RESCLUTIONS OF EST BENGAL COMMUNIST CONFERENCE.

NOTE:- Given below are some of the resolutions (full text) passed at the Ninth Conference of the West Bengal unit of the CP.I.held from January 17 to 22:-

RESOLUTION ON PERCE MOVEMENT

This West Bengal (Ninth) Conference of the Communist Party of India notes with pleasure that the superiority of peace forces over the forces of war needs no proof. The conspiracy of the war monger imperialist powers under U.S. leadership to kindle conflagration of another world war could not succeed. At present the confidence of fighters for peace in the countries has become firmer. Establishment of the growing power and strength of the forces of peace than those of war is today definite and clear.

But incidents of this period have also showed that danger of another world war still prevails. The question of war and peace remains as the biggest and widest question before the humanity. The Conference notes with deep concern that world's predatory imperialist powers guided under the leadership of U.S. imperialists have time and again shown contempt towards the principles of peaceful co-existence and madness for war. Guided by unbearable arrogance for colonial greed, they are carrying on a programme of keeping continuous threat of war in the vain hope of intimidating the humanity. They are creating fresh obstacles in the implementation of the directives of U.N. General Assembly's 14th Session regarding the solution of disarmament problem; are continuing provocative actions again and again: and have wrecked the Summit Conference. The U.S. imperialists and their accomplices are creating obstacles in freeing mankind from the tension of war.

The U.S. imperialism and other Western powers have maintained their attitude of adamant obstruction in the solution of German problem. The U.S. imperialism has not withdrawn invasion on China's Taiwan; they have imposed military treaty on the Japanese people. Their recent policy on Cuba and intervention in Congo and Laos has proved beyond doubt that they want to turn the whole situation into a desperately dangerous one.

This situation has presented before the peace forces in countries the historic demand that they will have to be more vigilant and conscious and active than before. This call has also been given in the great communist conference's declaration on peace - the conference which was held in great Soviet Union, leader of the world peace movement. The historic responsibility of preventing a new world war rests on the international working class and peaceloving people of the world. In strengthening further the efforts for peace, the working class and the Communist Farties have today become more authensed with a firm conviction. Time has come when the conspiracy of the imperialist var mongers to start another war can be curbed. War can be avoided by the combined efforts of world socialist camp, international working class, national liberation struggle, the countries opposing war and all peace loving forces.

The Conference calls upon the Indian people to march forward with the new awakened consciousness in the noble task of world peace. The state conference after considering the priority of the peace movement, pledges to develop an impregnable peace movement by uniting all the peace-loving people throughout the State. The conference has to take pledge of fulfilling the heavy task to take the people forward in playing their role in the struggle for world peace, by making all the peace loving people of the country conscious against imperialist war efforts and rallying them in favour of universal general disarmament. The conference feels there lies the responsibility to resist the hesitency and weakness which have at present shown themselves in the foreign policy of the Government of India. Fulfilment of this task will be possible if a wider peace movement throughout the country can be organised.

Strength of the socialist countries under the leadership of the Soviet Union has today become irresistible. The forces of world peace led by the Socialist camp are marching forward with tremendous speed. The camp of world peace strengthened by its own power is the sentinel against war. The Government and people of peace loving India are inside this front. This conference calls upon the Indian people to fulfil the task of exerting all the strength in the fight for world peace against war. The conference calls upon all - irrespective of party and politics - to rally the West Bengal people in the inspiring and moving movement to fulfil the noble task of establishing world peace by defeating the attacks being made by country's reactionary forces.

The people of our country must support the sanguinary freedom struggle of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. India's active support to the freedom struggles of colonial countries will strengthen the struggle for world peace.

The State Conference of the Communist Party calls upon the people: Make mass movement for peace more intensified with incessant efforts; carry on continuous propaganda regarding the peace efforts of the socialist camp; agitate for increasing mutual cooperation between countries who have no interest in a new or; fight with unwavering devotion for the principles of peaceful coexistence. The Conference firmly believes that if the people move this way, real prospect of preventing war will enthuse the peace forces with a new inspiration it will be possible to establish peace by defeating the conspiracy for war.

ON RECOONITION OF G.D.R.

This conference notes with concern that the imperialists are creating war tension through rearming West Germany and thus endangering peace and independence of the entire world. The German Democratic Republic has earned gratitude of the whole peace-loving people of the world by firmly opposing this war provocation.

By giving recognition to the German Democratic Republic, Indonesia and certain other Asian States have reflected the real feeling of the Asian people. But the Nehru Government has not yet agreed to recognise the German Democratic Republic. The Conference demands that the Government of India immediately recognise the German Democratic Republic.

ON NEXT GENERAL ELECTIONS

The economic, political and social crisis is deepening and becoming wider in West Bengal than in any other State of India. The refugee problem, the problem of food, cloth, employment and housing, the food scarcity and the crisis in agriculture and the growing unemployment have brought disaster to the life of people. , here the Union Government should have given attention to these problems, the indifference and neglect of the Centre is to be parti-The State Government too refused to proceed in the interests cularly noted. of people. On the contrary, the anti-people policy of the Congress Government is shifting further towards reaction. Despite attempts to get back its popularity by cleverly misleading people on questions like Assam, Berubari etc., the Congress leadership in West Bengal is steadily becoming unpopular. During the rule of this Congress leadership - which serves and patronises profiteers and big capital - both foreign and indigenous - and which has failed to solve any problem of West Bongal; all types of crisis are getting wider and deeper. A special feature of this regime has been the naked attack on democracy. The inevitable effect is, the people are annoyed and agitated; a large portion of them wants real change in present condition and aspires for the end of Congress rule and establishment of an alternative Government.

The issues like the advancement of the problem-ridden State of West Bengal, and expansion of democracy are agitating not only the people supporting the left parties, but also a big section of the country who are independents and who hold no political opinions - even a portion of congressite population. So they also want change in the present conditions. This consciousness and aspiration are creating the background for an alternative Government. But the Communist party on the one hand has not yet been able to place itself before the people as a force to defeat Congress single-handedly. And on the other hand the people in this State are doubtful of the real possibility of immediate alternate Government as no united organisation or front of different leftist parties and other democratic organisations has been established in this State. The pioneer section of the people wants a great rally and front of leftist parties and democratic forces on the basis of alternate programme formed before the next election. The Communist party was all along in the past active and will continue to be so in the future to form such a front. But the anti-Communism of P.S.P., Forward Block, R.S.P., particularly of P.S.P., has created confusion and division among the detocratic forces. The big section of the people are dissatisfied with the P.S.P. as a result of its opposition to the last food movement, its contact with imperialist and reactionary cliques, its tailism of Congress Government on certain important issues. These leftist parties have not gained by creating an atmosphere of anti-Communism; but in fact their activities have helped the Congress. That is why the Congress authorities support the anti-Communism of these parties. These above-mentioned parties are creating difficulties for forming the unity and front of the democratic forces along with the leftist parties.

Considering the whole situation, the Communist Party, by placing the people's aspirations and interests above everything in the interest of democracy and progress, will spare no effort to rally together all the leftist and democratic forces of this State on the basis of an alternate programme. We appeal to all the leftist parties to give up anti-Communism by standing above their small party interest for the greater interest of the country.

It is necessary today for all the democratically minded people to realise that by excluding the Communist Party in West Bengal it is impossible to fight the Congress Government, to strengthen democracy and to fulfil the people's aspirations. We are convinced the unity of the workers, peasants and other democratic people is the main strength. Bengal is one of the forerunners of the struggle for freedom and democracy. Even today the democratic forces here are bold and vocal. The glorious annals of workers' struggles, agitation by the middle class, opposition to Government policies by the small and medium industrialists, sanguinary struggles of the peasants here, have added a new chapter in the history of new India.

Remembering this truth we hope that soil for not only leftist unity but also of wide democratic unity is prepared today. Strengthened by many struggles the people of West Bengal will before the elections defeat the policy of division and anti-Communism - will lay foundation of wide unity. We believe, the workers, peasants, middle class and other democratic forces will go forward from now on to remove the relative weakness of the democratic forces and the hold of the vested interests in the rural areas and foil the Government conspiracies.

We want to announce our pledge with much sincerity in this conference to implement in action the real background of alternative government. We call upon all members and supporters of the party to exert all strength in fulfilling this sacred and urgent task. Our appeal to all progressive men and women of the country is: Help us in this task; let us unitedly prepare the way of reorganising this State anew in the interest of the people by removing the Congress Government in West Bengal.

RESULUTION ON FREEDOM STRUGGLE IN CONGO, LAOS, ALGERIA AND CUBA

The more the struggle for freedom from imperialist domination and oppressicn waged by dependent and semi-dependent countries becomes more intensified and is achieves successs, the more the imperialist powers under the leadership of U.S. imperialists are making diabolical efforts to crush this struggle.

At present, specially in Laos in Asia, in Cuba in Latin America and in Congo and Algeria in Africa the imperialist conspiracy has come out more ly. In Laos, the local reactionary dlique aided by direct U.S. imperialism. has organised armed revolt against the neutral independent Government in order to set up reactionary regime in that country and the national liberation force is advancing against them by fighting with tremendous force. This conspiracy of U.S. imperialists is creating an atmosphere of war in South East Asia.

The Conference lends support to the freedom struggle of Laos. Remembering India's special responsibility under Geneva pact, the Conference demands the India Government to arrange immediately an international conference, specially to make Combodiar initiative a success, and to support the legal Government of Prince Souvanna Phouma. Rejoicing at the liberation of Cuba, the Conference greets the free people. and the democratic Government of Cuba. The Conference strongly protests against the aggressive activities of U.S. imperialism against free Cuba and calls upon the countrymen to organise extensive public opinion in support of Cuba. The Conference greets the heroic people of Algeria who are fighting to death for achieving national independence from the French imperialism and also the provisional Government of the Algerian people. The Conference demands that Algeria be declared immediately as an independent State by recognising the Provisional Government and the conference also congratulates the heroic struggle of the French people in support of Algerian freedom. The Conference demands of the Government of India to recognise the Provisional Government of Algeria and to help it in every way.

The U.S. imperialists, aided by Belgian imperialists and their local reactionary lackeys are carrying on conspiracy in Congo recently freed from the Belgian rule, in order to keep imperialist oppression there and to endanger the freedom of Congo. As a result of this conspiracy all the forces of dissension and division are being strengthened there, and a civil war has been unleashed. The elected Parliament of the country has been crippled; the legal Government elected by the Parliament is not being allowed to function; the Premier has been made captive by the imperialist lackeys and efforts are being made to cripple the administration in Congo. It is of much concern that this conspiracy is being carried on under the shadow of U.N.O. Although the attitude of the U.N. has slightly changed at present due to international situation and the pressure of national liberation movement, the imperialists could carry on the conspiracy till now because of the weaknesses of the U.N.

The Conference demands sufficient opportunity be given to Congolese Premier Mr. Lumumba to discharge his responsibilities; opportunity be given for the Congolese Parliament to function without any hindrance; and all the Eelgian troops and technicians in Congo be immediately externed and Moneyu's gangsters be disarted. This will clear the way for ending civil war in Congo and establish peace there and gradually a united, free and democratic Congo will be established.

The Conference rejoices at the way the Soviet Union, China and other Socialist countries are supporting the freedom struggles in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The Conference expresses satisfaction at the support and sympathy which is being lent to these freedom struggles by many free countries of Asia and Africa. The Conference notes that there are efforts being made by certain circles to equate this help with the imperialist intervention. The Conference considers such propaganda as tending to confusion. The Conference calls upon the people to build mighty movement to foil imperialist conspiracy in these countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, to nourish the national freedom struggles and thus to strengthen the struggle for peace.

(Other resolutions will be published subsequently)

NEW OFFICE BEARERS OF JAMSHEDPUR MAZDOOR UNION

Jamshedpur, February 2: With the conclusion of the 2-day conference convened here by the AITUC-led Jamshedpur Mazdoor Union, the election of the new office-bearers of the Union was held with Sri Sunil Mukherji, President of the Union, in the Chair. Sri Kedar Das, MLA (Bihar)was unanimously elected the President of the Union, Sri Ali Amjad as the Honorary General Secretary, Sri Barin De, Sri Nripen Banerji and Sri Sat Narain Singh as Joint Secretaries and Sri Ram Avtar Singh as the Hon. Treasurer.

The conference which was held at the spacious Bari Maidan at Sakchi, was attended by 2014 working class delegates from TISCO, TELCO, Cable Co. and Tinplate Co. (Golmuri) and Tube Company in Jamshedpur. Besides the local delegates, fraternal delegates attending the conference came from Jhinkpani Cement Works, Gua and Barajamda Mines, Moubhandar Copper Works, Mushabani Copper Mines, Eurnpur, Rourkela and Bhilai. In a press interview after the conference, Sri Kedar Das reiterated his firm resolve to resort to hunger-strike if the 400 discharged and dismissed workers of TISCO strike of 1958 were not taken back to work. Asked about the possible date of Sri Das's contemplated strike and its duration, Dr. Udaykar Misra, Vice-President of the J.M.U., told that the hunger strike would not be a mere 'token' one and it was likely to commence on Sunday, February 12. --FOC

Branch Secretary PHQ Branch. Communit Party of India. New Week.

Jhrongh - Grap Secretary. Com K.G. Srivastava.

Pear Comrade,

This is to request you that I be given membership of the communist lasty of India, It is my firm conviction that it is the Communist lasty alone which can emancipate the poor people from the Joke of exploritation. poverly and backwards. I also want to participate in the stonggle of the Indian masses for bocialism. led by the communist lasty. H-e I mel always abide with onles and discipline of the Party. Hope that Inde get the member ship of the Party at the earliet. with greating. Comradely your 29/161 211:00 40 AITUC 4. Ashok Road. New week

New Dolhi, January 31,1961

To: All Mombers of the Central Office Party Branch

ORGANISATIONAL REPORT OF THE

BRANCH COMMITTEE FOR THE BRANCH CONFERENCE

(Reporter: D.P.Sinha)

To present any objective and critical report concerning the activities and functioning of the Party Centre in all its aspects in the existing situation is an extremely difficult task.

It is all the more difficult to evaluate the situation when lack of unity and non-existence of democratic centralism is supreme, and there is an absence of any outstanding activities of the Farty. Moreover, many of us who have been in the Party for long have lost all hopes and zeal and are so bitter about the whole affair that despair and pessimism clouds the vision and objectivity of the situation is marred by these faelings. Many of us have given up all hopes that any good will come out of this. Yet they have to do it because the faith in Marxism-Leninism is unshakable.

The report which we like to present is so dismal and gloomy, that it will evoke the wrath of all Party members, yet it should not be taken as an attack on any individual inside the Party. Though individual comrades are responsible for the situation but due to long inertia inside the Party the responsibility should be placed more on the collective leadership of the Party than on the individual.

The marked distinction of the leadership of the Communist Party is its unity, homogenity and functioning of democratic centralism. It is the only Party which has a future and which is destined to fulfil certain historical tasks.

But for the last few years the Party Centre has collapsed completely and there is no functioning - either collective or individual. Each member of the Party leadership works in his own fashion; as a result there is no political gain for the Party. The work also is just to justify their existence. We can cite innumerable instances.

Take the case of Party organs - New age weekly andmonthly. Those journals are run in such a fashion that they deserve to be closed down as they do not serve any purpose. Younger comrades who work in these journals are not allowed to take much initiative nor can they do the work which the leadership should do. Hardly over the Party leaders and leaders in the States write in these journals, give concrete analysis of the movements going on in their States and give the guiding line for the movement and Farty activities. It mainly carries post-mortem articles and harangue of some parliamentary speeches, sometimes so long and tedious that hardly anybody but the writer reads. As a result, no Farty member today takes our Party organs seriously and we know that even the members of the National Council do not read the papers.

We also know the Secretariat and the Executive Committee or the National Council never discussed seriously the problems of these organs. This is the political side of the journals. Now take the sales position. During the last one year New Age Weekly has registered a drop of nearly 4000 copies and the Monthly nearly 1500 copies. This has been brought to the notice of the leadership time and again but no serious action has been taken.

To run the Party organs in this fashion is not only waste of good Party money, energy and time, but also creating demoralisation and cynicism inside the Party and destroying whatever respect and authority the Party Centre evokes in the minds of all mombers. We think that this one failure itself is so serious that it calls for drastic action and thorough reorganisation of the entiro leader ship.

Secondly, there is hardly any collective functioning inside the leadership. Each comrade acts in his own way, interprets the Party decision according to his own individual understanding and helps to create confusion inside the Party. The rank-and-file members sometimes are at a loss to understand what is the correct Party stand on such subjects. Sometimes no collective decisions are taken; one or two comrades consult each other and their opinion is given out as Party decision, when no formal decisions are taken. Even when decisions are taken, they are not implemented and there is no check-up nor is there any machinery to find out why they are not implemented. On many serious and tricky questions, decisions are not taken deliberately and the Party ranks are left to their own wits to defend the Party against the assault of the enemies. This state of affairs is continuing inside the Party for so long that it is time to call a halt.

Thirdly, there is hardly any unity inside the loadership for is there any relation based on mutual trust and confidence. Each one is trying to ridicule the other and relations among the Sectt. members are such that they can hardly discuss anything frankly and freely. There is no respect for each other and this feature is so pronounced and obvious that the ranks also lose all respect and confidence in the leadership. Apart from this, each one of them tries to create a 'satellite' around himself and in that circle anything is talked to undermine the prestige of another courade. Each leader has his own following and a kind of patronage is distributed among them.

As a result of this loose talk, gossip, disrespectful remarks etc. go on unchecked and whatever authority and respect there is, is further destroyed. Instances are innumerable; certain things can be proved; but it is such a mess that there is not a single person inside the Party who can honestly say that he never indulged in this affair. Everybody knows, but nobody talks - that is the attitude inside the Party today.

As a result of these, relations existing among the leadership, a situation has arisen where the leakage of Party secrets is taking place. It is known to all that there are hardly any Party secrets which are not known to non-party people. Even before a decision is taken, what it would be is known to many people who have very little to do with the Party. This leakage has created further complication inside the Party. Each Party leader thinks the other man has given it out; even inside the ranks, there are "suspects" in the eyes of another comrade and no two comrades trust each other.

Sometimes, Party members come to know about many Farty secrets through the papers like Link and Current.

We think this is not a very happy position for all of us and unless trust and confidence are restored, the Party will be at the breakingpoint.

Fourthly ...

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Fourthly, there is no consistent cadre policy for the Party Centre. Comrades have come down to the Party Centre for work, but after sometime they find that there is no political life at the Centre. Each comrade is allotted some work like any commercial firm and then he is to stew in his own juice. Nobody bothers where the comrade is suitable for the job he is doing, whether he is doing his job.properly, whether he can be put to some other job, whether he deserves tobe promoted or he deserves to be sent back. There is no check up of any job for any comrade. There is no human understanding of his needs. Many inside the leadership do not know all the comrades who are working under the Party Contre. At the best, they know only the comrades who are around them and the leadership does not bother who else there are.

As a result many comrades have left the Party Centre for various reasons but the main reason is the apathetic attitude of the Party leadership.

As there is no method to evaluate any comrade working at the Party Centre, many comrades think that they are wasting their time and as soon as any opening is found they leave the Centre. Today the situation is such that no compable comrade is willing to come to the Party Contre for work.

There is a Secretariat member in-charge of the Party Centre who is supposed to look after the Party life of the comrades. But the Secretariat has never discussed about the problems of the comrades working here. Even if a comrade wants to discuss his problems, he will have to approach two or three authorities and each one of them will cancel each other's decision. So ultimately we do not know whom to approach. Only if we can be in the good books of certain leading comrades can we bull on and get certain things done. Favouritism inside the Party is a creeping vice today and the leadership is entirely responsible for such a situation,

Moreover, in dealing with the comrades working at the Centre, the leadership often violates all principles of Party organisation It is a usual practice that leaders have some "private talks" with cortain comrades and neglect to place the issue before the Branch or the Group. That creates a feeling that rank-and-file comrades also can bypass all organisational rules and get things done on a personal level. It the same time for the most trivial matters, the Secretariat members insist on being the sole authorities.

In fact, there is no consistent approach to the cadre problem and that creates a situation where comrades feel that Party organisational rules are a sort of fotter and can be dispensed with.

Next, we want to emphasise the unplanned way the question of Party finance is handled. It was a longstanding practice inside the Party to issue calls for Party funds from time to time and collect money from the paople. It is not only the question of Party finance, it is also a question of Party's masscontact, as well as the carrying on of agitation and popularising the Party among the neople. That also helped the comrades who are not directly on the mass fronts to come in contact with the people and learn from them and find out what the people trink of the Party. Today this activity of the Party is not there except on special occasions when the Party fives a call for funds.

Today very little Party literature is published. There are so many issues on which the Party can make known its stand to the people, but except for occasional publication of some articles in the Party organs, hardly any camphlets on issues agitating the minds of the people are written and published. In fact, all Party pamphleteering has stopped and this has narrowed down our contacts with the people.

Same ...

Same is the condition of Party education. We were told very solemnly that a Party education course is being prepared. 'A committee was formed, even a Party History Commission was instituted. But:until now nobody knows what is happening and the leadership does not talk any more about it.

On the national plane the indecision and inactivity of the Farty is something unique. The Communist Party has one strong point over any other party and that is its functioning of democratic centralism.

Today it has almost taken the share of a federal party. Each State unit of the Party not only decides its own line of agitation and policy, but sometimes tries to give the national line and impose it on the Centre. There are innumerable instances of many state mits of the Party functioning as they think fit. Names need not be mentioned but Party members know them.

It is because the Centre fails to give any lead on national political issues in time, like India-China dispute, Third Plan, U.N. Session and India's foreign policy and Nehru's role, Thimayya episode and controversy on President's powers, etc.

There are TU Committee, Kisan Committee, Youth Committee, etc. but nobody knows whether these committees function and direct and guide the Party activities on a national plane.

In short, the Party Centre hardly fulfils the tasks it has to do to advance the democratic movement.

It is not necessary to go on cataloguing the shortcomings of the Party Centre. Nobody is happy to do such a distasteful Mask. We are stating all these, to make the leadership sit up and think whether they are fulfilling the responsibility entrusted to them.

II

We will now say something about the activities of the Branch. It is not all well with us also. All the shortcomings of the Centre are more or less reflected in our work. The same type of individual functioning, the intolerance, lack of collective functioning, suspicion etc. are also found amongst us. As a result of a reaction to the provious wrong policy of a monastic life there has been a swing to seeking a comfortable and luxurious existence. There has been a fall in standards and values.

There is hardly any collective functioning and running of Party organisations such as PPH. Press, Kisan Sabha, AITUC, Party Organs, etc. Sometimes a sort of discussion and consultation takes place but mostly the leading comrades act according to their own wisdom. Hardly any democratic functioning is there and many comrades think that they have no rights but only obligations. This is not a good state of affairs. Due to this, many comrades are demoralised and are losing all interest in work.

The group functioning is not proper and group meetings are generally not held regularly. When they are held, no decisions can be taken and it becomes a form al affair.

Apart from the usual work, there is very little other political activity for the comrades. Most of us are absolutely eut off from any political work that goes on here. We have not been able to find out a way to integrate ourselves with the activities of the Delhi Tarty.

There is not much Farty education for younger comrades and new comrades. We were promised a Party study course long ago but nothing has been done. On our own we have organised cartain Hindi classes for younger comrades who do not know English. Regarding Branch activities, we have not been able to do much due to demoralised conditions prevailing at the Centre. But we have during the last two years organised several political reports and discussions. We also participated in soveral national campaigns organised by the Party. The Branch participated in the Kerala Fund collection campaign and we did well and collected quite a good sum. We also participated in the campaigns organised in defence of Kerala Ministry. We have made some progress in solving some of our livelihood problems.

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Had the situation been better at the Centre, we could have done more but we think we have done something with credit.

But the main lag which is persisting is that the groups are not functioning at all and unless certain political shakeup takes place, we do not think we can do much in this respect. We do not want to lengthen the report by giving details of all our failures and the Centre's failures. That is not the purpose of this report. It is not a chargesheet to be proved because we think the farty leadership and all of us Branch comrades know all the things we are stating. We are placing the report with the hope that things will improve. We will be happy if our criticism is taken by Party leadership in the spirit it is made.

III

We would like to suggest certain things to be done and the Party Centre should evolve more efficient structure so that the Centre can really function as the national-political centre.

We suggest:

1) The composition of the Secretariat be such as to enable them to work as a team and guide the staff comrades. It need not be an assembly of all voterans with different political understanding.

2) There should be efficient staff, organised in departments, which will work under the Secretariat, so that the Secretariat can properly cuide the activities. For mass organisations fractions can play the same role as departments. These departments could be: International, Acit-Prop; Education and Research; Finance; Farliament, Organisational. The Secretariat members and staff comrades should form groups on the basis of their departments and fractions. These groups should discuss and check up work as well as maintain the discipline.

3) A monthly inner-Party report on the activities of the Party on national plane as well as the reports of movements in different States should be published for the education of Party members. That will give a proper understanding of the situation.

4) A national daily newspaper should be started from the Centre much before the general elections and the character of the Party weekly and monthly be changed. Without a Party daily, the Party cannot give a united guiding line, we won't be able to stand the assault of the Congress, PSP and other reactionary parties like Jan Sangh, etc.

The daily can be started in English with slight increase in equipment of our press and if necessary we can submit a scheme for it from the technical end. But the Party will have to see to the Editorial and political side.

5) There should be a certain political life for the comrades working at the Centre through the Party Branch, which should evolve certain methods to get our comrades also do some work with the Delhi Party.

6)...

.6) Periodic education camps should be organised for all the comrades working under the Centre.

7) Some method and way is to be found so that comrades working under the Centre can directly get associated with some sort of mass work at least one month in a year.

8) Party Centre comrades must te created of their minimum. so that the will be able to give their best to the Party.

-9) There should be regular check-up of work for all - from the Secretariat members downwards.

These are some broad suggestions only. We think if the Secretariat can function as the team that gots up the Party Centre we will be able to improve our work also. Otherwise, there is no possibility of advance.

We again hope that the Centre should pay attention to our report and just not file it for the Party archives.

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New Delhi, January 31, 1961

To: All Members of the Central Office Party Branch

DRAFT POLITICAL RESOLUTION OF THE BRANCE COMMITTEE FOR THE BRANCH CONFERENCE (Reporter: Mohit Sen)

. THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND THE PARTY'S TASKS

1. Following the wrecking of the Paris Summit in May 1960 by the U.S. imperialists, the menace of a world war has grown and the international situation remains in a state of great tension. Imperialist provocations and manoeuvras continue. Their desperation grows as the general crisis of capitalism advances to a new stage.

Simultaneously the forces of peace have greatly strengthened and their united action camprevent war. These forces are: The mighty Soviet Union, which now leads the world in the decisive branches of science and technology; the entire socialist camp, which has placed its great material and political might at the service of peace; a growing number of peace-doving countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, which have a vital interest in preserving peace; the international workingclass and its organisations, above all the Communist Parties; the national-liberation movement of the peoples of the colonies and dependent countries; the world peace movement; and the neutral countries which want no share in the imperialist policy of war and advocate peaceful co-existence. The policy of peaceful coexistence is also favoured by a definite section of the bourgeoisie of the developed capitalist countries, which takes a sober view of the relationship of forces and of dire consequences of a modern war.

The cardinal problems of the international situation remain: general and universal disarmament; banning of nuclear weapons; abolition of military pacts and bases; the ending of colonialism.

The united exertion of all the peace forces can result in definite advance being made towards the solution of these problems Peaceful coexistence can be won. The cold war can be transformed into peaceful competitive coexistence. War can be banished to the muscum of antiquities. War must thus be banished and humanity saved.

2. During this period the Government of India has played a beneficial role and has thrown its weight in favour of peace and against war. The alliance between the Soviet Union and our country in the cause of disarmament and peaceful coexistence has been reinforced. There is a coincidence of views between the Government of India and the Soviet Union on almost all basic international problems.

The Government of India has, in general, sided with the forces of anti-colonialism and has resisted the colonialist wars and the neo-colonialist gambles of the imperialists.

The Government of India has, however, lagged behind the other Afro-Asian States in this regard. Its voice has not been so firm and clear nor its actions source the Algorian war, the Congo imbroglio and the Cuban question even as many other non-aligned States of the Afro-Asian continent.

The Government of India has not Advanced towards a solution of our most unfortunate border dispute with China. The negotiations remain bogged in a morass of historical and geographical detail. No political initiatives are being made by either side. This is the most unfortunate aspect of our international relations with the most reactionary repercussions on our national life.

- 3. In this situation, the tasks of the Party are:
 - (i) To maintain the greatest vigilance, indefatigably to lay bare the policy of the imperialists, to keep a watchful eye on the intrigues and manoeuvres of the warmongers, arouse the righteous indignation of the peoples against those heading for war, organise the peace forces still botter, continuously intensify mass actions for peace and promote cooperation with all countries which have no interest in new wars.
 - (ii) To support, popularise and mobilise the people for the basic tenets, policies and actions of the Government of India i.e. for the Panch Shila **xxx** the Bandung Declaration, and nonalignment, while criticising all vacillations.
 - (iii) To strengthen the peace movement and the Afro-Asian soliderity movement by taking its slogans and its activities right into the masses.
 - (iv) To popularise on as wide a scale as possible the breath-taking achievements of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. To make as widely known as possible the disarmament and other peace proposals of the Soviet Union.
 - (v) To popularise and win the maximum support for the countries still struggling to be free, rousing the anti-imperialist consciousness of our people and bringing pressure to bear on the Government to act boldly and decisively in these matters.
 - (vi) To win increasing understanding and support for our policy of settlement of the border dispute with China through peacoful negotiations as laid down in the Meerut resolution.

B. NATIONAL SITUATION AND THE PARTY'S TASKS

1. (a) The economic situation is characterised firstly, by a growth in industrial production and the beginnings of the foundation of an independent capitalist economy.

(b) Agricultural production has also increased over the past decade but we are yet to reach the goal of self-sufficiency in food. The clear trend of the agricultural system is in the direction of capitalist farming.

(c) The public sector has grown considerably but so has the private sector (including the biggest capitalist houses), and the former does not control the commanding heights.

(d) There has been an appreciable increase in the penetration of foreign private manopoly capital and an increasing

reliance on foreign aid from the West, which, if continued, could lead to the endangering of our nationally accepted policies.

(e) Economic and from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. This aid has not only helped to build our industrial base, but also to strengthen the public sector. 'The full potentialities of this are far from utilised by the Government.

(f) Inflationary pressures have mounted and the consequent serious pricerise has had an adverse impact on the standard of life of the average family, with a fall in real earnings over the past three years.

(g) Unemployment has steadily increased from year to year.

(h) The relistribution of the increased hational income has gone in favour of the rich.

In the Economic Sphere, the basic realities of the present period economy; the fact of development at the cost of the people; the fact of a shift to the Right of the Government in the sphere of economic policies - its new proposals about the public sector; abandonment of agrarian reforms; concessions to the monopolists; wooing the Vest for foreign aid; resiling from the Industrial Policy Resolution; anti-worker industrial relations policy, etc.

2. (a) Politically also the policies of the Government have shifted to the Right, especially with regard to social and political democracy inside the country. The dismissal of the Kerala Ministry and its increasing repressive attitude to will mass struggles are glaring instances of this.

It would be wrong to imagine that the Government has gone over to imperialism or abandoned its aim of building an independent capitalist economy. It would be wrong also to postulate that the Government is already a Rightist Government. It would be equally wrong, however, not to see its shift to the Right.

(b) There has been a growth of Rightist forces in the country. The main manifestations of this fact is the further for tification of the Right in the leader ship of the country. The Swatantra Party has emerged. The Jan-Sangh is making efforts to consolidate its position. The Muslim League, capitalising on its alliance with the Congress in Kerala, has set itself up again in State after State. The PSP leadership has moved decisively to the **Fight**. Caste, communal, linguistic and regional chauvinism have grown among the masses as a result of Congress policies. The growth of corruption in the Government, its failure to solve the problems of the masses and the increasingly outrageous and unprincipled Congress factionalism have led to the growth of anti-domocratic sentiments among the President's speech on Presidential powers-have been made by strategically placed Rightists.

Mass discontent has grown considerably and mass struggles have continually broken out. The masses have shown unmistakably their desire for a change in Government policies and for a better life.

(d) The democratic forces are divided and the organised democratic political elements are not able to find a way out. The democrats inside the Congress as well, as those outside have not come closer in the past period.

(e) Above all, the Communist Party has failed to make any significant headway. It thas failed to sink roots among the

peasantry ...

peasantry. It has failed to politicalise the workingclass. It has failed to develop and extend its alliances and is now in a position of isolation.

(f) There is a great difference in the level of political consciousness and of organisation as between different States and within each State. There are vast areas where the masses are hardly influence at all by the democratic and where no mass organisations exist.

The political balance of forces, therefore, is tilted heavily in favour of the bourgeoisie and within that class, the Rightist forces have made the most headway. The bourgeoisie is notonly firmly established as the leader of the nation but it is far more **class conscious than the workingclass**. At the same time, objective conditions exist for the rabid growth of the Party of the working class through struggle and opposition against the bourgeoisie. While avoiding defeatism, a sense of urgency has to be developed.

3. The tasks of the Communist Party:

(a) The Party has to work steadily and with patience as the vanguard of the democratic opposition and with the perspective of making the transition from a position of opposition to the position of alternative. Its main tactical aim of the coming period has to be to weaken and then break the political monopoly of the Congress.

The immediate perspective the Party has to place before the people is not the seizure of power. It should on the contrary, be the perspective of reversing the Right orientation in Government policies and its replacement by a shift to the Left. The string de for alternatove democratic policies both against the Government and the Rightists outside will be the main form of political and struggle in the coming period.

The Party has to politically campaign for on the broadest scale for national-democratic programme: the consolidation of political independence, the carrying out of agrarian reforms in the interest of the peasantry, elimination of the survivals of feudalism, the uprooting of imporialist economic domination, the restriction of foreign monopolies and their expulsion from the national economy, the creation and development of a notional industry, improvement of the living standard, the democratisation of social life, the pursuance of an independent and peaceful foreign policy, and the development of conomic and cultural cooperation with the socialist and other friendly countries.

(b) The Party has to go forward on the basis of this programme to unify the workingclass, dig roots among the peasants and build the worker-peasant alliance. This alliance will form the basis of a broad national front of all patriots, of all prepared to fight for national independence, peace and democracy.

The Party has to dovote the utmost time and energy to the building and strengthening of the mass organisations and to the unleashing of mass struggle and mass national-political campaigns on as wide a scale as possible.

(c) On the basis of this programme the Party must appeal to and approach for united work all patriotic and democratic forces and personalities in the country, within and outside the Congress. The Party has to adopt the tactic of the outstratched hand to all these healthy forces and not turn them away by sectarian actions or behaviour. The Party must not miss a single opportunity

for...

united work of any form with Congressmen and Congress Committees on specific policies and issues.

and

(d) It is through mass struggles, /campaigns for the enforcement of these policies that the Party will be able to tilt the political balance of forces in favour of democracy and advance India towards the establishment of a state of independent national democracy and create the conditions for a peaceful transition to socialism.

(e) For the fulfilment of all these tasks, the key problem confronting the Party is the Party itself. Without tackling this problem, we can make no progress anywhere.

-5-

This Conference of the Central Office Party Branch pays its deepest homage to the memory of Wilhelm Pieck, Harry Pollitt, Hassan Nasir and other comrades who have laid down their lives in the great cause of the working-class novement and Communism. It pledges to over revere their secred memory and inspired by their example to work with greater will, unity and emergy for the triumph of the Red Blag.

Now Dalhi, February 11, 1961.

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ATTENTION:

According to the oral intimation conveyed over the telephone today at 10.55 am by Mohit Sen, Secretary, PHQ Branch, the General Body meeting scheduled to be held on March 4, 1961 has been postponed owing to a change in the programme of Ajoy Ghosh, General Secretary, CPI.

The General Body will therefore be held on Monday, March 6, at 5.45 PM (sharp) at the PPH building.

MARCH 1, 1961

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R. Parallon MICPANDUR UND

for circulation

GB MEETING _

Com.Ajoy to report on National Council

SATURDAY, MARCH 4, 1961

at 5.30 P.M. sharp

PPH ANDIA Roan Wi WN

New Delhi, April 5, 1961

The General Secretary, C.P.I.

Thro' Secretary, PHQ Branch

Dear Comrade,

The AITUC Group has nominated Com.K.B. Panikkar as its representative, as observer to the Party Congress since Com.Baburao who was nominated earlier has not been able to go to Vijayawada.

You are requested to issue him necessary credentials to enable kix Com.Panikkar to participate in the Congress as observer.

Yours fraternally,

vino

(K.G.Sriwastava) for AITUC Group Resolved that in view of the financial difficulties and the inability of the group to raise funds to send Com. Babu Rao as observer to the Party Congress, the Group revokes its earlier decision and decides instead that Com.Panikkar who is going to Kerala may go to Vijayawada on the way and participate as observer on benalf of the Group at the Party Congress.

April 5, 1961

M. Statal

VATTATION THE

Group Meeting. 18-4-1961 (Week Arcent - 1) K. G. 2) Roudle 3) Sadhan H) Atcuethan 5) Baburao 6) Knishnan 7) = Raudhani

K.E.: Conditions of the efficiely should be discussioned in detail. The work should be organised systematically. Commutes should express their technigs freely Many contrades are not satisfied about their wages. In this connection I had a talk with come back.

Paiche: - Three main results: Wages work and tulationship. Organisational crisispusonal interests overnions everything interest parts - General atmosphere is the parts - General atmosphere is the parts - General atmosphere is mutual riscussions one not held. Team work is absent this bars direct relation with on four etilionist. Discussion on politics is come changed - General contents the formulated and social the be formulated and the Conte

-2 : and they have no other scope of thinking and working. ATTVC does not function. Somehow startly a wrongly things are done but no systematically. No coary to imporore work. No method' to find one whillow to thip and done correctly. No evaluation to find out Whether efficiency is increasing. shere has been no such attempt so far, No machinen to fix up proper coordination and wincism of work. Ungo: Como Binturao and Whishnam's bage should be increased to at least 175.00 increased as that is the minimum requirement of a family in Delli man In extreme emergency fuller help should be neudered.

Sadhan: There should be broad division of work . No nigidity should he followed. I don't know about the relationship among the convades 3 ain trying to keep good relations with all. My wages have been fixed with personal discussion light Danige. No personal grievance about wage Atchuthan: No poper direction of work. Technique of work is not proper. Some what office discipline should be these. Office work should be regular some nice we find no proper atmosphere. Sometimes initation takes place . support to com. Pandhe about wage problem. Baburas : up till now everything was decided by Com. Dauge. the linne mon difference we cannot say anything about it. It is for to decide whether the wages him of converdes. The differences of wages of convrades is not proper. It affects the work of the commades. There are no differences of wages

-

in the districts. For once and half years 9 was not feeling well but 9 did not complain about it. Here the everybody books affer himself. 9 have to do only driving and no other work. Wages of all the commades should be the same.

Krishnau: It is difficult to manage within Pr. 150. 9 am ill and prices have risen. In order to maintain previous standard 9 should have wage increase Because of my health I cannot do work as I was doing eastier. Comradeship is not seen among the gonerades. My relations with Baburao and Raindhari are notgood. Eventhough 9 have a driving licence Baburao does not eming give the car to me for driving. some time should be given gree to to political and general study Raudhari : It is Difficult to manage within this salary . I don't think that the wages of all the connectes should be the same. There is no understanding about the work of other comrade.

in despatching dept. Hiere is no co-ordination of some work among the connectes. There may be delay. in doing some work but 9 never refused to do any work. About suslovs meeting no information was given to in me.

(discussion se: car etc.)

K. G. . Discipline in the office is not maintained properly. The noris of work should be determined and work organised property usually there should not be over time work. There should be broad distribution of work. But there cannot be rigidit There cannot be diferences of opinion on direction of work. It is better to approach the question turage proper channel. Sometime we have to do party work. We cannot complaint for that also. one in a month we should discuss about the work to be done. There is no point in discursing the questions which are buyond our scope. About wages we will discuss when com. Dange will come here .

NOTE:

In a joint meeting of the AITUC Sectt and staff held on April 24, the question of Provident Fund for the staff was raised.

It is proposed that the scheme should be implemented from May 1, 1961. AITUC will have to allot the following amount towards the contribution to this fund, if the rate is 6-1/4% of the wage bill:

KG -		12.50			
Atchuthan		12.50			
Pandhe		12.50			
Sadhan		12.50			
Krishnan		10.94			
Baburao		10.94			
Sundriyal		9.37			
Ramdhari		6.25			
Dhaniram		4.25			
_))		_	Re.	91.75
				TTP3 0	74+17

Each comrade will also contribute equivalent amount to the fund which will be deposited in a separate account in a bank.

No comrade will be given any loan from the AITUC funds after the commencement of the Scheme. If any comrade wants a loan, he can take only a part of his own contribution to the fund. In no case contribution of the AITUC should be paid to the comrade.

This would enable the comrades to save some money compulsorily and utilise the amount whenever they need it.

Party) ATTUR PHQ General Body Meeting Date - 22th May 1961. for At 6 P.M. in PPH Hall. Com. Ajoy to speak on 6th Party Congress. MICPAN DUZ R Bargher MARDen Kuns

(Party) G. B. MEETING Com. Ajoy to speak on Assam on Monday, sthe June, at BPH 6 P.M. ds.t.61 Mandamilius MCRANDUM MCRANDUM Notes 101 36/61 11.15 Am

US.

NOFICE: 9 :

Reporting on Party Congress

GB at PPH, 6 p.m. on Friday, 12th May.

Com. Agoy Ghosh to report

Miclandras

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Ville"

NOTE ON THE CENTRAL PARTY DAILY

From the Central Office Party Branch

- * --

1. We are strongly of the opinion that a Central Party 6 Pager Daily in English has become an urgent necessity.

We need a Central daily, in the first place, because its publication is the first essential step towards unifying the Party. It is only by a day-to-day lead on all national and international issues that the central leadership will be able to ensure a uniform response to these issues by the entire Party, thus overcoming the present lamentable confusion when each State, unit has its own opinion (which it does not hesitate to publish).

We need a Central daily, in the second place, because this is the only way in which the breakdown of the Party Centre can be prevented. Only through the work of editing and publishing a daily can the leadership and the staff be lifted out of the present rut and be galvanised into action. Around the daily can be built the various departments which the Party Centre needs. Through a net-work of correspondents the central leadership will be able to keep in touch with the developments in different States. Through the daily we shall be able to give the Centre that prestige and influence, so necessary for a democratically centralised Party.

We need a Central daily, above all, for the coming battle of the Third General Elections. It is only through the central daily that the comrades in the different States will immediately know the authoritative answers to the numerous ideological-political attacks that the other parties will make against us. It is only through the central daily that the slanders and distortions of our stand can be immediately exposed. And, it is only through the central daily that the news of the campaign throughout the country can reach our comrades in every corner of it, thus spurring all of us on to greater efforts.

At present the central daily has to be published in English, though efforts should also be made to explore the possibilities of a Hindi daily.

2. We are presenting below a rough estimate of the expenditure involved in the Daily with a 10,000 print order.

Initial Investment

Machinery		New	Second	Hand
Two Printing Machines		125,000	40,	000 landhra)
Two Linos		150,000		000
Cutting Machine (not requir Visalaandhra machine is ava				
able)		25,000		
Blockmaking machine		30,000		
Station Wagon		20,000	10,	000

It will be seen that the initial investment will not exceed Rs. 350,000. It will be considerably less if the secondhand machines can be bought.

-- 2 ---

If new machines have to be bought we do not advise the purchase of a rotary as with a 10,000 print order two high-speed machines will meet our needs as well as get us money by being rented out for job work.

Running Cost Per Month

Revenue

	News print, 15 tons a month @ Rs.1,000 a ton if we import directly		15,000	
	Composing and printing		15,000	
	News Service		4,000	
	Despatch (Rs. 200 a day)		6,000	
	Staff (Edit: 10; Managerial:6; Proofreaders: 2; typists : 2; drivers: 2) @ Rs.200/- 1-each		4,400	
			and and and and out require and an	4 mm
	Total	••••	44,400	
e			NG and one pers and pert 206 246 dats of	-
	@ 10 nPper copy (taking into account discount, unsold copies and at 75% recovery)	• • •	16,000	
	Press work (from Linos & Machine)	8,000	
	Advertisement		4,500	
		-		-

Total 28

28,500

From this estimate it is clear that we shall suffer a loss of about Rs. 15,900 per month. It may be that the loss will be greater as we have not calculated the cost of correspondents (about which there can be coordination with IPA) nor the initially smaller circulation nor the initially smaller advertisement revenue.

At the same time we have not calculated additional sources of revenue as: special supplements; more money from the machines and linos.

Part of this deficit can be made up our running a Daily Fund campaign (on the lines of the <u>Daily Worker</u>). We could also obtain some capital by enrolling subscribers right from the start.

3. It is our opinion that the Daily should be a morning one so that it can reach (by air freight)all the major centres on the same day. -- 3 ---

4. As for the recruitment of staff we suggest that we get one or two comrades (English-knowing) from our State dailies, to begin with, on a six months contract. Later if there is mutual satisfaction they can be made permanent. In this way we shall have a staff, in addition to those already available in Delhi, with journalistic and Party experience.

In addition we shall obtain the part-time services of journalist comrades and friends in Delhi, who can help with regular features and in other ways.

5. The Daily must start publication by November this year if it is to help our election campaign. This means that the present National Council meeting must itself take the decisionto start the Daily. It should immediately a Daily Fund call. Lissue It should set up a committee of comrades to get moving in the matter of negotiating regarding machines and staff as well as setting up the establishment.

We would, therefore, urge the National Council to discuss and settle the question of the Central Daily at this very session. The National Council's call for a Central Daily will inspire the entire Party and stairup all its tremendous enthusiasm for work and struggle.

New Delhi, , June, 1961.

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The Central Office Party Branch, COMAUNIST PARTY OF INDIA.

Dear Com. P. C. Jashi. By hand. Rourkele. 12.8.61. leiter with one articale a Hack A for tal come at to write some thing time to dimp when I met you at Raiper station as before that ft bellie biest lime. So, Please Do The meet sary changes and Publish it in The "mew Age" pout Put my original name there, because & you know I am a breanding since last may 1958, gamshed pur incident. you can put as a special correspondent or in The name of "Ispat " Rease advise me, what ly se of information a suchat lype it arlieale you want bromme. My sake ad overs is available with com. K. J. Snivaslaw of AITUR. Please while one through him. Hope you are in good health with cheers Jain N.-B.___ Naresh Sutta. Please by togive This article in the Amal plage and Send 300 A. statighted copies, & (Last-line you sent 400 copies but this time you ADDress Known To & yaw Afice.



GRAMS : M A R X B A D I PHONE : 25794 AND 27002

> 7-4, ASAF ALI ROAD. NEW DELHI.

A.I.T.U.C.

Mont to tent

New Delhi, September 1, 1961.

Dear Comrade Srivastava & Company.

You are holding your General Council Please let me know when it will be over and if it will be over for you to give me a report article on it in time for this issue.

Space about one page of the New Age, i.e. 6 typed pages double spacing with a photograph thrown in. Please ring me back.

If there are other comrades who have been dealing with important TU and industrial problems. and would agree to write for the NA. Please ask them to ring me up. I can myself available to them, after the AITUC meeting provided they ring me up before hand and make a prior appointment.

Greeting s,

Yours_ (P.C. Joshi)

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south and the).X	. Al	to sharts a	New Delh	1; 9I	
31 .3mil	ience.	.0	-40	Septembe	r 1, 1961.	•

Dear Comrade Ispat,

Thanks for your chit dated 12/8 and the report on Rourkela. It will be published in the New Age, issue dated 10th September along with material from Jamshedpur etc. You have asked about the nature of the reports on Rourkela that I want for the New Age. I had explained you the whole thing last time but let me repeat.

Rourkela is a very big plant now experience reveals and its own results of working are exposing the nature of West German aid. The first necessity is that once or twice a month all the information about the gad bad in the machinary, in achieving production targets, behaviour with the workers in the daily life of the working class outside the plant and in town shiplife who all be pooled together and made into a newsletter and send regular to us twice if possible once a month in any case.

If with the help of competent people on the Accounts and Engineering sides some good exposure stories can be produced about the working of each department as compared with Bhilai etc. It will be welcome.

If a of article on the natize of training given and also not given to Indian personnel can be produced. It will be welcome.

If an article on the salaries, the contribution and the method of operation of German specialists can be made. It will be useful.

If a story about the West German specialists and technicians in the daily life of the township can be worked up. It will be very useful.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

(CENTRAL HEADQUARTERS) 4. KEELING ROAD. NEW DELHI.

- 2 -

If somebody can work up a documented **wir** criticism of the official Annual Report on Rourkela Plant. It will be useful.

Since I have to delay the publication of your report I am not sending extra copies to Rourkela If and when extra copies are has to be written to and not to me and advance send to him. He is very strict on that.

Please do write often and on. Greeting S, Yours,

(P.C. Joshi)

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