in Corporation tax, as well as in the income tax in higher slabs. But here again, they do not go far enough and leave much that is to be desired. The Government should have stepped up all these taxes, particularly in view of the fact that, during the past several years, big business have been given numerous exemptions, rebates, and other forms of tax concessions. Abolition of wealth tax on companies, the so-called tax holiday, development rebates in undeserving cases, the reduction of taxes on the issue of bonus share, the lifting of expenditure tax are among the reliefs that have thus gone to pamper the rich.

The Committee notes with concern the attempts of the Big Business to pressurise the Government to reduce the super profits tax and give them fresh tax concessions. The Committee hopes that no quarter whatsoever will be given to such pressures by Big Business. What is really needed is more effective measures in order to collect a larger amount of taxes from these people.

The Central Executive also notes in this connection the failure of the Government to tap the gold hoards of the millionaires, speculators and ex-rulers. Despite the Gold Control Order, these well-known hoarders of gold have so far managed to evade the law. But the Government shows no sign of compelling

them to disgorge the huge quantities of gold in their possession.

The Government, has however, enforced a series of measures against the goldsmiths and artisans, spelling ruin to trade and causing widespread unemployment and suffering among them. The situation has become so desperate that over 100 goldsmiths have already committed suicide.

The Central Executive Committee expresses its deep concern at the condition of the goldsmiths and urges upon the Government to raise gold purity for ornaments to 22 carat, while putting a reasonable ceiling on ornaments a family can possess. This will reduce the hardships of the goldsmiths and at the same time, control wasteful use of gold in ornaments. The Committee urges upon the Government to offer adequate relief to the distressed goldsmiths and help them find alternative employment.

The Central Executive Committee is in favour of the most stringent measures against gold smuggling. But in this connection the Committee wants to point out that smuggling is encouraged mainly by the fact that the monopolists and speculators find it convenient to conceal

both in imports and exports. If only those measures were taken, a far greater amount than what all the additional taxes and levies under the current Union budget promise to bring would be easily available in a permanent

## ON EMERGENCY

IT is nearly six months since the President of India declared the National Emergency on October 26, 1962. All parties and groups in the country, including the Communist Party, supported it and voted for it when it came before Parliament for endorsement.

Since then, following the cease-fire, the Colombo powers' helpful intervention and internal mobilisation for defence, etc., the conditions which necessitated the extraordinary law and the Emergency have materially ceased to exist. Its continuation and operation obstruct normal life, more to the detriment of the common man than the big obstructionist vested interests. This change in the situation was, in a sense, recognised by the Government when it decided to conduct the bye-elections.

The continuation of the emergency does not seem to be necessary now to fulfil the tasks of development and defence. And if the same extraordinary situation arises again, it can be revived.

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India, therefore, is of the opinion that the Government should hold a consultation with the opposition parties in Parliament with a view to assessing the situation and lifting the emergency.

# CPI Central Executive RESOLUTIONS

Delhi, April 11-14

their ill-gotten wealth in the form of gold bars and gold bullions. So long as gold hoarding by them is not effectively curbed and made impossible, this smuggling of gold cannot be easily stopped.

The Central Executive Committee is further of the view that in order to stop smuggling and wasteful use of gold, it is also necessary for the Government to enter into the trade in gold. It is Big Business, both foreign and Indian, which uses its trade connections and resources abroad to carry on gold smuggling but the Government refuses to bring these smugglers of high finance to book.

Only by enforcing effective measures in all these directions can the Gold Control Order be made a real success without needlessly injuring the interests of goldsmiths and the poorer sections of the people who keep their small savings for a rainy day in the form of gold ornaments.

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India is firmly of the view that the unjust and anti-people taxes and levies could have been easily avoided. In this connection, the Central Executive Committee would like to lay particular stress on the urgency of the nationalisation of banks and oil industry, on the substantial expansion of state trading in the internal market, specially in respect of foodgrains, as well as in our external trade

basis to our national, exchequer. Never was the need for these measures so great as at the present moment. Among other important measures which the Government should take the following would merit special attention:

1 The speedy recovery of tax arrears, particularly from the Big Business as well as the plugging of all evasion and avoidance of taxes;

2 Increase in the rate of super profits tax and the ceiling on profit and on other forms of earning;

3 Restoration of Wealth Tax on companies and enforcement of this tax against the wealthy who are avoiding it; restoration of the original 30 per cent on the issue of bonus share instead of the present 12 per cent; restoration and enforcement of expenditure tax;

4 50 per cent reduction of remittance of profits, dividends, interest, etc. abroad by foreign private investors and businessmen in our country and tapping of amounts so available as compulsory loans to the State (the present remittances under these heads amount to nearly Rs. 40 crores); increase in the mining royalties;

5 Suspension of payment of privilege purse to the wealthy princes or at least reduction of such payment by 50 per cent;

6 The mobilisation of bigger resources from the company finances and reserves as compulsory loans to the State;

7 Acquisition as compulsory loans substantial amounts of foreign assets held in banks and otherwise by Indian nationals as compulsory loans;

8 Realisation of the Government loans to the Tata Iron and Steel Company and the Indian Iron and Steel Company (Rs.10 crores each was advanced in 1954);

9 The expansion of public sector both by setting up new immediately profit-yielding units as well as by nationalisation and by taking over of the industries under the managements of the corrupt big business elements;

10 Reduction of expenditure on administrative services both under the Union and State Governments and effectual economy measures at all levels in the administration.

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India appeals to all sections of our people and to all progressive forces in our life to raise their united voice in respect against all these unjust taxes and avoidable economic burdens on the masses.

It further appeals to them to unite in common efforts so that the Government is obliged to bring about the much-needed orientation in the budgetary and economic policies along the lines suggested above. Only thus can the people advance on democratic popular lines the cause of our national development and of our national defence.

The investigation has been ordered under Section 237 of the Companies Act, which provides for such investigation only when there are circumstances suggesting that the business of a company is being conducted with "intent to defraud its creditors, members or any other person, or otherwise for a fraudulent or unlawful purpose." This in itself would show the seriousness of the charges against these firms. The Central Executive Committee, however, thinks that the steps taken by the Government do not go far enough and further actions are urgently called for in the case of these Dalmia-Jain concerns.

The Central Executive Committee is firmly of the opinion that Government should immediately take over the management of these five concerns under the Industrial Development and Regulation Act, pend-

## ON DALMIA JAIN CONCERNS

THE Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India welcomes the decision of the Government in ordering investigation into the affairs of the Five Dalmia-Jain concerns, viz., Messrs. Bennett Coleman & Co., Sahu Jain Ltd., New Central Jute Mills Co. Ltd., Rohas Industries Ltd. and Ashoka Marketing Ltd.

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The Central Executive Committee is firmly of the opinion that Government should immediately take over the management of these five concerns under the Industrial Development and Regulation Act, pend-

ing public probe under the Commission of Enquiry Act and further actions against them. In view of what has already come to light about the affairs of the Dalmia-Jain concerns, there cannot be the slightest justification for allowing their management to continue a moment longer in their hands.

It may be mentioned that these concerns are in many ways a progeny or have been closely associated with the other nine concerns of the Dalmia-Jain group which form the subject matter of the Vivian Bose Enquiry Commission. The findings of the Commission have brought to light the mounting malpractices, fraud and corruption on the part of the management of these Companies. But the revelations about the malpractice, corruption and swindle are by no means confined to only this group of businessmen but are indeed

typical of the manner in which the monopolists and Big Business in the country are behaving today.

In this connection it will not be out of place to refer to the serious allegations against the two Birla concerns—the New Asiatic General Insurance Company and the Ruby General Insurance Company.

The affairs of these two Companies were also investigated by the Chartered Accountants under the ins-

# ON THE DEADLOCK OVER COLOMBO PROPOSAL

DESPITE the efforts of the six non-aligned Afro-Asian countries who put forward the Colombo proposals, India-China negotiations have not yet begun, causing concern to all.

The Indian Government, true to the Panchsheel spirit, not only accepted the Chinese cease-fire proposals in practice but also accepted in toto the Colombo proposals and their clarifications. It welcomed the recent release of Indian prisoners-of-war.

The Chinese Government has, however, refused to accept the Colombo proposals. It claims that different interpretations have been given to it, though this has been authoritatively contradicted by the spokesmen of the Colombo Powers.

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India is firmly of the opinion that the responsibility for the continuance of the present undesirable situation and for the failure to start negotiations lies wholly on the Chinese Government, which has turned down the just and honourable initiative and proposals of friendly and impartial non-aligned countries.

The Central Executive Committee once again calls for vigilance against the US proposal for an "air umbrella" and its demand for bases

on Indian soil. Not only that. The US Government, however, has made no secret of its demand that the price of its continuing and increasing military and economic aid to India is our willingness to hand over Kashmir to Pakistan.

Patriotic India has expressed itself in unequivocal terms against surrender of Kashmir. Continued vigilance is necessary to see that no surrender of Kashmir takes place. The US imperialists also seek to exploit India's need and the fact that China is a socialist country to demand that India take the lead in building a pro-west political-military alliance of Asian countries bordering on China. They seek a new SEATO minus the name, with a desire to trap India and make it act as the decoy-duck for other Asian nations.

The adamant Chinese attitude, coupled with their threatening notes and disruptive moves, encourages the demand for ever greater military aid from the West. It is a dangerous development which weakens India internally as well as internationally.

The US imperialists political aims were first expressed by the Harriman Mission and they were last driven home by the US Presidential Adviser Rostov. A clear indication was given in President Kennedy's recent message to the US Congress, where he places India in the same category as Taiwan and South Vietnam.

Though the Government of India has rejected the US demand to change India's basic policies, yet it has made serious concessions in the name of Emergency, by agreeing to the stationing of the US Military Mission in Delhi and by granting US Military Observers the right of inspection, etc., and thus allowing them to interfere in defence matters. This cannot but encourage the US imperialists to keep up the pressure against the policy of non-alignment and threaten Indian sovereignty.

The Central Executive Committee calls upon all Party units to organise a nationwide campaign and rouse patriotic Indian people with the following slogans:

★ The policy of non-alignment is in the best interests of the country;

★ Achieve self-reliance in national defence;

FOR THIS PURPOSE —

1 More and more defence production factories to produce all the military equipment we need;

2 Get all the technical and economic aid from foreign countries;

3 Get urgently needed arms from any source on commercial terms.

## Clear Indication

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## BUT IN THE NAME OF DEFENCE—

a No involvement in the system of US military aid;

b No need for foreign military missions on Indian soil to supervise our defence;

c No surrender of Kashmir;

d No concessions to US blackmail.

India's firm adherence to our independent self-reliant defence policy will get us all our military requirements from all friendly countries, without in any way compromising our basic policies. Weakening before imperialist pressure will encourage Indian Rightwing, damage Indian sovereignty, weaken non-alignment and cause dismay among all the peace-loving countries.

Prime Minister Nehru has repeatedly stated India is opposed to a military solution of our dispute with China. The Communist Party of India extends its full support to the Government of India's offer of arbitration to settle the dispute, if negotiations fail.

In face of Chinese recalcitrance, it becomes India's responsibility to do everything in its power to secure the help of friendly countries for the acceptance of the Colombo proposals by China so that peaceful negotiations may begin.

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India welcomes the efforts being made by the Colombo Powers to persuade China to accept the Colombo proposals. Afro-Asian solidarity demands that the historic Afro-Asian initiative of Colombo bears fruit.

The Central Executive Committee appeals to world democratic opinion, and especially to the Socialist countries and the Afro-Asian nations to use their influence to ensure that the Colombo proposals are accepted by the Chinese Government and negotiations begin.

The Central Executive Committee welcomes the growing expression of opinion against the anti-national policies of Right reaction, particularly among Congressmen. The AICC resolution in support of national policies and warning against the reactionary forces and policies was a forceful expression of this healthy trend.

The future of our country depends upon Congressmen, Communists and all patriotic elements to get together to rout the reactionary Right-wing parties, enemies of non-alignment and advocates of military alliance with the Western Powers. Such national democratic unity is the only guarantee of effective national defence and the way to peace with honour.

tructions from the Government. But strangely enough the Government has thought fit to ignore the findings of the Chartered Accountants, not to speak of acting upon them. Reasons for this can be well imagined when one has in mind the tremendous pull of the Birlas over the administration.

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India demands the entire matter regarding these two Birla concerns be placed before Parliament.

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# LATIN AMERICA: BASIC FACTS

★ By Lajpat Rai

For most of us Indians, Latin America has been a closed book for a long time. The dazzling glare of the dollar-lit United States had for many years thrown a curtain of darkness across the great continent to the South.

JUST as the European "information" about India and the Orient was projected in the imperialist mythology of turbaned Maharajas and Sikhs, dancing girls and harems, snake charmers and rope-dancers, so the "knowledge" about Latin America was doped with the legend of a moon-gazing crazy people, horse riders and night clubs, the casinos and the beaches etc., etc.

But since the Cuban revolution of 1959, Latin America has emerged out of the shadows. The eyes of the whole world are now turned towards this part of the globe which has been variously described as "The Continent of Sorrow", "the disintegrating continent", "the vast American hinterland", "the joyous land of colour and beauty".

In reality it is a land of immense riches and terrible poverty; people who have many problems common with the peoples of Asia and Africa such as poverty and low living standards, economic and social under-development, illiteracy and unemployment — the common problems of all victims of imperialism.

Latin America consists of Mexico, the five Republics of Central America (Costa Rica, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Guatemala and Panama); the three Caribbean Republics (Cuba, the Dominican Republic and the Haiti) and South America consisting of Republics of Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay and Venezuela.

It extends from Rio Grande, the Mexican border with USA down to Cape Horn, an area of eight million square miles, nearly one fifth of the land surface of the world. Its population is, however, 200 million i.e., 7 per cent of the population of the world, that too concentrated in a few places notably Argentina, Brazil, the valley of Central Chile and the central plateau of Mexico.

Over much of the whole area, both north and south of Panama canal there are hardly any roads or railways and immense spaces such as the Amazon region and Orinoco valleys, the Gran Chaco and northern Mexico are virtually uninhabited. The great centres of population are isolated from each other; there is far less travel between them than between the USA and Canada or Western Europe and only 10 per cent of the foreign trade of Latin American countries is with one another.

**POPULATION**  
According to the UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs, the estimated population of Latin America was as under:  
Mexico 34 million  
Central America 12 million  
Cuba 7 million  
Haiti and Dominican Republic 7 million  
Brazil 67 million  
Argentina 21 million  
Rest of S. America 52 million

As can be seen from the above data, 60 per cent of the total population of the continent is concentrated in three countries, namely, Brazil, Mexico and Argentina.

Also, this population is increasing at a very high rate. According to the same source, the rate

of growth per year of population in Latin America is 2.5 per cent as compared with 0.8 per cent for Europe, 1.6 per cent for North America and 1.7 per cent for North America and Africa.

It is also estimated that by 1975, the population of Latin America will be 300 million and by the year 2000 it will reach the figure of 600 million.

A majority of the peoples of Latin American countries, like their counterparts in Asia and Africa, live in rural areas and engage themselves in agriculture and allied pursuits.

According to a survey conducted by the WHO in some States of Latin America in 1958, the percentage of rural and urban population is as under:

	Rural	Urban
Honduras	69.0	31.0
Costa Rica	66.5	33.5
Guatemala	69.1	30.9
Panama	64.1	35.9
Brazil	64.0	36.0
Mexico	57.0	43.0
Argentina	37.0	63.0
Chile	40.0	60.0

Thus, with the exception of Argentina and Chile, the majority of Latin American people live in the rural areas.

There has, however, been a strong tendency towards urbanisation especially during the last three decades. Great cities like Buenos Aires (6 million), Rio de Janeiro, Sao Paulo and Mexico (4 million each), Santiago, Havana, Bogota, Caracas, Lima and Montevideo have emerged as great urban centres as well as centres of industry and administration.

## MIGRATIONS

According to historians, the modern Latin America is the product of three great migrations. The first came from Asia 25,000 years ago through the shores of Bering Strait, today a 58 mile lunge of water separating American Alaska and Russian Siberia. It is said that in long past, there was a land link between the two.

The second migration came from Europe 4½ centuries ago, Spanish, Portuguese, followed by the Dutch, French and English, who became the master race in a short span of time.

The third migration, an enforced one, came from Africa, in the form of the African slaves imported into America to provide labour.

So it has come to pass that young America is the blood child of old Asia, Europe and Africa. The present racial composition of Latin America is extremely varied. Argentina, Uruguay and Costa Rica are predominantly white, Haiti is almost completely black and both Cuba and the Dominican Republic have a high proportion of Negro blood.

In most countries there has been a great deal of inbreeding. This has taken place between the native Indian and white settlers resulting in the "Mestizo" and also between the Negro and the White resulting in the "Mulatto". There is also a small stream of Chinese blood, particularly in Cuba and the Dominican Republic, but its influence on most of the countries is negligible.

The present Latin American is an amalgam of white, brown and

There is deep interest among the Indian people in the struggle of the Latin American peoples against United States imperialism. The recent Congress in solidarity with Cuba held in Brazil has drawn world-wide attention to the heroic battles being waged in this continent. Several readers have asked for detailed factual information about Latin America.

NEW AGE is happy to be able to publish this first article by Lajpat Rai, which gives the background facts about the Continent. Subsequent articles will deal with the United States economic domination of Latin America.

million are "accessible". Of this only 83 million are in use. The seas around Latin America abound in fish of all types and the potential resources of this very important food are immense.

Yet in spite of all this wealth, which nature in her bounty endowed upon Latin America, the people of this region are some of the poorest in the world.

The per capita income of Latin American countries depends largely upon world prices of the products they export. Moreover most of the countries rely mainly on exports of a single commodity, which provides anything from 50 to 90 per cent of their total export earnings. Therefore, the national income and the per capita income of these countries is a variable factor, depending upon the price situation.

In 1947, a year of high prices for Latin American exports, the IBRD (International Bank for Reconstruction and Development) calculated the per capita incomes of some of the countries:

1947		Percentage of illiteracy	
(per capita income converted into rupees)			
Haiti	125	Columbia	676
Ecuador	260	Uruguay	835
Dominican Republic	344	Paraguay	320
Brazil	625	Guatemala	212
Mexico	788	Cuba	1364
		Brazil	50
		Mexico	13
		Argentina	20
		Chile	58
		Cuba	61
		Uruguay	68
		Ecuador	70

The above figures eloquently reveal the type of poverty that must be existing in the countries of Latin America, a poverty reminiscent of Asia and Africa, in some cases worse.

Moved by the agonizing poverty of the people, James A. Swift, an American traveller and journalist, wrote as follows:

"It would seem that stoutest of hearts would melt in compassion at these poor people, starving,

eaten up by disease, ragged and filthy beyond all powers of description. In every town and village of South America, the sight is the same. Poor wan little children, half starved, without proper clothes or shoes fill the streets. Many cases are too hopeless for tears. Despair seems to have eaten out the centres of their hearts and left their eyes dry."

According to the cultural survey of the WHO, the living standards of the people are very low: "Many live on the border line of starvation without proper shelter or food. The children are the worst victims of these conditions. They roam the streets, famished with hungry looks in their eyes, their bodies covered with festering sores, begging or stealing as the occasion may demand."

Many more such passages could be quoted. The rate of illiteracy is also very high in these poor lands. According to the 1950 census, which was conducted almost simultaneously in many Latin American countries, the figures for illiteracy of persons above 10 years of age are as under:

1947		Percentage of illiteracy	
(per capita income converted into rupees)			
Haiti	125	Columbia	676
Ecuador	260	Uruguay	835
Dominican Republic	344	Paraguay	320
Brazil	625	Guatemala	212
Mexico	788	Cuba	1364

Thus we have a picture of Latin America — the picture of a vast sprawling continent with a small though rapidly growing population, dependent mostly on agriculture and export of farm products, living in poverty like the masses of Asia and Africa, illiterate and underdeveloped, yet hoping to stand up and build a happy future.

## CPI Publications On

### QUESTIONS OF IDEOLOGY IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

**Booklet 1** Workers of All Countries Unite, Oppose Our Common Enemy  
People's Daily, 15 December 1962

Strengthen Unity of the Communist Movement for the Triumph of Peace and Socialism  
Pravda, 7 January 1963

50 NP

**2** The Differences Between Comrade Togliatti and Us  
People's Daily, 31 December 1962

Let Us Bring the Discussion Back to its Real Terms  
By Palmiro Togliatti

The Struggle for Structural Reforms and its Revolutionary Significance  
By Luigi Longo

50 NP

**3** Let Us Unite on the Basis of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement  
People's Daily, 27 January 1963

For Marxist-Leninist Unity of the Communist Movement, for Cohesion of the Socialist Countries  
Pravda, 10 February 1963

50 NP

**4** Exchange of Messages between Central Committees of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China  
Cementing the Unity of the Communist Movement in our International Duty  
World Marxist Review, February 1963

35 NP

PEOPLE'S PUBLISHING HOUSE NEW DELHI

# POPE'S ENCYCLICAL Powerful Support to Peaceful Coexistence

Berlin, April 13

Pope John XXIII, "dictated by a powerful aspiration for peace, which is shared by all men of goodwill" has issued an encyclical which calls upon the believers, as well as atheists, to work for consolidation of peace in the world. This Peace Manifesto of the Pontiff is unprecedented in its nature, a sharp departure from the past declarations of the ideological doctrines.

THE encyclical stoned and issued by Pope on April 11 from the St. Peter's Church in Rome is discussed all over the world today as a political document of immense significance which would help forge united action of Catholics and non-Catholics, atheists and believers, to fight for disarmament and peaceful co-existence.

This political encyclical, framed in traditional biblical language, mixed with theological idealism, is full of directives to the Catholics and their Church organisations how to act and behave in the present-day changing world.

The 81-year old Pontiff called passionately to preserve world peace, to abolish war for ever, for universal disarmament, atomic test ban, opposed colonialism and socialism and pleaded for peaceful co-existence. He wanted to establish a political community or public authority to which all countries should belong to ensure peace. Nevertheless, he did not undermine the role of the United Nations. On the other hand, he wanted the UN to be more equal to the magnitude and nobility of its tasks.

Unfortunately, the same Holy Thursday the Pope made the most powerful indictment of the atom-bomb, in the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation's meeting in Paris (most participants are Christians and Catholics), the US and its Secretary Rusk proposed to constitute a NATO atom force to endanger world peace, which is described here as a move to frustrate the peace appeal of the Pontiff. Most of the suggestions made

by Pope John constitutes the basic principles of UN Charter repeatedly violated by the United States from the Korean War to Cuban blockade. Several other proposals are already parts of the action programmes of Communist Parties all the world over.

The Pope's peace proposals are already being practised in foreign policy implementations of the Soviet Union.

It is significant that while the Catholic Missions all over the world have been used by the imperialists as a crusade against Communism; Pope John did not even mention the word Communism in his political thesis, he neither criticised nor attacked the Socialist world system. Nor did he support the imperialist and capitalist system.

He remained perfectly neutral and said "It is impossible to determine once and for all what is the most suitable form of Government." The Times of London particularly noted this feature of the encyclical and said the Pope clearly was seeking a new approach to Communism.

In part three of the encyclical, the Pope dealt with the most complicated problems of relations between States which causes all the present-day world troubles. He stipulates rights and duties of citizens and States in the modern society.

These are quite identical to the theory of peaceful coexistence between States of different social systems. This part of the document is a powerful plea for co-existence, against one country dominating another, against colonialism and neo-colonialism.

## Bernal's Statement

PEACE workers the world over welcome with great joy your historic Encyclical *Pacem in Terris*. It gives them immense encouragement and renewed heart to pursue the great humanitarian goals you enumerate: immediate ending of nuclear tests, banning of nuclear weapons, halting of arms race, progress towards complete and controlled world disarmament and an end to racial discrimination and denial of human equality. Your moving appeal for negotiated solution of all controversies between peoples and your call for understanding and co-operation for peace between all men of goodwill in the name of our common humanity is instilled with great vision and love for mankind.

It will always be remembered with deep gratitude and become an inspiration not only to all those working for peace but to millions of others who have hitherto lacked the faith and hope to do so. The World Council of Peace has striven unremittingly for fourteen years for these high aims and will continue to do all in its power so that your wise words may soon become living reality in the actions of all men.

London, April 11.

values and avoid any intention of political domination.

The Pope admits that the working class is stronger and colonialism is doomed. He says:

**7** First of all, the working class has gradually gained ground in economic and political affairs; second, women are now taking a part in public life.

And finally, there will soon no longer exist a world divided into nations that rule and are subjugated.

**8** Neutral on Two Systems: It is impossible to determine once and for all what is the most suitable form of Government.

**9** On Disarmament: Justice, then right reason and humanity, urgently demand that the arms race should cease. The stock piles which exist in various countries should be reduced equally and simultaneously by parties concerned. The nuclear weapons should be banned. And a general agreement should eventually be reached about progressive disarmament and an effective method of control.

**10** On Nuclear War: Though it is difficult to believe that anyone should deliberately take the responsibility for the appalling destruction and sorrow that war would bring, it cannot be denied that the conflagration may be set off by chance. Though the monstrous power of modern weapons act as a deterrent, it is to be feared, mere continuance of weapons test will have fatal consequences.

These sensible assessments of the modern world may sound sometimes surprising to those who looked upon the Vatican as the ideological centre of reaction. However, without going in for any ideological coexistence with the other side, this right thinking can be welcomed.

In Europe, Catholics, Protestants and Jews, Communists and anti-Communists, believers and atheists and all sensible men have a word of praise for this Papal Manifesto for peace.

The French Communist Party daily *L'Humanite*, Belgian Party paper *Drapeau Rouge* and many other Communist journals in Europe hailed the encyclical as a major step towards unity of action for peace. "This encyclical," said the Belgian Party paper, "is a testimony to the efforts undertaken to widen or adapt Roman

Catholic doctrine to the social demand of our time." All Communist newspapers in Poland populated heavily by Roman Catholics have carried extensive accounts of the encyclical.

Several European Communist Parties have already called upon Catholics to come into a united front with other working people to fight for peace, for disarmament and for an atom-free zone in Europe. But Catholic organisations and trade unions hesitated, fearing theological ban on joint action. Now this fear can be completely removed for the Pope himself has advocated for joint action.

In part five of the encyclical dealing with relations with Catholics and non-Catholics in social and economic affairs, the Pope writes:

"The doctrinal principles outlined in this document derive from or are suggested by requirements inherent in human nature itself, and are for the most part dictates of the natural law. Therefore, with a good faith in which they can meet and come to an understanding, both with Christians separated from this apostolic See and also with human beings who are not enlightened by faith in Jesus Christ, but who are endowed with the light of reason and honesty."

Therefore, the Pope's encyclical is a powerful call for action for peace, for unity of Catholics with all other sections of the population, for political action to prevent war. The orthodoxy of the Catholic Church, their doctrines and theological practices can no more be held as barriers against the century's most noble cause — the unity to fight to preserve peace.

The Pontiff's message no doubt contains a number of thoughts that can be accepted with satisfaction and acknowledged by all partisans of peace without regard to their political views or ideological convictions. It is understood that leading Marxist professors are carefully studying and underlining the new in the encyclical which is unprecedented in the history of the Vatican.

The fast changing world events in favour of Socialism and against imperialism and for progress can have salutary influence even on the most orthodox religious sect like the Catholic Church.

## Africa's Freedom Day

The South African Communist Party in a call for firm, resolute and revolutionary action by the oppressed African majority, warns the South African Government that the country is heading for civil war.

IN a statement, the underground Party's Central Committee declares that the people "will take bold initiatives against grievances, merging every local and partial struggle into a mighty river of people's insurrection that will sweep away minority white rule and win people's rule in a free South Africa." The people of South Africa "are looking to illegal organisations like the African National Congress and the Communist Party for leadership and liberation."

Within South Africa, despite the massive appearing and ever-growing state machine of domination and repression, the balance of forces is steadily changing in favour of the people and their liberation forces and against the oppressing minority. Violent outbreaks of one sort or another are becoming more and more common.

Sometimes as in the case of the operations of the organisation *Umkonto We Sizwe*, these outbreaks are purposeful, effective and carefully planned on a nation-wide level.

But very often, as hunger, persecution and police terror drive one section of the people after another to desperation, we find unplanned, spontaneous acts of resistance and retaliation taking place on a local level and the development of bodies like *Poqo* with its outlook of blind revenge on Whites.

However, the forces of liberation are being forged and steered in their determination to overthrow the Government of Dr. Verwoerd. They are building effective and indestructible organisations. They are achieving ever greater clarity of purpose and direction.

The Communist Party sees the general political struggle taking a triple-pronged attack on Apartheid: the struggle against the Press Laws, the fight for higher wages for the African workers and the mass upsurge of the rural people against the fraudulent *Bantus-*

tans' now being created to partition South Africa.

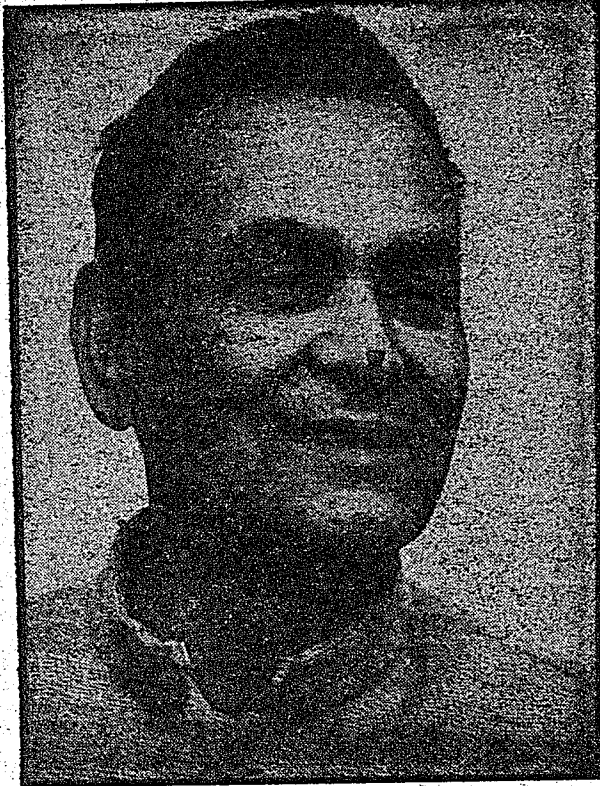
Together these struggles provide the revolutionary conditions for winning a democratic and free South Africa. The Statement declares that exclusively non-violent methods are no longer of use. Where the state and its police and military attempt to suppress strikes and demonstrations by force and violence, the people are more and more going to be organised and prepared to defend themselves and strike back.

The strengthening of the Party and its leadership is the key to the victory of the struggle. It is the most experienced and seasoned in underground work. The Communist Party will draw into its ranks the masses of workers and peasants who are prepared to accept the straightforward message of its Programme.

The Party will unite with all democratic and patriotic forces for planned, purposeful and revolutionary action for the overthrow of minority rule and ownership, and for the transfer of the land and the Government of the whole of South Africa to the whole of the people.

This is the revolutionary way out for South Africa's people.





### CPI's CONDOLENCE

S. A. Dange sent the following telegram to Kamala Sankrityayana on April 15:

**D**EEPEST sympathy from all members of the Communist Party. We have all lost a comrade of whom the whole Party, our entire country and world democratic movement was proud. Rahulji's scholarship, literary genius and devotion to Marxism-Leninism, to the great cause of socialism, to Indian working people marked him out as an outstanding personality of our time. Rahulji's name and writings, his work for his people, will live for ever. Our hearts are with you.

— DANGE  
Chairman, CPI

## Rahul Sankrityayana

★ By MUNSHI

**Mahapandit Rahul Sankrityayana is no more. He died of cerebral haemorrhage at 11.45 A.M. in Eden Hospital, Darjeeling, on April 14.**

**T**RIBUTES have been paid to his scholarly genius by the President, the Prime Minister, the Home Minister, Chairman of the CPI and several other leaders of our country. Rahulji was one of the tallest figures that our country had in recent times.

Combined in him were the unique qualities of a fervent patriot, an outstanding scholar and a good Communist. In his earlier days he was imprisoned in Buxar jail for active participation in non-cooperation movement. He participated in Gaya Congress, was again arrested and put in Hazaribagh jail. Later he participated in the Gauhati and Karachi Congress sessions.

### Kisan Organiser

He organised the Kisan movement in Bihar, formed the Kisan Sabha, led peasants' struggles and was elected president of Kisan Sammelan. By then he had become a full-fledged member of the Communist Party of India.

Among the communist

detenus in the Deoli Camp he was one of the most loved, respected and admired comrades. In fact Rahulji's whole life has been a symbol of struggle against exploitation, oppression, decadence and obscurantism. He remained loyal to the principles of Marxism-Leninism to the very last days of his life. He lived and died as a Communist.

### Scholar

As a scholar Rahulji remained unchallenged as one of the greatest authorities on Buddhism. His 170 and odd works are a vivid expression of his creative genius and deep insight into our cultural heritage. His works cover almost every literary genre.

But it was as a champion of the cause of toiling millions that Rahulji was most admired by our people. His books such as *Jeeva Ke Liye*, *Bisween Sadi*, *Tumhari Kshaya*, *Bhago Nahin Duniya Ko Badalo* and *Samyavad Hi Kyon fired the imagination of the youth of the country with a new enthusiasm.*

It would be no exaggeration to say that no other single person has done so much to popularise the cause of socialism in the vast Hindi speaking region as Rahulji. His *Naye Bharat Ke Naye Neta*, *Aaj Ki Rajneeti*, *Aaj Ki Samasya* along with the biographies of Karl Marx, V.I. Lenin and others gave a new vision to our people and radically influenced their outlook.

### Revolutionary

Active political life combined with deep scholarship, not only in ancient philosophy but also in the most revolutionary thought of our era, i.e. Marxism and Leninism—it has what this which put Mahapandit Rahul Sankrityayana head and shoulders above many of his contemporaries. Marxism-Leninism was not merely a theory with him. It was the very sheet-anchor of his life.

We join our people in paying homage to Mahapandit Rahul Sankrityayana in whose death we have lost one of the finest sons of our country. We pledge to carry forward the glorious cause for which Mahapandit Sankrityayana stood and fought all his life.

The Mandloi Ministry faced rough weather throughout the month-long Budget session of the State Vidhan Sabha. The State Government's policies and the administration came under heavy fire.

**T**HE most spectacular feature of the session was the trenchant criticism of the administration by many MLAs of the Congress Party itself.

Besides the general criticism of the administration, the session will be remembered for two events which were dramatic and sensational in their nature. The first related to the unconditional apology tendered by Chief Minister to the House for giving incorrect information in regard to the Ujjain incident.

And the second event was the resignation by Labour and Agriculture Minister V.V. Dravid on the issue of leakage of some confidential information from the Agriculture Department. (He has now withdrawn his resignation).

Both the incidents, however, tended to prove that the M.P. Cabinet has little control over its officials who can create an embarrassing situation for the Ministers by their acts of omission and commission. In both the cases, officials were responsible for putting the Ministers in an awkward position. In spite of this, no action has yet been taken against the officials concerned.

The common people of Madhya Pradesh are oppressed not only because they have one of the most inefficient administrations; they also had to contend with heavy taxation, the faculty problem and police atrocities.

Reactionary elements, and in particular the Jan Sangh, are not being met with any strong opposition from the Congress Party inside and outside the Legislature. Prime Minister Nehru, during his visit to this State in the month of March gave a clear call to Congressmen to fight the Jan Sangh, but alas, not many Congressmen have yet, either by action or by word, shown that they are ready to respond to the Prime Minister's call.

The month-long Vidhan Sabha session bears testimony to this fact. While Jan Sangh members attacked the Congress policy of planned economy, socialism and secularism, not a single Congressman tried to give an effective reply to their adversaries in the House. Congress MLAs made no effort to expose the Jan Sangh for its anti-national and anti-Nehru activities during the Emergency.

Madhya Pradesh

★ From Our Correspondent

## FOCUS ON BUDGET SESSION

The State had been made one of the main centres of the activities of this communal party since the Emergency. Not only did the Jan Sangh hold its all-India session at Bhopal; it had also organised extensive tours of all its leaders.

The Jan Sangh members of the Vidhan Sabha complained of police excesses, particularly against their workers. There are grave allegations that the police have committed excesses and the fact is that the pattern of their functioning has invariably been anti-people and against the democratic forces. The Ujjain episode in which a young student is alleged to have committed suicide due to police excesses was damning evidence of police misbehaviour.

But the people of Madhya Pradesh knew that the Jan Sanghs are not as innocent as that Ujjain boy was. Neither can the limited police action against Jan Sangh workers in a few cases be termed as excessive.

In many cases, the police had to take some actions against the members of the Jan Sangh when they tried to incite communal trouble or indulge in anti-Communism and in their frenzy attacked the Communists. If the police tried to check these cri-

minal activities, the Jan Sangh leaders shouted and complained of excesses.

In regard to the industrial policy also, Jan Sangh members tried to support the private sector and run down the public sector. They assailed the policy of nationalisation and said it was not in the interests of the nation.

Commerce and Industries Minister Dixit, who is regarded as the blue-eyed boy of the Birlas, did not reply to this criticism with emphasis. On the contrary, he said he did not bother much about socialism and capitalism, and cared only for the industrial progress of the State.

While replying to the debate on the demands of his Ministry, he announced many concessions for industrialists, including the abolition of octroi duty on raw materials and machinery for opening new industries.

The State Budget has also given a handle to the Jan Sangh to carry on its propaganda against the Government and the Congress. The levying of the sales tax on foodgrains is by far the most unimaginative step taken by the State Government. This has evoked sharp reaction among the kisans and the new levy is bound to have an adverse effect on the agricul-

tural production. Shakir Ali Khan, the Communist Party spokesman in the Vidhan Sabha, warned against the adverse effects of the new taxes and made many suggestions, which would help raise resources without resorting to additional taxation on the common people. He expressed surprise that the Finance Minister made no mention of the income amounting to over one and a half crores of rupees which the State would get in the shape of its share in the Central taxes.

He also asked the Government

- To realise its dues pending for years from contractors and factory owners and industrialists;
- To realise the rent dues of the Government houses, which totalled Rs. 16 lakhs;
- To nationalise mines and trade in forest commodities;
- To impose agricultural income-tax; and
- To carry out economies in State expenditure.

Shakir Ali Khan suggested that the Government should convene an all-party meeting, which could suggest ways and means for raising resources from those who could afford to pay, and not from the common people.

Karnatak

★ From C. R. Krishna Rao

## Gopalan's Tour Gives Fillip To Mass Campaign

**Release Communist Detenus Campaign Week, launched by the State Council of the Party from March 29 ended on April 6. During the week meetings and demonstrations were held all over the state. The signature campaign launched is still continuing. Resolutions and telegrams were sent by different mass organisations and Party units to the State Government and the Union Home Minister.**

**M**EETINGS were held in the districts of Bijapur, Mangalore, Mysore, Bangalore, Kolar, Tumkur, Gulbarga, Harihar, Sirsi, Dandeli and other centres throughout the week. Hundreds and thousands of workers and peasants attended the meetings and with one voice, demanded the release of the Communists illegally detained.

A. K. Gopalan's tour gave an added fillip to the campaign. The State on March 30 and had a busy programme throughout the week. Though meetings could not be held in the cities of Bangalore and Mysore, because of prohibitory orders, in other centres the programme was a big success.

Gopalan was received at Virajpet in Coorg district where he arrived from Cannanore on March 30. After addressing a meeting there, he proceeded to Mercara where he addressed another meeting at the Town Hall.

A public meeting arranged in Bangalore City had to be cancelled at the last minute because of a prohibitory order issued by the authorities. The prohibitory order came as a surprise. Just because a few people who call

sharply criticised the policy of the Government in arresting the Communists, though they were the ardent supporters of the non-alignment policy and were busily engaged in the work of mobilising the people for National Defence against Chinese aggression. Attacking Chinese aggression, the Government, Gopalan stated that the Communist Party would strongly oppose all taxes which hit the poor-toiling people. Gopalan called on Government to tax the rich and nationalise banks, general insurance, etc. He also criticised the gold policy of the Government.

Speaking on the problems of the peasantry in the State he called on the Government of Mysore to prepare the land records at an early date and stop all evictions immediately. He called upon the Government to implement the Land Reforms Act without delay.

On his way from Mangalore, Gopalan addressed a meeting of Party members and sympathisers at Mysore.

On April 4 and 5, Gopalan addressed meetings at Chickballapur, Baepalli and Kolar Gold Fields. He also addressed a meeting of kisan workers at Baepalli.

On April 6, Gopalan addressed a public meeting at Bangalore in the Cubbi Theatre premises. After meeting pressmen on April 7 he left for New Delhi. Simpson Somes, Secretary, Karnatak State Council of the Party, toured the whole State with A. K. Gopalan.

### Muzaffarpur Bye-Election

## Communists Help Rout Reaction

The result of the bye-election to the Bihar Assembly from Muzaffarpur has been announced: the Swatantra and Jan Sangh candidates have been defeated.

**T**HE Secretariat of the Bihar State Council of the Communist Party of India had issued a statement on April 4 in which it had called upon "the voters of the Muzaffarpur constituency to ensure the defeat of the reactionary parties like Jan Sangh and the Swatantra by casting their votes in favour of the Congress candidate."

### The Reasons

Explaining the reasons for this stand, the statement said:

"The Communist Party supports the basic policy of non-alignment in the external affairs, the policy of strengthening national defence on the basis of national resources and internal strength of the country, the policy of developing the public sector in the national economy and parliamentary democracy—the policies pursued by the Government of India.

"The Communist Party supports the Congress candidate on the basis of these basic policies mentioned above. The Swatantra Party and the Jan Sangh are opposed to these progressive aspects of the policies pursued by the Government of India and our Party can have nothing to do with such reactionary parties."

The statement roundly condemned the anti-people taxation measures of the Congress Government and also the continued detention of Communist leaders in the State. It pointed out that the Communist Party was in the forefront of the great mass movement against the anti-people taxes and for alternative resources for development and defence.

The statement added: "But the Communist Party deems it its duty to caution the people against those reactionary elements who want to utilise the resentment of the people against the anti-people measures of the Government to mobilise them against our policy of non-alignment, peaceful co-existence, national defence and parliamentary democracy. They want to distort the public anger to serve the selfish interests of the landlords, the big capitalists and the imperialists.

The victory of the candidate of either the Jan Sangh or the Swatantra party will strengthen the power and influence of these reactionary elements within and outside the Congress."

The appeal of the Bihar Communists concluded with the statement that "the Communist Party is confident that the people's power which will ensure the victory of the Congress and the defeat of the candidates of the Swatantra Party and the Jan Sangh shall also force the Government to abandon its anti-people measures."

Andhra Pradesh

★ By V. HANUMANTHA RAO

## Budget Session: Spotlight On Govt.'s Failures

The Budget Session of the Andhra Pradesh Assembly which concluded a couple of weeks ago, besides being a taxation session, was an eye-opener in respect of certain important aspects of Andhra's life.

**A.** KAMALA DEVI, Leader of Opposition in the Assembly, reviewing the budget session, pointed out one important aspect, that is, planning. The budget session, she said, "had revealed that the fulfilment of the Third Plan faces serious difficulties." During the next two years of the Plan, A. Kamala Devi said, Rs. 148 crores more had to be expended at the rate of seventyfour crore rupees a year. If it is remembered that during the first three years of the Plan, the State could spend at the rate of Rs. 50, 52 and 53 crores respectively, one cannot but have doubts about our capacity to spend as much as 74 crores a year.

The Centre's share also has to be on a larger scale and the national emergency being what it is and this year, the Plan being already rounded, one cannot be too sure that adequate central aid could be available in the coming years.

"Under these circumstances, it would be an uphill task for the Government and the people to achieve even financial targets, let alone, physical targets."

The Centre's award on the Krishna-Codavari river water dispute, which came towards the

end of the budget session, took the members of the House by surprise, though not the Government, which seemed to be aware of the contents long before.

The stand of the Andhra Pradesh Government by accepting the Centre's award "under protest," has not helped to dispel the fears that for the immediate advantage or for the superficial satisfaction of going ahead with project like Srisailem and Pochampad, the right and just claims of the Andhra people would not be given up.

Commenting on this aspect, the Leader of the Opposition said:

It is patent that the Srisailem and Pochampad projects for which we had the clearance, are only modified schemes but not those original projects which had inspired the Andhra people to dream of plenty and prosperity.

Besides the 275 crores central taxes and duties imposed on the people, the State government also added its own quota of taxes. A bill to impose levy on non-agricultural lands in cities with a population of 10,000 and over, another bill to increase sales tax to the tune of nearly Rs. 3 crores were introduced in this ses-

sion and were referred to Select Committees.

This session simultaneously showed how the administration has failed to collect taxes already levied or was lenient in the matter of collecting taxes from some.

It was found for instance, that more than Rs. 5 crores was due to government under land revenue, an equal amount from the excise contractors. It was also pointed out in this session, how the registration department is losing lakhs and lakhs of rupees due to under-valuation of properties at the time of registration.

It was also found that while government was paying lakhs of rupees per year by way of rent to private buildings, Government itself allowed its own buildings to be occupied by private people at very cheap rents.

### Nizam's Default

It is already national news that the Nizam of Hyderabad owes as much as Rs. seven and a half lakhs to government towards electricity charges.

It was further revealed that the officers, ministers and legislators together spent Rs. 1.64 crores in 1961-62 towards travelling allowances only.

Members from all sides and par-

ticularly the opposition pointed out to all these things and suggested that if only the government machinery is tightened and kept above board and if economies are observed, government could as well dispense with anti-people taxes. Such exhortations fell on deaf ears—the Government, seemed to have come to the conclusion that additional resources could come only through new taxation.

Meeting under the shadow of emergency, defence and allied matters naturally came to be focussed in the discussions.

Allegations were made by some opposition members in the Assembly about forcible collections to the National Defence Fund, and it was pointed out that such forcible collections do not enthuse the people. Circulars issued by Collectors, tahsildars, B.D.Os. fixing quotas for the taluqs or villages and the rate at which the Fund is to be collected from peasants were quoted by members. Specific cases were taken up.

Another aspect about defence effort was the discriminatory attitude pursued by the State government in excluding Communists from Village Emergency Committees and the Village Volunteer Force. In Panchayats led by Communists, committees were formed by Congress leaders with their own followers.

Instances were quoted in the Assembly, how, not only Communists, but even Congressmen who happen to be in the rival Congress group, were also excluded.

Committees formed in this fashion failed to create confidence among the public and resulted in the failure to mobilise the entire resources of the country behind the defence efforts.

Yet, as the Leader of Opposition put it, "the leaders of the ruling party had to admit that the Communists are playing

their legitimate part in the defence efforts. The working class and the lower middle class had risen to the occasion to the perpetual shame of the richer sections of the community," whom even the Chief Minister had to chastise in public meetings.

While these are some of the main issues that came up for discussion, the opposition derived satisfaction that it could wrest some concessions from the government.

The major victory for the peasantry is the reduction in the charges for electricity supplied for agricultural purposes from Rs. 45 to Rs. 25 per H.P. Similarly, the retrenchment of 1,600 teachers as a result of emergency, has been stayed.

Though the Government refused to see the folly of continuing with the policy of prohibition, at least, an indirect confession of their failure had been made by them, when they agreed to open hundreds of news shops in Andhra districts.

The budget session had also thrown light on the fact that where the people are alert and firmly agitate, even the Central Government dare not hoodwink them. This was proved by the Centre retracing its steps and agreeing to retain the Heavy Electricals Project at Ramchandrapuram near Hyderabad.

The detention of Communist leaders like Sundarayya, Nagireddi and others was undoubtedly a handicap, but the Communists and Democrats' Legislature Front have the satisfaction of having focussed attention on the various issues agitating the minds of the people, with sufficient sharpness and vigour.

When the anti-people taxation proposals come up before the Assembly in its next session, they will undoubtedly meet with stiff opposition backed by the people outside.



# BYE-ELECTIONS : Contest Between Congress & APHLC

The campaign for the coming bye-elections in Assam has just started. After scrutiny of nomination papers the final position of contestants in the field has become clear. The main contestants are the Congress and the All-Parties Hill Leaders' Conference (APHLC), apart from some independents.

AMONG the independents are also Congress nominees who would not fight the election on Congress tickets. That only shows the political weakness of the ruling party in the sensitive hill areas of the state where, the various omissions and commissions of the ruling party has engendered a separatist movement led by the APHLC.

In fact the Congress is contesting only two seats "officially", while in the other seats it is putting up its "unofficial" nominees. In the past this tactic of the Congress paid off a good dividend. But this time it is held in doubt by observers if this backdoor method will be paying to the ruling party.

## VOTERS' REACTION

To the tribal voters its approach is that its "Scottish pattern" of autonomy for the Hills of Assam is "much better than hill state". If you ask why it is better, the Congress would tell you that under the Scottish pattern, the people of the hill districts will get the benefits of a state, without hearing any of the responsibilities. If, on the other hand, there is a state for the hill districts, the people here will be required to pay taxes from some of which they are exempted now.

But this argument does not seem to cut much ice. Their opponents assail it as opportunism. Besides, it is pointed out that a plethora of platitudes about the necessity of national integration, is no substitute for tackling of the concrete problems of the hill districts not a few of which are the creations of the ruling party itself.

To the non-tribal voters the Congress approach is a "firm opposition" to hill state. "The Congress alone can protect you from the disadvantages that you might suffer from in a hill state, should it come, is their argument. Besides, the Congress alone can 'protect' the minorities (non-tribals) in the hill districts and so vote for the Congress."

Even on this question of "protecting" the minorities in the hill districts, the Congress election campaigners would not touch upon the concrete problems of the districts. To any concrete question the pet answer of the Congress campaigners is "vote for Congress and everything else will be all right". "Is not Congress ruling the country as a whole? Who else then can deliver the goods? Be on good terms with the

Shillong  
ket at Rs. 72 per quintal, rice is not available at anything below Rs. 84 per quintal. The dealers complain of scanty supply. It is pointed out that the government have been supplying rice to only the fair price shops, while the general dealers have to depend on the normal commercial supply. The fair price shops sell rice only to a limited section of people and

Congress and you can then have all your problems solved." But even these answers are given only in public. By and large the Congress seems to rely on behind-the-scenes manipulations and the administrative powers in its hands provide it with a good opportunity for offering "prices" for votes. Licence and permit seekers have been already commissioned into service to bag votes.

These "unofficial" vote hunters constitute the main core of Congress election machinery. They do not, as they need not, care much for the political consequences of their method of campaign. Little wonder, therefore, that they try to bag votes by setting one linguistic group against another, rousing chauvinist passions and exploiting it to their advantage.

The APHLC on the other hand, cares very little for all-India political questions. They do not care much to touch upon the vital problems of the hill people, their growing landlessness, their economic problems like harnessing the natural resources in the hills and developing industries in these areas.

If they face any question on these issues, their only answer is: let there be a hill State and all the problems will be solved. It is only because there is an "Assamese dominated government" in the state that there are problems in the hills and the hill State will be the panacea for all the ills of the hill people!

Among the non-tribals, the APHLC has no appeal to the Assamese people. Thanks to the policies of the Congress government of the state, there does prevail an anti-Assamese sentiment among a section of the non-Assamese people living in the Hills. And the APHLC does not miss any chance to exploit this sentiment to its advantage.

The APHLC seems quite conscious that the non-tribals do not view with favour its tactics of seeking election only to resign after winning it. With a view to softening it the APHLC has now been telling the non-tribal voters that its victorious candidates will not resign this time "immediately". But how far the non-tribal voter feels assured by this is just anybody's guess.

## Soaring Prices of Rice

PRICES of rice have been rising almost defying government measures to hold the price line. Shillong market has been passing through scarcity for the last few days. The government authorities, however, claim that they will be able to bring in supply shortly to ease the situation.

Though the government fixed the price of rice for Shillong mar-

that too only to meet their demands partially. Though the supply, it is admitted, eases the situation in the market to some extent, it has failed to keep the price steady.

Notwithstanding the claim of "enough of stock" to meet the situation in the State by the Government price rise of rice is reported from almost every district. Producers have now started demanding higher prices on the understandable ground that under the impact of both central and State tax levies the general price index has shot up and so rice cannot be sold at the previously fixed rate. But the Government is said to have refused to revise the procurement price on the plea that the bottom price fixed in this state is the "highest" in India.

But then the general price index in this state is also the

highest in the country. Besides, competent sources doubt if the actual producers still hold the stock. They are of the view that the stock has already passed into the hands of the middleman and it is he who is demanding higher prices. Harvesting of winter crop was over about 2½ months back.

The rice mill owners who never viewed with favour the government policy of procurement through the cooperative society have raised the clamour that it is this monopoly of the cooperative that is responsible for the slow progress of procurement. They complain that they have not been getting their required supply of paddy for milling. On this ground they demand revision of the procurement policy and their demand is that along with the cooperative, they should also be allowed to enter the market to procure paddy.

## Spotlight

By GARUDA

# PATRONISING R. S. S.

Even before the echoes of the Ma Ki Pukar scandal in Lucknow have died down, there comes the report of another scandalous episode from Nagpur.

IT is said that the RSS in Nagpur had organised a big function to celebrate the expansion of its propaganda work and roped in a big Congress leader, who is also a member of the Central Cabinet, to inaugurate this function.

The story is authentic. It is fully corroborated by a statement signed, among others, by P. B. Dani, General Secretary of the RSS which has appeared in the daily Yugdharma of March 29, 1963.

According to this statement, the Narkesari Prakashan, which publishes two dailies, the Tarun Bharat and Yugdharma has recently imported a new rotary printing machine from Germany. The setting up of this new printing press was, naturally, to be made a gala occasion.

## CONGRESS INVITEES

A day—March 31—was fixed for its inauguration. A big rally of RSS and Jan Sangh men "correspondents, agents, sale-agents, sympathisers, shareholders, advertisers and readers" was planned for the occasion. There was to be a ceremonial meeting and then a conference of these delegates.

The most intriguing thing about this function, is that, as the statement claims, Defence Minister Y.B. Chavan had agreed to inaugurate it. The arrangement had been endorsed by Chief Minister Karamnagar, who, it is said in the statement, had wired to the sponsors on March 26 informing that the inauguration had been duly included in the Defence Minister's Nagpur programme.

Thus, everything was set for another fine exhibition of Congress-RSS collaboration right in the grand style witnessed earlier in Lucknow. Only, as the statement says, Y.B. Chavan had to cancel, for some

reasons, his visit to Nagpur and thus it happened that the function did not come off. Dani announced that "the inauguration of the Narkesari Printing plant stands postponed owing to the cancellation of Shri Chavan's Nagpur programme as a whole."

In this connection, there arise some very pertinent questions which, I hope will be fully answered without delay.

● Did Y. B. Chavan agree to inaugurate the Narkesari publishing house's new printing plant? If so, does he still intend to keep the deferred appointment? ● Is it a fact that Chief Minister Karamnagar associated himself with the arrangement and blessed, in any way, the Narkesari's venture? What other important leaders of the Congress were associated in this affair?

These are pertinent questions because there exists no doubt about the fact that Narkesari is a RSS enterprise. Its chairman is P. B. Dani, the RSS General Secretary. The Marathi and Hindi dailies which it brings out from Nagpur are uncoincidental media of RSS and Jan Sangh propaganda and also sworn enemies of official Congress policies.

The Yugdharma is being brought out in two more editions—one from Raipur and another from Jabalpur. The latter edition had come in for conspicuous mention during the Jabalpur communal riots. It was widely reported at that time that this daily had played a big role in inciting the riots first in Jabalpur and then in several other places in Madhya Pradesh.

## MINISTERS READILY AGREE?

How can any Congress leader, more so a leader so responsible as to be in the Central Cabinet, and another the Cabinet Chief in a State, associate themselves with and encourage the propaganda machinery of such notorious elements?

But even more than Congress and Congress policies, questions of the nation and national policies are in-

involved in the affair. These have already once been highlighted by the Lucknow episode.

Right from its birth, the RSS has been at daggers drawn with a national movement. It kept itself severely aloof from this movement and always raised its squeaky voice to revile the leaders of the liberation movement, as people who do not understand one whit what "nationalism" is.

The responsibility of its perverted propaganda for the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi is too well known, to be recounted here. But the RSS continues to preach the same ideology and even challenge the Indian Constitution for having a secular basis.

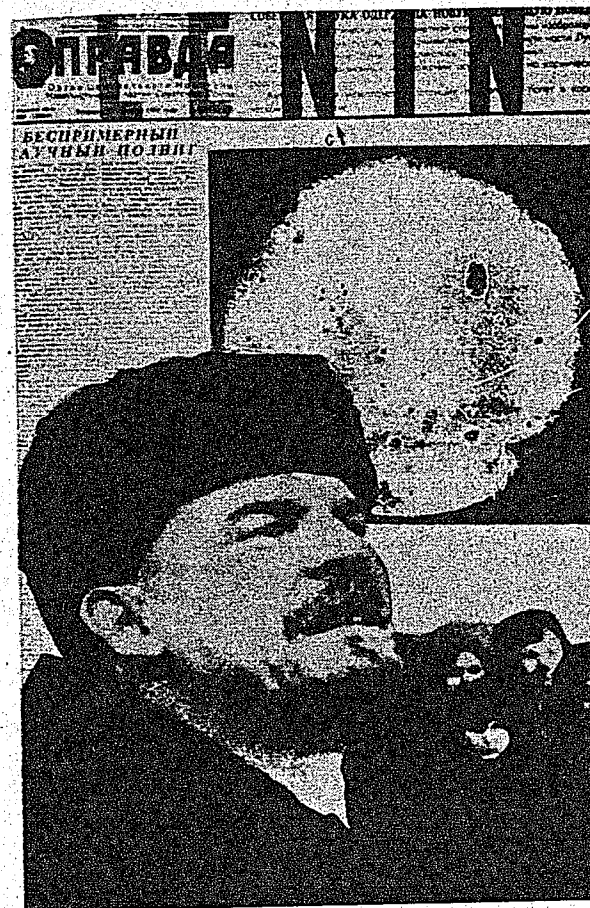
It goes to the credit of Gandhiji, Nehru and other leaders that they correctly understood the character of this desperate organisation. They knew that its "nationalism" was nothing but communalism of a rabid sort. Under their inspiration, the Congress always insisted on keeping the RSS at arms' length. Congress rules laid it down that no Congressmen shall have any truck with the communal organisation, including the RSS.

It is noteworthy that today the RSS stands in basic opposition to the popular policies like secularism, planning, no-alignment and ultimately the building up of a socialist society.

The RSS does not even recognise Indian freedom. According to Golwalkar, India's real day of independence will dawn the day the Bhagwa Dhvaj (Saffron Flag) flies over the country.

Thus, no change has taken place in the situation, and there is no common ground between the RSS and Congress, or for that matter, between them and any other non-communal party pledged to the Constitution.

It is, therefore, scandalous in the extreme that some responsible Congress leaders should hobnob with these nefarious elements. The news item from Nagpur deserves seriously to be discussed by all concerned.



A poster issued on the occasion of the 90th birthday of Lenin.

# My Reminiscences

The memories of a November day in 1917 are still fresh in my mind. That day I was making my way up to the third floor in Smolny\*.

A HEAD of me there were four peasants elbowing their way through the crowd. Each man carried a bundle or a sack over his shoulder. They were full of curiosity about everything they saw and every person they passed.

Down the hall towards them came Vladimir Lenin at a brisk pace.

When Lenin approached the peasants, one of them—a bearded old man, stammered as he asked:

"Say, my dear man, where's the elder here, the one who rules Russia now in place of the tsar? We come from the Kostroma District. We want to see him on an important business."

Glancing quickly at the old peasant, Lenin said: "The elder's place is over there", pointing to a door, and was again on his way.

\*Headquarters of the Revolution in Petrograd (today Leningrad).



Lenin addressing military units in Red Square, May 1919

## LENIN SAID

# "The Sword Shall Not Be Our Symbol"

By V. BONCH-BRUEVICH

The Soviet state was a new kind of state in history; everything therefore had to be created anew. The state emblem, the emblem of the first workers' and peasants' state in the world, too had to be new, such as had never existed in the history of nations.

At the beginning of 1918, a drawing of the emblem was brought to me and I immediately took it to Vladimir Ilyich Lenin.

Vladimir Ilyich was in his study, talking to Yakov Sverdlov, Felix Dzerzhinsky and a number of other comrades. I placed the drawing on the table in front of Lenin.

"Is this the emblem? Let's have a look at it!", he said leaning over the table and inspecting the drawing carefully.

Everybody stood around him and together inspected the arms.

On a red background shone the rays of a rising sun surrounded by ears of grain; inside a sickle and a hammer were crossed, and from the after the Revolution.

Lenin spoke simply and clearly about the tasks confronting the new government—the people's government. He stressed the need to end the war and to give land to the peasants, first of all, to the poor peasants.

Lenin talked to the Kostroma peasants for more than an hour. His aides repeatedly entered the room with urgent affairs, but Lenin asked them not to interrupt the conversation. He took great pains to answer every question the peasants asked him.

When all the questions were answered to their satisfaction, Lenin bade his visitors a hearty farewell and shook hands with each man. He then asked me to lead them to the dining-room. After that, I was to take them to Smolny's Commandant who was to provide a car to take them to the railway station and help them get tickets.

On the way to the dining-room, the peasants asked me: "Say, son, is it true that it was Lenin we spoke to?" "Of course, it's true", I replied.

"Well, I can see where we were wrong. We imagined him quite different—a lord or at least a governor. But he's nothing of the sort. He's as ordinary as the rest of us." Their faces were beaming.

trait of Lenin. We began to study the new drawings. The sword was no longer there and at the top of the emblem was a star.

Andrew looked together with all of us. "Well, what do you think of it?" Vladimir Ilyich asked him.

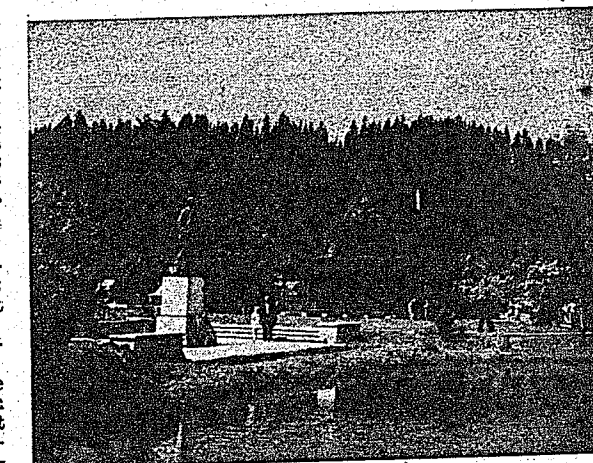
"It's very good, but there are just one or two minor things." And picking up a pencil Andrew then redrew the emblem with the artist's permission. He darkened the ears, brought out the shining sunrays still more, and somehow made the whole thing more expressive. The star assumed a clear five-pointed form and the slogan "Workers of All Countries, Unite!" stood out in bolder face.

This drawing of the state emblem of the Russian Federative Socialist Republic, made on the basis of Lenin's remarks, was approved in 1918. It was understandable to all the working people who defended their Soviet government against the enemies.

The five-pointed star that shines at the top of the emblem has become the emblem of the Soviet Army.

Now our state has become a mighty Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The emblem of the USSR too has a hammer and sickle and golden ears shining in the rays of the sun.

And each Republic too has its emblem. The sun on the emblems of the Republics rises on snow-capped mountains or vast seas. And every one of them has the slogan "Workers of All Countries, Unite!" and the hammer and the sickle, the symbol of the world's first state of the working people.



The house where Lenin stayed in Poronin.

# ★ LENIN IN POLAND ★

WHEREVER Lenin went, wherever he stayed during the long years in which he led the struggle against Tsarism, he left his deep impress. His simple residence became a centre of revolution, of meetings of revolutionary workers and peasants, of conferences of Bolsheviks...

One of the places in which Lenin

stayed is Poronin in today's Poland. Above is a picture of the house in which Lenin lived with his wife Krupskaya. This house is today a museum dedicated to Lenin's memory. To the museum visitors flock to pay their tributes to Lenin and to gain inspiration from the revolutionary history which was made within its doors.



# Morarji Makes Peace With Monopolists

## INADEQUATE TAX RELIEF FOR POOR

★ By Our Parliamentary Correspondent

If discretion is the better part of valour, there is none who should acknowledge it more than Morarji Desai. His tax concessions announced in the Lok Sabha on Tuesday amounted to a retreat in the face of the organised offensive of rich reaction. To cover up this retreat he had to give a few concessions to the poor as well.

FOR A Rs. 16 crore tax concession, the response to the announcements of the Finance Minister was particularly subdued. A burst of applause greeted him at the start when he announced a reduction in kerosene duty. But as he went on with his four page statement, the House sat and listened with a complete absence of enthusiasm.

Of course, members had anticipated what was coming. There was, therefore, no cause for surprise and certainly none for jubilation.

In the lobbies, the general reaction to the statement of the Finance Minister was that while he had compromised on his boldness to tax the rich and admitted that he would not go as far as he had bet, he had given a token relief to the poor in the very heavy burden of indirect taxes, in order to give the appearance of holding the scales even. However, few appreciated this trick.

### Critics Of SPT Relieved

The critics of the Super Profits Tax, while careful not to show any sign of rejoicing, frankly admitted that "things had got better". An interesting point that emerged in their comments was that the actual extent of concession on the SPT would be more than Rs. five crores which is the estimate of the Finance Minister. While they had argued that the original estimate of Rs. 25 crores was too low, some at least now felt that the present estimate of Rs. 20 crores may be more realistic.

There was also satisfaction in these circles over the Finance Minister's offer to exclude dividends, royalties, interest on foreign loans and fees paid to non-residents for technical services from the scope of SPT. Again, his announcement that "if the effect of the Super Profits Tax is to retard development and the growth of the corporate sector", he would be the "first person to ask the House" to repeal it also gave rise to their optimism.

In contrast, the opinion among MPs who had strongly pleaded for substantial reduction in indirect taxes — particularly scrapping of the new levy on kerosene — and abolition of the Compulsory Deposit Scheme was that the Finance Minister had moved in the wrong direction. In the debate on the Finance Ministry's demands for grants which followed immediately after the announcement of tax concessions, there were few references to the subject. But comments continued to come from both sides of the House indicating the disquiet in the minds of members over the still heavy burden of taxes on the poor.

As the Finance Minister rose to reply to the debate on

Wednesday, Mahavir Tyagi from the Congress front benches remarked; "more concessions now", Morarji responded: "no further; I am sorry".

Earlier, participating in the debate, Indulal Yagnik (Independent) said that the Finance Minister was good enough to reduce the tax on kerosene, but there is a big levy still on it. Also he pointed out that taxes proposed on diesel oil, petrol, tea and coffee, cigarettes and tobacco and rough and medium cloth will all remain.

### Yagnik Directs A Searchlight

Yagnik said that while it was good that the government had adopted the goal of socialism, the latter cannot be achieved by mere professions. It requires the socialisation of production and distribution. Comparing the bold measures of nationalisation adopted by such countries as Ceylon, Indonesia, Burma and Egypt "which do not put up the sign-board of socialism" with our government's hesitation to nationalise banks, insurance and foreign trade etc. Yagnik said: "Our country has remained bogged down in capitalist and conservative policies" with the result that the budget today bears the picture of rising debts and rising taxes".

He asked for complete withdrawal of the Compulsory Deposit Scheme. Yagnik told the treasury benches that if they wanted to close the gap between income and expenditure, they should "lay hands on the income where it accrues to the capitalists".

He cautioned against the discontent among the mass of people in the country against the new tax imposts. While the discontent of the people may not be heard loud in Parliament "there is whining and whimpering in every corner of the country", he said and warned against leaving matters to ripen into a violent revolution. Instead of listening to the advice of vested interests, he said, the Finance Minister should listen to the "unexpressed woes and sorrows of the millions" in the country. Otherwise, the country might be pushed on to the road from which it may never return, he warned.

Speeches from the Congress benches too reflected the discontent over many things, particularly the backward economic conditions of agriculturists in the countryside. A Congress member suggested that tax relief should have been given on diesel and spare parts for tractors instead of relief on Super Profit Tax. Another complained that the farmer gets very poor returns from his land and he has no incentive to produce more.

Yet another Congress member remarked that the economically weaker sections of the community continue to remain

where they were and nothing of the benefits of development reaches them. He said that tobacco had been taxed to the extent that no other commodity is taxed and asked the Finance Minister whether it was his intention to discourage tobacco cultivation. If so it would be better if he announced that tobacco should not be cultivated.

The debate on the Finance Ministry also brought out a spate of criticism on the tax collecting machinery, the huge arrears of income tax and the hardships caused to goldsmiths by the Gold Control Order. The Public Accounts Committee's strictures in regard to both under-assessment and non-recovery of income tax came in handy to members to criticise the work of the Finance Ministry.

Morarji in his reply clashed with the Chairmen of both the Public Accounts Committee and the Estimates Committee, and the latter for the Committee's criticism of the Industrial Finance

Corporation, that the latter had given less assistance to comparatively less developed states. On the income tax arrears, Morarji claimed that the arrears had become less in years.

Prabhat Kar and a number of others called upon the Finance Minister to gear up the administration and check the invasion of income tax. Prabhat Kar asked for a central agency for the collection of taxes and a new orientation in the tax policy of the government to reduce the wide disparities in wealth.

### Ponderous Proclamation

Corruption in administration also received its share of attention in the debate, members asking for vigorous measures to root out this evil. Morarji from his high moral pedestal gave a ponderous proclamation: "No individual will be considered high enough and sacred enough to escape the law. The limit is only the democratic procedure and the rule of law". He was as eager as the members, if not more, to root out corruption, he claimed.

But Morarji got his revenge when he picked up Ansar Harvani, a left-winger in Congress who had spoken with great vehemence on corruption, and gave him a rap. Morarji told the House that Harvani had written to him to drop the Sirajuddin case and promised to lay on the table

the letter of Harvani, when the latter denied the charge and challenged the Finance Minister to place his letter before the House.

Ansar Harvani, in his speech had taken the Finance Minister to task for not proceeding against the Birlas in the matter of the Ruby and New Asiatic General Insurance Companies. He also came out sharply against the monopoly press serving the big business interests. He criticised the Hindustan Times and Times of India for aiding and hiding the activities of the Birlas and the Dalmeias. Harvani read out two letters to show that the Times of India had been directed to give wrong market quotations to further the business interests of Dalmia.

At home and abroad, many punters keenly interested in the race of Congress horses running for the future Prime Ministership of India have willingly put their money on Morarji Desai. They say in London and Washington that he is a thoroughbred.

It was therefore a matter of some interest when P.S.P. H. V. Kamath concluded his speech by prophesying that if Morarji Desai would do the things he had enumerated in his speech, he may come "very near" to being the second Prime Minister of India. In the lobbies, there were comments that perhaps Kamath would be the jockey riding Morarji in the race.

### economic notes

By ESSEN

## MORARJI'S CONCESSIONS

For the first time since his assumption of office as Finance Minister, Morarji had dared to tread on the toes of big business through his budget this year and for this he had been continuously under fire from his one-time admirers.

HE, of course, could not afford to alienate them for long, and the result is the series of reliefs and concessions which he has allowed them in the new Finance Bill. To salvage his newly-built image of an adherent of the socialist pattern he has also announced a few concessions to the common people, but they are only a hood-winking device to cushion the opposition to his concessions to big business.

### What Concession For People?

For what is it that he has conceded to the people? Some concession in the duty on kerosene which will, no doubt, be welcomed. A little relief in compulsory Deposit scheme (CDS) for the urban people has also been provided in the form of exemption from it to employees whose income-cum salary is Rs. 1500 or more per annum but below the income tax level and who are already saying 11% or more by way of contributions to Provident Fund, Life Insurance, etc. But this concession again is no more than a recognition of the self-defeating character of the scheme, which would have dried up these other avenues of savings.

Morarji can also claim to have provided some relief to agriculturists in the form of

exempting those among them who pay land revenue upto Rs. 5 from the purview of the CDS. But even that he cannot be unaware of the utter inadequacy of a concession which will still leave vast sections of the rural poor uncovered. These — with their lot hardly better than that of the poorest in urban areas — will still be asked to make their contribution to the Exchequer even if they have to take loans to do it.

As against these meagre reliefs, the rich, especially the big ones in the industry and trade have been virtually granted all they had been howling for. The super profits tax (SPT) — which was their special target of attack — has been diluted so much that now it will not touch companies having capital and reserves upto Rs. 1 crore and earning 15 per cent profit.

Morarji has apparently left the exemption limit under this particular tax intact, but by allowing an initial deduction of 10 per cent of the income he has indirectly conceded almost as much as he could have done by raising the limit to 8 per cent.

### Relief To Big Men

What is more, the proviso about the gainful utilisation of the deductible amount will not be applicable to companies closing their accounts on March 31, 1963, which, in effect means that they can use or misuse the money in any way they like.

To whittle down the protest against this good turn done to big business, the Finance Minister has provided some relief to comparatively smaller companies which do not have a large capital or

reserve by allowing them a minimum deduction of Rs. 50,000 even in cases where this amount is higher than 6 per cent of the capital and reserve. This relief will, no doubt, be welcomed; but could it not be granted without giving sizeable concessions to big business?

A point against the SPT made out by the monopoly press related to its adverse effect on foreign private investments and although Wall Street did not appear to be convinced about it (it still hoped to make 15% profit, which is higher than the rate in America) it ultimately fell in line because of proper "instigation and stimulation".

### Grievance Conceded

Morarji has now conceded this "grievance" also by excluding from the scope of SPT, dividends, royalties, interest on foreign loans and fees paid to non-residents for technical services. He has also agreed to exempt payments to foreigners from Rs. 5000 a month ceiling on perquisites.

Morarji had worked assiduously over successive years to build himself up as a champion of big business. Through his recent foray into another direction he had somewhat sullied this image. But now that he has tried his best to placate the tycoons both at home and abroad, he will definitely win back their affection, although, for appearance sake, he might continue to receive their drubbing for some time. As far as the people are concerned they will now have no difficulty in placing him where he always belonged — farthest from the socialist pattern.

(April 17)

NEW DELHI:

The General Council of the All-India Trade Union Congress which concluded its three-day session here on April 17, decided to observe May 27 as the All-India Day for Nationalisation and against Tax Burdens on the Poor. All the unions have been called upon to observe the Day in a fitting manner.

THE meeting of the General Council was presided over by S. S. Mirajkar, President of the AITUC. Before the agenda of the meeting was taken up, the hall in the AITUC building was named unanimously by the members as the "N. M. Joshi Memorial Hall".

S. A. Dange, General Secretary of the AITUC reported to the Council on the trade union situation in the country and the developments that had taken place since the last meeting of the Council.

### RESOLUTIONS

The Council adopted a number of resolutions, among others, an amendment of Article 311 of the Constitution, on taxation proposals in the Central Budget for 1963-64. On release of trade union leaders under detention, on Indonesian proposal for Asian-African trade union conference, on the struggle of the French miners, on conditions of gold workers, on victimisation of workers in public sector enterprises, on organisation of Port and Dock workers, and on emergency and industrial truce. The Council also adopted

### ON ARTICLE 311

The resolution on amendment of Article 311, inter alia termed the proposed amendment as the "latest attack on the security of service of Central Government employees" and calls it "most deplorable". The resolution demanded the dropping of the proposed amendment and assured the Central Government employees' unions of "full support in their justified agitation".

The resolution on taxation proposals, while appreciating the government's requirement for unusually large revenues, protested against "the basically inequitable character of the Budget proposals for raising the additional revenues".

On the one hand, these proposals place an intolerably heavy burden on the poorer sections of the community, by taxing a wide range of essential commodities such as kerosene, tobacco, tea, soap, paper, cloth, etc., by raising postal

## AITUC GENERAL COUNCIL'S CALL

# OBSERVE MAY 27

## All-India Day for Nationalisation and Against Tax Burdens on the Poor

charges and by imposing a new scheme for compulsory deposits.

On the other hand, the proposals make only a negligible addition to the tax liabilities of the private corporate sector and the upper income brackets of society, while introducing no institutional changes whatsoever in the economic structure for mobilising the enormous resources required.

The "concessions" announced by the Union Finance Minister in the Lok Sabha on April 16, have not only not changed the basically unjust nature of proposals in any way, but have, in fact, further accentuated the glaring inequality of their incidence. The resolution further said:

The AITUC is of opinion that, both in order to provide relief to the people from the crushing burden

of taxation as well as to lay its hands effectively on ample resources, the Government should adopt the following measures without delay:

1. Nationalisation of banks oil companies, jute and sugar mills, coal mines and the country's export-import trade;
2. Scrapping of the policy of prohibition, which would alone, yield about of Rs. 60 crores;
3. Imposition of a ceiling on remittance of profits of foreign concerns out of India, at least for the duration of the emergency;
4. Suspension of payment of privy purses to the ex-Rulers.

5. Taking over of the Dalmia-Jain enterprises exposed by the Vivian Bose Report.

### INDONESIAN PROPOSAL

The resolutions on Indonesian proposal for Asian-African Trade Union Conference states that the AITUC should participate in the said conference provided the following conditions are fulfilled:

The Conference should be held under the guidance of the World Federation of Trade Unions, instead of being sponsored by any group of countries as proposed at present;

The Soviet trade unions should not be excluded from participation in it.

## NATIONALISE BANKS

### Congress Member Pleads in Lok Sabha

★By Our Special Correspondent

Congress member Subhadra Joshi made a strong plea for nationalisation of banks, speaking in the Lok Sabha on Saturday last. She was initiating discussion on a private member's resolution on the subject, moved by her earlier.

WITH the help of an impressive array of statistics, Subhadra Joshi pointed out how big business interests in the country had acquired virtual control of the banking industry and were using the vast resources of banks for their private gains.

The twelve top banks in the country controlled by the Tatas, Birlas, Dalmias and Mafatlals with a paid-up capital of Rs. 17.97 crores controlled deposits to the tune of Rs. 969 crores. Their net profits amounted to Rs. 7.35 crores, after excluding tax allotments.

Subhadra Joshi also pointed out that a small group of people exercised a controlling interest in these banks. There were cases where a family or a group had acquired full controlling interest in a bank. With the control over depositor's money, the big business interests were able to use the funds of banks for expanding

out how the fraudulent transactions by the Dalmia-Jain group had been done with the connivance of banks under their control. He also recalled the Mundhra affair and how Mundhra was able to build up his empire with the connivance of banks.

Prabhat Kar pointed out that the Reserve Bank's control had been ineffective. In spite of directives issued by the Reserve Bank and its controlled deposits to the tune of Rs. 969 crores, their net profits amounted to Rs. 7.35 crores, after excluding tax allotments.

Prabhat Kar said that big business was involved in the malpractices committed by the banks. The share capital of banking industry constituted 1.9 per cent of the total working capital but the profit of this

All India Demands Day was observed in New Delhi by the Bank Employees Association on April 17 by holding demonstrations and a mass rally in the L.I.C. grounds. A resolution demanding the nationalisation of banks was passed by the rally which was presided over by B. D. Joshi and addressed by S. A. Dange, Prabhat Kar, M.P., S. M. Banerjee, M.P., H. L. Parvane and N. N. Mahna.

their industrial empires. She demanded that in the interests of the nation's economy, the government should take over the banking industry.

Communist member and General Secretary of the All India Bank Employees Association Prabhat Kar supported the resolution and said that the Vivian Bose Commission Report had pointed

industry was cent per cent. He made out a case for the taking over of banks by the state for the development of commerce and industry and for gearing up our economy.

A Congress member P.R. Patel and the Swatantra spokesman P.K. Deo opposed the resolution. The debate, however, was inconclusive and will be resumed later.

## DALMIA NEEDS HELP!

### His Eldest Wife Appeals to MPs

The eldest wife of Seth Ramkrishna Dalmia who has been accused of malpractices and fraud by the Vivian Bose Commission and who is currently undergoing a prison sentence in comfortable luxury, being treated as a chronic piles patient in the Irwin hospital in New Delhi, has sent a lengthy telegram to the Speaker and members of Lok Sabha, to the Prime Minister and all other ministers urging against any discussion by the House of the commission's report and listing a number of complaints against the Commission.

DALMIA'S wife on her own behalf "and on behalf of his (Dalmia's) family members and 17 children" stated in her telegram that the "Bose Commission report presented to government is one sided".

She also claims that the "publicity of Commission's report is against the Supreme Court order where individual punishment was held ultra vires. Yet wide publicity has been given which has seriously affected Dalmia's reputation which is equal to death sentence punishment. This is also contempt of court the consequences of which are known to all".

### Dalmia Suffering Mental Torture

"Dalmia is being slowly killed by mental torture. The authorities have curtailed facilities previously allowed to him in Jail and in the hospital. It is heard that team of doctors treating Dalmia also submitted their report about his ailments and recommended release of Dalmia temporarily or permanently to give him mental and physical relief on medical and humanitarian grounds. Dalmia is in jail since over 11 months. He is getting weaker day by day as he has lost over 20 pounds in weight. Such surroundings and mental anguish resist cure."

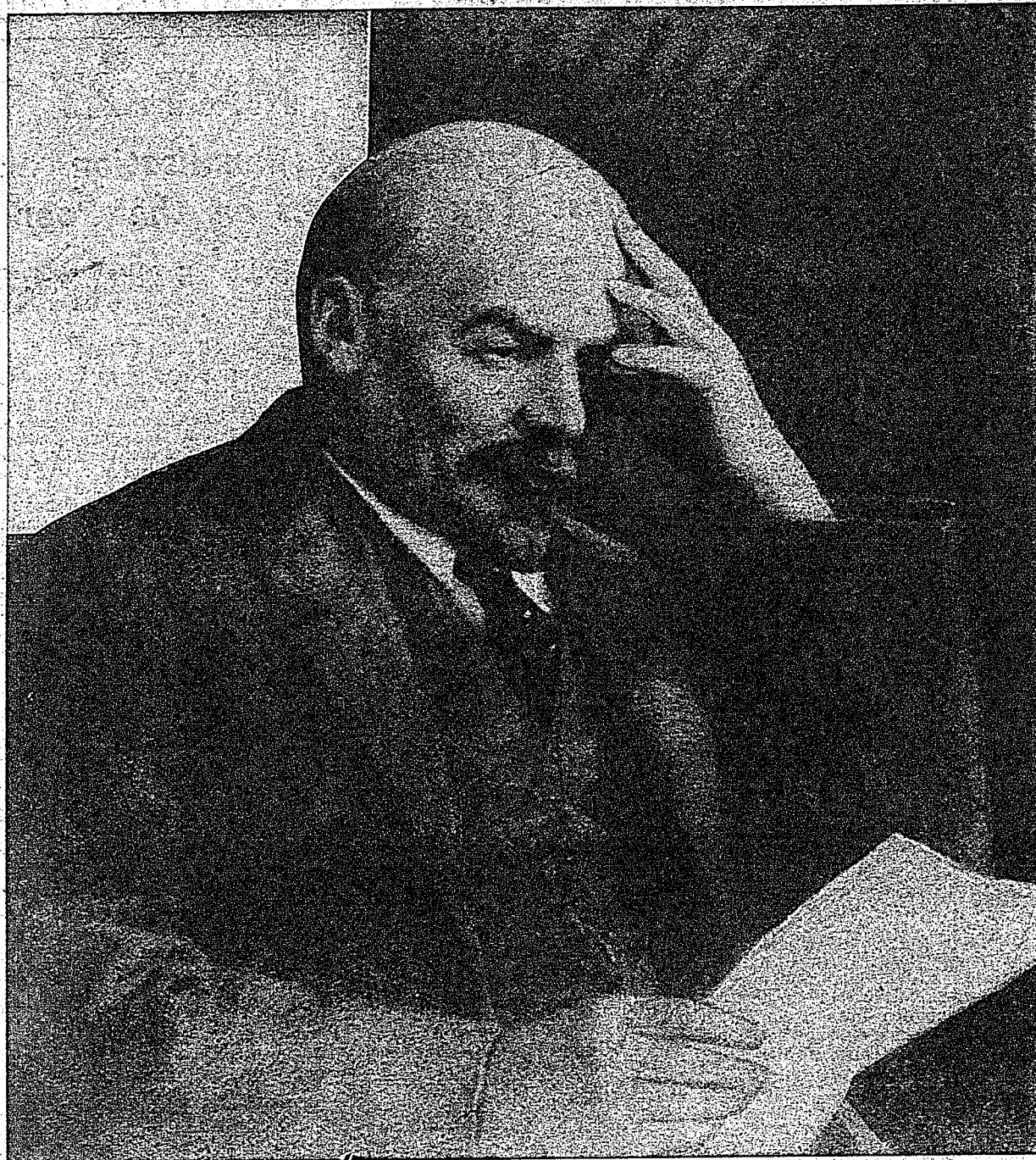
### Commission Acted Wrongly

According to Dalmia's wife the Commission had "acted wrongly on several vital facts on record". The worthy wife of the Sethji then goes on to give her own facts to show that "Dalmia saved shareholders from heavy losses of over one crore rupees and sacrificed same amount" in the case of the Dalmia-Jain Airways' shares.

### Box Collection!

Having read the telegram, some MPs are understood to have suggested that they should make a collection among themselves to help this poor man, Seth Ramkrishna Dalmia and his wives and 17 children.





V. I. LENIN APRIL 22, 1870—JANUARY 21, 1924

## FRUIT OF LENIN'S WORK

MOSCOW, April 16

Lenin's birthday is celebrated here in the spring. It seems appropriate that the birth of a man whose name is associated with all that is glorious and hopeful in mankind's future with a re-birth and a rejuvenation of the human civilisation and the human spirit and a resurrection of the oppressed millions of the world, their liberation and fulfilment, the appearance of such a man is remembered and sung during the wonderful days of the awakening of nature in spring.

**L**ONG queues of old and young move slowly on the Red Square to the Mausoleum of the great leader and teacher. There are people from all corners of the vast Soviet land and from all continents of the world in this procession of solemn homage and sincere tribute for all that Lenin did for man, his well-being and for the triumph of his genius in the ages yet to come.

Not far from here is the imposing red brick building of the Lenin Museum. It is even more crowded these days than all the year round.

Lenin's picture as a child, family portraits, his brother Alexander, executed by the Tsar, noble mother

and sisters, the prison cell where, deprived of paper and ink Lenin wrote with milk, from "inkpots" made from pieces of bread, in between lines of printed books and swallowed these "inkpots" when the footsteps of the guards were heard, the furniture he used in exile in Siberia and the model of the wooden house where he lived not far from the site of the great hydroelectric stations of today, the heaps of books he managed to wade through and translations done by him, including Sydney and Beatrice Webb's "Industrial Democracy" published in Russia, July 1900, first copies of *Iskra* published abroad and the map showing the town and where it reached, the chess table with the secret compartment designed by Lenin, which the gendarmes could never find, the first editions of Lenin's works, his drafts of resolutions in his own handwriting at the many Party Congresses that he attended and led to the ultimate great fight to create a truly Marxist revolutionary Party—all this passes before the eyes, all the milestones in the turbulent path of Lenin's glorious life.

Here are the simple household things used by the Lenin family; they kept to their modest habits even after the revolution. Here are Lenin's simple clothes which he

used for years and years during the difficult days of the Soviet Republic. Here is his overcoat and jacket riddled with bullet holes fired at him by that woman Kaplan in an assassination attempt and here is the bullet, one of the three, the one

### From Masood Ali Khan

which could be removed during Lenin's life-time.

The days of the great revolution and civil war, the days of the first beginnings of socialist construction, the days of Lenin's plans of the electrification of Russia and the highly industrial sweep forward of the first Socialist State to its present height of glory from the first humble Marxist cells to the mighty power plants and the cosmonauts lined up on the tribune of Lenin's mausoleum—what a road has been travelled:

The halls are full of the world's grateful tribute to Lenin and his memory. Here in Hall No. 12, I see the walking stick made of our Indian sandalwood with the top and the lower end made of ivory. This was a present from India and was given to Lenin on November 23, 1918 by someone from India. It is nice to know that

Lenin also used something which was made by the hands of our own Indian workers.

And in the library, I hold in my hands the faded leaves of a small book about Lenin. "The leader of freedom, Lenin," is the title in Urdu. The author Husan Aziz Bhopali and the date April 1922. This book was written and published in India during Lenin's life time and is a rare collection of the Museum, I am proudly told.

In one of the halls I see under glass Lenin's draft of a telegram to Bela Kun, leader of the short-lived Hungarian Soviet Republic. I read in Lenin's hand the following words: "The naked imitation of Hungarian Revolution, would be a mistake." I bow my head before Lenin's wisdom.

In one of the big rooms there are books lining the Halls' up to the ceiling, Lenin's books in all languages. I count a dozen Indian languages among them. Here is Lenin's Heritage, the theory that becomes all-conquering once it wins the minds of the masses. And outside in every heart burns the flame lighted by Lenin and urges them on to accomplish the impossible and the unbelievable till man becomes the real lord of the Universe.

Moscow:

The Soviet Union owes its victories in the field of science to the system which was ushered in by the October Revolution. It is socialism which gives man the power and the genius, with which ever new conquests of space are being made by the Soviet people.

**A**PRIL — the month which gave Lenin to the world — is also the month of the first flight by a human being in space. This year was celebrated the second anniversary of that memorable event all over the Soviet Union.

On the eve of the anniversary, your correspondent was told by Leonid Sedov, the internationally known Soviet scientist, mathematician and physicist that the space programme of the Soviet Union was to go on in a big way. It was a big stimulant for the progress of such sciences as medicine and much more.

Sedov declared that Lunik IV had sent very valuable information, its one and a half ton load of new instruments tested in a way no one had tried before. The findings will be published and then people will realise what a step forward it has been. For the flights to the planets and the moon instruments had to be tested in weightlessness and other conditions which could not be created on earth. Lunik IV did that job.