

ALL-INDIA SATYAGRAHA

August 24 to 28

LET US ACT FOR FOOD!

- * ENROL YOURSELF AS A SATYAGRAHI
- * PICKET WHOLESAL GRAIN MANDIS
- * PICKET PRINCIPAL EXCHANGE MARKETS
- * PICKET RESERVE BANK AND THE BIG FIVE BANKS
- * OFFER SATYAGRAHA AT VARIOUS GOVERNMENT OFFICES

71 AUG 1964
Copy 1964

NEW WAGE

CENTRAL ORGAN OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

Vol. XII No. 31 New Delhi, August 2, 1964 25 Paise

THE Communist Party has given a call for an all-India action to fight the crisis and starvation imposed upon millions of Indians by the big monopolists and the Congress government. In all the towns and district centres, in all places, where a Communist lives and works, there will be a mighty protest action, commencing from August 24, throughout the length and breadth of the country.

All workers, peasants, middle-class employees, citizens, men and women should stir themselves and unite in a common action to stop this murder of millions carried out by the big millionaires and their allies in the government.

The first action will be an all-India satyagraha to be offered by one lakh satyagrahis.

Some people ask as to why this action when already the government is taking measures to solve the problem.

We do not believe that the measures that government is taking are going to solve the crisis.

Government admits that it is not a crisis of shortage of food. It admits that the crisis is due to the hoarders. It knows that crores of rupees have been made by the hoarders, that big capital is holding society to ransom. It knows the criminals but it does not act, because the criminals themselves have made the policy for the government.

For years we have been shouting that there must be state trading in foodgrains, that the open speculative markets must be stopped. Many eminent economists demanded the same things. But the government, whose financial policies are made by the millionaires, refused to pay heed.

Even bourgeois economic journals warned in February 1964: "money supply and bank credit are expanding faster than warranted either by the increase in supply of goods or the rise in price levels... The rise in bank credit so far (in February 1964—Ed.) has been more than twice the increase in the same period of 1962-63 busy season and has already exceeded the increase in the whole of the last busy season."

Was it not clear from this that largescale hoarding has begun and that the millionaire grain-dealers and specu-

lating criminals were being aided by the Reserve Bank and the other big banks?

What was the Finance Minister, the Commerce Minister, the Food Minister and all that gentry that now talk so much of "strong measures" doing then? They were encouraging the banks to lend and helping the hoarders to hoard, knowingly and consciously.

—by—
S. A. DANGE

And now when the masses, lashed by starvation, are going into action they find that their crime has gone too far and call for a halt.

Let not the people be deceived by their "threats" of taking action against the hoarders. All the measures that they propose will prove

to be a failure in the end, because they do not touch the root cause—which is the growth of monopoly capital, the tremendous concentration of wealth in a few families of millionaires and the impoverishment of the working people.

They will not nationalise banking. They will not take over the wholesale trade in foodgrains. They will not nationalise export-import trade in principal commodities. They will not stop the monopolies from growing. They will not stop forward trading. They will not attack the anti-social big factory owners, who fatten on the manufacture of essential goods of the people, like sugar, cloth etc.

They will refuse to do so until the masses rise and hit back at the ratanis.

* ON BACK PAGE



DELHI TEXTILE WORKERS TO GO ON TOKEN STRIKE

THE round-the-clock dharna (squatting) by the textile workers of Delhi in batches of 5 to 50 before the gates of Delhi Cloth Mills, Ayodhya Textile Mills, Birla Cotton Mills and Swatantra Bharat Mills entered a new stage on July 29 when after ten days of squatting, the Kapra Mazdoor Ekta Union decided to take to hunger-strike action. (See earlier report on Page 15).

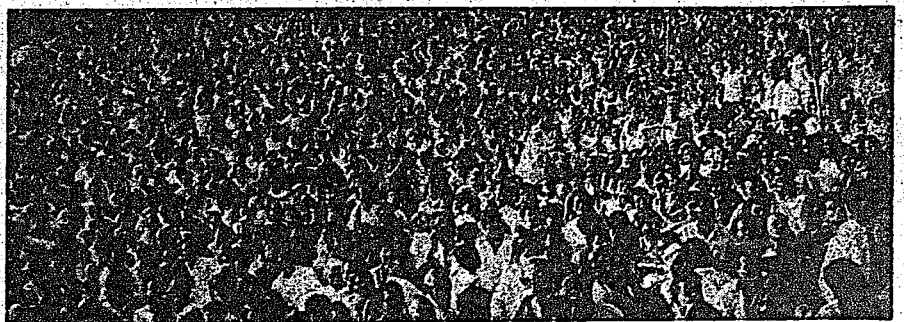
Accordingly, important trade union functionaries resorted to hunger-strike before the mill-gates. In Birla Cotton Mills, where hunger-strike was resorted to on July 24 itself, the two hunger-strikers — Radhakishan, Municipal Councillor and Charan Singh, joint secretary of the union — entered 6th day of their fasting.

The union's working committee members, Shadtram

and Rupram are on fast before Ayodhya Mills and Delhi Cloth Mills gates respectively. General Council member Raghunath is on hunger-strike before Swatantra Bharat Mills.

Thousands of workers of these mills demonstrated before the mill-gates on July 29 when the union leaders went on hunger-strike. B. D. Joshi, president of the union told NEW AGE that the union has tried all methods to pursue the managements to meet the reasonable demands of the union but so far no concrete result has been achieved.

On July 25 the union representatives met the Labour Commissioner and the Chief Commissioner requesting them to set up a Court of Enquiry to study the demands but nothing has been decided so far. Joshi also informed that if need be, the union would give a call for a one-day token strike in all the mills to press for the demands.



Massive Chargesheet By Congress MLAs

From C. R. KRISHNA RAO

BANGALORE: Despite the brave front sought to be put up by Chief Minister S. Nijalingappa and Revenue Minister M. V. Krishnappa, the chargesheet submitted by dissident MLAs of Mysore to the Congress high command has caused tremors in the state government.

TWENTY-FOUR charges are listed in the memorandum drawn up by ten Congress legislators, accusing the Ministry of largescale corruption, abuse of power, nepotism and moral turpitude.

The chargesheet has been sent to Congress President K. Kamaraj and Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri. A representative of the ten legislators has gone to New Delhi to deliver the chargesheet in person to Home Minister Gulzarilal Nanda.

The dissidents have demanded a judicial enquiry into the charges by a commission to be set up under the Commission of Enquiry Act, 1962 on the model of the Das Commission which enquired into charges against Pratap Singh Kairon of Punjab.

Indeed, the Das Commission and its report, followed by the ouster of Kairon from office has heartened the dissidents. It was the Punjab developments which gave fillip to them to submit the present chargesheet.

For some time they have been active, collecting data for levelling the charges. Some of the allegations made in the chargesheet had already been raised during the debate on the white paper on Sharavathi project.

Two Congress MLAs had even then demanded a judicial enquiry into the allegations. Former Public Works Minister S. Channabasappa had also submitted a list of 14 charges separately to the Congress President, demanding enquiry.

The chargesheet now submitted runs into more than 30 typed pages and elaborates many shady deals by individual Ministers. It is well documented.

Sharavathi Project

Three of the charges relate to the Sharavathi project, which is the biggest hydel project in the state and involves a total expenditure of Rs. 120 crores. The total amount involved in the various shady deals is estimated at Rs. one crore.

Some of the highlights of the charges are the following:

● **Sharavathi deals:** For more than a year now, there has been a persistent demand for a thorough probe into the working of the whole Sharavathi project. But the government has been turning it down.

In March last the government was forced to publish a white paper on the Sharavathi project, reportedly on the advice of the Union Minister for Irrigation and Power, Dr. K. L. Rao.

The white paper, however,

The payment was made as a result of an award of arbitration regarding the rates. The government did not consider it fit to challenge the award before the High Court, for their own private reasons.

Another contractor firm, Messrs Tarapore & Co. was paid, it is alleged, Rs. 42.46 lakhs on a negotiated deal over certain works.

Contractor Favoured

The firm had quoted Rs. 60 per unit for a particular piece of work, but refused to do the work on the plea that some minor changes were made in the design. The government allowed it to drop the contract, but later negotiated with it and fixed the rates at Rs. 104 per unit. This resulted in overpayment of Rs. 42.46 lakhs, it is alleged.

If Wishes Were Horses...

THE government has at last come out with its measures to check the spurt in foodgrain prices. But apart from setting a definite date for starting the operations of the proposed Foodgrains Trading Corporation, there is little in these measures that holds the promise of a fall in the food prices.

Even this date is set so many months hence that any benefit resulting from the proposed Corporation's operations will accrue only when the people have undergone a good deal of unavoidable suffering.

Minister Subramaniam who announced the government's measures to pressmen on Monday, was at pains to point out that the total availability of foodgrains this year was in fact even more than in the last year. And yet, hoarding, resorted to in expectation of even higher prices in lean months, has resulted in artificial shortages.

Obviously the proper way to end these shortages would have been to seize the hoards and disgorge them into the market and simultaneously take all those physical and monetary steps that would render hoarding impossible. But on both these counts the measures fall woefully short of requirements.

The government has talked loud about issuing notifications under the Defence of India Rules calling for declaration of stocks held by producers, dealers and consumers in excess of a prescribed quantity.

● **Vidhanaveedhi site deal:** The government is alleged to have disposed of a valuable site on the Vidhanaveedhi at Rs. 40.78 per square yard while it would have fetched Rs. 100 and more per square yard if it had been auctioned.

The beneficiary of this was jute press owner Ramnath Goenka. Chief Minister Nijalingappa is alleged to have obliged his supporter Goenka by this deal, so that the latter could set up his offices in Bangalore.

● **Charges three and four** relates to distribution of revenue and 'muzrai' lands to his own henchmen by Revenue Minister Krishnappa.

Two other charges involving Krishnappa allege that the Revenue Minister indulged in immoral acts at the cost of the exchequer.

Another charge relates to the cotton agency deal. It is alleged that Messrs Gururaja & Co., a firm in which the Chief Minister's son is interested, was given the cotton agency on very favourable terms. This firm came into existence overnight after Nijalingappa became Chief Minister.

Then there is a charge that another firm, with which also the Chief Minister's son is connected, got a contract of about Rs. two lakhs for the earth work of Bhadra canal. No quotation or tender was called for this contract, and the firm had no experience in this kind of work.

● The next three charges relate to undue favours shown to a newspaper known for its staunch support to the Nijalingappa Ministry, - bus route nationalisation and permit scandals and the tulabhara film scandal.

The last mentioned is that a private firm was given a contract to film the ceremony of weighing Nijalingappa in gold at Bijapur during the national emergency. Though the state department of information could have done the job, it was entrusted to the private firm and cost the exchequer more than Rs. 40,000. Ultimately, the film was not even released.

Several minor charges are also listed: change of site of irrigation project in Coorg to benefit a planter, conversion and sale of revenue sites at abnormal prices by supporters of the Ministry, giving land to hogus firms.

Khadi Board Swindle

There is also the charge that several lakhs of rupees has been swindled in the Khadi Board and no accounts have been kept by the board. This involves a firm supporter of the Ministry who is now chairman of the state Legislative Council.

The dissidents are putting considerable pressure on the Congress high command to order an enquiry. They seem to be confident of such an enquiry materialising in due course.

Economic Notes

not be violative of the Industrial Policy Resolution.

Like his colleague Manubhai Shah he has attempted a break-through by shouting aloud that the government will stick to the Industrial Policy Resolution in relation to Steel Programme.

But unlike Manubhai he has not pained off the story of his 'unorthodox' 'loud thinking' on to the press for the obvious reason that the press in his case was not a foreign journal or news agency but a 'leading Indian newspaper'.

Reddy claims that as there is no proposal to admit foreign private capital participation in the expansion of the steel industry, 'a discussion of this issue... can be of academic interest only.'

In view of reports of a definite 'interest' by a foreign consortium in the fifth steel project, and also Reddy's meetings with Ambassador Bowles and a representative of Krupp's, it is a little hard to accept his explanation at its face value, or does he want us to believe that these gentlemen too were interested in an 'academic' discussion alone?

In any case, it is comforting to be assured by Reddy that the government has no intention of deviating from the Industrial Policy Resolution of 1950. Can he also assure us that whenever he decides to indulge in his 'loud thinking' in future he will do so within the confines of the government's basic policies?

—ESSEN

July 25

BOMBAY PROTEST BEGINS

People Court Arrest Demanding Cheap Food

BOMBAY: The working class in Bombay has again taken the lead in the fight for people's food by launching a peaceful satyagraha before the Council House from July 21.

THE satyagraha is conducted under the joint auspices of the Maharashtra Rajya Trade Union Council and the Bombay council of the Communist Party of India.

Every day batches of volunteers drawn from various trade unions and different localities of the city are defying the ban near the Council House.

The satyagraha reached its high point on July 27 when more than 700 volunteers offered themselves for arrest. It coincided with the discussion on the no-confidence motion against the Naik Ministry in the State Assembly.

The satyagrahis were led by S. G. Sardesai, K. N. Joglekar, Ushant Dange, Prabhakar Valiya, PWP MLCs G. D. Lad and N. D. Patil and many other leaders of the Communist Party and the MRTUC.

As many as 736 volunteers offered satyagraha and courted arrest on that day. Satyagrahis marched to the Council Hall defying the ban in batches of 15 to 50. In all, there were 26 batches of volunteers.

Among those arrested were about a hundred women, some of them with babes in their arms. On an earlier day, an all-woman batch of volunteers had offered satyagraha.

The mass satyagraha was preceded by a huge procession of about 5,000 workers. The procession started from the Azad Maidan and terminated at the Kala Ghoda.

Opposition leader K. N. Dhulup, S. G. Sardesai and K. N. Joglekar addressed the demonstrators. All of them asked the workers to be ready for direct action to bring the prices down.

Inside the Assembly, moving the no-confidence motion Dhulup castigated the government for its bungling of the food problem. He alleged that the government's food policy was a complete failure, measures taken ineffective

Girmi Kamgar Union organised a two-day convention on July 26 and 27 for bonus, dearness allowance and against price rise. The conference was addressed by S. A. Dange, general secretary of the AITUC, among others.

Addressing the open session of the convention Dange called on the textile workers to make the Bombay Bandh on August 12 a grand success. He appealed for all-inclusive unity to fight the menace of high prices.

Though the Bombay Bandh was a political general strike, it was not meant to overthrow the present government, Dange said. It was political in the sense that its aim was to force the government to change its pro-hoarder, pro-monopolist policies.

Making trenchant criticism of the government's policies, the AITUC general secretary asked: How is it that under the Congress brand of socialism, capitalists and black-marketeers and hoarders have thrived and the workers and common people and toiling masses do not even get food?

He called upon the government to take over the wholesale trade in foodgrains, end speculative market, take over

banks and break the power of the moneybags by allowing increase in the wages of workers and better payment to farmers for their produce.

Dange said there were no differences this time between the left parties on the date of the Bombay Bandh. All the leftist parties were preparing for a united action.

Dange called on the textile workers to be ready for an indefinite strike if their demands for bonus and arrears against the corrected cost of living index were not paid before Diwali.

The conference had earlier adopted resolutions on bonus for the textile workers for 1963 and correction of price index to reflect the rise in the cost of living.

THE GREAT SATYAGRAHA

Editorial FROM ALL PARTS OF

the country are coming reports of enthusiastic response to the call of the Central Secretariat of the Communist Party of India for one lakh volunteers for the Great Satyagraha from August 24 to 28.

Even before the central call was given, several state committees had begun vigorous campaign of action against the food thieves and the pro-hoarder policies of the government. Days and weeks of action had been organised. Hungerstrikes had been organised. Satyagraha and defiance of law had begun or was being planned.

The food problem has become the key and most important issue facing the nation today. On its rapid solution depends not only the immediate urgent question of mitigating hunger and preventing starvation, but also the broader question of progressive development of the country.

It is not in a fit of momentary impatience that the Communist Party raises the demand that if the government is unable to stop the hoarders' fleecing the people, if it is unable to feed the people and to implement the urgently needed measures towards this end it should resign and quit office. It should be quite clear that the Communist Party makes this demand in a spirit and with a purpose totally different from that of the Right reactionary forces, who seek to take advantage of the food crisis for their own nefarious ends.

The Communist Party and the national democratic forces in the country seeks to feed the people. The Right reactionary parties seek to utilise the hunger of the people to raise demand, for the lifting of even the meagre curbs which exist, with a view to increase the loot which fattens the monopolists, hoarders and profiteers, whose interests these parties represent.

The Communist Party places at the centre of its demands those calling for state trading in foodgrains and for nationalisation of banks. These are vital steps, without which no lasting solution of the food problem can be ensured. These are the demands which hit the vested interests, who feed on the toilers' hunger. These are the demands which the Right reactionary forces fight tooth and nail.

The Communist Party launches the Great Satyagraha under its own banner. But the Great Satyagraha is not being prepared for in a sectarian or partisan manner. The Central Secretariat in its statement has emphasised the vital necessity for the broadest possible united action by all parties and mass organisations, which stand for the essential aims and demands of the Satyagraha.

The mass movement launched through the Satyagraha will act as a powerful impetus for the forging of the national unity for the people's food. The preparations and the actual Satyagraha will be conducted in such a manner as to draw behind the demands the widest sections of democratic opinion in the country.

Every Communist in the country is expected to enrol himself as a Satyagrahi, though Party committees at different levels will exempt those who for specific personal reasons are unable to offer Satyagraha and those whose exemption is needed in the interests of the struggle itself.

The Great Satyagraha is the biggest all-India action of its kind in the post-independence period. To take part in it is a privilege and a national duty.



S. A. Dange Addressing the Convention on Bonus, DA and Against High Price. Below: a View of Delegates



CONGRESS EXECUTIVE ABSOLVES TTK: SETBACK FOR MORARJI LOBBY

By Our Political Correspondent

The meeting of the Executive of the Congress Parliamentary Party on Monday to consider the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference and its communication turned out to be, as expected, a disagreeable examination for TTK of his role in the conference from which this country emerged with a load of embarrassment and no achievements.

TTK's sales talk to justify his acquiescence to the reference in the communique to Indo-Pak dispute failed to impress members who remained sharply critical of this departure from convention and pointed out that this might become a precedent which could be advantageously used by Pakistan to mislead opinion in the Commonwealth and outside against India and browbeat us in negotiations.

The differences in the Executive over the communique were so pronounced that the meeting could not come to any conclusions and it is considered possible that the issue may figure again in a general body meeting of the party before the next Parliament session. Though Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri, who presided over Monday's meeting, was reported to have expressed his appreciation of the work of the Indian delegation to the Commonwealth Conference, the Executive itself, unlike in the past, refrained from congratulating the leader of the delegation.

At the same time, true to its traditions, the Congress Parliamentary Party's Executive was willing to let the incident pass and TTK get away without a scratch. This was mainly due to the intervention of Shastri who is reported to be anxious to avoid further public controversy on the subject with Congressmen criticising ministers.

BUREAUCRATS FORCE A STRIKE

It has now come to light that the Chairman of the Visakhapatnam Port Trust had been doggedly opposing to the signing of a memorandum jointly with the Visakhapatnam Harbour and Port Workers' Union on the demands raised by the union.

It was to press for these demands that the union was compelled to resort to strike on July 8 and continue it till July 12 when the same Chairman of the Port Trust agreed to sign the joint memorandum. Had not he adopted such an attitude, the strike would not have been at all necessary. The sheer bureaucratic behaviour of the authority forced the hands of the workers and thereby brought about a standstill in Visakhapatnam.

Following the signing of the joint memorandum 44 out of 66 demands contained in the Charter of Demands placed by the union have been referred to adjudication.

One of the main demands of the workers which still remains unsettled is the ques-

tion of workers' representatives on Port Trust. The strike has unmistakably shown the overwhelming majority of the workers support the Visakhapatnam Harbour and Port Workers' Union.

It may be recalled that government assured the AITUC that the matter would be reopened and the question of representation of the IN-TUC on the Trust would be reconsidered. There is no AITUC nominee on the Trust but IN-TUC has two. It was on this assurance of the government that the AITUC advised the union not to continue the strike.

And now the union has already collected 2,281 workers' signatures on a memorandum to the Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri on this issue requesting him to use his good offices to settle the matter.

nath Singh's statement. In the Executive meeting on Monday, there was criticism of the AICC secretary's "interference" in the affairs of the Parliamentary Party.

It will be recalled that a similar cry against interference and for "freedom of choice" was raised when the Congress Working Committee authorised Kamaraj to ascertain the "consensus" of Congress MPs on the choice of the leader after the death of Pandit Nehru. Shastri's election and Morarji Desai's withdrawal then had left the syndicate in command of the situation. But the developments since then have only increased the vulnerability of this leadership.

TTK's bungling at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference gave the desired opportunity for the rival forces to gather together and mount another attack on the syndicate positions. Because the issue involved has caused sharp reaction among the people and progressive circles too have strongly criticised the communique, the extreme right in the ruling party could utilise the opportunity to come out as "bold critics" of the mistakes of the government.

Many in the capital consider that in the face of public

criticism against the Commonwealth Conference communique, the Prime Minister himself should have spoken out to reiterate our positions vis a vis Pakistan on such vital issues like Kashmir and to remove any apprehension or misconception here or outside caused by our representative's quiet assent to the reference to Indo-Pak dispute in the communique. Either out of loyalty to TTK or as a natural result of the timidity in the conduct of our foreign affairs—an increasingly marked feature these days—there has been no such attempt.

Indeed, the failure of our External Publicity in this whole episode is something remarkable. The failure of our mission in London during the Commonwealth Premiers' Conference to give a timely contradiction to the mischievous and wrong statement by the

Principal Press Officer of the British Prime Minister that the Conference had discussed Kashmir for 90 minutes before drafting the communique had sufficiently exposed the weakness of our publicity.

Today, there is a reticence in New Delhi even to refer to the reported statement of Indira Gandhi in London on July 20 that Western pressure on India to settle with Pakistan on the Kashmir issue had been "increasing steadily" in the past and it was possible that the attempt to include Kashmir in the Conference communique was encouraged by that pressure.

On the other hand, TTK's assertion that the reference in the communique to Indo-Pak dispute has no significance is considered sufficient to answer all questions. Yet another instance of our interests allowed to go by default.

PORT WORKERS' DEMANDS DAY

THE Visakhapatnam harbour and port workers observed July 25 as the All-India Port & Dock Workers' Wage Board Day as per the call of the Port, Dock and Waterfront Workers' Federation of India.

A resolution adopted at the meeting held to mark the day urged that the Government of India immediately finalise the

terms of reference and the composition of the Wage Board. The resolution demanded that representatives of workers should be taken on this board from all the three Federations existing in the country and the board be asked to submit an interim report.

Similar meetings and demonstrations were held by the Port and Dock workers in Bombay, Calcutta and Marmagoa.

LUBRICATION PROBLEM

WITH the advent of Kamaraj, Congress factionalism has a new look. Researchers in factionalism in political parties cannot miss this development.

During the lifetime of Nehru two trends broadly defined as the Right and Left were contending against each other, the Left always looking up to Nehru for side support.

With the election of Shastri as the Prime Minister after a brief but fierce succession struggle, this broad division in the ruling party with which politically conscious people were familiar has been blurred.

Now it is what is popularly known as the syndicate versus the rest. The syndicate's acknowledged head is Kamaraj. The diehards among the Rightists are almost evenly distributed in both the camps. The ruling idea of the syndicate, according to everybody close to Kamaraj, is what they call centrism, supposed to be neither Right nor Left. But nobody has so far defined what centrism means.

Kamaraj had thrown some ideas in his presidential address at Bhubaneswar. But since then he has been busy otherwise. As it is, his basket contains Rightists, centrists and opportunists.

An equal number of Rightists are arraigned on the other opposite side.

This peculiar dichotomy is leaving its own dhoobi mark on the events of these days. Truth itself has on it the imprint of the faction, that of the syndicate.

Take for instance, the fight against corruption. After the publication of the Das Commission report and the subsequent removal of Kairon from the throne, there have been insistent calls on the High Command for similar action against some other Congress politicians.

These calls have placed the syndicate in an embarrassing position. As against Patnaik & Co. its response is sympathetic.

But when Mysore Congressmen demand an inquiry into the allegations against Nijalingappa concerning what is called the Sharavathi dam scandal, the High Command behaves like a man possessed.

Men in charge of the AICC don't even grant a formal interview to the complainants.

The opponents of the syndicate are furious about this double standards and we are assured of spectacular fireworks in the coming days.

Double standards there have been undoubtedly. One recent example was the frowning by the AICC on Raghunath Singh of the Parliamentary Party executive for his unilateral condemnation of TTK's conduct at the Commonwealth.

If unilateral expression were to be punished, then the

WHISPERING gallery

AICC should have come out against Sanjiva Reddi for airing his personal opinion in public about the public sector steel mills.

Industrial Policy Resolution or not, Reddi is ready to entertain foreign capital in those steel enterprises. But the AICC cannot wield the stick against Sanjiva Reddi just as it cannot do anything to hurt Nijalingappa. Both are pillars of the very syndicate.

The syndicate's foes are spreading another story directed against Kamaraj himself. Recently when he was in Calcutta, Kamaraj was presented with a purse of Rs. 2,30,000. One of the West Bengal leaders was reported to have suggested to boss Atulya Ghosh that the names of the donors should be announced at the time of presentation. The suggestion was turned down.

It is now whispered around in Delhi that most of the donors were wholesalers in mustard oil. And the business of mustard oil in West Bengal is a scandal point. It is an established fact that mustard oil whose price has been shooting up is freely mixed with a certain kind of cheap mineral lubricating oil.

Frictions are fast developing around and even inside the syndicate. Kamaraj has to find a lubricant to even out these frictions.

—INSIDER



S. A. Dange addressing Pressmen on the Food Satyagrah Plan of the CPI

—Photo: R. PARASHER

The Central Secretariat of the Communist Party of India issued the following statement on July 24 in connection with the food campaign launched by the Party.

THE Indian economy is hit by the severest crisis of prices is acknowledged by everybody. Its worst expression is the steep rise in food prices, which has doomed millions to slow starvation. Even though there is no absolute shortage of foodgrains in the country, they are not in the market except for such high prices that even those who labour and earn in factories, fields or offices are unable to live on their earnings.

The crisis has not come upon us suddenly nor is it only in food articles. Two years ago, the textile goods had risen by fifty per cent in prices. Government asked the millowners to exercise voluntary control. It was like ask-

ing the butchers to be kind with their knives. The control failed and the millowners are asking more prices for cloth.

Then we were hit by the sugar crisis. Government preached morals and the sugar millowners shed tears that the blame was on the cane-growers and the retail seller.

Then this time prices rose for everything in the market, until even the minimum of food requirements vanished from the market. The government thundered, warned the hoarders and speculators, pointed to underground black money, blamed the congestion of food-ships in the docks, talked of fair price shops. Ministers met in

A PATRIOT'S NOTEBOOK

Patil and the Frog

THERE was once a frog, says Aesop's fable, who wanted to look a bull, and he puffed himself and puffed himself and puffed himself... till he burst.

S. K. Patil is in Dollarland. Last week I forecast that he would give us plenty of rich material to comment upon. And he has not disappointed us.

In his first interview on arrival in New York, Patil has told the press that he is in America to prepare the ground for a visit next year by Prime Minister Shastri. THE ASSOCIATED PRESS, in a despatch from New York dated July 25, reporting this interview says:

"As a preliminary to Mr. Shastri's visit, Mr. Patil will confer from August 1 to 6 with President Johnson, the Secretary of State Mr. Dean Rusk, and US officials" (TIMES OF INDIA, July 26).

Who authorised S. K. Patil to "prepare" for the Prime Minister's visit next year? Did the cabinet entrust him with this task? Did the cabinet ask him to discuss matters, other than those connected with his portfolio, with President Johnson, Secretary of State Rusk and others?

I have it on the highest authority that the cabinet did nothing of the sort. The inner story is this: Patil said he had had to cancel a visit to the USA because Pandit Nehru died, and asked per-

mission to go on the basis of the same invitation he had had BEFORE he rejoined the cabinet. His colleagues agreed, and there was also a suggestion that he might take advantage of his visit to talk about matters concerning his Railways portfolio. Nothing more.

But the US imperialists know their man. And so they have laid the red carpet for Patil—meetings and negotiations at the highest level.

Hard put to it to explain the special treatment he is to receive—far in excess of what is normally due to a visiting minister from another country—Patil has attempted to cast himself in the role of an ambassador on behalf of Prime Minister Shastri!

Whom does he think he is fooling? What preparations are required nine months in advance of the visit to the USA by the Indian Prime Minister, projected for May 1965?

No, Sadoba, everyone knows why you are being received by the US President and the highest in the Dollarland. What astonishes any decent, patriotic Indian is that the government permits the leaders of a foreign government to discuss formally matters of external affairs with a minister, who has not been authorised to hold any such discussions.

More on APACL

It was the so-called "Asian People's Anti-Communist League"

which sponsored the tour to the American Empire in South-East Asia and Taiwan of the "Ten Honourable MPs"—which created so many difficulties for India among her anti-imperialist friends in Asia and Africa.

A friend has sent me more details about this notorious "league." It appears that it maintains an "organiser" in New Delhi, who has the closest relations with the Swatantra Party MPs (he actually stays with one of them).

The supporters—trained and otherwise—of the League's "organisation" in New Delhi are essentially connected with the South Vietnamese, South Korean and Israeli governments.

The guide and mentor of the League in India was originally one Mr. Greene (who was an important and influential person in the US set-up in the capital).

The Arab embassies in New Delhi have repeatedly complained to the authorities against the anti-Arab activities of the "league" which has been acting as the mouth-piece of the Israel government and its imperialist masters.

It is unfortunate that these complaints were not heeded by the authorities; and instead of curbing the activities of the "league," it was permitted to take the so-called Parliamentary Delegation to South Vietnam, South Korea and Taiwan—and thus blacken India's name among its best friends. (July 26)

—ROMESH CHANDRA

conferences and dispersed. Neither food came on the market nor did prices come down.

All the threats, pronouncements and promises were put forth only when the masses began to move into action, when political parties of all colours, including even sections of Congressmen, began to speak of satyagraha, marches, demonstrations, to move the government into strong action against the big hoarders and their monopoly financiers.

Except for some slight changes here and there and some measures to bring up supplies to big towns, no big or basic change has taken place in the price situation.

The workers with fixed incomes are the worst sufferers. There have been protest strikes and more are coming. The masses feel that unless an all-national united action on a big mass scale is launched neither the monopolists nor the government will change their policies.

Units of the Communist Party in various states have been launching protest actions on local levels. Now the time has come to launch a simultaneous action on an all-India level.

The Central Secretariat in consultation with the members of the Central Executive Committee therefore, resolved to launch an all-India struggle against high prices, against the monopolists and hoarders, against government policies which facilitate the anti-social activities of the big money classes.

The all-India struggle is aimed at securing food and all goods essential for living at reduced and reasonable prices.

It will be aimed at securing rise in wages and dearness allowance to factory workers in public and private sectors, office employees, and minimum wages and supplies for agricultural labourers also.

It will be aimed at dis-covering the hoards and hoarders and handing them over to the state for necessary action.

It will be aimed at securing the fulfilment of government's promises and helping the implementation of such anti-monopoly measures as are not being implemented due to bureaucratic hindrances or the influence of the big traders and bankers on the ministerial circles.

It will be aimed at arresting the insidious growth of Right reaction which seeks to take advantage of the crisis for its own ends.

It will be aimed at arresting the insidious growth of right reaction which seeks to take advantage of the crisis for its own ends.

It will be aimed at immediate and substantial relief to the toiling people.

It will be aimed at securing the immediate introduction of state-trading in foodgrains, of opening of a chain of fair price shops in urban and rural areas supplying essential goods to the common people and reasonable prices, and the nationalisation of banks.

Plans of Action

With these demands in view, the Communist Party resolves to launch an all-India satyagraha, to begin with, in all states.

The all-India anti-price-rise satyagraha will take place from August 24 to 28.

The Communist Party will put into the field one lakh satyagrahis to court arrests where necessary.

The satyagrahi volunteers will picket the wholesale grain mandis to stop speculation in food and other articles and bring out stocks and bring down the prices.

They will offer satyagraha at various government offices with the above-mentioned demands and raise the slogan:

★ STOP THE MONOPOLY LOOT AND FEED THE PEOPLE!

★ FULFIL YOUR PROMISES OR LEAVE YOUR OFFICES!

★ THE PEOPLE'S PATIENCE IS EXHAUSTED!

Every Communist will enrol as a satyagrahi and the Party Committees will decide each one's role and place, including the consideration of those who are engaged in cultivation and such other productive labour.

The Party expects the youth of the country to play a big role in this struggle for people's food, for the poor man's prices and living.

Call for United Action

The Communist Party requests all parties and mass organisations who support these demands and desire action and are doing it under their own banner, to unite all these streams of separate actions in one mighty current of a national satyagraha and a national general strike. The Communist Party and the mass organisations guided by it, will do all to bring about such a united action.

We hope that Congressmen who support these demands will act in a manner that helps the common cause.

This is a struggle for regenerating the collapsing life of the nation, to protect the country from being grabbed by foreign capital and their reactionary Indian allies by utilising the crisis. This is a struggle for loosening the hold that the hoarders, big monopolists, bankers and landlords are getting on the life-line of the people. This is a mass struggle for a real democracy, where none shall starve who works and none who does not work shall eat.

NEW AGE

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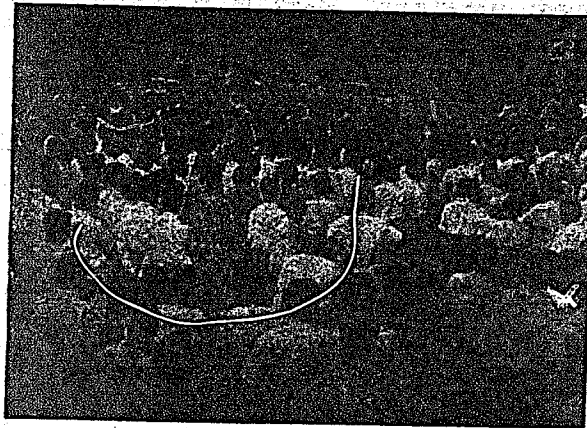
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BANKMEN MOVE

“Work-To-Rule” Causes Government’s Lame Excuse

originate now. The genesis of this dispute dates back to July 1962 when the National Industrial Tribunal (Banking Industry) gave its award in respect of the terms and conditions of service of the bank employees.

IMMEDIATE PROTEST

After publication of this award, which is generally called as the Desai Award, the All-India Bank Employees Association drew the attention of the government to the various inadequacies, infirmities, anomalies and contradictions in the award. The bank employees demanded removal of these anomalies etc., and in view of a material change in the situation and falling wages since 1962 due to constantly rising prices asked for improvement in the wage structure.

The present Union Labour Minister Sanjivayya has not been able to exhibit any initiative or give any indication of his alertness in dealing with the problems of bank employees. On top of it all, he has failed to honour the assurances given to the bank employees by his predecessor Gulzari Lal Nanda.

GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBLE

And if today there exists an impasse in the banking industry and a consequent dislocation of normal life, the responsibility for it lies squarely with the Union Labour Minister. Inexperienced as he is, the Union Labour Minister has perhaps been taken for a ride by the bankers and the officials of his own ministry. But ignorance not being a virtue, he cannot plead for his failures.

The bank employees on their part have already regretted the inconvenience caused to the public due to their agitation. But this was the only course open to the employees, short of strikes, to draw the attention of all concerned to the seriousness of the situation. It now remains entirely with the government and the bankers to take initiative and endeavour to end this impasse.

The manner in which the Union Labour Ministry handled the demands of the bank employees, put yet another blot on the record of the Ministry in dealing with industrial disputes. Not only did the Ministry failed to

realise the gravity of the situation, but it also dealt with the issues in the most bureaucratic fashion without taking into account the exigencies of the situation.

The government instead of taking steps to bring about a settlement of the dispute, extended on July 12, 1963 the period of operation of the Desai Award for another year.

NANDA’S ASSURANCES

Protesting against this action of the government, the AIBEA sent a delegation to wait upon the then Union Labour Minister Gulzari Lal Nanda, who in course of discussion on July 16, 1963 assured that government would stand the bankers not to take advantage of the technical position and better to settle the dispute directly through negotiation with the employees’ representatives. He further assured that if need be, government would convene a tripartite conference to get the dispute settled.

The AIBEA continued its efforts both with the bankers as well as the government for bringing about a settlement of the dispute but neither did the bankers do the needful nor the government take any positive steps. According to the AIBEA, the government officials during various talks admitted the justifiability of many of the demands but nothing further was done.

As far back as September 1963, the AIBEA submitted to the government the copies of the correspondence the Association had with the bankers which contained the de-

mands of the employees. It appealed to the government to take positive steps to settle the dispute and not to extend the operation of the award for any further period.

In February 1964, the AIBEA held its conference at Trivandrum and reviewed the position and formulated the demands of the employees. It also decided to launch an agitation to achieve these demands as it felt that the government was not taking any concrete steps to settle the problems.

The Trivandrum conference formulated the demands of

DEMANDS OF EMPLOYEES

In its memorandum on the demands of the bank employees, the AIBEA pointed out that the pay scales prescribed by the Desai Award bear no relation to the paying capacity of the banking industry, have no scientific and rational basis and fall



the employees under four heads:

- ★ An allround 20 per cent increase in the wages paid at present to all employees;
- ★ An improvement in the incremental rate of the subordinate staff pay scales;
- ★ Payment of provident fund and gratuity on cent per cent; and
- ★ Immediate abolition of Area IV.

The bank employees continued their agitation on these demands since March 1964, and simultaneously tried to resolve the dispute through direct talks with the bankers. But the direct negotiations did not bring forth any results. And on the sudden passing away of Prime Minister Nehru, the AIBEA again suspended its agitation for the time being.

AIBEA INITIATIVE

After some time, the AIBEA again took the matter with the government as the extended life of the Desai Award was coming to an end on July 30, 1964. The AIBEA also submitted to government a detailed memorandum on the demands of the employees on June 22 and a further memorandum on June 30 on the anomalies, infirmities, inade-

quacies and contradictions from which the Desai Award suffers with arguments as to why the period of operation of this award should not be extended any more.

INTO ACTION

Countrywide Stir For Extending Desai Award

viding that the employees in Area IV would get less wages than in Area III by 20 per cent, 15 per cent, 10 per cent and 5 per cent in the years 1962, 1963, 1964 and 1965 respectively.

It is alleged by the AIBEA that on March 5, 1962 in an informal meeting with the representatives of banks and employees, the tribunal suggested a relief for three years at the rate of 7½ per cent, 5 per cent and 2½ per cent in the years 1962 to 1964 and the bankers agreed to this suggestion. But when the award was published, it was found that the whole scheme had been changed.

DETAILS OF ANOMALIES

In the memorandum on the anomalies, infirmities etc., of the Desai Award, the AIBEA cited 35 subjects and gave detailed analysis and explanation on each of the items. The main grounds of infirmities, inadequacies from which the award suffers are in relation to the retrospective effect of the award; inequities in special allowances; payment of highest special allowance; wages of record keepers, hand presenters and bill collectors; cycle peon allowance; allowances concerning washing, pass book, water scarcity etc.; medical aid; overtime; leave; classification of workmen; risk insurance and similar other points.

RIDICULOUS ARGUMENT

The letter of Under Secretary said:

“The government have very carefully considered the points raised by you in your above letters (the memorandum submitted by the AIBEA—Ed.). Considering the time, expense and efforts involved on the part of all concerned, in the adjudication of disputes in the entire banking industry in the country and the fact that the present award has been in force only for a period of two years, it is in the interest of all concerned that the award should be extended for one more year.”

CLEAR WARNING

The letter to the Union Labour Minister inter alia

pointed out that the central committee of the AIBEA “was of very strong view that there was no case for extension of the period of operation of the Desai Award and rather a case exists for improvements over the said award.” The letter categorically stated: “In case the government will (this time again extend the

This letter further argues: “As you are aware, the question of removing anomalies, if any, in the Desai Award has been under discussion and correspondence between the representatives of your association and the Chief Labour Commissioner. Now that you have furnished to the Chief Labour Commissioner the

By SADHAN MUKHERJEE

period of operation of the Desai Award ignoring our most reasonable and fair demands as embodied in our memoranda, we shall have in that case no alternative but to resort to agitational path.

“The responsibility of industrial unrest and disturbance of industrial peace in such case shall be entirely on the bankers and the government,” the letter further pointed out.

But without caring for this clear warning given by the employees, the Government of India extended on July 17 for one year more the period of operation of the Desai Award. And on the same day, an Under Secretary in the Ministry of Labour and Employment sent a most irresponsible reply to the AIBEA letter of July 13.



pointed to give a strong reply. In its reply on July 21 it pointed out:

“We are amused to note the reasons enumerated in your letter behind this decision. The most important aspect envisaged in the Industrial Disputes Act is the settlement of the disputes. It appears that to your considerations were ‘time, expense and effort involved.’

“The delay in adjudication was due to ailment of the judge, his administrative responsibilities as Chief Justice of Gujarat High Court and the dilatory tactics of the Banks Associations.

“In this connection we may inform you that we had submitted an exhibit before the National Tribunal pointing out as to how many times the adjustments were granted and for what reasons.

LAWYERS’ FEES EQUAL DEMANDS

“The expenses were bankers’ luxury. The amount they spent by keeping about a dozen lawyers paying high



ALL PHOTOS BY H. DASGUPTA

fees would be more than the amount required to be paid by the banks if three out of our main demands are conceded.

“Effort was certainly made by the employees honestly to settle the disputes which did not find response from the employers. Today we note that we are to suffer because of others’ obstructionist tactics. Of course, your decision extending the period of operation of Desai Award will serve the interest of all excepting one lakh bank employees.”

The AIBEA pointed out with regret that it was a pity

to move against the bankers and to impart justice to the aggrieved and yet at the same time how quickly it can act against the interests of the employees.

In a bid to confuse the bank employees and the general public, the government has also put out a clarification that although the life of the award has been extended, it will in no way be used as a ground for not discussing the genuine grievances of the bank employees. This sounds so insincere on the face of it that nobody can be hoodwinked.

NO GENEROSITY EXPECTED

Are the bankers so generous as to discuss the demands of the employees and meet them even when they have received legal sanctions to continue to pay according to the terms of the old award? If that can be so, then why is it that for the last two years no settlement could be arrived at on the demands despite a series of negotiations between the representatives of the employees and the bankers? Government has no answer to that.

And so the struggle of the bank employees continue. Till the time of writing this report, government has not given any further indication of its desire to settle the dispute. The bankers are fortified with the extension of the award and only the impact of the movement can make them yield. The bank employees require all the public support to win their demands and there is no reason why they should not get it.

DISCRETION FAVOURS BANKS

It is not obligatory on the part of the government to extend the life of the award; it is a discretion. In the case of bank employees, it is clear that the government has abused this discretion. It cannot say that it came to know of the anomalies and the demands of the employees only now, because these were brought to its notice a long time back.

The government has shown an indecent haste in extending the period of operation of the Desai Award without making some honest attempts to bring about improvements by convening a tripartite conference. The government machinery has demonstrated once again its efficiency as to how slow moving and inactive it is

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MASS LEADERS AND LURE OF SPLITTISM

Q. Is it not a strange fact that so many important mass leaders of the CPI have gone over to the splitters? (R. N. REDDY, Cuddapah, Andhra).

A. It is certainly a most regrettable fact that so many veteran leaders of the CPI, who have worked and sacrificed much for its advance, should have repudiated their past and betrayed the Party to the extent of splitting it. The lessons of discipline and of organisation, the necessity of democratic centralism about which many of these leaders were so insistent in the past have been thrown to the winds by them.

They are not unique in this respect. After all, the leadership of the Communist Party of China towers above any leadership that the splitters may be able to get together. They have immense experience, great achievements and great prestige. They wrote, not so long ago, very eloquently and persuasively about the need for iron discipline, monolithic unity and about conducting inner-Party struggle in a manner that brings about still greater unity in the Party.

Mao Tse-tung had laid down the principle that every Communist must always uphold the truth and obey the organisation, i.e., that he must not give up his opinion on any issue unless he is convinced and that he must maintain discipline even if he is not in agreement with the Party line.

Mao also stated that inner-Party struggle must be conducted on the principle: unity-criticism-unity, i.e., starting out with a desire for unity one achieves greater unity through the use of criticism and self-criticism.

Principles Repudiated

Now all these principles, which were an application of the Leninist teachings on Party organisation, have been repudiated by the leadership of the CPC. Now they insist on a split. Indeed, the writings of Mao, Liu Shao-chi and the 1956 Congress decisions of the CPC (the last to date) are themselves the best indictment of the present "theories" and action of the CPC leadership as well as of the leading splitters in India.

As a matter of fact, it is not the CPI which has to ponder over the fact that a minority of its leaders have become splitters but these very former leaders who have to give an account to the members and masses, as well as to their own conscience, as to why they have betrayed the principles they upheld for so long.

This brings us to the "personality cult". It would be quite wrong to imagine that this was a phenomenon confined to Stalin's practice or to the present deification of Mao. The CPI at various levels has also suffered from the disease, which runs rampant among the splitters.

The essence of the personality cult is the theory and practice of raising one leader or another above the Party itself and to blindly accept

them still greater responsibility with regard to the observance of the fundamental principles of Party organisation. They cannot use the fact of their leading positions as an alibi for their irresponsible and anti-Party activity at the present juncture.

Is it their claim that democratic centralism, obeying the organisation, submitting to the majority, defending the Party line publicly even if they disagree with it, are meant only for those who are not leaders? Are they above these principles and free to do as they please when they please? Will they give their cadres and rank and file in the splitters' party the same freedom of a minority veto, of open declaration of differences, of rival papers and the like?

Another fact to be noted is that there is a prevalent revisionist notion of who the leaders of the Party really are. There is no doubt that MPs, MLAs and other Party members frequently in the public eye and in the bourgeois press do great service to the Party and are its respected leaders. But publicity is not the only criterion of leadership. There are many Party leaders who are more important for the Party than many MPs or MLAs.

For instance, the late Ajoy Ghosh may not have been as well known as E. M. S. Namboodripad who shot to all-India prominence after he became Chief Minister of Kerala in 1957. But it was Ajoy Ghosh who was the tallest leader of the CPI and not E. M. S. Namboodripad.

Among the leading splitters we find these methods, in both positive and negative aspects, fully at work. In Andhra, at any rate, the desperate attempts to create a "personality cult" around Sundarayya are on, actively encouraged by himself.

All manner of stories are spread about his "sacrifice", "austerity", "prestige" and so on. In one place he himself talked of his "sacrifice", stating that some friends who had an equal start in life had now become collectors or district magistrates. Simultaneously, the foulest slanders are launched against Dange, Rajeswar Rao, Rajasekhar Reddy and others. The whole effort is to divert a discussion on policies into a conflict of personalities.

The splitters omit to mention the fundamental fact that while nobody denies the role and contribution in the past of many of the splitters, it was the Party which built them and gave them their prestige. It was the work of lakhs of Party members and sympathisers which resulted in the achievements which brought these leaders credit and renown. The Party made them and not they the Party. Once they betray the Party they will soon enough be cut down to size.

Moreover, the very fact that some of the leading splitters were in top positions in the CPI placed on

is based on this position in which the CPI placed them? And, certainly, the splitters can claim no monopoly of well-known leaders. What about S. A. Dange? Or Bhupesh Gupta? Or Rajeswar Rao? M. N. Govindan Nair? Eren Mukherjee? Many other names could be cited which are at least as popular as any of the topmost splitters. Thus, merely being well-known is no guarantee of the correctness of policies espoused and practices indulged in by the person concerned.

Finally, it is a historical fact that many of the topmost Communist leaders of the past have fallen by the wayside when sharp changes in line and policy have to be carried out because of chan-

ges in the objective situation. Because of their failure to respond to the new, to change their thinking to keep in line with the new situation many previously honoured leaders had to be removed or have removed themselves.

How many now know the names of Kautsky or Bernstein or Plekhanov? Yet at one time they were far better known as leading Marxists than even Lenin. Or, in China itself, at one time Chen Tu-hsiu, Wang Ming, Po Ku, Li Li-san were all better known than Mao-Tse-tung. Or, in the Soviet Union, Molotov or Voroshilov were better known than Khrushchov when Stalin

was in power. The same has happened to many of the former leaders of the CPI who have turned into champion splitters. They

YOUR QUESTIONS ANSWERED

are unable to see the new, to change their dogmatic outlook and outmoded methods. They want the CPI to return to its wrong discarded policy of 1943. For them the changes in the world and in India do not exist. Hence, objective reality mocks at them and in their rage they furiously try to destroy the only good in their past—their previous contribution to building the CPI.

Yet all these leaders were unable to give proper guidance to the Party in the new situation, unable to rally the Party members and the masses to go forward to accomplish the new tasks that history had placed before them. And because they failed they fell down from their leading positions, even though their pres-

—MOHIT SEN

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NEW AGE

LUCKNOW:

"ANTI-PRICE AND PEOPLE'S FOOD DAY," observed on an unprecedented scale throughout the state on July 20, was a dress-rehearsal for the coming struggle from August 10.

In Azamgarh district there were two central demonstrations. They have been called as hunger marches in Maunathbhanjan and Azamgarh. The big Maunathbhanjan march was led by the popular Communist leader Abdul Baqi. The seven thousand strong Azamgarh march was led by Jai Bahadur Singh, Communist MP and one of the tallest leaders of eastern UP. After the march there was a rally of 15,000 citizens to administer a severe warning to Sucheta Ministry.

A third rally in the district, held at Kopaganj, under the presidentship of Iqbal Ahmad, was addressed by Dr. Z. A. Ahmad.

In Ghazipur district there were a number of local marches, but the biggest of them was staged in Ghazipur city under the leadership of Sarju Pande MP. Pande is legendary figure in eastern UP. He was accompanied by another Party leader Pabbar Ram, ex-MLA and a veteran revolutionary.

The other main march and rally took place in Jamania, led by the local MLAs, Ragubir Ram, and Ram Sunder Shastri.

In Ballia, the big march was led by Dr. Ahmad and the

district Party secretary Dharma Dev Lal.

Some people have gone out of the Party in Ballia and casting all sense of shame to the winds they had manoeuvred might and main to prevent the march. But they were put on the run by the rebuff they received from Party members, and more so, from the common people.

In Basti, two central marches were organised—in Basti and in Khalilabad. Two thousand peasants and citizens marched under the leadership of the district Party secretary Sheetal Tripathi to the residence of the District Magistrate to serve final notice of the satyagraha from August 10. In the evening a mass meeting was held under the presidentship of Nazirul Hasan Ansari.

The march in Khalilabad was led by local leaders. The most remarkable thing is that, after a fairly long time, the Basti unit of the Party has once again plunged into mass activity.

In Gorakhpur, the main march, led by the district Party secretary, Laxmi Narain Pande took place at Pharendra tehsil. It was one of

Demonstrations And Rallies All Over U.P. PEOPLE GEAR-UP FOR AUGUST 10

From RAMESH SINHA

the biggest kisan demonstrations held recently in the district. Thousands of hungry men and women marched with Red flags in their hands and announced their decision to launch satyagraha if their demands were not accepted forthwith.

In Sitapur, the town of Khalilabad observed a complete hartal to protest against high prices and food scarcity. Later a procession of 2,000 paraded the streets. A public meeting was held in front of the police station.

Complete Hartal

In Khalilabad as well as in Hargaoon, batches of Communists have been on a fast for the last several days to draw attention of the authorities to the indescribable sufferings of the people.

In Gonda the Party brought out a very successful procession. Kisans from the district and urban people participated in it enthusiastically.

In Allahabad, the public meeting organised on this occasion was addressed by Rustom Satin, well-known Communist leader of the state. It was a tremendously successful meeting.

Later a torchlight procession was taken out. Apart from the local workers of the Party and other ordinary citizens, there were several teachers, professors and advocates also in the procession, led by the well-known Hindi writer Professor Prakash Chandra Gupta, Shyam Narain MLC, Kameshwar Prasad Agarwal, Prem Narain Tiwari (District Party secretary), N. N. Banerji, Kripa Shankar and others.

Marches and meetings were similarly held, according to reports so far received, at Agra, Allgarh, Muzaffarnagar, Dehra Dun, Saharanpur, Sultanpur, Bijnor, Moradabad, Nainital and several other places.

In Varanasi and Faizabad demonstrations and meetings were held at several places on July 25.

The Kanpur workers had observed the Day on July 19. On that day 5,000 workers and other town people marched in an impressive demonstration through the city under the leadership of the district Party secretary, Harbans Singh. There were two local processions that came out from Darshanpurwa and Gwaltoi.

All these marches later merged into a mass meeting of over 10,000 people at the Parade Maidan. S. S. Yusuf MLA, veteran leader of Kanpur, presided over the meeting. The meeting was addressed by S. M. Banerji MP, and Harbans Singh.

In the capital, at Lucknow, a 5,000-strong march was led by the State Party secretary, Kallishankar Shukla, other members of the state secretariat and district Party secretary Babu Khan and other local leaders like Ramesh Chandra Srivastava and Sohan Lal. In solidarity with the Day, the rickshaw pliers had observed a hartal.

In all these demonstrations and rallies, which have set lakhs and lakhs of people on the fighting path, the demands placed by the State Party executive were supported.

Powerful Atmosphere

The observance of the Day has created a powerful atmosphere against the hoarders, profiteers, black marketers and the corrupt officials, and when the Party goes into action, a movement bigger than any we have known is likely to be unleashed.

The demands for action against the hoarders, black-marketeers, corrupt officials; for fixation of reasonable price in the open market; and for the resignation of the incompetent and extraordinarily venal Food Minister Negi have become universal demands of all sections of the people, not excluding Congressmen.

The decision of the Central Secretariat of the CPI to make the anti-price and food struggle an all-India struggle has imparted a new edge and confidence to the people and the Party in Uttar Pradesh.

The state council is meeting in Lucknow from August 1 to 4 to give final touches to the preparations for the fight which has been forced on the people by the state government.

NO CONCRETE STEPS TO ALLEVIATE DISTRESS : FOOD SCARCER THAN EVER

From MOHIT SEN

HYDERABAD: The food situation in this surplus state is deteriorating with tremendous force and building up to an explosive situation, since the government has not yet moved further than its policy of idle threats and bombastic talk.

In Hyderabad the ragged tempers, caused by hunger and frequently fruitless waiting in queues before the small number of fair price shops, led to tragedy. There was a scuffle in the queue and some hours later one of those involved in it was stabbed to death by another who was also a party to the earlier fracas. The entire locality went tense and the huge funeral procession mourned not only the victim but expressed its wrath at the hunger and the anxiety that had led up to it.

The city Trade Union Council had decided some weeks ago to intervene in this whole situation and to let the government know the seething anger of the organised working class. On July 25 it took out a procession in the morning to the Legislative Council which was debating the food situation, headed by Dr. Raj Bahadur Gour and K. L. Mahendra.

The procession was stopped some 100 yards away from the Council chamber. At this stage seven leaders of the different unions, and of the localities, headed by K. L. Mahendra, went forward to offer symbolic satyagraha by breaking section 144. All of them were arrested.

Inside the council Makhdoom Mohiuddin made a blistering attack on the food policy of the government, accusing it of caring only for the interests of the big land-

holders, traders and hoarders. He gave a graphic description of the woeful manner in which fair price shops were functioning, with inadequate stocks and various types of malpractices.

He insisted that there was not a moment to lose and the government should immediately take over the wholesale trade in food grains, fix a fair price for producer and consumer and open many more fair price shops, including in the villages.

On the very evening of July 25, when the food debate was concluded, the Chief Minister opened the new building of the INTUC where he came out with ferocious threats not against "agitators" who were "exciting" the people. Even as he was speaking a large one-mile long demonstration organised by the city Trade Union Council was converging on his residence, where thousands of workers from Sanatnagar were already waiting.

He had to rush from the cosy atmosphere of the INTUC get-together to receive a deputation from the procession, led by J. Satyanarayana, secretary of the APTUC. It is gathered that he confessed to this deputation that the food crisis was severe and added that he was willing to listen to suggestions but "processions" were no good!

He was told that suggestions had been made many times but processions might add some force to the logic behind them. He seemed willing to consider the idea that to begin with factory labour and their families could be covered by fair price shops with adequate stocks but he refused to commit himself.

In the meantime reports pour in of scarcity conditions from the different districts. In Vijayawada town, the fair price shops have had to close

down because of lack of stocks. In the villages the majority of cultivators are extremely anxious as the lean months approach. They are making it clear to all that the food problem is by no means confined to the urban areas.

The retail traders of Hyderabad City are quite disgusted both with their wholesale big brothers and the government. They state that stocks are not made available and all manner of nepotism and corruption come into operation when the question of allocations comes up.

Congress Ministers, MLAs and Municipal Councillors play havoc with the setting up of fair price shops. These retail traders also have sympathy with the food agitation but claim that any overt expression of their feeling would lead to reprisals.

APTUC Plan

The APTUC is going ahead with its plans for a Day of Protest either on August 9 or 10, whichever is suitable. It has instructed all affiliated unions to get ready for various forms of statewide action, including a one-day general strike.

Its recent working committee meeting presided over by K. L. Narasimham, noted with satisfaction the increase in the verified membership of the APTUC affiliated unions from 53,000 to 62,000 while 20,000 more were not included on technical grounds or the failure of unions to produce records on

* ON PAGE 12

AUGUST 2, 1964

NEW AGE

PAGE NINE

POLICE LATHICHARGE

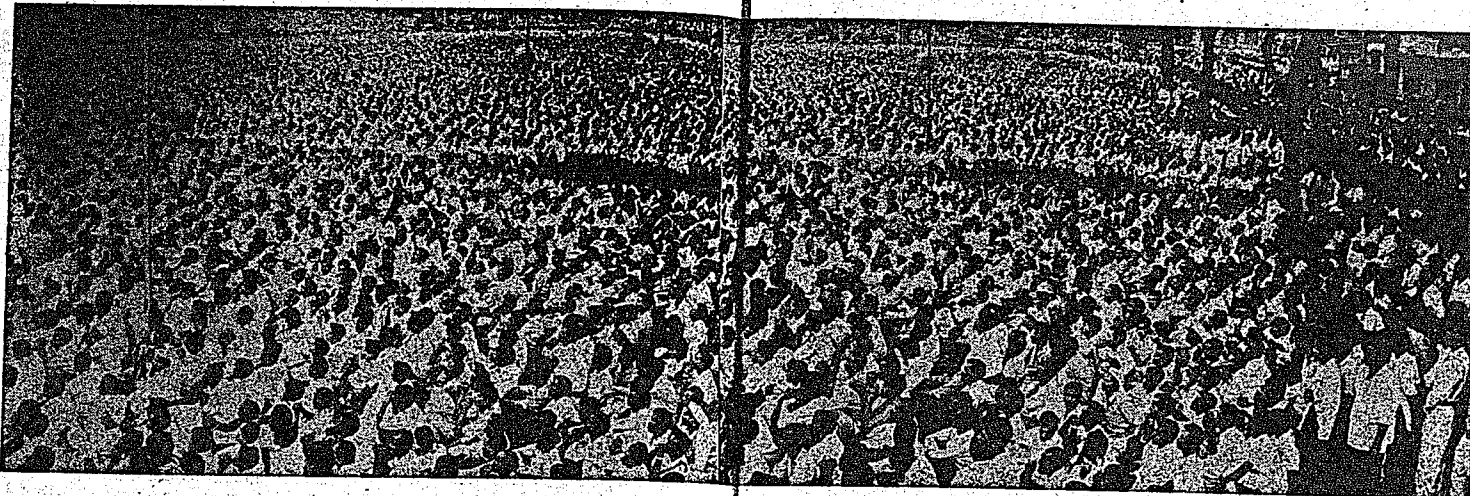
WOMEN and children who demonstrated before the collectorate at Morena demanding foodgrains at cheap prices from fair price shops were mercilessly lathicharged by the police on July 20.

About a hundred women and children had collected before the collectorate after parading the streets of Morena. They styled themselves as hunger marchers.

The main demand of the women and children was distribution of at least a hundred bags of cheap wheat every day from the fair price shops. They said that the present supply was very inadequate to meet the demand.

The authorities has termed the lathicharge as "mild". It was necessitated, according to them, "to disperse the unruly mob after it injured several policemen by stonethrowing".

The collector was magnanimous enough to say that "the demonstrators were misled by some interested persons who assured them that they would be provided with cheap foodgrains".



STARVATION DEATHS

REPORTS of starvation deaths in the eastern districts of Uttar Pradesh and some areas of Bihar have started to come in.

Ugra Sen, SSP leader and MLA, addressing a public meeting in Lucknow on July 27, said his party had received reports of ten starvation deaths in the past 20 days from the eastern districts.

In Kanpur, police is being posted at the fair price shops "to protect" the shopkeepers from angry crowds who try to mob the shops.

After standing in queues since dawn till late in the evening, many of the card holders are told to go home without any foodgrains because there are "no stocks" or the "stocks have run out".

In the Bihar Legislative Council Communist MLC Indradeep Sinha said on July 27 that 17 persons had died of starvation in Bhagalpur district alone.

ANTI-PRICE RISE DAY IN MADHYA PRADESH

BHOPAL: The Madhya Pradesh state council of the Communist Party of India has decided to observe August 1 as anti-price rise day. Mass rallies and demonstrations will be held all over the state on that day to demand immediate curb on prices.

The council which concluded a four-day session at Indore on July 18, also decided to organise seven-hour hunger strike by volunteers at all district and tehsil headquarters in the state in the second week of August.

A statewide satyagraha will be staged in front of the state Assembly later, if the government still does not accede to the demands of the people and put an end to its pro-hoarder and pro-profit policies.

The state council also recommended to the central executive committee of the CPI to organise a nationwide

satyagraha in front of Parliament in September to protest against the ever-rising prices and increasing scarcity of essential commodities.

The Communist Party's decision to launch an agitation for food comes in the background of the developing food crisis and widespread talks of agitation. Even Congressmen are talking about agitation these days.

With the onset of the monsoon the flow of foodgrains has almost stopped and the existing stocks are dwindling fast. The government fair price shops are virtually

empty. The prices have touched an all time high and tribals and poorer people are subsisting on tree leaves.

Though government action against some traders has forced them to disgorge several thousand tonnes of foodgrains and the ban on keeping stocks over 50 quintals has had a salutary effect, the Chief Minister's statement that there was enough grain in the state made the Union government and the state administrative set up complacent.

The supply of imported wheat has slowed down and other states are getting priority in view of the Chief Minister's statement at the Chief Ministers' conference that wheat production this year had been 18.76 lakh tonnes while the actual requirement of Madhya Pradesh is nearly 19 lakh tonnes, thus creating an impression that there is almost no shortage of wheat.

This statement of the Chief Minister has been challenged not only by all the opposition parties but by some Congressmen as well. They maintain that wheat production this year is only about 15 lakh tonnes and dispute the accuracy of government statistics based on a sample survey.

The traders have no doubt contributed to some extent in creating scarcity conditions but the reality is that wheat production falls short by nearly four lakh tonnes of the actual requirement of the state.

The only remedy is to ask for adequate wheat stocks from the Union government and open more fair price shops, particularly in rural areas where the conditions are still worse.

Many quarters have also questioned the wisdom of the government decision to supply rice to Maharashtra and Gujarat at this critical juncture. They maintain that the surplus has already moved to the neighbouring states, mostly through smuggling by traders in collusion with government officials. What remains is

just enough to meet the requirements of the state.

The worst affected area is Rewa division where scarcity conditions are prevailing and the rains have blocked the movement of foodgrains into the interior. Whatever little stocks government could send recently to this division are lying at the tehsil and block headquarters.

Moreover, the people have no purchasing capacity and the relief works started by the government can at best help them to tide over the crisis for a few weeks only.

Moved by these appalling conditions, even Congressmen have begun to criticise the government for adopting an indifferent attitude towards scarcity areas. They maintain that with the failure of the last crop scarcity was evident in this area, particularly because of the preceding three crops also having been poor due to draught or winter rains.

The government should have stocked adequate foodgrains in the area and opened a large number of relief works to help people purchase that grain. That the supply was inadequate till last month is apparent from the fact that only 150 wagons of foodgrains was made available to Rewa district while actual monthly requirement to meet the situation is 300 wagons.

The Rewa District Congress Committee has threatened agitation if the government failed to take prompt steps to deal with the situation. It has not retraced its steps despite PCC's refusal to give permission for such agitation. The government's attitude was clear from the Chief Minister's warning that any agitation would be dealt with sternly, irrespective of who started and led it.

COMMUNIST MLAs TO GO ON HUNGER-STRIKE

PATNA: The Bihar state council of the Communist Party of India has decided that Communist legislators should observe a three-day hunger strike from August 5 to 7 before the state assembly gate to impress upon the government the need for reversing its pro-hoarder food policy.

The council which met on July 17 expressed grave concern at the alarming rise in prices, particularly of foodgrains. Prices of rice, wheat, dal, oil, sugar and cloth have soared higher than ever before, and the spectre of mass starvation haunts millions of people.

The sickening government policy of cajoling the hoarders is making the people lose their patience, a resolution passed by the council said. It added that people were realising that the government would refuse to move against the hoarders and speculators unless the people compelled it to do so.

The council also expressed its determination to continue the struggle against the hoarders and speculators unless the government took prompt steps to deal with the situation. It has not retraced its steps despite PCC's refusal to give permission for such agitation. The government's attitude was clear from the Chief Minister's warning that any agitation would be dealt with sternly, irrespective of who started and led it.

subdivisional and other government offices from August 17.

The council called upon the people of all parties and views to organise united, broadbased anti-high prices committees at all levels to enrol volunteers to undertake dehoarding of stocks, stopping black marketing and bribery and ensuring proper distribution of foodgrains at fixed prices.

It called upon the people and all political parties and organisations which value the interests of the people to organise a massive campaign for the realisation of the people's immediate and just demands.

The resolution concluded by saying that the council is confident that if the popular organisations unite the people in this massive campaign, the government will be compelled to move against the hoarders and provide food to the people at reasonable prices.

The council also expressed its determination to continue the struggle against the hoarders and speculators unless the government took prompt steps to deal with the situation. It has not retraced its steps despite PCC's refusal to give permission for such agitation. The government's attitude was clear from the Chief Minister's warning that any agitation would be dealt with sternly, irrespective of who started and led it.

Andhra TUC Plans Demonstrations

HYDERABAD: The Andhra Pradesh Trade Union Congress has decided to hold mass rallies and demonstrations on August 9 and 10 throughout the state to press for immediate curb on prices and distribution of adequate supplies of foodstuff through fair price shops.

At a meeting on July 18 and 19, the working committee of the APTUC noted the serious situation created by the rise in prices of essential commodities caused in a large measure by the hoarding and profiteering activities of the wholesale dealers.

These antisocial elements are able to hold the people to ransom because of the policies and attitude of the government and its failure to make any effective move in the direction of takeover of wholesale trade in foodgrains, nationalisation of banks.

In addition, the fair price shops set up are woefully few in number and have far too little stocks, the committee noted. The tripartite decision to open fair price shops in all industrial

The APTUC has, after detailed study, come to the conclusion that the cost of living index figures prepared for the various centres in the state are absolutely fraudulent and do not at all reflect the market price fluctuations.

The state government is acting against tripartite decisions by refusing to have these indices scientifically compiled. The working class has decided to take up the challenge and compel the government to recast these indices on a scientific basis.

To support these demands, the APTUC working committee has decided on mass mobilisation, joint rallies and conventions, setting up of joint committees to prepare for statewide action.

The working committee also decided to explore the possibilities of organising a one-day general strike. It will approach other organisations for support to the general strike.

Assam Expresses Grave Concern For Food

SHILLONG: The executive committee of the Assam state council of the Communist Party of India has expressed grave concern at the rising prices of foodgrains in the state and scarcity of essential articles.

In a statement on July 19, the executive committee said:

"It is needless to narrate facts to impress the intensity of the crisis manifested in the constantly soaring prices and frequently created scarcity of foodstuffs which is admitted even by the Congress and its government."

The committee demanded fixation of fair prices of all essential commodities, seizure of all marketable surplus of foodgrains lying with millers, big traders and rich landlords, distribution of food and other essential articles through consumer cooperatives and fair price shops, and state trading in foodgrains. The Samyukt Socialist

Party in Assam has also come out against rising prices and demanding immediate steps by the government to ease the situation.

Biswa Goswami, secretary of the state unit of the SSP, said in a statement that people had been compelled to go without food for days together due to scarcity of rice and their inability to purchase it at the present market prices.

"Unless the government takes effective steps to hold the price line at a reasonable level the situation will go out of control", he said.

The trade union coordination committee, comprising various trade unions in Gauhati has also issued a similar statement.

7,000 Volunteers In Punjab

JULLUNDUR: The secretariat of the Punjab state council of the Communist Party of India has welcomed the decision of the central secretariat of the CPI to launch a countryside satyagraha from August 24 to force the government to bring down prices.

At a meeting on July 24, the secretariat decided to start a campaign for enrolment of volunteers for the satyagraha. At least seven thousand volunteers would be enrolled by August 15.

Party leaders will tour the districts and hold general body meetings of Party mem-

bers and sympathisers and address public rallies to help the campaign.

The secretariat has also appealed to other parties and individuals who agree with the demands of the satyagraha to participate in it and support it in other ways.

In particular, the secretariat

appealed to those who have seceded from the Communist Party to set up a rival party to join in the satyagraha and other mass actions in order to defend the interests of the masses, and realise the just demands with which they are also in full agreement.

It was decided that a meeting of the state council should be held on August 4 and 5 to check up on the campaign for enrolment of satyagrahis and to draw up the detailed programme of the satyagraha.

20% Increase In Family Budgets

NEW DELHI: The family budget of lower middle class people and the workers has gone up by more than 20 per cent in many urban industrial centres during the last four years due to the rise in prices of essential commodities.

This conclusion has been drawn by the UNI, which conducted a survey into the living standards of common people. The survey highlighted the following facts:

Expenditure on cereals, pulses, vegetables, which accounts for the bulk of family spending—as much as 50 per cent in working class and lower middle class households and 44 per cent in middle class families—has shown a sharp upward swing.

Even expenditure on transport, clothing, housing, fuel, tobacco and pan-supari has steadily risen.

Unable to balance their budgets as incomes have generally tended to trail behind the expenditure, the lower middle class has resorted to depressing their standard of living. Vegetable, ghee, milk, meat and eggs and sugar are being replaced by cheaper substitutes or given up altogether.

Cheese has given way to mustard oil or hydrogenated oils. Desi wheat has been replaced by imported wheat. Potatoes

and onions form the main vegetables.

For meeting emergency expenses family jewellery is often sold. Chit funds and money-lenders are in great demand.

In the Union Territory of Delhi, the housewife today spends 29 per cent more on cereals than in 1960, 35 to 42 per cent more on pulses, 28 per cent on oils, 46 per cent on meat, fish and eggs, 19 per cent on milk and ghee and 77 per cent on vegetables.

Expenditure on clothing is up by 14 per cent and on fuel by 23 per cent.

According to one estimate, the cost of "rations" of middle class households in Delhi during the period January-April had gone up by 20 to 30 per cent.

Rent formed 25 to 35 per cent of the salary unless one had government accommodation.

Soap prices increased by over 8 per cent. Sugar prices had risen by 17 paise per kilo, mustard oil by Re 1 a kilo. The cost of a two-kilo vanaspati tin rose

by 88 paise. Vegetable prices had nearly doubled.

In the industrial centres of Punjab, living cost had gone up by over 17 per cent, with expenditure on cereals rising by 18 to 25 per cent, on pulses by 39 to 45 per cent, oils by 20 per cent, meat, fish and eggs by 43 per cent and vegetables by 67 per cent.

In Bihar, expenditure on foodgrains rose by over 18 per cent, on pulses by 63 per cent, meat and eggs by 37 per cent and vegetables by 83 per cent. Fuel costs were up by 83 per cent.

In UP, cost of living in Kanpur and Varanasi had gone up by 25 to 29 per cent.

The expenditure on pulses had increased by 47 to 92 per cent, meat and eggs by 33 to 56 per cent and on vegetables by 67 to 122 per cent. The upward rise in the cost of cereals ranged between 21 to 25 per cent.

Madhya Pradesh recorded a 25 per cent rise in family expenses; cost of cereals going up by 28 to 39 per cent, pulses by 42 to 53 per cent, meat, fish and eggs by 28 to 60 per cent and vegetables by 54 to 75 per cent. Fuel cost 28 per cent more in Gwalior.

West Bengal reported a 15 per cent increase in cost of living, with prices of vegetables going

up by 20 to 50 per cent, milk and ghee by 22 to 30 per cent and pulses by 30 to 40 per cent.

Family budgets in Andhra capital Hyderabad went up by 20 per cent, with foodgrains costing 19 per cent more, pulses 40 per cent more, meat and eggs 17 per cent more and vegetables costing 20 per cent more. Cost of clothing went up by 32 per cent and of fuel by 19 per cent.

In Bangalore (Mysore) overall impact of high prices was a rise in the cost of living by 17 per cent during the first quarter of 1964 as compared to 1960.

Though expenditure on cereals rose by only 12 per cent, prices of pulses rose by 33 per cent, milk and ghee by 45 per cent and vegetables by 39 per cent. Transport expenditure had gone up by 55 per cent, fuel by 18 per cent and housing by 17 per cent.

In Ahmedabad and other industrial towns of Gujarat, family budgets rose by 16 per cent. The cost of foodgrains increased by 12 per cent, pulses by 45 per cent, meat and eggs by 33 per cent and vegetables by 45 per cent.

In Kerala and Orissa the cost of living rose by 18 to 19 per cent, prices of pulses and vegetables showing the highest increase.

INTENSIFY MOVEMENT FOR PEOPLE'S FOOD

All Tripura Detenus Released

Supreme Court Holds Detention Illegal

BY OUR STAFF CORRESPONDENT

In accordance with the judgment of the Supreme Court on July 23, 21 detenus of Tripura were released from the Tihar Jail, Delhi, where they had been brought from the Hazaribagh jail in connection with their appeals before the Supreme Court.

The judgment of the Supreme Court upheld the contention of the detenus that their detention was illegal and without any reason, and rejected the argument of the government that the detention of these detenus was continued after due review every six months.

With the release of these 21 detenus, no other Tripura detenu now remains in custody. In all 68 persons had been kept in detention. The 21 who have been released now include important leaders of the Party and the people. They are: Dasarath Deb Barma MP, Biren Datta MP, Mohan Choudhury, Ramakanta Acharya, Makhan Datta, Rakhal Rajkumar, Promode Dasgupta MLA, Hemanta Deb Barma MLA, Sudhanya Deb Barma MLA, Nripeta Chakrabarty MLA, Baidyanath Mazumder, Bichandra Deb Barma MLA (Ind), Chandrasekhar Das, Debabrata Chakrabarty, Saroj Chandra, secretary of the Tripura Council of the CPI, Bhanu Ghosh, Sushil Dey, Ramchandra Deb Barma MLA, Arjun Deb Barma, Karunakumar Roy and Yugabrata Sengupta.

Art. 226 Petition Dismissed

Twelve detenus among these 21 had earlier moved the Judicial Commissioner of Tripura under Art. 226 of the Constitution and prayed that the orders of detention under which they continued to be detained at the time of their petitions were illegal and should be set aside and they should be released forthwith. But this prayer was dismissed by the Judicial Commissioner. Against this decision, appeals were preferred before the Supreme Court and later rest of the detenus also joined the appeals before the Supreme Court, through writ petitions.

R. K. Garg, Advocate, who appeared on behalf of the detenus, pointed out to the

Supreme Court that orders to review had not been passed as required by Rule 3A(8) of the Defence of India Rules and had not been communicated to the detenus. It was also stated that the decision to continue the detention of a detenu must be reduced to writing and must be communicated to the detenu.

Garg also contended that the "scheme of the Rules clearly shows that the original order of detention passed under Rule 30(1)(b), as well as the decision to continue the detention of the detenus reached by the appropriate authority under Rule 30A(8) must be recorded in writing and must comply with the provisions of Art. 166 of the Constitution." The Solicitor-General who appeared on behalf of the Chief Commissioner of Tripura, differed with this view and contended that the detention was legal and in accordance with the Rules.

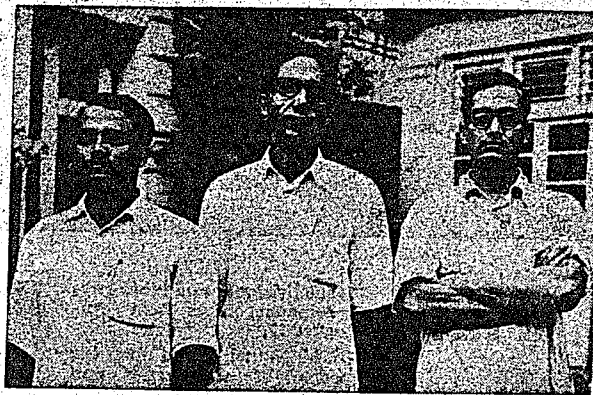
Files Called

The Supreme Court by an interim order on May 6 had called upon the Chief Secretary to the Tripura Administration to "forthwith transmit to the Supreme Court the original files in respect of the detenus concerned and that the minister, or the secretary or the administrator who reviewed the cases of the detenus and had arrived at a decision that their detention be continued, to file an affidavit before the Supreme Court by June 8" clearly stating all the facts. These files were examined by R. K. Garg. It may be mentioned here that during the hearing before the Tripura Judicial Commissioner, these files were not allowed to be seen by the detenus or their lawyer by the government. The Supreme Court took the view that in these cases,

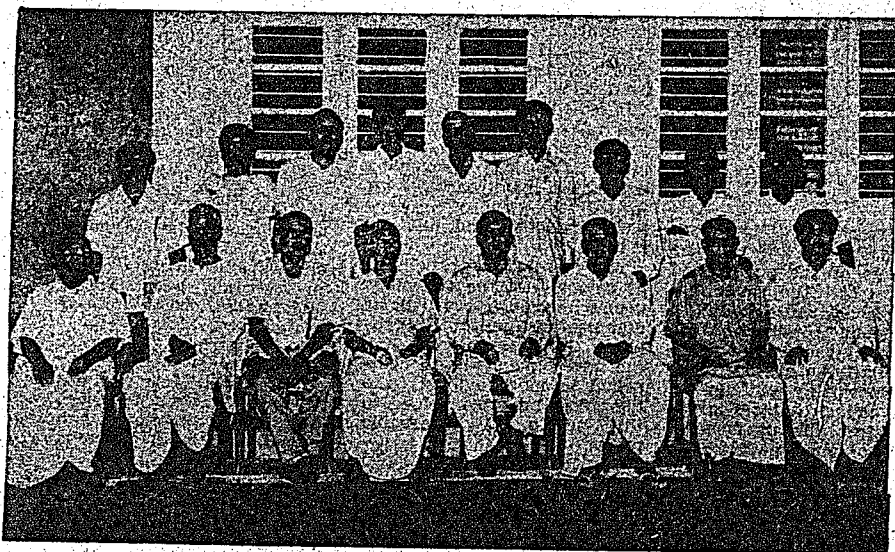
it was not necessary to consider the question as to whether the orders passed under Rule 30(1)(b) and the record of the decision reached under Rule 30A(8) should comply with Art. 166 of the Constitution or not. It also took the view that it was not necessary in these cases to decide whether the decision recorded under Rule 30A(8) should be communicated to the detenu.

Role Not Observed

But the Supreme Court held: "We are satisfied that the decision to con-



The Tripura Detenus photographed by NEW AGE after their release



continue the detention of the detenus which, it is urged on behalf of the respondent, was reached by him under Rule 30A(8), has not been recorded in writing as required by the said Rule; and there is no evidence on record to show that such a decision had been reached and reduced to writing." The Supreme Court came to the conclusion on examination of the records and perusal of the affidavit, that there were no such orders and observed:

"In this connection, we would like to emphasise the fact that in exercising his power under Rule 30A(8), the appropriate authority should record its decision clearly and unambiguously. After all, the liberty of the citizen is in question and the detention of the detenu is intended to be continued as a result of this decision reached by the appropriate authority, it should say so in clear and unambiguous terms."

The Supreme Court also took into account other facts cited by the respondent to show that the cases have been properly reviewed, and observed: "This conclusion necessarily means that the requirements of Rule 30A(8) has not been complied with and that inevitably makes the continuance of the detention of the detenus before us invalid in law. The fact that these cases were reviewed subsequently on the 25th September, 1963 and 11th March 1964 and the

decision of the authority was in fact communicated to them, would not validate the illegal continuance of the detention of the detenus after six months had expired from the date of their original detention."

Although the Supreme Court did not decide whether legally it was incumbent on the appropriate authority to communicate the decision about continuance of detention to the detenu, it emphasised the fact that it would be fair, desirable and just that

such a decision should be communicated to the detenu.

One interesting incident came to light during the hearing of the cases before the Supreme Court and it brought out in sharp relief as to how the Tripura Administration maintains its files. One of the detenus, Kadam Deb Barma was released on February 15, 1963 and even after his release, his case came up for review in June 1963 and he was ordered to be released. This fact was noted by Justice Shah.

UNHOLY ALLIANCE!

THE unholy anxiety of the Tenali brotherhood to show that the Communist Party of India has no following among the people is causing surprise here.

Many times they stoop to falsehoods to "prove" that the CPI's influence is "very meagre" compared to themselves. A recent claim made by P. Sundarayya bears ample testimony to this.

Sundarayya told the TIMES OF INDIA correspondent that in the recent panchayat elections in Andhra Pradesh, the splitters had captured 492 panchayats while the CPI won only 154 panchayats.

The real picture was given by N. Rajashekhar Reddy, after analysing the reports made by comrades in the districts at the recent state council meeting.

According to this, the CPI has won 619 panchayats and the splitters a little over 400 panchayats.

The CPI has won so many panchayats despite the splitters' best efforts to defeat Party candidates by supporting the Congress and even the Jan Sangh.

The CPI, on the other hand, supported the candidates of the rival party wherever it was strong and had better chances of winning.

We are proud to publish here the first part of an exclusive interview to NEW AGE given recently by Alexei Rumyantsev, Editor-in-Chief of WORLD MARXIST REVIEW (also published under the name of PEACE, FREEDOM AND SOCIALISM. Present throughout the 16 hours of the interview and participating in it was also the Secretary of the Editorial Board, A. Sobolev).

COULD you tell NEW AGE readers about the principal tasks and forms of work of the journal WORLD MARXIST REVIEW?

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW is principally a theoretical journal of the Communist and Workers' parties. It was founded in September 1958 on the initiative of the 1957 Moscow Meeting. It is the only international periodical of the international Communist movement published at the present time.

The Communist and Workers' parties have delegated serious and responsible tasks to the journal. It propagates and deals with problems of Marxist-Leninist theory in the light of the key processes in the contemporary world and socialist and Communist construction in the USSR and the other socialist countries.

The journal sponsors exchanges of opinion on matters related to the working-class and Communist movement and covers the activi-

ties of Communist and Workers' parties in their struggle for peace and socialism, against imperialism and various aspects of bourgeois ideology. It devotes itself, too, to problems of economic, political and cultural cooperation between the socialist countries.

It devotes itself to promoting proletarian internationalism in the working-class movement and the cohesion of all peace-loving and democratic forces. It combats revisionism and dogmatism in the world Communist movement, works for united action by the international working-class movement and for contracts and cooperation between Communist and Socialist-Democratic parties and helps the Communist parties to combat reformist ideas among workers.

The journal handles questions related to the anti-imperialist national-liberation movement and examines the prospects of social and political development in the de-

pendent and colonial countries.

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW is published jointly by the Communist and Workers' parties. But it is not a supra-Party organ, a vehicle issuing directives. It is guided in its work by the ideas and theses set out in the documents of the Moscow Meetings of Communist and Workers' parties, and above all by a desire to strengthen the solidarity of the world Communist movement.

The journal prints exhaustive information about current developments in the international working-class movement and the various Communist parties. It serves as an international forum for the fraternal parties and makes space available for comradely exchanges of opi-

nion which, within the framework of the general principles of Marxist-Leninist theory, reflect some differences in attitude.

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW has the backing of the overwhelming majority of Communist and Workers' parties and is run by an editorial board formed by agreement between the Central Committees of the fraternal parties. Thirty-two fraternal parties have their permanent representatives at its editorial offices.

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW has a large circulation in 26 languages. In its first year it was read in 80 countries and now readership extends to 142 countries. Its circulation in the capitalist countries has doubled.

What principal problems does the world Communist movement have to solve to advance Marxist-Leninist theory and in the ideological struggle?

The Communist movement has always attached tremendous importance to ideological work and the creative development of theory. Lenin described ideological struggle as one of the three main forms of class struggle, the

other two being economic and political struggle.

The objective tasks of our time cannot be realised until they are fully grasped by the people and become ideologically reasoned demands of the foremost class, the aspiration of working people the world over.

By attaching cardinal importance to ideological work, the Communist parties, in effect, strive to make the objective tasks of our time—reconstruction of society along socialist lines, prevention of a nuclear world war, abolition of colonialism and of all forms of national oppression and social injustice, consolidation of democracy, etc.—understood and accepted by the working people as a compelling necessity.

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Rumyantsev Outlines to New Age

PERSPECTIVES OF WORLD REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS

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Please tell us what are the cardinal problems of ideological struggle of our era?

Among the vital theoretical problems now facing the fraternal parties the following command prime attention:

Outlook for the further development of the socialist world revolution in the new historical environment, with capitalism in the third stage of its general crisis and the socialist world system increasingly becoming the decisive factor of social progress, with the great scientific and technical revolution in full stride and attended by considerable changes in the social structures of all the countries, with thermonuclear weapons, if used by the imperialists, threatening to turn back the clock of civilisation by many decades and annihilating half of mankind.

Briefly, the theoretical and political problem confronting the fraternal parties is how to convert the revolutionary situation obtaining in the world as a whole into a revolutionary situation in each country, how to convert the still largely spontaneous striving of the masses for revolutionary change into a politically conscious struggle for the reconstruction of society along socialist lines, and how to convert the objectively common interests of all working people into a militant alliance headed by the working class.

Obviously, none of this can be accomplished without a thorough examination of the social structure and the situation of the working people in capitalist society, without due consideration for the changes and processes taking place in it. Neither can it be accomplished without mastering all the forms of struggle for socialism both by peaceful means, the parliamentary ones included, and non-peaceful means, including the method of armed uprising.

Furthermore, it calls for an elucidation of questions relat-

ed to the non-capitalist development of economically backward countries in the direction of socialism, for that is the likely road of many nations, of hundreds of millions of people.

If we neglect this side of the question, and if we give preference to just one form of struggle for socialism and fail to win over the masses, it is very likely that in the future our children and grandchildren will say with scorn that mid-twentieth century was "not the period of revolutionary transition to socialism that it should have been but a period of lost opportunities, that we did not make the most of a revolutionary situation, and that socialist revolution was drowned not in blood, but in 'leftist' sectarian and adventurist phrasemongering."

Fusion of the socialist and general democratic tasks of the working people's liberation movement comprises the third group of theoretical problems confronting the Communist and working-class movement of our time.

Socialism and democracy are inseparable. There can be no genuine democracy without social and economic liberation of the working people, i.e., of the overwhelming majority of the population. Neither can there be genuine socialism without genuine democracy. At the present time, it is impossible to achieve a lasting victory of either democracy or socialism without their organic fusion.

This is why the world Communist and working-class movements attach such fundamental importance to the struggle for democracy and its extension and consolidation in capitalist society, to the struggle against the personality cult and all its consequences, and to the further development of democratic rights and institutions in the socialist countries.

These are complicated problems indeed. To accomplish these tasks means enriching Marxism-Leninism, freeing it from dogmas and new strait-

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This is why the world Communist and working-class movements attach such fundamental importance to the struggle for democracy and its extension and consolidation in capitalist society, to the struggle against the personality cult and all its consequences, and to the further development of democratic rights and institutions in the socialist countries.

These are complicated problems indeed. To accomplish these tasks means enriching Marxism-Leninism, freeing it from dogmas and new strait-

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If we neglect this side of the question, and if we give preference to just one form of struggle for socialism and fail to win over the masses, it is very likely that in the future our children and grandchildren will say with scorn that mid-twentieth century was "not the period of revolutionary transition to socialism that it should have been but a period of lost opportunities, that we did not make the most of a revolutionary situation, and that socialist revolution was drowned not in blood, but in 'leftist' sectarian and adventurist phrasemongering."

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Huma Salt Workers' Strike Called Off

From Nandkishore Patnaik

CUTTACK: The Huma Salt workers' strike which began on May 31 has at last been called off on July 19 on the assurance of the factory owners to abide by the decisions of the Conciliation Officer and withdraw all cases against the workers and stop any further retrenchment.

HUMA, is the main salt-producing belt in the district of Ganjam.

On a vast stretch of 690 acres of land, three miles from sea, belonging to the Central government, salt is being produced by evaporation process. The lands have been leased to 27 persons, among

whom are Modi brothers of Cuttack, who employ hundreds of poor peasants and landless labourers who are forced to work under inhuman conditions for a meagre remuneration. Even the agents of the lessees forcibly take "mamul", illegal gratification from the workers.

The hazard of the production is that the workers have to work for only six months from January to June, the rest of the year they go unemployed, as the process of making salt is done only in summer days under direct sun. The more the sun, the harder is the work for the employees. The employees have to work under the scorching sun. Not a drop of drinking water is available to quench the thirst.

Their pay is even worse. When a bag of salt is selling at a price of Rs. 2, the worker used to get a wage of eight annas and now when the bag is selling at Rs. 10 the same rate of wage is prevalent for them. And this

wage rate bears no relation with the cost of living. The employers refused to make any increase in their wages.

Against such attitude, 200 salt workers-cartmen carried on a heroic struggle for 119 days in 1962 and ultimately won some of the demands. The first union of the salt workers was established after this.

Minimum Wages

This year in the month of April the workers met in a conference to decide their charter of demands which contained three main demands: (1) Recognition of the Huma Luna (salt) Shramik Sangh, (2) Issue of payment cards to workmen, (3) Replacement of present wage-rate.

Other demands included issues like: Accounts and payments to

be settled within a fortnight of delivery of salt; Provision of rest-sheds in the salt pans; Provision of drinking water in salt pans; Medical facilities; Payment of wages on the basis of weights, not measurements; and Enforcement of Minimum Wages Act.

Since the owners did not respond to the demands, the workers on May 11 decided that unless the basic minimum demands are fulfilled, the salt produced won't be delivered to the employers.

The matter was taken up for conciliation but the employers tried to avoid the proceedings. On the other hand they tried to disrupt the unity of the workers and brought blacklegs to carry on the delivery work.

Strong Resistance

On July 7, the owners tried to bring a truck and some workers brought from Somandi, inside the salt producing workers. About 600 workers led by Eresu Achary, the general secretary and Parsuram Pandu, executive member of the union stood on the road two miles off the salt area, with a view to resisting lorry-loads of armed police, in the presence of SDO, Dy. SP, Police officials, one salt lessee B. Modi, Md. Yusuf and other agents of employers. The employers bowed down before the determination of the workers and agreed that they would abide by the decision of the conciliation officer.

It is rather due to the fact that the present scale and scope of the world Communist movement have become too great for any individual, no matter how brilliant, to encompass. The collective principle in the development of theory is not, therefore, a sign of weakness, but a sign of strength, not a sign of paucity, but a sign of great enrichment.

tion in their respective countries. Naturally, the vital need for collective rather than individual enrichment and development of Marxism-Leninism is not due to any paucity of talent in the ranks of the international Communist and working-class movement.

great damage to the Communist movement and mankind's progress to socialism.

We Marxists-Leninists are not opposed to exchanges of opinion in the Communist movement. We are not opposed to discussions and debates because, as the saying goes, it is in a debate that the truth is born (not always, to be sure, and not only in a debate).

But we oppose methods of discussion which substitute insinuations for facts, calumny for argument, and base themselves on slanders and falsifications rather than the truth. That is not discussion of theory, but ideological diversion and psychological warfare. Deplorably, that is just what the Chinese leaders resort to more and more.

Marxism, as Lenin emphasised, is not a dogma but a guide to action. To be such a guide, Marxism-Leninism must develop continuously and enrich itself creatively on the basis of deep-going theoretical generalisations of the contemporary social realities. What with the high rates of social progress in the world, and in all spheres of human endeavour, it is now absolutely necessary that all theoretical generalisations of new social processes and phenomena should be profound and timely.

Need For Foresight

Revolutionary theory that aspires to being a guide to political action must enable us to anticipate developments, and not merely to record them. Indeed, could Marxism have aspired to being a guide to action if it had noted the consequences of a world nuclear war after such a war began or if it had posed the question of the peaceful way of socialist revolution after the latter had already triumphed? This is why theory does not confine itself to mere generalisations of objective processes and why it must anticipate developments in order to control them.

Development of Marxist theory is today the collective duty of all the fraternal parties which act on concrete analyses of the concrete situa-

World Revolutionary Process

*FROM OVERLEAF

jackets. How could it be done?

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW, the collective organ of fraternal parties, generalises the wealth of their theoretical and practical experiences and strives to make the creative advancement of Marxism-Leninism by the various parties available to the whole international Communist and working-class movements. We strive to the best of our ability to provide an answer to the above problems in our articles, exchanges of opinion, researches and conferences.

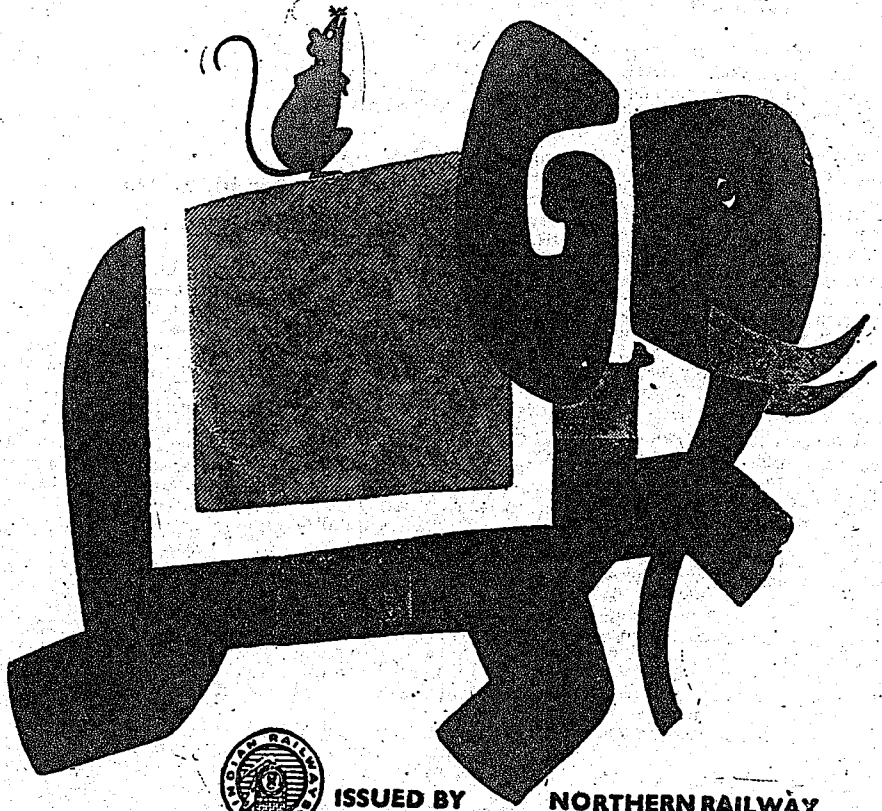
Today's Main Danger

Marxism-Leninism does not tolerate dogmatism, opportunism, revisionism, sectarianism and "right" and "left" deviationism because, ultimately, they tend at best to sacrifice the fundamental interests of the working class and the rest of the working people to transient, political considerations, or, at worst, to the egoistic aims of politicians who have turned away from the people.

We have to contend with this every time somebody's special and particular interests impinge upon the interests of the international Communist and working-class movements as a whole. This is the case at present with the CPC leaders, who, in effect, identify their egoistic interests with the interests of the Chinese people, and moreover, try to palm them off to the international Communist and working-class movements as the interests of all working people, all oppressed nations.

Today, these sectarian, dogmatist and adventurist views have (through no fault or desire of ours) become the main danger in the international Communist and working-class movement, its ideological sphere included. It is not their shrill declamations that make them dangerous, but the fact that they pervert and distort the true, objective demands of our time, and this makes it difficult in the ideological and theoretical context for the masses to grasp and appreciate these demands, doing

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be yourself.
Travel light to
have a pleasant journey.
Luggage not necessary
is an avoidable
burden. So why carry?
It chains you,
you know; and it
greatly inconveniences
others as well.

WORKERS ON THE MARCH

AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS DEMAND MINIMUM WAGES

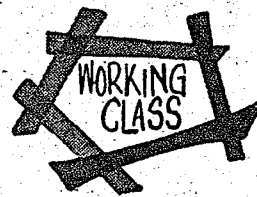
PATNA: The agricultural labourers in South Monghyr have been struggling for implementation of Minimum Wage Act (in force from 1958). Attached labourers also demanded 10 to 20 kathas of jagir (free land).

THIS demand was formulated in a district conference in last April. The agricultural labourers held numerous meetings and held demonstrations before BDOs at Ariari and Sikandra. About 2,500 of them demonstrated before SDO, Jamui on June 22 and more than 3,000 paraded at Monghyr and demonstrated before the District Magistrate.

On July 22, a one-day token strike was held in 100 selected villages of Jamui, Sikandra, Habi and Ariari and demonstrations and meetings

were held at Jamui, Sikandra and Husatnabad.

Till July 22 about 2,000 petitions have been filed regarding minimum wages before labour officers. The labourers are quite enthusiastic and preparations for a largescale action are going on. Governmental machinery is not moving fast to cope with the situation. Rich peasants in some areas are harassing the labourers. At Mallehpur, the house of Potan Manjhi was demolished by one Sambhu Chobey (landlord). There are reports of burning the houses of agricultural labourers in a few places also. Government has not taken any action so far, it is reported.



400 WORKERS SACKED IN GODREJ & BOYCE

NEARLY 400 workers of Godrej & Boyce Co. are facing retrenchment on account of short supply of steel.

The workers' union had arranged to defend the retrenchment of workers on this account for nearly two years, by accepting occasional lay-offs in various sections.

In the month of March the union met the Union Minister for Steel as well as Union Labour Minister, both of whom had assured that regular supplies of steel would be arranged. However, the situation has not yet improved and the threat of retrenchment has become more imminent.

Meanwhile, workers of the New Standard Engineering Co., Bombay, launched an indefinite strike on July 15 protesting against the issue of a charge sheet against a worker. The strike was sponsored by the General Engineering Employees' Union (AITUC).

DELHI TEXTILE WORKERS CONTINUE SQUATTING

BATCHES of workers led by Kapra Mazdoor Ekta Union (AITUC) have started round-the-clock dharna (squatting) at the gates of four major textile mills including Delhi Cloth Mills, Birla Mills and Swatantra Bharat Mills.

The KMEU has warned that it would convert the dharna into hunger-strike followed by a token protest strike if the authorities do not move in the matter quickly.

CENTRAL GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES FAVOUR UNITED ACTION

A meeting of Central Government employees' organisations convened by the Confederation of Central Government Employees, held last week, has decided to approach the four central TU organisations for joint campaigns against price rise and for DA revision.

THE meeting was attended by leaders of the Defence, P&T, Civil Aviation, Audit and Accounts, Income-Tax, CPWD and other departmental employees.

The meeting decided to observe August 12 as an all-India day to focus the government's attention on the distress caused by rising prices.

The Central employees have demanded that government should provide full neutralisation against price rise by corresponding rise in DA.

As an interim, immediate relief, they demanded an ad hoc rise of Rs. 10 in DA per month to all employees drawing pay upto Rs. 600.

PAKISTAN P&T WORKERS' SIGNIFICANT VICTORY

TELEGRAPH messengers and linemen in West Pakistan went on strike on July 10. The strike was extended to East Pakistan on July 11. A government press note admitted that the following centres of West Pakistan had been affected—Karachi, Hyderabad, Quetta, Lahore, Lyallpur, Peshawar, Multan, Murree, Abbottabad. In East Pakistan, Dacca and Chittagong were affected.

On July 14, the strike was withdrawn following a settlement between the workers and the Post and Telegraph Department. The workers were not only assured that there would be no victimisation for the strike but even granted pay for the strike period.

The terms of the agreement further provided that the cases where at least ten per

cent increase of the wages of the telegraph workers had not been effected, would be taken up by the Finance Ministry. The ten per cent increase formula would also apply to the cable joiners as announced by the Central Government.

The Department agreed to provide opportunities to all categories of line staff of the Telephone Department to improve their promotion prospects by opening training centres. The Department agreed to recommend a special allowance to the Ministry of Finance instead of technical allowance for the line staff.

The workers were told that there was a proposal to advance loans for house-building against a guarantee of the Department through Postal Life Insurance to all workmen. The provincial government, they were assured, would be approached to provide plots of lands under their house-building schemes. —(FPA)

Retrenchment In BSP Mines

BHILAI: The management of Bhilai Steel Project has started mass retrenchment in manual mines and prospecting division at the Rajhara iron ore mines since July 21.

THE categories of mate and work-charged establishment have been retrenched in the first instance. The number of affected workmen will be about 150.

It is gathered that the management is going to retrench about 800 workers out of a total strength of about 1600 in this section.

The Samyukhta Khadan Mazdoor Sangh, an affiliate of the AITUC, has taken up the issue and sent SOS telegrams (according to Industrial Truce Resolution) to the Union ministers for Labour, Mines and Steel, as well as to the General Manager

of BSP requesting their immediate intervention. It is interesting to note that the issue of granting of time scale to NMR workers and the industrial dispute in the prospecting division are still pending before the Law Ministry and the Implementation Committee.

The SKM Sangh staged a demonstration in protest of the retrenchment on July 21. About 1,500 workers participated in the demonstration. It culminated in a mass meeting before the union office which was addressed by Jiban Mukherji, Nassium Alam, R. N. Choudhary and B. S. Thakur.

Profits of Selected Textile Mills 1963-64

Name of Company	Profits before Tax (in lakhs)	
	1962-63	1963-64
Century Spinning	216.5	238.1
Madura Mills	107.4	141.6
Bangalore Woollen	51.8	123.7
India United	52.0	107.3
New Shorrock	109.1	102.5
Buckingham & Carnatic	106.0	94.1
Bombay Dyeing	60.3	82.0
Standard Mills	70.4	75.7
Kohinoor Mills	38.1	69.5
Laxmi Mills	48.0	59.6
Shree Niwas Cotton	35.9	54.6
Swadeshi Mills	37.0	53.2
Arvind Mills	55.8	52.9
Mafatlal Fine	45.8	50.7
Elgin Mills	70.2	50.6
Sassoon Spinning	40.9	50.5
Gokak Mills	37.9	45.5
Jayashree Textiles	32.4	44.1
Bharat Commerce	39.2	42.7
Ahmed Jupitar	28.2	35.3
Finlay Mills	44.6	34.1
Swan Mills	35.4	28.6
Dunbar Mills	32.9	27.8
Gold Mohur	24.3	25.9
Raipur Manufacturing	27.9	23.5
Galkwar Mills	27.6	21.2
Swadeshi Mills	31.6	21.2
Tata Mills	27.1	21.0
Sri Venkatesa	19.1	20.6
Mahendra Mills	15.8	19.8

Tempestuous Progress In Twenty Years

Warsaw today with her palaces and colourful apartment-houses, with her parks and bustling, neon-lighted streets and glittering shops, with her bars and clubs, quiet cafés and noisy restaurants and dancing haunts, with her very polite well-dressed men and elegantly dressed women even with ultra-modern multi-coloured hair styles, thousands of Polish, Soviet, Czech, German, Italian and British cars on the streets, and thousands of tourists from all parts of the world, with her crowded shopping centres, theatres, modern art exhibitions and concert-halls, cinemas showing films from socialist and non-socialist countries and newspaper kiosks and bookshops selling books, papers and journals from both the Eastern and Western parts of the world is truly a modern city.

Warsaw with her effervescence, heated discussions, lighthearted sense of humour, jokes and party and pungent anecdotes, Warsaw with her modern production, industry and business, export and import, buying and selling on real international scale, Warsaw with her activity, bustle and stirring energy is an advanced, go-ahead, European capital.

Where is the ruined, ninety-per-cent destroyed wilderness of 30 million tons of rubble without bread, water and light? You would not believe that it was so twenty years ago, you would not believe if you had not seen with your own eyes. Resurrected Warsaw is a symbol of the mighty creative upsurge released under socialism, and a pulsating monument to emancipated labour and liberated nationhood, it is the Polish miracle.

Warsaw's industrial output today is six times that of pre-war. The number of students has increased by 50 per cent, a quarter of a million children (more than the entire population of Warsaw at the end of the war) attend schools. Its population has already passed the 1.2 million mark, and the intense development of the city continues.

The bourgeois-landlord Poland of the years 1918-1939 was a very poor country with an undeveloped economy. Her production potential per inhabitant was many times less than that of the industrially-developed capitalist countries of Europe (only about 16 per cent of that of Germany, Britain, France and Italy).

On top of this poverty and backwardness came the war and its devastation, so that People's Poland had to build on smouldering ruins. With 40 per cent of the national wealth destroyed and over 6 million people killed in Nazi genocide, the first years were extremely difficult.

But already in 1946, the third

year of People's Poland, industrial output had reached 73.7 per cent of the 1938 level, in 1947 it was almost 100 per cent, and in 1948, 135 per cent above the pre-war level. This astonishing rapid rate of recovery was mainly due, above all, to the Polish working-class, which, in spite of extreme shortages and privations, had limitless enthusiasm for building a new society and showed marvellous feats of heroism and patriotic devotion to the country.

This was the result of the great social revolution after the war, the nationalisation of the basic branches of national economy (industry employing more than 50 workers in one shift, banks and power etc., 3,300 enterprises were made public property), and the agricultural land reform which gave 6 million hectares, or 33 per cent of cultivated land to over a million peasants, which meant that every third peasant family benefited from the reform and they set up 814,000 new farms.

The nationalisation of industry (with compensation, except for enemy and traitor) laid the foundation of planned economy, gave direction to social development and released tremendous social energy and latent creative reserves. Thus the first 3-year plan of economic reconstruction was adopted for 1947-49; and was completed two months in advance, with industrial production 181 per cent above 1938 level.

These transformations were achieved on the basis of a broad social and political front, including the national bourgeoisie, and intellectuals, with three political parties (the Polish United Workers' Party, which was formed in 1948 after the merger of the Polish Workers' Party and the Polish Socialist Party, the United Peasants' Party formed by the merger of two peasant parties, and the Democratic Party which represents working intelligentsia and handicraftsmen); until today the three are united in the national front of

the country which rules through parliament called the Sejm.

Then came the first development plan, the 6-year plan, implemented in the years 1950-55. This was a very ambitious plan for the transformation of a backward and economically underdeveloped country through rapid industrialisation. This was industrial revolution which had taken many decades in West Europe, it created an advanced heavy industry, engineering and chemical industries. The plan forced the pace of industrialisation (3 times in 6 years), required great concentration of investment in heavy industry, partly at the expense of agriculture and the consumers goods industry.

In these conditions a number of gross economic disproportions arose and big difficulties cropped up. Poland had to pay for her take-off in economic advance. Unfortunately this was also the period of the height of Stalin's cult, the theory of intensification of class struggle the more you advance to socialism, violations of legality and inner party democracy, repressions and arrests.

In August 1948 Wladyslaw Gomulka, who opposed many of the wrong policies and mistakes, was removed from the post of General Secretary and along with many of his closest collaborators imprisoned under false charges of "rightwing nationalist deviation". The threat of new world war, the Korean war and stepping up of the cold war, mistaken conceptions of future international development, as well as the difficult economic tasks gave rise to further doctrinaire and sectarian measures. Mistakes were made in the agricultural policy and in dealings with the intelligentsia in the cultural field.

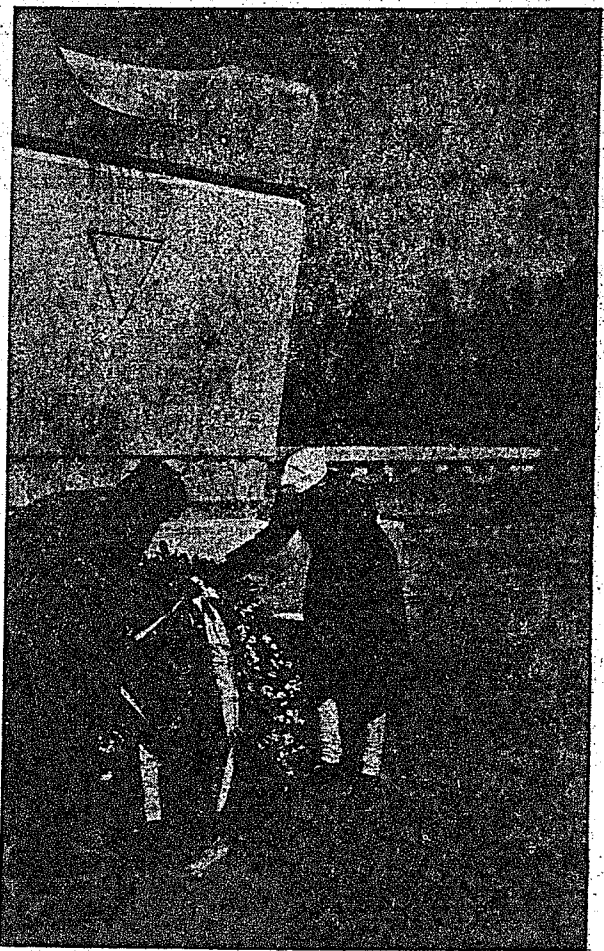
In agriculture, while, on the one hand, no investments were planned (actually agricultural accumulations were being pumped out for industry), on the other, under Stalin's direction a forced collectivisation drive was started which led to a catastrophic situation. Sectarian attempts were made to make reality conform to plans without regard to the possibilities of their implementation.

The peasants were reluctant, so soon after the land reform which had given them land, to join the collectives. All sorts of pressures were exerted to overcome this. But as the drive was being forced from above, even the people implementing the programme were not really convinced and took it half-heartedly.

The result was that in 6 years only 6.9 per cent of agricultural area came under the collectives. As professor Oscar Lange, leading economic authority and vice-president of the Council of State, told me:

"Actually the pressure put on the peasant was not enough to force him into the collective farms, but it was quite sufficient to destroy all initiative and incentive (why should he worry if tomorrow everything will go to the collective?). The peasant had also no incentive to sell his produce as he could not buy consumer goods and building materials on the market."

Actually agriculture became a bottleneck for industrialisation also. At a time of the sharp jump in industrial investment instead of a rise in agricultural production there came a drop. Actually during 1949-50 agricultural production had gone up sharply, but dropped later till in 1954 it was back to the 1949 level. This was



The late Jawaharlal Nehru laying a wreath at Ostecim martyr memorial in June 1955.

the result of left-sectarian mistakes on the agricultural front. Because of the let-down by agriculture the 1950-53 period became the most difficult for industry and led to great stresses and strains. The second congress of the Polish United Workers' Party, in 1954, had to make changes in the investment pattern and attempts were made to remedy the situation. The congress did not work out radical measures towards this end, nevertheless, it did adopt certain half measures which, to some extent, stopped further deterioration in agriculture.

The gradual revolution of the negative features of the Stalin period in the international Communist movement created the conditions for the gradual development of healthy currents. The 20th Congress of the CPSU gave a powerful impetus for the correction of mistakes and distortions.

The result was an increase in agricultural production after 1954. By 1957 it went up by nearly 17 per cent compared with 1953. This increase continued till 1961. Unfortunately due to bad climatic conditions 1962 became a year of crop failure which also led to a drop in the number of animals later.

In the State Planning Commission I was told that due to their own experience the Polish economists had concluded that collectivisation must not be taken up at the same time as industrialisation, the latter should come first. The 20th Congress of the CPSU and the sharp criticism of the Stalin cult was an important event for Poland which had also suffered under its mistaken policies, notions and illegality. The people began to demand a change in the hitherto pursued policies and changes in the leadership of the PUPW and the government.

The investment ratio for industrialisation had been too high—35 to 40 per cent of the national income. There was a rapid growth in non-agricultural employment, employment in building industry jumped two fold in 3 years. The abundant manpower was being fully utilised as a source of acceleration, even obsolete plants were being utilised to the full.

But there was another feature to the situation: Although overall and per capita consumption had increased, there was a fall in real wages. Because the increase in goods available proportionally was more than the increase in population, but it was less than the rate of increase in employment. Thus families with greater number of earning members gained but others lost in the standard of living.

Cost of investments turned out to be more than planned. There were difficulties in foreign trade due to cold war. Economic strains increased during 1953-55. The people were being driven too fast; failures in agricultural policy, lack of consumer goods, political revelations after the 20th congress of CPSU, the realisation that the former Party leadership had been right and was removed unjustly, all these factors led to dissatisfaction and the crisis deepened rapidly, leading to the Poznan events in the summer of 1956. There was a wave of stormy meetings specially in Warsaw. Events came to a head in October 1956 at the 8th plenum of the Central Committee of PUPW.

Acquiescing to the widespread demand the Central Committee elected Wladyslaw Gomulka, who had been excluded from the party and imprisoned, to the post of First Secretary; a number of changes were made in the composition of the Political Bureau, a critical re-evaluation was made of the policies hitherto followed and a new line was worked out. Also at the time (November 18, 1956) a new Polish-Soviet declaration on cooperation, removing all distortions of the Stalin period, and based upon the principles of mutual sovereignty and equality, was signed.

Now, the dead-weight of dogmatism was removed from the chest of the Polish people. They breathed freely and the way was now open for democratisation of life and rapid advance in the living standards. With the coming back of Gomulka there began a happy chapter in the life of People's Poland.

(To be continued)

TRIVANDRUM: The call given by the central secretariat of the Communist Party of India for a nationwide satyagraha of one lakh volunteers for people's food has given impetus and inspiration to the rising tide of the protest campaign in Kerala against price rise and scarcity of foodstuff.

LAST week saw intense preparations at district and local levels by trade unions affiliated to the AITUC, HMS and UTUC to implement the joint call for a general strike and hartal in the state on July 31.

Joint committees are coming up in almost all localities and factories to conduct the agitation.

In Trivandrum, more than 100 representatives of unions affiliated to the three trade union centres, met on July 25 and made detailed plans. A joint committee has been set up.

The district council of the CPI has planned to organise three jathas to start from the three corners of the district to converge on Trivandrum on July 30 and stage a demonstration before the secretariat.

The RSP has already started a three-day protest satyagraha before the secretariat.

In Kozhikode, Cannanore, Trichur and other centres also joint committees have been formed to conduct the massive protest movement of the people against high prices.

At Ernakulam while preparations for the July 31 strike are going on briskly, 89 unions

with different affiliations and no affiliation have decided to call a convention on August 9 to plan future course of action.

In Alleppey, a meeting of representatives of trade unions and other organisations set up an 86 man committee to prepare and guide the strike.

The general council of the Kerala State Toddy Tappers Federation has endorsed the call for the one-day strike and hartal, and asked its units to make the protest action a success.

SETTLE BONUS ISSUE

The Federation also considered the failure of the Industrial Relations Committee for toddy tapping in reaching a settlement over the bonus issue, mainly due to the employers' unhelpful attitude.

The tappers are demanding bonus equal to 20 per cent of the total yearly earnings of the workers. The general council has asked its affiliated unions to serve notices of a general strike to the employers to realise bonus.

MASS SUPPORT TO KERALA STRIKE CALL

From S. SHARMA

been heard from INTUC leader, C. M. Stephen. He issued a statement last week characterising the agitation as "treason and politically motivated".

But C. Achutha Menon, secretary of the Kerala state council of the CPI, has been quick to expose the INTUC leader. Menon pointed out that Stephen has ignored even the outspoken criticism of his own leader, S. R. Vasavada, against the government's food policy. Congressmen themselves are today talking about agitations to bring the prices down.

Achutha Menon also said that Stephen himself had, at the time of the Communist-led Ministry in the state, gone round with the slogan, "a government that cannot give food to the people should resign."

Meanwhile, the state government has made a climbdown in the case of private school teachers. Faced with the united stand of 80 thousand teachers and their threat of direct action, the government accepted their demands. The demands included parity in service conditions with government teachers.

However, even while making the concession the government has snatched away the political freedom enjoyed by the private school teachers till now by providing that they would be governed by the service conduct of government servants.

The teachers' action committee has welcomed the decision regarding parity in benefits, but protested against the curtailment of their right.

NATIONAL COUNCIL LINE SUPPORTED

PATNA: The Bihar state council of the Communist Party of India has endorsed the resolution on Party unity adopted by the National Council at its June meeting and expressed appreciation over the initiative taken by the central secretariat to restore Party unity on the basis of a principled stand.

The council, which concluded a six-day session on July 17, passed a resolution on Party unity.

The resolution noted with regret that the leaders of the 32 members of the National Council who had walked out of that body in April last refused to accept the generous offer of the National Council to return to the parent body by agreeing to abide by its decisions and dissolve the parallel committees set up at various levels.

It was the firm opinion of the council that the demand of the representatives of the seceders to replace the principle of democratic centralism by that of agreement among the various factions ran counter to the fundamental principles of Party organisation and would only intensify disruption and paralyse party work.

The resolution said: "The council is deeply shocked at the behaviour of the seceding comrades gathered at the all-India seceders' conference at Tenali this month."

"Instead of correcting the wrong and unprincipled position adopted by their leaders during the unity negotiations, the 32 comrades and their hundred or so followers from all over the country have decided to go further along the path of split and disruption."

It denounced the "disastrous programme of splitting the revolutionary vanguard of the Indian working class just at the time when the country's politics is entering a new phase of crisis and millions of our toiling people are rising in a countrywide struggle against some of the worst anti-people policies of the Con-

gress government." "The council firmly reiterates that no amount of 'revolutionary' demagoguery about a scalled policy of 'uncompromising struggle' against the Congress government can cover up the ugly reality of the heaven-sent boon to the bourgeoisie which will be the objective result of this split and

disruption", the resolution said. "The state council called upon all units and members of the Party in Bihar to stand up in defence of the precious unity of the Party and to defeat all manoeuvres of the disruptors and splitters by defending and maintaining the unity of every Party unit."

It hoped all Party members and units would rise to the occasion and "make utmost efforts to convince and persuade all erring comrades to return to the Party fold and agree to settle all differences inside the Party."

While expressing readiness to rescind all disciplinary actions taken by it against those who agree to return to the Party and abide by its discipline, the council declared that all those who join the rival party organisations would be considered to have automatically seceded from the CPI.

BIHAR NAILS SPLITTERS' LIE

PATNA: The Bihar state council of the Communist Party of India has nailed a lie being spread by the splitters against CPI Chairman S. A. Dange regarding the 1963 strike of the Barauni refinery workers.

A resolution unanimously adopted by the state council at its meeting in Patna from July 12 to 17 said:

"Bihar state council of the Communist Party of India categorically repudiates and strongly condemns the slanderous statement made by M. Basavapurniah that Comrade S. A. Dange 'tried to sabotage... the Barauni workers' struggle."

"This statement of Basavapurniah has now been included in an anti-Dange pamphlet which serves as the basis for a country-wide slander campaign by the splitters."

"It is not without significance that this slander has recently been picked up by the leadership of the Communist Party of China and has been

STOP HOARDING HOLD PRICELINE

* FROM BACK PAGE

even according to government's admission, the producers too have begun hoarding in the expectation of higher prices.

The foodgrains trading corporation is still a distant prospect, the latest indication being that it would start functioning in January 1965, that is six months away. And it will be in the field competing with the existing wholesalers.

Surprisingly, at the press conference and at the Congress Parliamentary Party executive on July 23, Subramaniam sought to paint a rather rosy picture of the food situation in the country. The situation is "well in hand", he claimed.

To support his claim, he made a review of the food situation. Kerala was a "cri-

tical area" and Uttar Pradesh a "sick child". But for these, the situation in all the other states is satisfactory or well on its way to such a position, according to him.

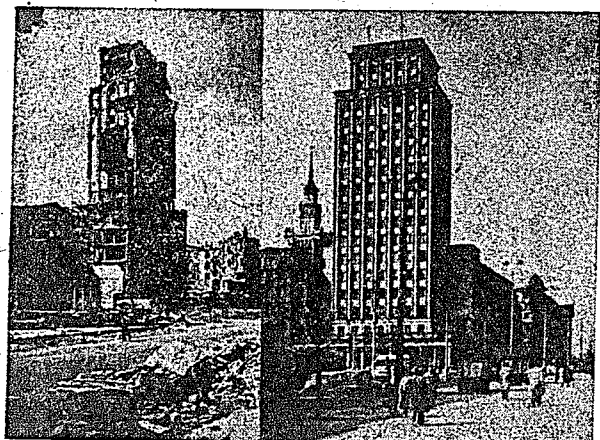
Underlying the Food Ministers' position, ridiculous and astounding though it is even on the face of it, was the pious hope that the new harvest which will come in during September-October will ease the situation.

The government had expressed the same optimism in February last, but those hopes were belied beyond belief. The prices did not even remain static at the time of and immediately after the harvest. They went up steeply and the crop found its way into the hands of the hoarders.

What is the guarantee that the same experience would not be repeated at the time of the next harvest?

NATIONWIDE ACTION FOR PEOPLE'S FOOD

- * FOR EFFECTIVE PRICE CONTROL
- * FOR NATIONALISATION OF BANKS
- * FOR STATE TRADING IN FOOD-GRAINS
- * FOR IMMEDIATE FOOD SUPPLY TO SCARCITY AREAS
- AGAINST HOARDERS AND PROFITERS
- AGAINST PRO-HOARDER POLICIES OF GOVERNMENT



A war-damaged building in Warsaw (LEFT) and the new one which has taken its place.

A New Pattern Of 'Cultural Relations'

CHINESE CAMPAIGN OF INCITEMENT AGAINST CZECHOSLOVAK C.P. LEADERSHIP

By J. FOJT

It was not the first time that the "Chinese People's Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries" had turned to Czechoslovak diplomats on duty in some of the capitalist countries with a "Letter of Greetings". The content of the Letter was a pointed commentary on the situation in the international Communist movement.

THE occasion now was the 19th anniversary of Czechoslovakia's liberation by the Soviet army. The Society said in the letter that the Communist Party of China felt more and more worried about the "anti-Marxist-Leninist attitude" which the leadership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia was supposedly assuming in its relations with China.

Czechoslovakia was, according to the letter, guilty of "highly provocative acts" for having requested the recall of a representative of the Chinese press agency, of an employee of the Chinese embassy and of a Chinese student. It did not of course mention the fact that the employees of Chinese agencies in Czechoslovakia had been guilty of rude provocations which had forced the Czechoslovak Government to take these steps.

CHARGES OF SUPPRESSION

The authors of the letter turn to the Czechoslovak diplomats and claim that the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia "viciously conceals the truth" from them and "indiscriminately suppresses information about the correct Marxist-Leninist attitude of the Communist Party of China. Because your leaders, dominated by great-power chauvinism, were forced to repeat the contemporary revisionist distorted information from Moscow, we consider it our fraternal duty to call your attention to the grave danger ensuing from your apparent efforts to slavishly keep in step with the Khrushchov group."

How is this "international duty" to be performed? First and foremost by destroying the basis

of the socialist camp's rapid economic growth.

"In the name of international division of labour," the authors of the letter declare, "the leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union oppose the fraternal countries' policy with regard to the building of socialism with their own strength, and the development of their economy on an independent base."

"ONLY CORRECT STAND"

The striving for the most effective possible economic cooperation of the socialist countries, the endeavour to face the international alliance of capital with the unity of the socialist countries, which is based on a rational division of labour, on the utilisation of the resources of every country for its own development and for the benefit of the entire socialist world community—that, allegedly, is the manifestation of "great-power chauvinism".

The letter further on is quite blunt: "We are convinced, dear Comrade, that, if you carefully assess the facts, you will agree that our stand is the only correct one, and that due to the disruptive efforts of the leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the unity and the revolutionary consciousness of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia are in great danger."

What concretely bothers the honourable Chinese critics of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and how they would like to see the development in Czechoslovakia shape up?

"Until recently, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia was con-

sidered by all fraternal Parties to be a bastion of Marxism-Leninism in Eastern Europe, a fact you can rightly be proud of. Recently, however, your leaders succumbed to the pressure of Khrushchov and others, and the future development in your Party greatly dismays the Communist Party of China—and many other fraternal Parties. To our great amazement, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, under the leadership of Antonin Novotny, allowed itself to be led to acts which are incompatible with Marxism-Leninism and in contrast to your glorious history and tradition.

"As you and the entire socialist camp know, these acts which included the wilful removal of loyal comrades from responsible Party posts and the rehabilitation and re-installation of anti-Party criminals, necessarily resulted in the economic and political chaos in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, formerly a blossoming and well-disciplined socialist country, and thus a great service was rendered to imperialism and to the reactionaries of all countries."

The quoted excerpt hardly requires any special comment. The logic of dogmatism is

typical. It amounts to saying that if the Czechoslovak Communists dare to agree with the overwhelming majority of the Communist Parties—in contradistinction to the Communist Party of China—and reliably approach the historical experience as summed up by the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, if you dare to reject the cult of personality, further develop friendly relations with the Soviet Union and support the prudent policy of peaceful coexistence—then the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic must go to the dogs.

"SUBSERVIENCE TO IMPERIALISM"

Disagreement with the leadership of the Communist Party of China even amounts, according to this logic, to subservience to imperialism and to the reactionaries in all countries.

The conclusion of the letter is the culmination of this logic of the Chinese sectarians:

"The time has come for you, a responsible and influential representative of your Party and your people, to act. In the coming national elections, you must strive for getting from Marxists-Leninists into your National Assembly, National Committees and courts!"

An unsolicited piece of "advice", or better yet, an "in-

struction" par excellence, isn't it?

But the Czechoslovak people elect their representatives according to their own discretion. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia walks the road of Marxism-Leninism, in spite of the Chinese advisers' displeasure, the road to the development of socialism, and it will continue to systematically withstand the attacks from the "Right" as well as from the "Left".

If the authors of the letter really want to prove how very much they are concerned with the destinies of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and with the common interests of the Communist movement—just one thing can be recommended to them: Stop your provocations and all your splitting and disruptive actions; take even now to the road of unity!

ARE THESE THE NORMS?

The undignified methods of instigating against the leadership of other Communist Parties—such as writing defamatory and provocative letters—is contrary to the norms that should determine the relations between the Communist Parties and the socialist countries. Such methods only add to disunity and increase the number of obstacles that frustrate agreements. (PRAGOPRESS)

"CONSISTENT AND IDENTICAL"

Chagla Praises Soviet Stand On Kashmir

From MASOOD ALI KHAN

MOSCOW, July 27: M. C. Chagla, Indian Minister for Education and Culture, declared here today that Soviet attitude on Kashmir had been consistent and was identical with that of India. Kashmir was as much a part of India as Delhi, Bombay or Madras, he said.

ANSWERING a Western correspondent Chagla declared that there was no discussion of the Kashmir problem during his visit. "There is no disagreement on this and you don't discuss when there is no disagreement", he said. The Indian Minister conveyed to the Soviet government India's appreciation of the Soviet support on Kashmir in the Security Council.

Summing up his ten-day visit to the Soviet Union the Indian Minister said he had been very much impressed by what he saw. The Soviet educational system and experience could be of great help to India.

He found great friendship everywhere for the people of India which was neither diplomatic nor put on for any particular purpose. "It is a friendship without strings", Chagla said.

He had been struck by Soviet people's devotion to education and although Soviet Union led in technical progress there was a realisation everywhere that what was most important was the human being. The object was to educate everybody and not a few and he had been tremendously impressed by the manner in which higher education was spread among the masses.

India should study and use Soviet experience in spreading

education through evening and correspondence courses as we have a lack of colleges and facilities, Chagla said, announcing that a team of experts from India would come to study this aspect. Soviet methods of fighting illiteracy could also be of use to India, the Minister felt.

Speaking of Uzbekistan, Chagla said that her 40-year progress had been a miracle—the way a backward, reaction-ridden, illiterate area had developed into a industrial land of 100 per cent literacy.

IMPRESSIVE PROGRESS OF UZBEKISTAN

Chagla said he had been impressed by the national integration, achieved in Uzbekistan where although they preserved and developed their own language and culture, everybody knew Russian and felt himself to be as good a Soviet citizen as anybody else. "We also have many languages and states and similar problems and this integration is a model for us."

Soviet-Indian cooperation and collaboration, already considerable, had been further expanded as a result of this visit. An agreement had been reached to

set up an Institute of Russian studies for language, literature, history and economics. The Soviet side will help in providing teachers and text-books. The Institute will prepare students in Russian language before their arrival in Soviet Union for studies in different subjects and it will also have B.A. degree courses.

Soviet help in providing cheap and good text books for Indian students of science and technology will also be expanded and a mixed Soviet-Indian Board is to be set up to select books and supervise their translation and publication. This help will be of great significance as scientific books are usually very costly and our students cannot afford them, Chagla said.

Further Soviet help in the field of science will be forthcoming in the matter of setting up scientific laboratories for schools and colleges.

Study of science was important to combat superstition and prejudice and inculcate a modern outlook. He was happy to see that religion in the Soviet Union does not divide people and was considered a private affair, the Indian Minister said.

The Moscow University which he had seen and where 30,000 students study was a very fine institution and a great centre of higher education, Chagla declared. He thanked the University of Leningrad for conferring upon him an honorary degree of law and said he considered it a great honour to receive this degree from a University where the great Lenin also once took a degree in the same subject.



By Zia-ul Haq

African Unity Advances

The Second African Summit which concluded its deliberations in Cairo on July 21 will become another memorable milestone in the liberation and unification of Africa.

AS Dr. Hastings Banda, Prime Minister of the newest of African independent states, Malawi, put it, the summit has confounded the imperialists who had continued to nurse the fond illusion that Africa south of Sahara could never unite with the North.

The conference has brought the 34 participating states closer to each other than ever before.

Among the decisions of the conference the outstanding ones relate to the liberation of the remaining unfree territories and populations. For instance, on the question of Southern Rhodesia, "the Assembly vowed to take a vigorous and immediate step against any unilateral declaration of independence of Southern Rhodesia by a European minority government."

The resolution of the conference states categorically: "The African Heads of States further pledged themselves to take appropriate measures, including the recognition and support of an African Nationalist Government-in-exile, should such an eventuality arise."

The African summit called on the British Government to convene immediately a constitutional conference of representatives of all political parties in Southern Rhodesia to prepare a new and democratic constitution ensuring majority rule on the basis of one man one vote.

On the question of South Africa, the Heads of States and Governments adopted a resolution:

- ★ Requesting the cooperation of all countries and in particular the major trading partners in the boycott of South Africa;
- ★ Appealing to all oil-producing countries to cease as a matter of urgency their supply of oil and all petroleum products to South Africa; and
- ★ Calling for the release of Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Mangaliso Sobukwe and all other opponents of apartheid imprisoned or detained under the repressive and arbitrary laws of South Africa.

More concretely, the conference decided to establish a bureau within the General Secretariat of the OAU charged with the specific task of coordinating plans and actions of member states to implement an effective boycott of South Africa.

Similar action against Portugal in relation to Angola and other Portuguese colonies was decided upon by the conference. Measures were taken to put the work of the Liberation Committee on a

more sound basis. The nine-member committee had been constituted at the first African summit held in Addis Ababa in May last year.

As the Administrative Secretary-General of the Organisation of African Unity the conference named Diallo Telli of Guinea. The conference also decided that the Third Summit shall meet in Accra in September 1965.

Socialist World Supports

However much the imperialists and their newscasters might try to belittle the achievements of the African summit or to exaggerate the significance of the differences in approach on the part of the various leaders of resurgent Africa, they cannot wish away the growing unity and cooperation of the independent African states and their concerted action to secure the liberation of the remaining territories and populations of their continent.

It is also important to note that this unity and cooperation grows alongside the growing cooperation of African states with the camp of socialism. In a message addressed to the conference Prime Minister Khrushchov had stated:

"Proceeding from the community of vital interests of world socialism and the world national liberation movement, the Soviet Government feels itself bound in international duty to help the peoples who are advancing along the road of gaining and consolidating their national indepen-

UAR On Road To Socialism

AFTER the work of the conference was over the Heads of States and Governments joined the people of Egypt in celebrating the 12th anniversary of the Revolution on July 23. Rich tributes were paid by all the assembled leaders to the great achievements of the revolutionary regime that is headed by Gamal Abdel Nasser.

Egypt's has been a revolution characterised by perseverance in carrying out reforms and firmness in resisting the imperialist aggressors. Over the last five or six years some 800 factories have been built. The first section of the Aswan High dam has been completed.

A far-reaching agrarian reform, giving land to the tillers, has been carried out.



SINCE THE FIRST AFRICAN SUMMIT, More countries, including Kenya and Malawi (Nyassaland) have won independence

CENTO WITHOUT STINK?

A NOTHER summit held about the same time brought together the Shahinshah of Iran and the Presidents of Turkey and Pakistan in Istanbul. The Pakistan press extolled this conclave as reflecting "a new, grand concept which will not only bring the three countries closer but pave the way for more fruitful relations among all Muslim countries from Morocco to Indonesia."

President Ayub Khan declared in an interview with a correspondent of Dawn, "It is with this aim in view that the new links between Turkey, Iran and Pakistan are being forged outside the framework of CENTO."

One can only feel amazed at these claims and wonder if those who make them really expect people to believe them. It is difficult to believe that President Ayub Khan seriously thinks that people will regard this alliance as something "new" and "outside the framework of CENTO". Can merely the physical absence of Britain and the United States suffice to convince people that they are not in it? As a matter of fact, the US has continued all along to claim that it is not a member of the CENTO.

People might have considered President Ayub Khan's claim of being "outside the framework of CENTO" had he and his other colleagues at the Istanbul summit declared their formal withdrawal from CENTO and the other western military alliances, multilateral as well as bilateral. The three summiteers of Istanbul did nothing of that sort and they do not have the least intention of ever doing anything of that sort. Instead they had the aplomb to issue the call that they "would be pleased to consider the participation of other countries of the region in this cooperation".

How can the leaders of countries "from Morocco to Indonesia" look at this invitation except as an invitation to walk into the parlour of imperialism's military alliances through the backdoor? What else can they consider this very "new" grouping than a revamped edition of CENTO? How else can the Arab countries take this invitation except as an insult?

The timing of this so-called summit to make it coincide with the Cairo conference also could not have gone unnoticed in those circles.

The desperate attempts on the part of Pakistan and her allies of the CENTO to gain admittance into the company of the non-aligned countries without renouncing their military alliances with the imperialist powers, whether they use the label of "regional cooperation" or of "Islamic brotherhood", are doomed to failure. These labels can mislead no one, not even the masses of Pakistan. (July 28)

INDIAN PHILOSOPHY
A POPULAR INTRODUCTION
by
DEBIPRASAD CHATTOPADHAYAYA
(Author of LOKAYATA)
Pages: 260 Price: Rs. 15
PEOPLE'S PUBLISHING HOUSE,
New Delhi

Government Offers

HOLLOW WARNINGS, PIOUS HOPES BUT NO FOOD

Reports of starvation deaths from Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, police lathicharge against hungermarchers from Madhya Pradesh, stabbing incident following scuffle over positions in food queue from Andhra, stray looting incidents of foodgrain shops from many parts of the country.

It is a grim picture of famine stalking the country that emerges from the reports, after more than a month since the Chief Ministers' conference called specially to discuss price rise and food shortage.

INDEED, the conference took no firm decision to combat rising prices or ease the food shortage. All that it did was to remove many of the restrictions on the movement of foodgrains.

Hollow warnings were given to the traders to "behave". More warnings have been forthcoming since then from all around, the latest to join in being the President. Only, there has been no action to follow up these warnings.

The state governments, which have to implement any programme to peg the prices and make available foodgrains to the needy people, have only tinkered with the problem.

Only this week they have started issuing orders for the declaration of stocks over and above a certain quantity by the dealers. It is yet to be seen what would become of the order since no state government has cared to keep

a list of the godowns and there is absolutely no machinery to enforce the order.

While deficit states have been complaining of reluctance on the part of the Centre to despatch enough stocks, surplus states have been withholding foodgrain stocks in a desperate attempt to keep them within the states so that these surpluses might depress the prices.

More Foodgrains

The Centre has been releasing more and more stocks of foodgrains, and more are promised for the future. Efforts are being made to purchase rice from abroad, wherever it is available.

One rice purchase mission went to Rawalpindi and returned. Another is planning to leave for Thailand and

Cambodia within a few days. More foodgrains are being sought to be imported from the United States under PL 480.

According to official admissions, the availability of foodgrains this year has been three to four million tonnes more than last year. Rice production has been higher, wheat imports more.

And yet, scarcity is the dominant aspect of the food

By

PAULY V. PARAKAL

situation today. Food queues are lengthening day by day before the grain shops and many return everyday empty-handed. And foodgrains are selling in the open market at all time high rates.

The recent decision taken by the government "at the highest level" and announced to the press by Food and Agriculture Minister C. Subramaniam go only to prove that the government is still fighting shy of taking any effective step to ease the food situation.

Not that the government does not realise where the trouble lies. According to the Minister, "the problem was

essentially one of prices, as market arrivals had not been to the same extent as they were during last year. Producers and dealers were holding back their stocks anticipating higher prices."

Still, the government is not prepared to deal firmly with the hoarders. It is not prepared to resort to credit squeeze as a means of bringing down the foodgrain prices.

The government's "strategy" is to "create a situation where they do not feel certain of securing higher prices". How exactly he would create such a feeling among the hoarders, the Minister did not explain.

This reluctance to deal firmly with the hoarders has characterised the government's food policy all along. It has always been in favour of relaxing the restrictions on traders, thus helping them to hoard and profiteer.

The first foodgrains licensing order was prepared by the Centre in April 1958, but it was revised in January 1963. This revised order had provided that any person who purchased, sold or stored ten quintals of foodgrains had to take a licence and submit fortnightly returns.

But following representations by the trade, the terms were liberalised. The quantitative limit was raised to ten quintals of any one grain and 25 quintals for all foodgrains taken together. The provision for fortnightly returns was changed into quarterly returns.

In February 1964, after the Food Minister's conference, it was still further liberalised. Retailers and commission agents were excluded from the purview of the order; extension of time for submitting the returns was allowed.

Also, the security deposit, which was provided in December 1963, was cancelled in the case of "small dealers" and reduced in the case

of others; dealings between wholesalers were also permitted.

These facts will show how the government has been consistently favouring the traders and refrained from enforcing any restrictions on them, with the result that today it is finding absolutely incapable of taking any action against the hoarders and profiteers.

Decision On Paper

Of course, the Food Minister has announced that the maximum price of rice and wheat for the southern states will be announced before August 1, and talks are to be conducted for fixing the same in the other states.

But he did not indicate how the government was going to enforce this decision on maximum prices: all that it would probably achieve is to push into the blackmarket even the foodgrains which are available in the open market today.

As for the L. K. Jha committee on fixation of prices payable to the producers, wholesalers and retailers, serious differences are reported to have already arisen between the Food and Agriculture Ministry and the Finance Ministry over the method of calculating the price.

Even if the prices are fixed, how is the government going to compel the producers to sell the grains to it when it enters the market beginning with the rice crop in coming September? How will it meet the competition from the existing wholesalers?

The wholesalers will certainly offer better prices to the farmers than the government, in the hope of pocketing still higher profits later on in the blackmarket. And

* ON PAGE 17

TRADING IN MISERY MUST NOT GO ON

* FROM FRONT PAGE

system of monopoly capital, which is using the country's freedom, its wealth and labour for its own selfish ends.

So long as the open and avowed champions of foreign and Indian monopoly, and opponents of bank nationalisation and state-trading and defenders of bureaucracy are not opposed and fought by democratic mass action, this crisis will not abate and people will not get relief.

Hence our decision to act, to do satyagraha and prepare for a national general strike and hartal. Unless the working masses unite, the unholy conspiracy of the forces of monopoly capital, landlord interests and their ministerial circles cannot be defeated.

The satyagraha that we are planning will not be of the usual type. It will not be only at the centres of administrative rule. It will also be directed against the centres of monopoly capital, speculation, hoarding etc.

Satyagrahis will try to picket and stop the Reserve Bank and the other big banks

from doing their usual work and demand their nationalisation.

Satyagrahis will stop the big grain mandis throughout the country from doing their anti-social work of fleecing the peasant by buying his goods at low prices and speculating on them. All the mandis of India instead of being suppliers of goods have become centres of crime against the people, in which the big are taking the lead.

Picket

Stock Exchanges

Satyagrahis will stop the stock exchanges of Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, Madras from doing their daily, nefarious work of gambling on the needs of the people and the labour of the working men.

Satyagrahis will march to every ministerial centre, every head of administrative machinery, every centre of power, to compel them to accept the main demands of the people and act here and now to break this great crisis and break the gang that has got hold on the economic lifeline of the common mass of people.

Right in the heart of the Congress rule sit ministers who are active defenders of monopoly capital, of grain-dealers, big bankers and landlords. They must be exposed and thrown out.

Their hollow theories of capitalist economy must be blown up. Their false talk of socialism must be stopped.

To do that we must act on an all-India scale. The Party must discharge its duty to the country and the people.

Every Party member must come forward to be enrolled as a satyagrahi in this great battle for people's food and the nation's life. Every Party member must bring ten other non-Party people with him as satyagrahis.

We shall act peacefully, unitedly and in a disciplined way as we did last September, one year ago.

Let not the provocateurs and scuffers of satyagraha divert us from the path of peaceful democratic action, let not threats of the ruling class deter us. Let us be with the masses and act. WE SHALL WIN ALL TOGETHER.

THIS IS CAPITALISM

THIS is not a crisis of food and prices only.

IT is called the crisis of capitalism!

THERE is food enough but it has been bought up and hoarded to make profits.

IT is hoarded by big bankers, landlords, traders and money-lenders. They have capital to buy and hoard until prices rise, people starve and are prepared to pay any price. Then they sell and make profits and more profits.

THIS is capitalism, the capitalist path which India's ruling class is pursuing.

WE must reject it, as the capitalist path, called "socialism" by the Congress leaders, means starvation and crisis.